

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_218443

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OUP—2272—19-11-79—19,000

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 955.02

Accession No. P.6.S.32

Author Sian D. Sanauallah

Title Decline of the Saljuqid,

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked below. empire. 1938.

THE DECLINE OF
THE SALJŪQID EMPIRE

THE DECLINE OF THE SALJUQID EMPIRE

*(Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the University of London)*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

SIR EDWARD DENISON ROSS, KT., C.I.E., D.LITT., PH.D.,
F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., F.A.S.B.

BY

SANAULLAH, MAWLAWI FADIL, B.A. (CAL.), PH.D. (LOND.),
BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
Lecturer in History of Islam, Calcutta University,
Member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly,
Advocate, Calcutta High Court



PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1938

PRINTED IN INDIA

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA

Regd. No. 987B—September, 1938—E.

DEDICATED
TO
THE SACRED MEMORY
OF
HĀJĪ MUHAMMAD MUHSIN

CONTENTS

	PAGES
Introduction... ..	ix-xi
i. Abstract of the Thesis... ..	xiii-xiv
ii. Preface	xv-xvii
iii. Bibliographical Introduction	xix-xxviii
iv. Chronological Survey of Events	xxix-xxxvii

PART I

Institutions of the Saljūqīd Empire

CHAPTER I

The Royal Family and the Court :	
Activities of Women	...

CHAPTER II

Constitution of the Armed Forces :	
Relations with Amīrs; Relations	
with Turkmen and Arab Tribes ...	18-35

CHAPTER III

Civil Administration : Relations with the Caliphate 	36-60
--	-------

CHAPTER IV

Religious Opposition : Economic Factors	61-81
--	-------

PART II

Survey of the Political History

CHAPTER V

Maḥmūd b Malik <u>sh</u> ah's Reign ...	82-90
--	-------

CHAPTER VI

The Reign of Barkiyāruq b Malik- <u>sh</u> ah 	91-113
---	--------

CHAPTER VII

The Reign of Muḥammad b Malik- — <u>sh</u> ah 	114-132
Bibliography 	133-144
Index 	145-150

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Sanaullah has paid me the compliment of inviting me to write a few words by way of introduction to his Thesis.

This I have much pleasure in doing, not only because he was a student of the School of Oriental Studies under my Directorship, but also because it gives me an opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the excellent work he did while he was there.

The subject he selected for his Thesis was one which awaited special treatment. The twenty-seven years which it covers form one of the most confusing periods of Persian History. The internal wranglings among the various claimants to the throne left vacant by the untimely death of Melik Shah in A.D. 1092, the rise to power of the Atabegs, and the consequent loss of one province after another till on the accession of Sultan Sanjar in 1117 little was left of the Great Seljuk Empire outside Khurasan, constitute a sad climax to the glorious reigns of Tughril Beg, Alp Arslan and Melik Shah. These Great Sovereigns had the good fortune of being served by two great Ministers—al-Kunduri,¹ a statesman and

¹ 'Amid al-Mulk Abu Naar.

politician of rare gifts, and Nizam-ul-Mulk, one of the most brilliant figures in Islamic History. With the murder of Nizam-ul-Mulk, instigated possibly by jealousy at the Court, the glory of the Seljuks began to wane, and it is this somewhat unedifying spectacle of their rapid decline that Dr. Sanaullah has undertaken to show us. The original materials in Arabic and Persian are plentiful for this subject and they have been used in a most scholarly way by the writer. It is interesting to encounter in his bibliography such familiar names as those of al-Ghazali, Sibte ibn al-Jawzi, Qalanisi and Rawandi.

Within the frame-work of his chronological survey Dr. Sanaullah deals with a number of topics of first-rate importance among the more interesting being the important part played by the ladies of the Royal household in public affairs, the position of the Caliph (who under the Seljuks had been reduced to a mere religious institution, whose temporal authority was confined to Baghdad, and whose administrative duties were limited to the entry of the name of the legitimate Sultan of the moment in the Khutbah), the organisation of the armed forces and the administration of justice.

A lively account is also given of the Bāṭini Assassins who on occasion were open to employment by others than the Grand Master,

The story of Abu Hashim and Ahmed the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk reads like a passage from the *Arabian Nights*.

Altogether Dr. Sanaullah has succeeded not only in throwing new light on a very confused period of Muslim History, but also in giving us a readable narrative and a remarkably vivid picture of public life under the Great Seljuks.

E. DENISON Ross.

229, ST. JAMBS' COURT,

S. W. 1, LONDON,

April 26, 1938.

ABSTRACT OF A THESIS FOR THE
DEGREE OF PH.D. (1934)

Subject:—" THE DECLINE OF THE SALJŪQID
EMPIRE "

(485/1092-511/1117)

After a critical examination of the available sources and a chronological survey of the period, the Thesis sets out to analyse the institutions of the Saljūqid State, so far as they can be identified. Among them are the Royal Family and Court including relations of princes and activities of wives, constitution of the armed forces, relations with Amirs and Turkmen and Arab tribes, civil administration), relations with the Caliphate, religious opposition, and economic factors. The bearing of each upon the fortunes of the dynasty and the conditions in the Middle East is examined as fully as possible. Finally, the political history of the period is surveyed in the light of the factors analysed above.

The Thesis thus aims at presenting for the first

time a critical history of a period hitherto known only in general outline, and at isolating the features which marked the political life of the Eastern Islamic world during this period.

PREFACE

The 'Abbāsīd Empire, once supreme in the Near and Middle East during the ninth century, had been reduced in size and strength during the tenth century and the first few decades of the eleventh.

The Fāṭimid anti-Caliphs of Egypt and the Eastern Roman Emperors in Byzantium were extending their sway in Asia at the expense of the 'Abbāsīd territories. At Bagħdād, the metropolis of Islam, the officers of the Turkish slave soldiery had become the Caliph-makers. At this critical juncture the Saljūqid power rose on the ruins of the Ghaznavīd Sultanate and soon swallowed the Buyīd supremacy at Bagħdād. Those rough and unsophisticated tribes who had embraced Islam with all the enthusiasm of new converts, once more revived the dying empire of the 'Abbāsīds. The successive reigns of Tughril (429/1037-455/1063), Alp Arslan (455/1063-465/1072) and Malikshah (465/1072-485/1092) fully illustrate the resumption of power and prosperity which had characterised the rule of the early Caliphs. If the rapidity of the Saljūqids* rise had been bewildering, their decline was equally remarkable. Within sixty years of their rise, symptoms of decline became more and more visible until their

final downfall, with the captivity of Sultān Sanjar by G-huzz tribes and his ultimate death in 552/1157.

The history of the Saljūqid Empire can, therefore, be divided into three periods of rise, decline and fall. The present Thesis deals with the central and transitional period of decline. This period covers the years 485/1092-511/1117, including the reigns of Maḥmūd (485-487), Barkiyāruq (487-498), and Muḥammad (498-511).

Several historians, such as Gibbon, Malcolm, Markham, Ameer 'All, Browne and Sykes, have, indeed, touched upon some events of this period, but their works can hardly be considered as complete. The history of the decline of the Saljūqid Empire regains, in fact, unwritten, and an attempt to fill this gap direct from the original Arabic and Persian sources is made in the following pages. Special attention is devoted to the study of the institutions of the Saljūqs which lay at the root of all troubles.

I am greatly indebted in preparing this work to Professor H. A. E. Gibb, M.A., for his able guidance and amiable supervision throughout the long course of three years, Dr. A. S. Tritton, D.Litt., for revising and correcting my translations from Ibn-ul Athīr, Dr. A. S. Atiya, M.A., Ph.D., for reading my work, and for advice on the technical aspect of my researches, and Professor V. Minorsky, for occasional consultations and suggestions,

Owing to frequent reference to Ibn-al-Athir's *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. X, Cairo edition of 1301 A.H., it has been abbreviated as I. A.; such is the case with Ibn-al-Qalanisi's *Dhahī Tarīkh Dimashq*, edited by Amedroz (Leyden, 1908), which has been abbreviated as I. Q.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES,

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, ' ' SANAULLAH.

November, 1934.)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Although the historical sources relating to the great Saljūqs of Persia are exceptionally abundant for the period 429/1037-552/1157, unfortunately for the years under review the accounts are generally very brief and abrupt. While such valuable authorities as Baihaqi¹ belong to the preceding, many others like Ibnu'l Aṭḥīr belong to the succeeding generations. The three known contemporary sources—the "Lightning Flashy of Chronicles"² in Arabic by Abu'l Futūḥ Barakāt b Ismā'īl (d. 500/1106-7), the "History of the Saljuq"³ Dynasty of Abu Tahir Khatuni and the "Decline of the Times of Ministers and Ministers of the Times of Decline"⁴ by Sharafuddīn Abū Naṣr Anūshirwān b Khālīd Kāshānī (d. 533/1131-9), have not come down to us intact and our knowledge of them is either incomplete or secondary.

The last named is available to some extent in the Arabic revised version of 'Imāduddīn Kātib of Isfahān (Abū 'Abdullāh Md. b Md., d. 597/1200-1). The title of his book is "Help in Weariness and

1 Abu'l Fadl Md. b Husain, d. 470/1077-8, Tarikh-i-Ui Sabuktagin.

² Lam'ut Tawārikh.

³ Tarikh-i-Ali Saljuq.

⁴ زوال مصور الوزراء و وزراء عصور الزوال

Refuge of Creation/'¹ of which an abridgment by Fath b 'Alib d. Md al-BundSrI(d. 623/1226), entitled " The Cream of the Book of Help and Selection from the Book of Eefuge/'² is in print. Despite* Bundari's assertion that he has simplified the florid and bombastic style of Isfahāni so that the book may be easily understood, it appears that his own work suffers from the same failures as the original source.

Diametrically opposed both in simplicity of style and wealth of detail is the " Great Universal History " ³ of Ibnul Athlr ('Izzuddin 'Abul fLusain 'Ali b Md., d. 630/1232) up to 628/1230., I have translated almost literally his annals for the whole period of twenty-six years (485/1092-511/1117) inclusive, omitting only such irrelevant portions as the obituary notices on unimportant persons. I have made use of these translations in the following pages, as Ibnul Athlr appears to have remained the most reliable authority who has so far successfully stood the test of time and modern historical criticism. I have taken his work as the foundation of my study and compared and collated with it as many of the other sources extant in manuscript and in print as is possible in the present circumstances. Besides, Ibnul Athir's accuracy

¹ Nuṣratu'l Fatrah wa 'Usratu'l Fatrah.

² Zubdatu'n Nasrah wa Nakhbatu'l 'Usrah.

³ Al-Kamil fit Tarikk

and scrupulousness are certified in his introduction to "Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion" by that high authority, W. Barthold, whose is the last comprehensive work on the subject.¹

The unique British Museum manuscript Stowe Or 7, which is attributed to Sadruddin Abu'l Hasan 'Ali b Nasir al-Susaini (d. 590/1194) as his Cream of Chronicles,² is a monograph on the Saljuqs. According to Houtsma³ it is an abridgment of Imaduddin, while Karl Sussheim contends⁴ that the Cream of Chronicles was only one of the sources of the anonymous British Museum Chronicle Stowe Or 7. Sussheim's view is supported by the opening page of the manuscript where it reads:⁵ "Amīr Sayyad, the great learned leader Ṣadru'ddin Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī, son of Sayyad, the great martyred leader Abul Fawaris Naṣir, son of 'Alī al-Ḥisāmī, may God be merciful to him, mentioned in his book which he named

¹ Page 3.

² Zubdatu't Tawārikh.

³ *Reoueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des seldjucides*, vol. ii, p. v.

⁴ *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im Britischen Museum zu London verwahrten Chronik des Seldschukischen Reiches*, pp. 18 et. seq.

⁵ ذكر الامير السيد الامام الاجل الكبير صدر الدين ابو الحسن علي بن السيد الامام الشهيد ابو (sic) الفوارس ناصر بن علي الحسين الحسيني رحمه الله في كتابه الذي سماه زبدة التواريخ اخبار الامراء والملوك السلجوقية ذكر انه اول من

the Cream of Chronicles, the history of the Saljūqid amirs and kings. He narrated that" On the frontispiece, however, it is described as the "History of the Saljūqid Rule by the great, chief and the learned doctor Şadru'ddin Abū'l IJasan 'Ali, son of the Sayyad Martyred leader Abū'l Fawāris Nāşir, son of 'Ali al-Husainī, may God the Great be merciful to them both."¹ This seems to have misled scholars into thinking that the work was composed by Şadruddu himself, and both Barthold² and Amedroz³ apparently have adopted this misnomer from the British Museum catalogue (Supp. 550 Rieu., p. 342). Md. Iqbal also has misquoted it in a footnote of the preface to Raḥtus Şudur.⁴

The real contemporary record is the History of Ibnul Qalanisi (Abū Ya'la Ḥamza b Aʿad, d. 555/1160) known as the Continuation of the History of Damascus.⁵ The main portions of this valuable source relating to the Crusades have been recently translated by Professor H. A. R. Gibb, with a very illuminating introduction and

¹ اخبار الدولة السلجوقية للمصدر الكبير العالم صدر الدين
ابى (sic) الحسن على بن السيد الامام الشهيد ابى
(sic) الفوارس ناصر بن على الحسيني رحمهما الله تعالى

² p. 29.

³ pp. 8, 22, 129.

⁴ p. 11, footnote 2.

⁵ Dhail TarikJii Dimashq.

with notes.¹ The work, as its name implies, is mainly concerned with the affairs of Damascus rather than those of Baghdād and Isfahān. Nevertheless, it throws an interesting sidelight on the prevailing conditions of the time. Besides, there are lengthy incidental passages directly dealing with some of the important events of the period. Furthermore, the value of the work has been enhanced by subsequent additions from the histories of Ibnul Arzaq al-Fariqi, Sibṭ Ibnu'l Jawzi and Hāfiz Dhahabī by the editor Amedroz.

Many scattered items of information may also be gleaned from the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux, Sources Arabes*, Vol. III. Most of the information is necessarily abrupt and incomplete, as the work is concerned with the Crusades alone.

Some valuable references may be drawn from the *Mirror of Time*² of Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzi (Sham-suddin Abul Muẓaffar Yusuf b Qizughlū b 'Abdu'l-lāh, d. 655/1257). The work is preserved in various manuscripts covering the years 440 A.H. and onwards in different libraries. But the Yale 138 Mukhtsar covering the years 495-645 A.3. belongs to a different recension. From the rest. It is available in the facsimile edition of Dr. J. K. Jewett with a short introduction.

¹ The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades.

² *Mir'atuz Zamān*,

Ibn Khaldun (Waliuddīn Abū Zaid 'Abdu'r Barmān al-Haḍaramī al-Maghribī d. 808/1406) is **more** famous for his Prolegomena¹ than for his voluminous general history.² He was a real historical philosopher. But as a historian he is pedantic, inaccurate and insufficient on matters of detail. He does not seem to practise the canons of historical writing which he puts forward in his Prolegomena. Hence only little attention is devoted to his variance from other sources in this study.

Varied and valuable details may be gleaned from the famous Biographical Dictionary³ of Ibn Khallikan (Shamsuddin Abul 'Abbas Aḥmad b Md., d. 681/1282). Though he has only slightly treated the lives of Barkiyāruq and Md., the biographies of Malikshah and Sanjar are furnished with many details in his work. To English readers this Dictionary is accessible in the excellent translation of Baron M. de Slane. The work is not entirely devoted to biographical studies^ but also includes statements on other subjects of interest, such as the Muslim Educational System of that period, as can be seen from the index at the end of the translation. The work is, in fact, of an encyclopaedic character.

¹ Muqaddimah.

² Al-'Ibar wad-Diwan al-Mubtada wai-Khabar, etc.

³ Wafayatu'l A'yan.

Ghazali's (Abu Hamid Md. b Md., d. 505/111.) *Revivification of Religious Sciences*,¹ especially the chapter on the Government of the Sultāns (Idārāt al-Salātīn) being the contemporary record of a man who took part in politics, throws an interesting sidelight on the chaotic conditions of the time. Disgusted with the corrupt and oppressive government of the time, Ghazālī retired from active life and completely dissociated himself from worldly affairs in 488/1095-6. He then proceeded to Syria and composed this famous book in the course of his journey.² The book truly reflects the bent of his mind at that time. He advocates a policy of passive non-co-operation with the régime of the day; declaring, as a jurist (Sharia lawyer), all sorts of social intercourse and business transactions with the officers of the government illegal (ḥarām),³ in order to bring moral pressure to bear upon them. But at the same time he considers government by force as a necessary evil, and does not advise open insurrection against the established authority.⁴

The *Solace of Hearts and Token of Joy*⁵ of Rāwāndī (Abū Bakr Md. b 'Alī, d. 599/1202-3) is chiefly a monograph on the Saljuqs, though it contains other extraneous materials, such as proverbs,

¹ *Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.

² I. A. x. 104 (Ibn al-Athīr).

³ *Iḥya* I I, 120, 122, 132.

⁴ *Ibid*, 124.

⁵ *Eahtus Sudur wa Ayatus Surur*.

poems and similar subjects. The author's knowledge of this period is of a secondary nature and he appears to have drawn freely from the *Saljūqnama* of Zahiruddin Nishapuri. Moreover, this period is treated very briefly and in an uninteresting way. Although *zahir*'s book has not come down to us, the later historians, IJamdu'llah Mustawfi and Hafiz Abru have used it as an authentic historical source. M. Blochet is of the opinion that Mustawfi and *Mīrkhwān* directly copied from the *Solace of Hearts*. But I prefer the reasoning of Md. Iqbal* that as these two authors have not mentioned the name of this book in the prefaces of their respective works, they must have used it indirectly. Again, both the *Cream of Chronicles*² of Hafiz Abru and the *Select History*³ of Mustawfi were used by the authors of the *Garden of Purity*,⁴ the *Friend of Biographies* and the *History of Thousand Years*.⁵ Md Iqbal quotes literally from the *Solace of Hearts* and the *Select History* and the *Friend . of Biographies*/⁵ The anonymous compendium on the *Saljūq History* which appears at the end of the Paris manuscript of the *History of the World Conqueror*⁷ in the Bibliothéque Nationale

¹ Preface to *Raḥtus ṣudūr*, pp. 28-31.

² *Zubdatu't Tawārikh*.

³ *Tawārikh-i-Gazidah*.

⁴ *Bauḍatu's Safa*.

⁵ *Tārikjji Alfī*.

⁶ *Habību's Siyar*.

⁷ *Tāriyji Jalāngushay*.

(Supplement Persian, 1556), the Abridgment called al 'Urada fil Hikayatis Saljuqiyah by Md. b 'Abdullah b Nizām al Husaini al Yazdi (d. 743/1342-3), the section of the Saljūqs in the great Jami'ut Tawārīkh of Eashīduddin Paḍlullāh, the portion incorporated into the Turkish history Tawārīkh-i-Āli Saljūq are directly drawn from Kahtus Šudūr; Qāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī (16th century A.D.) might have used it in compiling his Tārīkh-i-Jahān Ara.

Professor Vuller's edition of Mīrkhwānd, named Mirchondi Historia Seldschukidarum,¹ adds to our knowledge of the subject by confirming various facts. On the other hand, its value as a source must not be exaggerated, as the author himself only used the earlier authorities.

In his Four Discourses² on secretaries, poets, astrologers and physicians Nizāmi 'Arudi Sainarqandi (Abul ftasan Aḥmad b 'Umar b 'Ali, 12th century) relates some stories about the Saljūqs.

Md 'Awfi (13th century), in his Lubabul Albāb, quotes some panegyric poems on Malikshah and Sulṭān Sanjar, but there is nothing to be found in it as regards the period under review. Such is also the case with the poetical work³ of Tughra'i (Mua'yyiduddin Husain b Ali, d. 514/1120). As a contemporary poet and as a wazīr it would appear

¹ Saljuquid portion of Raudatu's Safa.

² Chabar Maqalab.

³ Diwan.

at first sight that the reader might expect to find some penetrating passages indirectly touching upon the history of this period. On closer study the reader's efforts are only rewarded with disappointment, since Tugbra'îs work is merely a series of panegyrics on Nizāmulumk, Mu'ayyidu'lmulk, Majdu'lmulk, Mu'inu'lmulk and Tāju'lmulk in absurd terms and humiliating flattery.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EVENTS

- 485/1092 Deaths of Nizām-al-Mulk and Malik-shah. Turkān Khātūn has Maḥmūd proclaimed as Sulṭān. Battle between Barkiyāruq and Turkān and subsequent compromise. Kliafājite raid on pilgrims at Kūfa. Great fire at Baghḍād.
- 486/1093 Battle between Barkiyāruq and Ismā'il b. YaqutI; Ismā'il b" Yaquti defeated by Barkiyāruq. His proposed marriage with Turkān and subsequent death. Murder of Tāj-al-Mulk—ministry of 'Izz-al-Mulk. Second compromise between Turkān and Barkiyāruq. Tutuṣh rebels against Barkiyāruq. Battle of Muḍayya' and capture of Mawṣil from the Arabs. Tutuṣb captures Diyar Bakr and Adharbaijān and returns to Syria. Ardshir, the 'Ibadi preacher, comes to Baghḍad, and is ordered to leave the city. Eiot at Baghḍad, Karkh and the •Baṣrah Gate. Barkiyāruq enters Baghḍad with Sadaqa and 'Izz-al-Mulk. Birth of Mustarshid-billah. Execution of Yalbard. Pilgrims harassed near Mecca.
- 487/1094 Khutbāb in Barkiyāruq's name. Death

of Caliph Muqtadi, accession of Mustazhir. Tutush defeats Aqsunqur and Būzān near Sabatin and executes them. He gains a second victory near Irbil; Khutbah recited for him at Baghdad. Death of Turkān Khātūn. Maḥmūd welcomes fugitive Barkiyāruq at Isfahān. Death of Maḥmūd from smallpox. Barkiyāruq sole Sultān. Execution of Tukush with his son. Battle between Unar and Turanshah. Burning of the Baṣrah Gate. Earthquake in Syria. Riot between the inhabitants of Nahr Tabiq and Bāb-al-Arja. Occupation of Mecca by Isbabadh b Sautakin, its recapture by Amīr Qasim. Mu'ayyid-al-Mulk appointed Wazīr.

488/1095 Death of Afcmad Khān of Samarqand. Expedition of Yūsuf b Abiq to Baghdād as Shihnāh. Battle of Rayy between Barkiyāruq and Tutush; death of Tutush. Fakhr-al-Mulk appointed Wazīr in place of Mu'ayyid. Barkiyāruq wounded by a Bātinī. Riot at Nishapur. Death of Abu Shuja', the Wazir of the Caliph. Rudwan occupies Aleppo and Duqāq Damascus.

489/1096 Deaths of Yūsuf b Abiq and Majan 9alabL Death of Mansūr b Marwān, Wāh of Diyār Bakr. Occupation of

Mawṣil by Karbūqa. Khafājite raid on the province of ṣadaqah and depredations at Karbala. The great flood near Mecca,

- 490/1096-7 Barkiyāruq's expedition to Khurāsān and assassination of Arslān Arghūn. Barkiyāruq appoints Sanjar as Wālī of Khurāsān. Revolt of Amīr Amīrān in Khurāsān. Revolt of Yāruqtāsh and Qudan. Beginning of the reign of Md. b Khwarazmshāh. Battle between Rudwan and Duqaq. Khutbah in Egyptian anti-Caliph's name within Rudwān's province. Riot in Khurasan between the inhabitants of Sabzawar and Khusragird. Murder of Bursuq, the first Shiḥoah of Baghdad.
- 491/1097-8 Franks invade Syria and Mesopotamia and capture Antioch and Edessa. Battle between Sanjar and Daulatshāh in Khurasan. Caliph's deputation to Barkiyaruq regarding the Crusaders.
- 492/1098-9 Revolt and death of Unar. Capture of Jerusalem by the Franks. Battle between the Egyptians and the Franks. Activities of Md. b Malikshah. Khutbah at Baghdad in his name. Murder of Majd-al-Mulk Balasani. Barkiyaruq's letter to the Caliph. Famine in Khurasan.

493/1099- Restoration of Khuṭbah at Baghdād in
 1100 Barkiyāruq's name. First battle between Barkiyāruq and Md. Barkiyāruq's defeat; Khuṭbah at Baghdād in Md.'s name; death of Kūharāin. Defeat of Barkiyāruq by Sanjar; death of Amīrdad. Dismissal and death of 'Amid-al-Daulah b Jahlr, Waḏlr of the Caliph. Bohemond captured by Ibn Danīshmand. Disorder at Baghdād. Famine in 'Irāq. Bohemond of Antioch besieges Afamia. Murder of Bulkabak.

494/1100-1 Second battle between Barkiyāruq and Md., the latter defeated; execution of Mu'ayyid-al-Mulk. Md. meets Sanjar, Barkiyāruq's arrival at Baghdād. Revolt of Ṣadaqah against Barkiyāruq. Md.'s arrival at Baghdād and Barkiyāruq's departure. Massacre and persecution of the Batīnīs throughout the Empire. Battle between Duqaq and Baldwin. Battle between Suqmn and the Franks. The occupation of Sarūj, Haifa, Arsuf and Qaisariyah by the Franks.

495/110 L-2 Death of Must'ali, the Fatimid Caliph. Third battle between Barkiyāruq and Md. Fourth battle after violation of the treaty. Barkiyāruq besieges Md.

at Isfahān. . Murder of 'Abd-al-Jalīl Dihistanī, Wazīr of Barkiyāruq, and appointment of Khatīr Ābu Maṣṣūr. Biot between the 'Askar of Ilghāzī and the public of Baghdād. Wali of Baṣrah marches to Wāsit. Death of Karbūqā ; Mawṣil occupied by the Turkman Mūsā and then by Jakarinīsh. Suqmān occupies IJisn Kaifa. Siege of Tripoli by Crusaders. Bestoration of the fort of Khaftidhkan to Ṣarkhāb. Death of Qadir Khān of Samarqand. Abu'l Ma'ālī appointed Wazīr of the Caliph. Construction of Ḥillah. Murder of the Qaḍī of the tribe of Babi' at Hīt.

496/1102-3 Bayy under Yanāl; his expulsion from it and arrival at Baghdād. Arrival of Qumushtakīn as Shiḥnah of Baghdād riots between him and Ilghāzī and between Suqmān and Ṣadaqah. Ṣadaqah occupies Hīt. Fifth bittle between Barkiayruq and Md. Dismissal and detention of Sadid-al-Mulk, Wazir of the Caliph, and Abu Sa'd Ibn-al-Musallayā officiates for him. Duḡaq occupies Baḥba. Battle between the Egyptians and the Pranks. Death of the Sultanah Tughrih Bevolt of Saghirbeg in

Transoxania. Abūl Qasim b Jabir appointed Wazir of the Caliph.

497/1103-4 Balak b Bahrām occupies 'JLnab. Treaty between Barkiyāruq and Md. Suqmān and Jakarmish wage war against the Franks. Death of Duqāq and the reign of his son. Sadaqah occupies Waṣit. Dismissal of Tughraī Wazir of Sanjar. Riots at Baghdad. Buzghush's campaign against the Ismā'īlis.

498/1204-5 Death of Barkiyāruq; Khuṭbāh in the name of Malikshah b Barkiyāruq. Md. besieges Jakarmish at Mawṣil; his arrival at Baghdād; makes peace with his nephew and Ayāz. Deaths of Ayāz and Suqmān. Bātinī depredations in Khurāsān. Battle between the Muslims and the Franks. Battle between the Franks and the Egyptians. Turkmen ravages in Tarlq Khurāsān in 'Irāq; jBalak b Bahrām appointed special police officer. Āqsunuqur Bursuql appointed Shih nab of 'Irāq, Kūfa given to Qimazasfief. Sultan Md.'s arrival at Isfahān. Small-pox in Iraq followed by epidemic of cholera.

499/1105-6 Revolt of Mankubars and the false prophet at Nihāwand. Battle between Tughtakīn and the Franks, Tribal battle

between the 'Abādites and the Khafajites. Occupation of Basrah by Sadaqah. Rudwan besieges Nasibln and returns. Tughtakin occupies Busra. Frankish occupation of Afāmiyah. Sack of Baṣrah by the Arabs, Arrival of a prince of Morocco at Baghdād. Qilij Arslān marches to Ruha against the Pranks, occupies Harrañ, falls ill and returns to Malatiah.

500/1106-7 Murder of Fakhr-al-Mulk b Nizam-al-Mulk. Sadaqah occupies Takrit. Battle between the 'Abādites and the Khafajites. Jāwalī Saqawa marches to Mawṣil, takes Jakarmish captive, besieges Mawṣil; death of Jakarmish. Qilij Arslān occupies Mawṣil; his death; Jāwalī occupies Mawṣil. Persecution of the Bātinīs. Rupture between Ṣadaqa and Muḥadhḥib-al-Daula of Baṭiḥa. Execution of Sa'd-al-Mulk and ministry of Aḥmad b Niẓam-al-Mulk. Dismissal of Abul Qasim 'Ali b Jahir, Caliph's Wazir; Abul Iḥsan b Damaghānī officiates; Abul Ma'ali Hibatallah appointed Wazir. Death of Sarkhab b Badr.

501/1107-8 Death of Sadaqah and Tamīm b al-Mu'izz. Arrival of Ibn 'Ammār at Baghdād. Abolition of customs duties. Qadi

Abū'l 'Abbās appointed Muḥtasib of Baghdād. Eeturn of Sabawa. Fire of Kharabah-ibn-Jardah. Md. left Baghdād for Isfahān. Suspension of Caliph's Wazir, Frankish attack on Tyre and Saida.

502/1108-9 Maudūd occupies Mawṣil; departure of Jāwalī; Count of Euha set free. Battle between Jāwalī and the Franks. Jāwalī returns to Md. Battle between Tugh-takīn and the Franks; the armistice. Tugh-takīn routed by the Franks. Eeconciliation between the Shi'as and Sunnis of Baghdād. Eeturn of Manṣūr b Ṣadaqah. Flood and famine in 'Iraq. Dismissal of Caliph's Wazir; ministry of Abul Qasim b Jahlr. Betrothal of Md.'s sister to Mustazbir. Ḥillah given to Said b Hamid 'Umari. Suqmnān Quṭbī occupies Mayāfariqīh. Murders of Qaḍis of Isfahān and Nīshāpūr.

503/1109-10 Frankish occupation of Tripoli, Beirut, Jubail and Banayas. Battle between Md. Khān and Ṣaghirbeg. Expedition against Alamūt. Md.'s arrival at and depature from Baghdād. Dismissal of Caliph's Wazir; ministry of Ibn Jahlr. Death of Ibrāhīm Yanāl of 'Amid.

- 504/1110-1 Franks occupy Saida and Atharib. Dismissal of Aḥmad b Nizam-al-Mulk; ministry of Khaṭīr. Byzantine Embassy to Sulṭān. Celebration of Caliph's marriage with Md.'s sister.
- 505/1111-2 Expedition against Franks. Franks besiege Tyre. Death of Imām Ghazāl.
- 506/1112-3 Maudūd marches to Kuha and Sarūj, encounters Franks. Md. leaves Bagḥdad for Isfahān. Arrest of Abu Sa'd of Qum. Death of Quraja of Hims.
- 507/1113-4 Defeat of Franks ; death of Maudūd. Quarrel between Sanjar and Md. Khān ; a compromise reached. Damscus caravan to Egypt looted by Franks. Death of Caliph's Wazīr, Ibn Jabīr; ministry of Rabīb Abu Maṣṣūr. Death of Ruḍwān ; succeeded by his son Alp Arslān, the Dumb; regency of Lulu. Bātinī persecution.
- 508/1114-5 Aqsunqur marches to Syria; submission of Marash to him. Battle between Aqsunqur and Ilghāzī; latter taken captive. Death of 'Ala-al-Daulah of Ghaznah ; succession of his son; Sanjar's intervention. Earthquake. Death of Alp Arslān b Ruḍwān, succeeded by his brother, Sultānshah.

xxxviii CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EVENTS

- 509/1115-6 Franks defeat Sudān's army, occupy Rafaniyah; its recapture. Arrival of Md. at Baghdād; reconciliation with Tughtakīn. Eiot at Baghdad; Mawṣil given to Juyūshbeg.
- 510/1116-7 Jā wall Saḡawa and Jaghrī b Md. sent to Fars ; their deaths. Riot of Tus. Fire of Baghdād.
- 511/1117-8 Death of Sultan Md.; accession of his son Maḥmūd.
-

PART I

Institutions of the Saljuqid Empire

CHAPTER I

THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE COURT ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

The circumstances which led to the gradual decline and ultimate downfall of the Saljūqid empire were numerous. The factious relations between the members of the royal family, the unruly behaviour of the princes and the governors of provinces, the policy of ruthless intrigue which characterised the activities of the strong women at the Sulṭān's court,—all these were important factors in the impending tragedy of the Saljūqs.

Under the Saljūqids, the head of the ruling family alone was given the title of Sulṭān and the honour of ' five bands ' (Panj Naubat), while the vassal Saljūqids were called Maliks (kings) and had the honour of only ' three bands ' as we learn from the terms of the treaty between Barkiyaruq and Muhammad.¹ This fact is further

2 INSTITUTIONS OF THE SALJŪQID EMPIRE

proved by the text of the treaty between Bahrāmshah and Sanjar where Sanjar was designated as Malik and Bahramshah as Sultan in accordance with the custom of the latter's ancestors, although Sanjar became the liege-Jord of Bahrāmbāh by the provisions of the treaty.¹ So when Ibn-al-Athlir, looking back from a much later period, speaks of this as "a strange thing to hear," he of course forgets that Muḥammad being the legal Sultān, Sanjar could not possibly arrogate to himself this title merely because he had conquered the kingdom of Ghaznah which had never before been under the Saljūqid sovereignty, even in the palmy days of Malikshah.² Much confusion can be avoided by keeping this conception constantly in mind while reading the Saljūqid history, as the chroniclers frequently make use of the words Sultan and Malik indiscriminately.³ This lack of discrimination, though excusable as a figurative literary expression or as a matter of courtesy, may easily lead astray the reader who is not careful to guard himself against accepting it as a historical statement.⁴

¹ I. A., 213.

² *Ibid*, 214.

³ *Ibid*, 115, 137, 138. I. Q., 168, 127. (Ibn al-Qalanisi.)

⁴ The Saljūqiris of Rūm had already in the time of Malikshah adopted the style of Sultān, at first possibly only as courtesy title, though later on it was held to imply their independence, I. Q , 117,157, 158, from Fariqi.

Taking the view that the unity of the State was sufficiently preserved by the nominal headship of the Caliph, the Saljiqid princes regarded the empire entrusted to the Sultān as their ancestral estate, to be divided among themselves in accordance with the law of inheritance after their fathers' demise. This idea is betrayed by the two compromises between Barkiyāruq and Turkān Khātūn; under the first one Barkiyāruq received 500,000 dinars on account of the legacy of his father through the intermediary of Amir Bulkābak Unar.¹ Under the second compromise, the condominium of Barkiyāruq over those provinces from which his authority was already excluded was acknowledged by Turkān on behalf of her infant son Maḥmūd.² The statement is further supported by the terms of the treaties between Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad, by which the empire was practically divided between the brothers, only reserving for Barkiyāruq the nominal title of Sultan.³ Furthermore, the lesser Saljiqid princes were sometimes termed amirs, as can be seen from the genealogical table of the Rabat al-Ṣudūr.⁴ The word amir strictly meant the head of the military forces, while the word wali implied the civil

¹ Bawandī, 141. According to Yazdī (p. 74) through Abul Ghana'im and Mazd al-Mulk.

² I. Q., 127.

³ I. A., 137.

⁴ Rawandī, 85.

administrator of a province. But the offices were often combined in the same person.¹ All the princes of the royal blood had to be provided with some fief (iqfa'). That this was regarded as a right can be inferred from the unsuccessful revolts of Arslān Arghūn and Mankubars. The former solicited Khurāsān from Barkiyāruq as his fief² and the latter finding his income insufficient for his needs had no alternative but to revolt and claim the Sultanate in the hope of getting some fief.³ The son of Takasb also quarrelled on this point with Sultān Md. and fled to Kucjiwan's son at Aleppo, whence he went to Tancred, Lord of Antioch, and finally to Egypt where he was cordially received and assigned revenues to ensure him a comfortable existence.⁴

The provincial fief-holders were expected to pay a fixed annuity to the central government and to rally round the banner of the Sultān with their own troops fully equipped in times of war.⁶ They, in their turn, sometime? appointed subordinate fief-holders independently of the Sultān, as the custom of tax-farming was rampant in all parts of the empire. As a concrete example, the renting 'out of Wasit by Sadaqah to Muhaddhib al-Daulah

¹ Nizam al-Mulk, 43. I. Q., 144, 84, 91.

² L A., 108.

³ *Ibid*, 166.

⁴ Gibb. 131, 143. I. Q., 183, 189.

⁵ I.A., 176, 192, 142, 127,

of Batihah for 50,000 dinars for about three months only, may be mentioned here. Mubadh-dhib on his part again rented it to his descendants and friends who rack-rented the inhabitants.¹ Where the subordinate fief-holders were unable to meet the conditions imposed upon them, the principal fief-holder frequently administered their fiefs directly through a deputy.²

The institution of the Atābegate which was peculiar to the Saljūqid system of administration was a necessary corollary to the conception of the empire as a paternal property. Each prince of the blood-royal was placed under the care of a Turkish general. During his infancy the Atābeg acted as his regent, and after his father's death his mother married, as a matter of course, the prominent Atābeg who in his turn sometimes gave one of his daughters in marriage to his ward. This is clearly exemplified by the relations of Tughtakīn and Duqāq and Janāḥ al-Daulah and Rudwan after the death of Tutush.³ Similarly Qumuṣhtakīn Jāndār was appointed Atābeg of Barkiyāruq⁴ who at the time of his death appointed Amīr Ayāz Atābeg of his infant son Malikshāh,

¹ I. A. 157, 182.

² *E.g.*, Sacliqa's cousin Thabit b Kāmil was his deputy at Hīt. I. A. 150. Ismail was Qimaj's deputy at Basrab. *Ibid*, 141.

³ I. A., 102.

⁴ Bundari 77, Yazdi73.

who was nominated heir-apparent.¹ This system of the Atābegate had a detrimental effect on the imperial structure as it turned the princes into mere puppets in the hands of the adventurous Amīrs, as was the case of Jagbrī b Sultan Muḥammad and Jāwalī. The latter taught the former, a boy of two, to utter the words 'arrest him' in Persian and made use of this royal command to capture his political opponent.² On the other hand, sometimes the more virile wards even fell out with their Atābegs and put them to death if such an outrage was possible. Sultān Muḥammad put to death Qutlaghtakīn, his own Atabeg.³ Janah al-Daulah was assassinated at the instigation of Rucjwān, his ward, after he had separated from Rudwān and occupied Hims on his own account.⁴

The Atābegate system was moreover responsible for the investiture of several Saljūqid slaves with kingships if their wards suffered premature death.⁵ The Atābegs were the real rulers and their wards were so many figureheads. Nay, often an Atābeg deposed one prince and promoted another in order

¹ I. A., 158, I.Q. Isl. Duqaq and Tughtakin, Duqaq's son, 144.

² I. A., 217, 211. Similar was the case of Mas'ūd b MLd who was placed under the care of Aqsunqur al Bursuqi.

³ *Ibid*, 199.

⁴ I. Q., 133, 142.

⁵ Gibb., 26, I.Q., 145.

to safeguard his own interests, as he naturally preferred the weak one over whom he could exercise his absolute authority to the strong one who might be a constant danger to his autocracy. An instance of these political manoeuvres occurred after the death of Malik Duqfiq when his Atābeg Tughtakīn made on 12 Hamaḍm 497/1104 his one-year-old son Tutush Malik. Then he deposed him and proclaimed Bektāsh¹ b Tutush, a boy of twelve, Malik. But later, perhaps finding some opposition in him, he got rid of Bektāsh by ruse and reinstated the infant of Duqaq as Malik.² This kind of diarchy was one of the most potent factors in the political disintegration of the Saljūqid empire, as it gradually substituted for the element of unity supplied by the family ties with the central government a large number of disconnected and often hostile dynasties. Thus, to quote Gibbon's expressive description of a lamentable situation "a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet."³

The Saljūqid Sulṭāns seem to have carried their treasures with them wherever they happened to go,

¹ According to I. Q. 145, Irtash, whosi mother was responsible for frightening hitn regarding the ill iotention of Tughtakīn and Saf wat al-Mulk. This is' also the second version of I. A. The enemies of Tughtakīn also had a share in this affair.

² I. A., 157.

³ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 24.

and the Court also, generally speaking, used to follow them on their journeys. For, the Saljūqids retained from their former nomadic ways a distaste for settled life. This can be illustrated by the fact that Turbīm Khātūn seized the entire imperial treasury on the death of Malikshāh to the exclusion of his four sons.¹ Again, on the death of Barkiyāruq at Burugird, on his way to Baghdād from Isfahān, Amīr Ayāz took possession of the imperial paraphernalia and treasure in the name anī on behalf of Barkiyāruq's infant son Malikshāh, who succeeded his father under the Atābegate of Ayāz.² This appears to have been the custom of the Amīrs and Walis as well, although some recorded cases could be found where the treasure was deposited in strong castles and forts for safe custody.³ The latter was more in consonance with the tactics of the Bātinī chiefs, as many of the mountain fortresses of the empire were occupied by them either by force or fraud.⁴

The intervention of women in political disputes is a striking feature of the Saljūqid state. Their

¹ i. A., 87.

³ Ibid, 158.

³ Ibid, 89. Sarkhāb b Badr k-pt his treasures worth 2,000,000 dinārs in the fort of Khaftidhkan, I. A., 144. In the fort of Takrit which belonged to* Bani Muqan, a subtribe of the 'Uqailid, there were 500,000 dinārs excluding jewellery. I. A., 175.

⁴ 'I. A., 131, where a detailed description is given.

political status was almost **similar** to that of men, as can be shown by the importance attached to matrimonial alliances between the political leaders of the time,¹ Their intrigue and influence, therefore, are of considerable importance in appreciating the decline and subsequent downfall of the Saljūqid empire. Turkān Khātūn, the favourite wife of Malikshah, known as the 'glorified lady'² was the most prominent female figure in the civil war following the death of Malikshah. She was powerful in the administration even during the lifetime of Malikshah.³ She and her steward, Tāj-al-Mulk were responsible for poisoning the mind of Malikshah against his wazir, Niẓām-al-Mulk. A few weeks later, on the sudden death of Malikshah at Baghdād, she kept

¹ *E.g.*, marriages between Tughril and Caliph Qāim's daughter (I. A., 153), Mahmalik and Caliph Muqtadi (Yazdi, 73), (Rawandī, 140), Molikshah's daughter and Mustazhir (I. A., 204) (J. Q., 173). Hammād and daughter of MuḥadMhib (I. A., 183), sister of Barkiyāruq and Naṣr, prince of Ghuznah (I. A., 212, 213), Budran b Sa'iaqah and daughter of Muḥadhdhib (I. A., 182), Yāghis-iyān's daughter and Rudwān (I. Q., 189), daughter of Jakarmish and Ibli b Arslan Tāsh (I. A., 169), King of Samarqand and sister of Malikshah (I. Q., 120), daughter of Khlr Khan and Ayaz b Ilghazi. (I. A., 212) Ibn Takash and Ilghāzī's daughter (I. A., 146), Yanal and Ilghāzī's sister, widow of Tutush (I. A., 147), Sultan Md. and Ismail b Yaqtī's daughter (I. A., 150).

² Khātūn Jalājiya (I. A., 87).

³ Bundāri, 76.

the news concealed and took advantage of her Turkish origin in securing through bribery, the allegiance of the army for her infant son Mahmūd.¹ She was the first person to sow the seed of civil war among the sons of Malikshah by raising her son to the Sultanate without having the slightest regard for the rightful claim of Barkiyāruq, the eldest surviving son, the support of whose claim proved fatal to Nizām-al-Mulk.² Turkān calmly disregarded the legal opinion of Ghazālī, the most prominent jurist of the age.³ She cowed down the unwilling Caliph Muqtadi by the threat of declaring his son Ja'far by Mah Malik Kharūn, daughter⁴ of Malikshah, Caliph at Isfahan. The reluctant Caliph negotiated in vain with her to keep the Khutbah in his own name. At last he had to give way and on Friday, 22 Shawwāl 485-1092, the Khutbah was recited in the name of Mahmūd, then aged four only, under the high-sounding title of the 'Helper of the World and Religion.'⁵ She further managed to have the Khutbah recited in the name of the infant Mahmūd at the holy cities

¹ I.A., 87, 99, Bunrful, 76.

² Yuzdī, 71.

³ I.A., 88.

⁴ *Ibid*, 87, 90, 94. But in Rāwandī 140, Yazdī 73 and Tarikh-i-Guzidah 449, it is clearly written as the sister of Malikshah. Besides, the disparity of age lends support to the Persian historians.

⁵ I.A., 88. Nasir al-Dunyā wal-Din,

of Mecca and Medina in order to give the investiture full legal sanction.¹

She immediately dispatched Qiwaṃ-al-Daulah Karbūqa to Isfahān to take charge of its fort on the authority of a forged order from the dead Sultān.² Then she sent troops to capture Barkiyāruq lest he should oppose the Sultanate of her son ;⁸ and she herself also set out for Isfahān with the corpse of Malikshāh in a litter. Ibn al-Aṭṭfr justly laments the death of Malikshāh in this connection by saying : " There is no parallel to the case of a Sultān like him, over whom nobody prayed and for whom no one mourned." ⁴

She now actively incited Isma'īl b Yāqūtl, the maternal uncle of Barkiyāruq, to revolt, by promise of marriage. But her tactics fell through as Isma-'-Jl was defeated in a battle near Karāj at the end of 486/1093. Ismail retreated to Isfahān where he was cordially received by Turkan who inserted his name in the Khutbah and coins after that of her son.⁵ The proposed marriage was about to take place when the amirs, especially Unar, the military and administrative head of the government, vehemently opposed the union. The amirs did not trust him ; he on his part was suspicious of them. The mutual mistrust led Isma'īl

¹ I. A., 88.

² *Ibid*, 87.

³ *Ibid*, 89.

⁴ *Ibid*, 87.

⁵ *Ibid*, 92.

12 INSTITUTIONS OF THE SALJUQID EMPIRE

to seek refuge with his sister, Zubaidah Khatun, mother of Barkiyāruq. The sister readily complied with the request and Isma'il came over to Barkiyāruq's camp. But the lust of power and position infused in him by the ambitious Turkān did not easily desert him- Being suspected of political intrigue against Barkiyāruq's life, he was put to death by Kumush, Aqsunqur and Buzan.¹

Turkān was too clever and cunning to despair of her projected plan. Deprived of her long cherished union with Isma'il, by the interference of overbearing amīrs, she came to terms with Barkiyāruq. Under cover of this false settlement, she was actually engaged in conspiracy and alliance with Tutush, the formidable enemy of Barkiyāruq. As the first step in her secret plot, she marched with her troops from Isfahān to meet him. But she fell seriously ill on the way and returned to Isfahān, where she died in Ramaḍān 487/1094.² Browne³ and Sykes⁴ state that she was put to death by Barkiyāruq. It appears, however, from a closer study of the sources, that there is no justification for this assumption. Turkān died a natural though sudden, and hence suspicious, death.

¹ I.A., 93.

² I.Q., 127.1.A. 99.

³ Vol. 2, p. 301.

⁴ Vol. 2, p. 40.

Her mercenary troops and bribed amirs fell out amongst themselves. Some of them joined Barki-yāruq, while others went over to Tutush.¹ Thus ended the chequered life of that charming singing girl by whose dazzling beauty and ready wit Malikshab had been captivated.² In fine, her short career as a regent-mother after the death of Malikshah was filled with insatiable ambition and vile political intrigue.

The case of Turkān Khātūn was by no means isolated, and the pages to the chronicle contain many references of the political activities of other women in high stations. Nay, even the non-Saljuqid ladies actively associated themselves with politics, perhaps in imitation of their Turkish comrades. The recorded instance of this kind, of a wife's political intrigue is that of Sultana Tughril, daughter of the late Caliph Qaim. In spite of all her piety and charity she was not free from the common political bias of the Saljuqid Sultanas. Being suspected of the conspiracy against the Caliphate of Mustazhir Billah, she was confined to her palace, where she died on 6 Mufoarram 496/1101.³

We even find women holding the important office of fief-holders and taking an active *pant* in battlefields. Şafia Khātūn, wife of Sharaf-al-Daulah and aunt of Malikshah, was the heroine of

¹ I.Q., 127.

² Wafāyāt., Eng. Tran., Vol. III, p. 444.

³ I.A., 153.

the Saljūqid race. Malikshāh gave her Balad as fief, but after the death of Malikshāh she occupied Mawṣil also with her son 'Ali, who was contested by her stepson Muḥammad. After the death of her first husband, Sharaf-al-Daulah, she married his brother Ibrahim, to whom she handed over Mawṣil after winning the battle near Kanasa in 486/1093. A few months after, when Tutush conquered it from Ibrāhim, he appointed both 'Ali and his mother ' jointly as his walis in Mawsil after the battle of Mudayya.' ¹

The daughter of Bursuq and wife of Jāwali Saqāwa was another tyrant who employed all her courage and heroism to terrorise her subjects. When Sulṭān Muḥammad's army under Maudūd besieged Mawṣil, Jāwali went out of the city, leaving his wife as the governor of the citadel with 1,500 Turkish cavalry, besides infantry and others, in Eamaḍān 501/1108. But owing to her oppression and exaction, the residents mutinied against her and despite all her efforts to retain it, surrendered the citadel to Maudūd. As an administrator she was, no doubt, a failure, but as a diplomat she succeeded after eight days' negotiations with Maudūd, in obtaining permission to go to her brother Bursuq with all her belongings, under the protection of Maudūd a very rare thing in those rough days,² as we,

¹ I. A., 91,

² *Ibid*, 193.

frequently find that those who took too prominent a place in political life were given short shrift by their opponents.

We sometimes find women acting as envoys, as was the case of Barkiyāruq's sister who was married to Naʿr, the brother of 'Ala al-Daulah, the Sultān of Ghaznah. 'Ala al-Daulah put his brother to death, prohibited his widow, perhaps owing to her political activities, from leaving Ghaznah, and later married her. When after the death of 'Ala al-Daulah, Sanjar was championing the cause of Bahrāmshāh against his brother Arslānshāh, the latter commissioned her with 200,000 dinars and many presents to Sanjar to secure the surrender of Bahrāmshāh. But she proved a dangerous weapon and actually turned into a spy of Sanjar by revealing to him the weak points of Arslānshāh and exciting him to war. She was so spiteful that she took revenge on the son for the grudge she bore to the father.¹

Another intriguing and ambitious Saljūqid lady was the widow of Tutush, who married Janāk al-Daulah, the Atābeg of her son Kudwāry². Mention may be made also of Safwat al-Mulk, mother of Duqāq who married Tughtakln, the Atābeg of her son, after the death of Tutush, her husband ; she also played a prominent part in the

¹ I. A., 212, 213.

² I. Q , 138. I. A , 102. I. Q , 190. Later she joined Tughtakln.

political field.¹ The wife of Urtuq combined in her person both diplomacy and military spirit. She freed her grandson Yāqūtī from captivity by her representations to Karbūqā and later, when he was killed by an arrow-shot from the army of Jakarmish, she rallied the Turkmens round her son Suqman to seek revenge for her grandson. But Suqman was bought off by Jakarmish and it was proclaimed by Suqman " that Yaquti was killed in the battle and his killer is not identifiable." ' ' ² Zubaidah Khatun, mother of Barkiyaruq, also took part in politics. After the conquest of Khurasan, she took charge of the seven-year-old son of Arslan Arghun and appointed his caretaker.³ She was instrumental in dismissing Muayyid-al-Mulk, the most competent wazir of Barkiyaruq⁴ who, however, took full revenge by strangling her after taking a bond of 5,000 dinars. She was aged forty-two years at the time of her death in 492/1099.⁶

I. A., 103; I. Q., 144. When Duqaq was dying she insisted on his instructions regarding the atabegate of his son Tutijsh, which was accordingly given to her husband, Zahir al-Din Tughtakin. I. Q., 201. She was the right hand of Tughtakin and the moving spirit of his policy during her life time. Nay, even after her death he acted according to her last instructions.

² I. A., 163.

³ *Ibid*, 109.

⁴ *Ibid*, 105.

⁵ *Ibid*, 119.

The last one of this period was the wife of Sultan Muḥammad, who was alleged to have practised black magic on her husband and thus caused his death. According to Bundārī she was arrested and tortured, and some of her maidservants were put to death. The court incited the Sultān to blind her, which had been the most common punishment for political crimes among the Saljūqids.¹ At the last moment of Muḥammad's life, the courtiers forged an order from him to strangle her. So she was strangled, and Bundārī says that it was a strange coincidence that both Muḥammad and his wife died at the same hour at the end of 511/1118, the former on his bed and the latter in her palace, hanged.²

In all these tragic and disastrous events, we find that the armed forces of the empire played an important role. The constitution of these forces helped still more to aggravate the situation and a special study of this subject is therefore necessary for an understanding of the factors of decline in Saljūq power.

¹ LA., 99.

CHAPTER II

CONSTITUTION OF THE ARMED FORCES :

RELATIONS WITH AMIRS : RELATIONS WITH TURKMEN AND ARAB TRIBES

As regards the constitution of the armed forces of the State, Professor H. A. R. Gibb's scholarly introduction to the Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades leaves little room for improvement on the subject, and it is only necessary here to summarise his sound conclusions.¹ A few new facts are, however, added here to illustrate and strengthen those conclusions still further. The '*askar*' formed the regular standing army and the *jund* the territorial reserve,² although the annalists often use both words loosely, as we frequently find in the pages of Ibn al-Athīr.³ The relations between the local *jund* and the central forces are closely connected with the rights and duties of the provincial fief-holders towards their suzerain—a subject already treated elsewhere.⁴

Again, although it is difficult to show with precision the numerical strength of the '*askar*' and

¹ Pp. 32, 175.

² I. Q., 130, 132, 134 ; I. A., 201.

³ I. A., 99, 101, 201, 202.

⁴ P. 4, *ante*.

the *jund*, some examples derived from the sources may throw light on the subject. In the battle near Rayy in Ṣafar 488/1095, in which Tutuṣh was killed, Barkiṣaruq's 'askar numbered 30,000.¹ The *jund* of Mawṣil were slaughtered while asleep by 200 'askaris of Sultān Muḥammad in Muḥarram 502/1103.² It may be mentioned here that the Turks were an important element in the 'askar³ while the *jund* were a heterogeneous mixture of Turks, Turkomen, Arabs and Kurds.⁴ The Aḥḍath were organised under Ra'is al-Aḥḍath and might be termed as regular volunteers.⁵ We find Majan, the Ra'is al-Aḥḍath of Aleppo in '89/1095 trying to become independent of Malik Ruḍwan by political intrigue and treachery. Jawall Saqawa deported more than 20,000 Aḥḍath from Mawṣil when it was besieged by the 'askar of Sultan Muḥammad under the command of Maudūd in Ṣafar 502/1108.⁷ On particular occasions, especially in waging a holy war against the enemies of the faith, irregular volunteers (Muttawiah) were also summoned to arms. There are examples of such summons in the wars with the Franks and

¹ I. A., 101.

² *Ibid*, 193.

³ *Ibid*, 201.

⁴ Ghazāl, II, 260.

⁵ I. Q., 135; I. A., 192, 210.

⁶ I. Q., 137; I. A., 105.

⁷ I. A., 201.

with the Ismā'īlī heretics. This was done in the battle between Jawālī Saqawa and Tancred at Tell Bashir in Ṣafar of the same year.¹ The fact is further illustrated by the siege of al-Ruha on 12 Shawwāl 503/1110 by Suqmān al-Qutbī and Maudūd in which innumerable volunteers took part.² Buzgush's campaign in Khurāsān against the Isma'īlls in 497/1103-4 is another illustration.³

The commander-in-chief of the army bore the title of Amīr al-Juyūsh or more commonly Amīr. He was also occasionally styled Ṣahīb al-Jaiṣh⁴ and 'Arid al-Jaiṣh.⁵ Under him was Qa'id al-Quwwad or colonel who was the head of the Qaids or captains. The Qaids were sometimes described as Muqaddims.⁶ Camp-followers or rabble were called Sfiqah or Hawashī.⁷ These are described on one occasion in Bundārī as a crowd of unknown people.⁸

The system of military reconnoitring was practised in warfare,⁹ although civil spying was to some extent discontinued under the pious policy

¹ L A., 196, 158.

² I. Q., 169.

³ I. A., 158.

⁴ *Ibid*, 92.

⁵ Bundārī, 86.

⁶ I. Q., 147. Bundārī 83.

⁷ I. Q., 136.

⁸ P. 76.

⁹ I. A., 145, 219, 157.

Alp Arslān.¹ The military governor of a fort was called 'DuzdSr/ a title which frequently occurs in the pages of Ibn-al-Athir.² The Jāndār was probably equivalent to the modern head of the body-guard or aide-de-camp.³ The Sipah Salar is a Persian word meaning the commander of the army.⁴ The Arabicised Persian word Isbabadh⁵ is perhaps a synonym of Sipah Salar and was originally the official designation of the provincial satraps of the pre-Islamic Persian empire, who also commanded the provincial garrisons.⁶

The system of indiscriminate iqtā'⁷ (military fief), was probably the main factor at the root of all the troubles of the Saljūqid empire, as it was greatly responsible for making the relations of the Sultān and amirs more troubled. The troops were placed in a precarious position of divided allegiance—nominal to the Sultān, real to their respective amirs. Inexperienced Sultāns, moreover, often lavishly rewarded ambitious amirs for good

¹ Levy, 208.

² I. A., 131, 179, 211.

³ Bundārī 77; Rāwandī 140; I. A. 93, 116.

⁴ Gibb. 81; I. A., 90, 142, 164, 169, 196.

⁵ Rāwandī, 141; I. Q., 130, Gibb. 154, 156; Yazdl, 77; I. A., 157; BuDdārl, 53, 83.

⁶ Sipah-soldier, bed-chief or master as in Mubed the priest; Paul Horn, 44.

⁷ For fuller information regarding the five kinds of iqtā' vide Mawardi, pp. 181-7; for precautions to be taken against the abuse of iqtā* system, vide Nizam al-Mulk, 119.

services with the most flourishing provinces as fiefs, unmindful of the results of this generous but bad policy. The amirs, thus, becoming more powerful, pursued their own factious and warlike interests in order to annex the fiefs of their lesser fellow-fiefholders and not infrequently even contested the authority of the Sulṭāns themselves. The latter had to combine with other amīrs to control the overbearing aggressors. As soon, however, as the suppression of a revolting amīr was complete, the young Sultāns committed similar blunders by granting the other amīr or amīrs who upheld their cause, the same fiefs, sometimes with additions and without betraying any sign of having learnt their lesson from their previous struggle. Thus, the entire empire was plunged into a series of unending civil war with the weakening of the central control after the death of Malikshah.

Among many others,¹ the ever-changing amīrate of Mawṣil may be taken as a typical example to support the above statements.

¹ E.g., revolts of Arslān Arghūn; (I.A., 108) Amir Amlrān (*ibid*, 109); Yaruqtāsh and Qūdan (*ibid*, 110); battle between Buḍwān and Duqāq (*ibid*, 111); Sanjar and Daulatshah (*ibid*, 115) ; revolt of Unar (*ibid*, 116), of Sadaqah (*ibid*, 127) ; Ismail's march to Wasit (*ibid*, 140); Duqāq's occupation of Raḥbah (*ibid*, 151); Bahrain's occupation of 'Anah (*ibid*, 153); occupation of Buṣra by Tughtakīn (*ibid*, 170); occupation of Mecca by Isbabadh b Sautakin.

After the death of Malikshah, his aunt Safiyah Khatun occupied Mawsil with her son 'Ali b Sharaf-al-Daulah. Later she handed it over to her second husband, Ibrāhīm, after whose defeat and death in the battle of Muḍayya' in Kabf I 486/1093 she was appointed the wali of Mawsil with her son 'Ali.¹ In 489/1096, when Karbūqā and his brother Altūntāsh were released by Malik Ruḍwan under instructions from Sultān Barki-yāruq, there at once gathered round them an 'askar of rogues and they occupied lĒarrān. Muḥammad, the stepbrother of Amīr 'Ali and his vanquished foe, was at this time at Naşibln with Sarwān b Wahaib and Abu'l Haija al-Kurdī. He sought the help of Karbūqā against 'Ali. The request being granted, Md. met him near Naşibln, but the ambitious Karbūqā arrested him treacherously and also occupied Naşībui after forty days' siege. Then he marched to Mawsil and Amīr 'Ali asked for the help of Jakarmish, Amīr of Jazīrah. The latter's help was intercepted by Altūntāsh, and in a pitched battle Jakarmish was defeated and forced to return to his province and to help Karbuqa in besieging Mawsil. After nine months' siege, Amir 'Ali was compelled to take refuge with Amir Sadaqah of Hillah and Karbuqa occupied Mawsil. Altūntāsh was put to death for extracting money from the inhabitants and

¹ I.A., 91.

disobeying KarbQqā on the third day after the fall of Mawṣil.¹ Karbūqā administered it well for about nine years.

In 494/1100-1 he was sent by Barkiyaruq to Adharbaijan to suppress a rebellion, and he fulfilled his mission successfully. On his way home he died near Khūy in Dhā'l Qa'dah 495/1102, after appointing his lieutenant Sunqurja his successor and taking an oath of allegiance from his Turkish troops to that effect. Then Sunqurja occupied Mawṣil but the prominent inhabitants wrote to Mūsa,² the Turkmen deputy of Karbuqa at Hisn Kaifa offering to surrender the city to him. Sunqurja thought that Mūsa was coming to pay his respects to him, so he went out to welcome him with the inhabitants of the city.

¹ L.A., 106.

² During this period of internal troubles the inhabitants of towns played a very important part, *e.g.*, those of Aleppo resisted the army of the Sulṭān and declared rebellion in 509/1115. I.A., 214. The inhabitants of Nīshāpūr gave battle to the Khurāssānian Amir who besieged it for about forty days in Dhu'i Hijjah 488/1095 and in dSspair had to withdraw in Muharram 489/1095. The inhabitants of Shahraban resisted the tyrant Yanāl in 496/1104. In the battle many inhabitants lost their lives, but Yanāl had to retire to Azarbaijan. I. A., 148. The inhabitants of Baghdād attacked Ilghāzi, Buqman and Dubais b Sadaqah, while they encamped at Ramlah in 496/1104. In the pitched battle four of them were killed and a group of them were taken captive ; but they were released after

On first meeting they dismounted from their horses, embraced each other and wept over the death of Karbūqa. While they were walking together Sunqurja said to Mūsā : " Whatever is left by our late master is at your disposal." But Mūsā said, " Who are we that we should have such rank, the command belongs to the Sultān ; he will prefer whomsoever he wishes and he will appoint whomsoever he pleases." During this altercation Sunqurja drew his sword and struck with the flat of it the head of Mūsā. In the course of a hand-to-hand fight Sunqurja was killed by Maṣṣūr b Marwān and Mūsā became the Amir of Mawṣil.¹ When this news reached Jakarmish, the Amir of Jazīrah, he immediately marched on Naslbin and occupied it. Mūsā, on the other hand marched to Jazīrah, but when he drew near Jakarmish his troops treacherously changed sides ; so he hurried back to Mawṣil and Jakarmish followed him and besieged Mawṣil for a long time. In the meantime Mūsā sought the help of Suqmān b Urtuq, who was at that time in Diyār Bakr, by offering him Ḥiṣn Kaifa and 10,000 dīnars. So

being disarmed. I.A.. 148. In Dhulhijjah 495/1102 the inhabitants of Isfahān kept at bay 100,000 rioters and robbers after the secret departure of Md . L.A., 139. In **Jumada** 499/1106 Ṣadaqah had a hard fight with the inhabitants of Baṣrah, in which he lost his cousin Abu Najm. L.A., 168.

¹ *Ibid*, 142.

he marched to him and Jakarmish withdrew. Mūsā came out to receive Suqmān and was murdered by the slaves of Iṣṭarbūqā near the village of Karathā. Suqmān went back to Ḥiṣn Kaifa and occupied it, and it remained under his sons till 620 A.H. Now Jakarmish again besieged Mawṣil and occupied it by capitulation after a few days' siege. Thus, he became "the master of the Arabs and the Kurds."¹

Under the terms of the treaty between Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad, Mawṣil was given to the latter, but Jakarmish was reluctant to recognise this settlement. So Muḥammad besieged Mawṣil and said to Jakarmish, "If you obey, I shall not take it away from you, rather shall I confirm it under you and the Khutṭabāh will be in my name." Jakarmish said, "Letters from Barkiyāruq have come to me after the treaty ordering me not to hand over the city to any one except him." But both parties being persistent in their claims, the battle continued till 10 Jamuda I 498/1105, when the news of the death of Barkiyāruq reached Jakarmish.²

After consulting the inhabitants, he took the oath of allegiance to Md. who honoured him and embraced him. Then he requested the Sultān to enter into the city in state. That being refused, he prepared a great feast outside Mawṣil and carried

¹ LA., 143.

² *Ibid*, 159.

to the Sultān and his ministers many valuable presents and gifts.¹ Then the Sultān marched to Baghdād with him to capture the Sultanate from Malikshah b Barkiyāruq. Afterwards Jakarmish came back to Mawṣil, but he did not fulfil his duties as a vāli in paying the annuity and rendering military service. So Muḥammad gave Mawṣil, Diyār Bakr and Jazlrah as fief to Jawālī Saqāwā, the tyrant of the places between Khuzistān and Fārs who submitted to the Sultān with great reluctance in Muḥarram 500/1106.² Jawālī first went to Baghdād and stayed there till the beginning of Rabi' I, then marched to Mawṣil via Bawazij, which he occupied and sacked for four days, despite the guarantee of security given to the inhabitants. Then he proceeded to Irbil where he encountered Jakarmish, but Jakarmish was defeated and taken captive. The inhabitants of Mawṣil, however, immediately proclaimed ZankT b Jakarmish their amir and had the Khuṭbah recited in his name.³ Qizughli, the slave governor of the fort was the ringleader of this plan; he further invoked the help of Ṣadaqah, Qilij Arṣtan and Bursuql, Shihnah of Baghdād, offering to each one of them to surrender the city to him.⁴ Ṣadaqah did not respond at all. The

¹ I.A., 159.

² Ibid, 176.

³ Ibid, 177.

⁴ Ibid, 178:

succour of Qilij Arslan and Burauqī was rather tardy. Meanwhile, Jāwali besieged Mawṣil, but when he heard of the arrival of Qilij Arslan at Nasibin he left Mawṣil for Sanjar. After the departure of Jāwali, Bursuql also reached Mawṣil, but the inhabitants gave him a very cold reception, so he had to return on the very day of his arrival. Qilij Arslan, while at Naṣibin, swore to safeguard the interests of the inhabitants of Mawṣil, and they on their part took an oath of allegiance to him. So he proceeded to Mawṣil and encamped outside the gate, on the 25th Rajab, 500/1106, at Marufah, where the son of Jakarmish and the chiefs of the city came to welcome him. He presented them with robes of honour, sat on the throne and inserted his own name in the Khutbah instead of that of Sultan Md.¹ He took over the fort from Qizughli and appointed his own governor over it. He confirmed Qaḍi Abu Md 'Abdulla in his post and made Abu'l Barakat his wali over Mawṣil. Then he marched against Jāwali, leaving his eleven-year-old son Malikshah with Amīr Aydbarah and a detachment of troops at Mawṣil. In a battle on the banks of the Khabur, (L) 20 Dhu'l Qa'dah 500/1107, Qilij was defeated and he drowned himself in the river for fear of ignominy.²

After his victory Jāwali marched to Mawṣil and the inhabitants opened the gate to him. He,

¹ J.A., 178.

² *Ibid*, 180.

however, encamped outside the city and arrested the devoted followers of the late Jakarmish, who had joined Qilij Arslān and fined them. He restored the Khuṭbah in the name of Sultān Md. at Mawsil. Thence he marched to Jazirah and besieged there Habashī b Jakarmish and Qizughli for some time when they came to terms with him on payment of 6,000'dinars and much clothing and many beasts of burden.¹ Now he returned to Mawṣil and sent Malikshah b Qilij Arslftn to Sultān Md. with whom he remained until his escape from the camp at the beginning of the year 503/1109.²

Jāwalī, however did not learn his lesson even from his own actions, when he himself had taken Mawṣil from Jakarmish about a year before as a penalty for wavering allegiance. So he sided secretly with Ṣadaqah in his campaign against Sultān Md. and refrained from joining the Sultān in spite of repeated requests on the part of his liege-lord. Hence, soon after the suppression of Ṣadaqah, the Sultān sent almost all the amirs³ to capture Mawṣil from Jāwalī and this having been done Maudud became the wali of Mawsil in Safar

¹ I.A., 180.

² Gibb. 81. I.Q., 158.

³ Among them were Amirs of Band Bursuq, Sukmān al-Qutbi, Maudud b Tuntakin, Aqsunpur al-Barsuqi, Nasr b Mulhalhal b Abi-al-Shawk al-kurdi, and Abul Haija, wālī of Irbil. I.A., 192.

502/1108.¹ He remained wālī of Mawṣil till his **murder** in the cathedral mosque of Damascus on the last Friday of Kabi' I 507/1113.² After him Āqsunqur Bursuqi was appointed the wālī of Mawṣil, with whom Mas'ūd b Sulṭān Md. was deputed as his ward in 508/1114.³ After the defeat of Āqsunqur by Ilghāzī, Sultān Md. gave Mawṣil and its dependencies as fief to Amir Juyūishbeg and sent his son, Malik Mas'ūd to him in 509/1115-6. Bursuqī stayed in his fief Rafrbah till the death of Sultān Md.

To add to the misfortune of the dynasty there were many turbulent Turkmen and free 'Arab tribes under their local leaders who fanned the flame of jealousy in the hope of collecting booty from the *debris* of vanquished armies and provinces.⁴ Their relations with the central or provincial governments were very nebulous and they were always ready to join any adventurer "who sought to acquire an amirate or even the sultanate. So we find that when after the death of Tutuṣh,

¹ I.A., 193.

² *Ibid*, 209, Gibb. 139, Babi⁴, II, I.Q., 187.

³ I.A., 211.

⁴ E.g., Banu Munqidh at Shaizar, 'Uqailids and Bani Kilāb. Gibb. 17, 18. I.A., 199; I.Q., 190-191. Banu Kisarīt of Mawṣil. I.A., 177. 'Uqailid enmity against Sadaqah. I.A., 149. In Junaada I 495/1102 Banu Numair killed Muayyid b Sharaf al-Daulah Muslim b Quraish, the Amir of Banu 'Uqail near Hīt in revenge. I.A., 146.

his son Rudwan's Atābeg, Janāfc-al-Daulah tried to recover Aleppo from its former w&li, Abul Qasim Ḥasan b 'Ali of Khwarazm, he asked for the favour of the Magharib troops who formed the majority of the army. Accordingly at the dead of night they shouted the slogan of Ruḍwān and captured Abul Qasim.¹ These unstable and troublesome elements were equally dangerous in those turbulent times, both to their enemies and allies, as they felt little scruple in changing sides at the most critical moment. Again, when Mankubars claimed the sultanate against Muḥammad, he sought the help of Banū Bursuq. Sultan Muḥammad, knowing this, prudently arrested ZankI b Bursuq, who wrote to his brothers warning them against giving allegiance to Mankubars and to arrange his arrest. Accordingly, they wrote to Mankubars offering their false allegiance. So he proceeded to join them but they arrested him at Khuzistān and presented him to Sultān Md. at Isfahān, where he was imprisoned with the sons of Takash. ZankI was released and restored to his dignity, and his brothers were lavishly patronised by Sultān Md.²

The intermittent warfare between the 'Abādites and the Khafājites is another testimony to the tribal jealousy. The iron hand of Sadaqah was

¹ I. A., 101. I. Q., 122, Bani Kilab rallied round Tutush ; activities of Bani 'Uqail, Bani Kāmil I. Q., 122-124.

² *Ibid*, 166.

not sufficient to keep them under proper control. They sometimes even ravished his own territory so he had no alternative but to pursue the policy of 'divide and rule'. During this period the Khafajites appear on the scene first in 485/1092 as the armed robber gang, to harass the pilgrims and plunder Kūfah. They massacred most of the 'ajund' stationed there and even stole the clothes of men and women whom they came across. The inhabitants defended themselves with their bows and they left the town after vigorously looting it. When this news reached Baghdad the 'askar' were sent forthwith to suppress them. After an encounter they were defeated and their position became weak.¹

In 499/1105-6 heavy fighting took place between the Khafājites and the rival tribe of 'Abādites, as a group of the former captured two she-camels from a member of the latter. The demand to return the camels being rejected, the man looted eleven of the Khafājite camels, whereupon they followed him, killed one of his followers and cut off the hand of another. After some abortive negotiations a battle was fought near Kūfa and the 'Abādites were defeated, as Sadaqah secretly helped the Khafajites.²

In the following year the victorious Khafajites began to raid the territory of Sadaquah. He

¹ I.A. 89, 90.

² *Ibid*, 167,

accordingly sent his son Budran with an army to the frontier adjoining Baṭīḥah to protect his subjects from the Khafājite depredations. But they paid little heed to the expedition under Budrān. The latter wrote to his father informing him of the real position he was in. So Ṣadaqah summoned the 'Abadites and made them the vanguard of his army. The battle was fought in Babi' I, and the Khafājites were defeated and ruthlessly persecuted.¹

Another striking instance of the tribal activities is the sack of Baṣrah by Rabrah, Muntafiq and other neighbouring 'Arab tribes in 499/1105-6. Tuntāsh, the deputy of Ṣadaqah, opposed them with only 120 horsemen. But his party was defeated and he himself was taken captive. The 'Arab tribes entered into the city at the end of Dhu'l Qa'dah, burnt down the markets and other fine buildings and plundered whatever they could lay hands upon. For thirty-two days complete anarchy prevailed and arson and loot had free play. The inhabitants fled into the country in panic. The famous library, dedicated by Qāḍi Abul Faraj b Abul Baḳā, was also pillaged. Ṣadaqah's tardy help came when the 'Arabs had left the city? Sulṭān Md. consequently took it away from him and appointed his own Shiḥnah and 'amīd, whereupon the inhabitants returned and began to rebuild it.²

¹ LA., 176.

² *Ibid*, 172. In Safar 495/1101 the tribe of Babi'a killed their Qāḍi at Hit. *Ibid*, 146. They opened the gate of Hit to Ṣadaqah in 496. *Ibid*, 149.

We further find Ṣadaqah in his last battle with Sultān Md. in 501/1107-8, in which he was killed, exciting the Arabs by rousing their tribal pride and shouting to them : "O tribe of Khazimah! O tribe of Naṣirah! O tribe of 'Auf! " because the 'Abadites and the Khafajites, having learnt their lessons from their past experiences, did not support him actively in this decisive battle.¹

Nomadic tribes such as the Salghar and the Shawānkāra were a continual source of conflict with the neighbouring amīrs, who hoped to impose their jurisdictional power over them. Their frequent seasonal movements from one place to another made many amīrs claim power over them, and ultimately those amīrs took to fighting with one another in defence of what they regarded as their own right. As a glaring example, we find under the year 495/1101-2 that Al-Qarabli of the Turkmen tribe of Salghar came to the province of Sarkhāb, b Badr. But the latter prevented him from entering the pasturing grounds and killed some of his followers. Then Al-Qarabli went back to his tribe and raised a huge army, with which he killed about 2,000 of the Kurd followers of Badr. Badr, being defeated, retired to some mountain with only twenty followers.² Another instance is that of the Shawānkāra, when they took shelter with the King of Kirman in 510/1116-7 ; and

¹ I.A., 188.

² *Ibid*, 144,

Jā wall on behalf of Sultān Md. demanded their return as they were the Sulḡān's subjects. He sent Qāḡi Abū Tāhir of Shlrāz with his ultimatum, and fought an unsuccessful battle on this prfetext with the King of Kirmān.¹

In 502/1108 we find Banū Numair led by their Shaikh Juṣhan occupying Raqqah by killing its wali, ' Ali, whose father, Salim, amir of Ja'bar, was compelled to seek the help of the fugitive Jāwalī. Sālim further requisitioned the aid of his liege-lord Ruḡwān, but Banū Numair were clever enough to meet the situation by buying peace from both of them by appropriate means.²

¹ I.A., 219.

² *Ibid*, 195.

CHAPTER III

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION : RELATIONS WITH THE CALIPHATE

The administrative system of the Saljūqs was closely connected with that of the Wazirate. When the occupant of that ministerial dignity was a strong man, the system seems to have worked to the benefit of the reigning Sultān and his empire, but when an impotent and unworthy person succeeded to that post, the whole framework of administration betrayed signs of disorder. This was due to the importance of the function and place of Wazirs in the system under review.

This becomes quite evident when we examine the situation before and after the death of Nizām al-Mulk. During his life-time his beneficial influence kept the organs of the state in harmony. After his death and on the accession of unworthy officials to the Wazirate, they lost their administrative independence and had to act according to the will of the strong military authorities who cared for little more than their own individual interests. To make matters worse, frequent change of Wazirs became the order of the day, and continuity of policy could not, therefore, be sustained. The Saljūqids were originally pastoral tribes of the

steppe, and they therefore could not understand the proper functions of the elaborate bureaucratic system which the highly cultured 'Abbasid rulers had developed in past centuries, as we can see from the pages of *Aljkām al-Sultānīyah* of Mftwardī and the *Siyasatnamah* of Nizām al-Mulk. But as long as they were fortunate enough to have able Wazīrs, such as Nizām al-Mulk who was the product of a preceding civilization, they were able to manage their affairs and control their extensive empire with the aid of organized and valiant military forces. This was the case in the reign of Malik-shah, after whose death the elements of insubordination were let loose.

Turning to matters of detail, we find that the Saljūqids abolished the *Baīd* system (postal department) and many other intricate political institutions which they could not understand for lack of training in these traditions.¹ These institutions were, however, essential for speedy communication and to keep the central government informed as to the course of events in the far-flung provinces. Thus the machinery of administration was paralysed by that unwise measure and the provincial amīrs were given ample opportunity for intrigue and self-aggrandisement*

¹ Samarqandi, 23. A system of combined espionage and express posts. Levy, 208.

As a concrete example we may refer to the **siege of Mawsil** by Muḥammad in 498/1105. If the news of the death of Barkiyāruq, which **took place** on 12 Rabi' II at Burujird, were quickly conveyed to Mawṣil, the subsequent loss of life and property in the battles with Jakarmish could have easily been avoided. Unfortunately the news reached Mawṣil after about a month on 10 Juraada I when Jakarmish immediately convened a conference of the inhabitants and asked their advice as to the policy to be followed after the death of Barkiyāruq. They said, "Our property and lives are at your disposal and you are the better judge ; you may nevertheless consult the warriors who are also better acquainted with the situation." * So Jakarmish summoned his amirs and sought their opinion. They said, "While the Sultān was alive we refused him (Md) and none could enter into our city, but when he is dead there is no Sultan for the people but him (Md) and it is better to take the oath of allegiance to him." ² Accordingly, Jakarmish invited Sa'd al-Mulk, the wazlr of Md., and an armistice was **arranged**.

* **Again**, if we believe Ibn Khaldun, ³ the frequent changes of capital had also a cumulative evil effect, **cūlminating** in the collapse of the central govern-

¹ I . A., 160.

² *Ibid*, 160.

³ Muqaddimah, 328.

ment. Although there were no changes in this period, Baghḍād had been the metropolis of Islam for many centuries since its construction by Caliph Maṣṣur.¹ But with the rise of the Saljūqids, the administrative headquarters of the Sulṭānate as distinct from the Caliphate, had been changing with each Sultan. Tughril's capital was Nishapur, while Alp Arslān ruled at Merv.² Malikshah had his headquarters at Isfahān, which was retained by Maḥmūd, Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad after whose death Sanjar again transferred the capital to Khurasan.³

Instability of the ministry and incompetence of the individual Wazirs⁴ were responsible to a great extent for the loosening of the central control. The successive Wazirs were worthless persons and so were either dismissed or disgraced, nay, even handed over to their political opponents at the whim of the untrained and uneducated Sulṭāns

¹ Yāqūt, I, 679.

² Qazwinī, Nuzhat, 156, Kinneir, 179.

³ Yāqūt, IV, 509.

⁴ Wazirs like Niẓām al-Mulḳ were actual rulers of the state possessing all the authority of the modern British Prime Minister, while, on the other hand, Wazirs like Khajir al-Mulḳ were impotent and had to abide by the resolutions of other ministers, even more than a modern French Premier. The first kind is technically termed Wazir ai-Tafwidh—the delegated Wazir, and the second, Wazir al-Tanfidih—the executive Wazir by Mawardi. P. 21, *et seq.*

who ascended the imperial throne in their early youth or even infancy and died before attaining maturity.

The careers of the successive Wazlrs after Nizam-al-Mulk will fully illustrate the chaotic conditions of the empire during this period. With the murder of Nizam-al-Mulk the ministry was completely reconstructed, for the worse, as has been versified by Abul Ma'ali Nahḥās ; Tāj al-Mulk took the place of Nizām-al-Mulk while Sharaf-al-Mulk Abu Said, and Kamāl al-Daulah Abū Riḍā were substituted by Majd al-Mulk Abul Faḍl Qummī and Sadīd-al-Daulah Abul Ma'ālī respectively. Tāj al-Mulk held office from Ramadān 485 till Muḥarram 486 under his protégé Maḥmūd, when after the defeat at Burūjird he was captured and presented before Barkiyāruq who, aware of his excellent parts intended to make him his Wazlr. Tāj-al-Mulk on his part tried to reconcile the Nizāmītes, but they were irreconcilable. At the instigation of 'Uthmān, he was assassinated in

¹ Tāj-al-Mulk Abul Ghaṇa'im was a descendant of the Persian wazīr. He was in the service of Sarhank Sautakin, who was an influential Amīr of the Saljūqid empire. On the recommendation of Sautakīn, Malikshah appointed him as household steward and put him in charge of the Dīwāns of Tuḡhrā and Inṣhā. Subsequently he poisoned the mind of Malikshah against Nizām-al-Mulk. At this time Majd al-Mulk was the Mustaufī and Abu Eiḍa was the 'Arid of the jund ; both of them joined Tāj-al-Mulk in his intrigue against the old Nizām-al-Mulk. So on the final fall of

Muḥarrām 486. The limbs of his body were separated and one of his fingers was sent to Baghdad.¹

Then 'Izz-al-Mulk b Niẓām al-Mulk became the wazlr of Barkiyāruq. He was, however, succeeded after his death at Mawsil by his brother Mu'ayyid al-Mulk in Dhu'l fiKjjah 487/1094. 'Izz al-Mulk was worthless and addicted to drinking. Mu'ayyid was the only redeeming character of this series of Wazīrs after his father. His full name was Abū Bakr 'Ubaidallāh. He was equally gifted in both the arts of sword and of the pen.² He was probably the most talented man of his time and the ablest of the sons of the famous Niẓām-al-Mulk. He tried to put the

Niẓām-al-Mulk when Tāj-al-Mulk became the chief Wazlr, his lieutenants were included in the cabinet and were given important portfolios. Bundārī, 58-59, p. 136.

Kawandi is wrong in putting al-'Arid after Abu Rida. He thus confuses the partisan of Tāj-al-Mulk with that of Niẓām-al-Mulk, as is quite clear from Bundārī. In order to avoid further confusion their names are given in full with their respective designations. Kamāl al-Dauiab Abu Biḍa Faḍl Allāh b Md and Sharaf al-Mulk Abu Sa'd Md b Manṣūr b Md were in charge of Diwāns of Inshā and Ṭughra and Zimām and Istifa respectively in the ministry of Niẓām-al-Mulk ; they were superseded by Sadid-al-Mulk Abul Ma'ali and al-Mafdal b 'Abd al-Bizzaq b Umar al-'Arid and Majd-al-Mulk Abul Faḍl Qumml. Bundari, 56.

¹ I.A., 89.

² Bundārī, 78.

empire on a sound basis and to restore order in the midst of chaos. On his appointment he issued an appeal to the amīrs of 'Irāq and Khurāsan and they readily responded to his call. The imperial army and finance increased and Barkiyftruq's position became firm. But Mu'ayyid was dismissed and imprisoned¹ within less than a year through the intrigue of Majd-al-Mulk Balāsānī,² his colleague, Zubaidah Khatun, the Sultan's mother and Fakhr-al-Mulk, his brother. The Wazīr was, of course, imprudent in incurring the Sultān's displeasure by advising him to desert his mother Zubaidah, on account of her loose character, thus affording his jealous colleague Balāsānī and his discontented brother Fakhr, who was deprived of his late father's jewellery, an opportunity of revenge and retaliation. Bribery and corruption played their part and the young Sultān not only lost the services of his efficient Wazīr, but also created a formidable enemy of him. Fakhr-al-Mulk thus secured the Wazirate for himself, but he was a puppet in the hands of the ambitious Majd-al-Mulk.³

¹ Bundārī, 80.

² After the battle of Daşhlū, Balāsānī hastened! from Eayy to Isfahān and courted the favour of Zubaidah Khatūn, which was easily won. He then arrested Ustād 'Ali, the Mustaufi, and blinded him. Bundārī, 79.

³ *Ibid*, 79.

The death of Majd-al-Mulk will fully illustrate the administrative weakness of the Saljūqid system during this period. When the murder of the great Amirs by the Batiols became frequent, they gave out that he had set them to do the same. This tense feeling was further intensified by the assassination of Bursūq in 492/1098-9. The sons of Bursūq, Tlghāzi, Aqburi and others accused him of this assassination and they consequently deserted the Sultān. Barkiyaruq had to proceed to Zanjan on account of the march of Md. against him. At this critical juncture, the amirs took the opportunity and sent the Amīr Akhur, Bulkabak and Tughayaruq b Yazan to the sons of Bursuq, inviting them to join with them in demanding the surrender of Majd-al-Mulk from the Sultān. Accordingly, the sons of Bursuq came and wrote to the Sultān to that effect from Sabjas, a town near Hamadan, and the entire army sided with them. But Barkiyaruq refused to surrender his Wazir, whereupon Majd-al-Mulk wrote to him to conciliate the Amirs by putting him to death himself, because if the mob were to kill him, as they actually did, the prestige of the Saltan's government would be lowered, in addition, in the eyes of the people. His head was sent to Mu'ayyid al-Mulk. Even after the murder of Majd al-Mulk the Amirs betrayed Barkiyaruq; the *'askar* robbed him of his property and that of his mother and followers, and went over to Md. So he

had to return to Kayy with only two hundred horsemen.¹

Majd al-Mulk was succeeded by 'Abdal-Jalīl Dihistani, who was wazir from Safar 493 till Safar 495. He also was incompetent and tyrannical in the version of Bundārī. This was apparently due to the personal jealousy of Khālīd Anūshirwān, who was naturally vindictive to his political opponents, as is evidenced by his bitter satires hurled at them throughout the pages of his book. But he found an excellent apologist in Ibn al-Aṭfīr,² who certifies that he was a generous and good man ; and the people did not like him simply because of the fact that he accepted the wazirate at a time when there was no constitutional government. The treasury of the Sultan being empty, he had to take recourse to questionable means which made him unpopular. He exacted 50,000 dīnars from the Caliph, 30,000 dīnars from Ibn Sulaiḥah, Qadi of Jabalah, the fugitive refugee at Baghdad,³ and also extorted money from the inhabitants of Baghdad.⁴ While Barkidāruq was leaving Baghdad at the approach of Md. and Saḥjar in Dhul Hижjah 494/1101, his followers plundered the villages *en route*. This, perhaps, aroused

¹ I. A., 120.

² P. 139.

³ I. A., 129.

⁴ *Ibid*, 127.

public feeling against the Wazir.³ Dihistānī was, however, specially favourable to the merchant class. Ibn-al-Athīr narrates a long story of his trading integrity.² He was assassinated at the gate of Hamadān by a Bāṭinī on 12 Safar 495/1101.³

Khatīr Abū Maṣṣūr Maibudhī, the traitor Wazir of Md. was unexpectedly raised to the position of a Wazir. He betrayed his own master at the siege of Isfahān where he was put in charge of a gate which he left in the dark of night, in accordance with a previous promise given to Barkiyāruq while he was at Rayy. YanSī b Anūshṭakīn, an amīr of Barkiyāruq's party, reminded him of his words which had induced them to come to Rayy from Isfahān and to undertake all the trouble of besieging a fortified city.⁴ He even deceived his new ally, Barkiyāruq, by fleeing to Maibudh and taking shelter there in his castle which was besieged by the army of Barkiyāruq. He was forced to surrender and solicit quarter. While he was being carried to the main army on a mule with pack-saddle, he received the

¹ I.A., 128.

² P. 139.

³ I. A., 139. It is also narrated that he was murdered by a red-haired youth in revenge for his master, Abu Sa'id, the blacksmith whom the Wazir put to death in the preceding year.

⁴ *Ibid*, 140.

letter of the Sulṭān granting him safety and the news of the murder of Dihistanl. On his arrival at the Sulṭān's camp, Barkiyāruq presented him with a robe of honour and made him Wazlr. He alsq was worthless and Bundārl quotes a satirical verse on him which runs as follows : — " A Wazlr sunk in fat and flesh, having no intelligence and understanding ; if he wears white he is like unto cotton and if he wears black he looks like a black hillock." ¹ He further laments the lack of selective power in the Sulṭān regarding his Wazīrs, while he was careful in selecting even his hunting dogs.²

Two other Wazīrs, Sa'd-ad-Mulk³ and Aḥmad b Niẓām-al-Mulk were also incompetent. The former was put to death on account of his Bātinī

¹ P. 95.

² P. 94.

³ Khālīd Anūshirwān gives an entirely different story about Sa'd-al-Mulk. According to him Sa'd was a competent wazlr and so long as he was wazlr he performed his duties with full credit. He was a bitter enemy of the Bātinls. He arranged the attack of the fort of Shahdiz (**Royal** fort) which was situated on a hillock in Isfahān and **was** the headquarters of the Bātinī rebel chief, Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh. He also conquered the fort of Khānlanjān, near Isfahān. But 'Abdu'Uah al Khaṭīb!, the 'rais' of Isfahān, maligned him to the Sultan, alleging that he was a Batini, although iq all other respects he was good and sincere. So Sultān Md. arrested him and through the importunity and tactics of al Khatib! he was imprisoned and **later** on crucified with

heresy, together with the four of his chief supporters ; his property was confiscated and his body was impaled on the gate of Isfahān ; ¹ the latter was selected simply because of the reputation of his father. Khatir al-Mulk was also again associated with him in the working of the wazirate. But their dual control proved a failure and Khālid Anūshirwān was asked to officiate for them when Khatir was arrested and imprisoned.³ Then the nobles and Amirs advised the Sultān to import a competent Wazir from the house of the Caliph : accordingly Rabīb al-Daulah was summoned from Baghdād to Isfahān and appointed Wazir.⁴

some of the chiefs of the Secretariat Anūshirwān further says that when Sa'd became aware of the intrigue of al Khatib! he also tried to counteract it by producing some letters that were exchanged between al Khatib! and Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh in the beginning of the latter's activities. So he sent a man to Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh with a letter and some presents to have those letters, but his letter was intercepted by the guard of the fort and handed over to the Sultān, who produced it as an evidence against Sa'd. Khālid Anikhirwān had a close personal contact with Sa'd, as he says in the beginning of this version ; so his account is probably to be preferred to anyone else's. Bundārl, 83-85.

¹ I.A., 183.

² *Ibid*, 183-184. Bundāri; 88.

³ Bundārl, 99-100, 106.

⁴ *Ibid*, 106. According to I. A., Ahmad was dismissed in 504/1109-10 and Khatir succeeded him.

In other fields of civil administration too, we find similar inefficiency and instability owing to the civil war between the rival political factions. The situation is well illustrated by the frequent changes of the holders of the office of Shihnah,¹ the military governor who was mainly responsible for the preservation of law and order in the chief cities of the empire. We may mention, for example, the instance of the Shibnahs of Baghdad during this period. At the time of the death of Malikshah, Sa'd al-Daulah Kuharain was the Shihnah of Baghdad, but Barkiyaruq soon dismissed him in 486/1093 and confiscated his fiefs on account of his treason in assisting the rebel Tutush. Yalbard succeeded him, both in the Shihnahship of Baghdad and in his fiefs.² Again, in Rajab 487/1094 we find Aytakin Jab, the Shibnah of Tutush establishing jurisdiction by driving out Yalbard, who was, however, put to death by Barkiyaruq himself in the very year of his appointment after his return from Daquqa, for slandering the mother of the Sultan.³ In Safar 488/1095, Yusuf b Abiq, the Turkoman, was sent as Shihnah by Tutush with a

¹ Under him was the 'naqib' who was the actual administrator of the department corresponding to the present permanent secretaries of state or administrative heads. I. A., 99, Ma'wardi, 93.

² I. A., 92. He was appointed by Alp Arslan. *Ibid*, 122.

³ *Ibid*, 93,

horde of Turkmen, but he was refused admittance into the city. On the arrival of Şadaqah from Hillah he retired to Tarlq Khurasan and plundered Bajsara. Then again on the return of Sadaqah to flLillah, he came back to Bagħdād and intended to plunder and massacre the inhabitants in reprisal, but one of his Amīrs dissuaded him.¹ In the meantime, the news of the defeat and death of Tutuṣh reached him, so he at once left Bagħdād and came to Mawṣil and thence to Aleppo, where he was killed in Muḥarram 489/1095 by Majan, the Ea'is al-Afcdath (leader of the youth).² Then IlghāzI was appointed K̲hihnaḥ by Sultān Md.; during his term of office, Kumaṣhtakln Qaiṣarl was sent by Barkiyāruq as Shihnaḥ in Babi' 1496/1102, but he had to vacate Bagħdād on 12 Rabi II of the same year, at the intervention of Şadaqah and the Caliph.³ After the treaty between Barkiyaruq and Md., IlghāzI transferred his allegiance to Barkiyaruq, for which he was abused by Şadaqah.⁴ Perhaps as a consequence of this wavering allegiance, in Sha'ban 498/1105 Sultān Md. appointed Qasim al-Daulah Aqsunqur Bursuql, who remained his constant companion in all the battles⁵ Shihnaḥ over Iraq. He was, however, superseded

¹ I. A., 101.

² *Ibid*, 105.

³ *Ibid*, 148.

⁴ *Ibid*, 178.

⁵ *Ibid*, 105.

in 502/1108-9 by Mujāhid al-Dīn Bahnīz, who rendered valuable services to Sultān Md. by realising the monies exacted from Abul Qāsim Ḥusain, the treasurer, and Abul Faraj, the son of Eais al-Ruasā and repairing the government houses.¹

The head of the police in each town was called Šfṭhib al-Shurṭah (Prefect of Police). In 487 we find Sahib al-shurṭah Yaman appearing at Nahr Ṭābiq after it had been completely burnt down in the communal riot between its inhabitants and those of the Irjā Gate (Bāb al-Irjā). He killed a concealed fugitive and thus became unpopular, so he was dismissed on the third day.² The police force under him was semi-military in organisation like the modern 'gendarmes.' Probably he was in charge of what Māwardī mentions as Walayat al-Maʿālim (the Criminal Investigation Department).³ For purely civil purposes, however, there was another police force under the Muḥtasib or Wah al-Hisbah (inquisitor), an old office whose continuance is shown, for example, by the appointment in Bamadān 501/1108 of Qaḍī Abul 'Abbas Ibn Rāṭabi as Muḥtasib of Baghdad.⁴

On the judicial side the Head of the Department was the Chief Justice (Qaḍī-al-Quḍah), under

¹ L A., 199.

² Ibid, 98.

³ P. 73, the sovereign himself or his representative normally heard the cases.

⁴ I. A., 191.

whom were many judges (Qādis) in each province. Their various functions have been summarised by H. F. Amedroz¹ from Māwardī.² In addition to their normal judicial functions, the Chief Justice and judges played, during this period of civil war, an important part as intermediaries between the rival Sultāns and sometimes between the Sultān and the Caliph too. In Babi' II 497/1104, Sultān Barkiyāruq sent Qādi Abul Muzaffar and Qacji Abul Faraj Aḥmad to his brother Muḥammad to negotiate a settlement.³ In Rabi' II 501/1107, the Sultān sent the Chief Justice, Abu Sa'id Harawī to Ṣadaqah to assure him of his goodwill and to invite him to join a holy war against the crusaders, which was, however, foiled by the evil influence of Ṣadaqah's rash general Sa'id. Afterwards, the Caliph also sent him to Ṣadaqah, with the terms of agreement from the Sultān.⁴

The 'Ra'īs' in each town resembled the modern mayor and acted on ceremonial occasions such as the coronation of a new Sultān. Abū Muslim, the Ra'īs of Rayy put the golden crown on Barkiyāruq's head on his accession to the throne.⁵ The Mustawfi was the chief accountant corresponding to the modern Chancellor of the Exchequer or

¹ The office of Qadi in the Aḥkām Sultāniyyah of Māwardī, J. E. A. S., July 1910, also published separately.

² Pp. 61-73.

³ I. A., 154.

⁴ *Ibid*, 187.

⁵ Rāwandī, 140-141.

financial administrator. During the ministry of Sa'd al-Mulk, Zain al-Mulk Abu Sa'd b Hindū was the Mustawfi of Sulṭān Md. He was extravagant and taxed the people heavily and took away their property unjustly. After the death of Sa'd al-Mulk he was arrested on charges of corruption and imprisoned for many years. His property was confiscated and his houses were plundered.¹

The 'wakildar' was the courier between the Sultan and the Wazir. His rank was higher than that of the ordinary Chamberlain (Haḡib). Amlrī Qazwini called Zakī was appointed 'Wakīldar' by Sa'd al-Mulk without having any regard to his qualifications and competence. He was originally a merchant, so he was ignorant of the manners of the court. All the courtiers, and even the Sulṭān were offended by his rudeness, and Sa'd al-Mulk himself had to suffer for him.² Even the secretaries and scribes of this period were, generally speaking, men of no consequence and qualifications. Khalid Anūshirwan rightly laments their lack of education in the following anonymous verse: " Woe for time, it has brought wonders, branches of knowledge and manners have been effaced ; it has brought forth scribes whom, had I my way, I would have sent back to elementary schools."³

¹ Bundārī, 85, Rāwandī, 140, Barthold, 27.

² Bundārī, 86.

³ *ibid*, 93.

The Sultanate, as a political institution distinct from the Caliphate, was created when the 'Abbasid power was on the wane, to accommodate the ambitions of the most prominent provincial rulers by delegating to them temporal powers and reserving to the Caliphs only the religious supervision. Maḥmūd of Ḥhaznah was, perhaps, the first person to assume the title of Sulṭān in this sense.¹ But the jurisdiction of Caliph and Sulṭān became coterminous for the first time in the Saljtiqid empire. And as there was no clear line of demarcation between the two fields of temporal and religious matters in Islam, the two jurisdictions necessarily overlapped.² The Caliph's all-important function, it seems, was the insertion of the legitimate Sulṭān's name in the Khuṭbāh after his own name. This can safely be inferred from the eagerness of each of the rival claimants to the Sultanate to have his authority legalized by the Caliph during the unending civil war after the death of Malikshah. Turkān Khfitūn,³ Tutush,⁴ Barkiyāruq⁵ and Md.⁽ⁱ⁾ all wanted to have their power duly authorised by the Caliph. If they

¹ Nizām al-Mulk, 44. 'Ufci. L. A., Margin, p. 19. Gardizi, 62-63.

² Samarqandī, 11.

³ Yazdī, 72. I. A., 159. Malikshah b Barkiyāruq's Khutbah.

⁴ I. A., 91.

⁵ *Ibid*, 94.

⁶ *Ibid*, 119, 122.

could not enforce their will by request, some of them even took recourse to the questionable means of intimidation. Nay, in times of high political tension, the rival Sulṭāns and even Amirs arrogated to themselves the right to insert the name of whomsoever they liked in the Khuṭbāh.¹

Eegarding the relations of the Saljūqid Sulṭāns during this period with the Caliphate of Baghdād, Dr. A. H. Şiddiq's thesis "Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia," especially the chapter on "Caliphate and Sultanate/" covers the ground fairly well.² It is, therefore, proposed here simply to supplement it with a few new facts shedding more light on the matter. During this period the Caliph had no temporal control over any part of the empire except the dubious dual administration of Baghdād itself, which was a necessary corollary of the absence of the Sulṭān from the metropolis of Islām. At Baghdād, the Shiḥnah was the representative of the Sulṭān, responsible for the preservation of law and order in the city.³ But when he exceeded his power and oppressed the people, the Caliph

¹ As was done by Tutuṣh after the conquest of Bahbah in 466/1093 (I. A., 91) and by Sadaqah in substituting Md/s name for Barkiyaruq'a in 494 (I. A., 127) by Yanal at Kayy (I. A., 147) by Turkān (I. A., 92).

² Islamic Culture, July 1936.

³ For civil and revenue affairs of Baghdād the Sultan used to appoint an 'Amīr, who was the head of the Chan-

invariably used to intervene in the matter. In Rajab 487/1094 Aytakfn Jāb, the Shiḥnah of Baghdād, sent his brother to punish the insolent inhabitants of the Baṣrah Gate which was entirely burnt down under instructions from him. The Naqib Turad al-Zainabī had a secretary called Ibn Sinān who was murdered, so the Naqib requisitioned a new secretary from the Shiḥnah to take charge of the administration. The Shiḥnah sent his own, Ḥājib Muḥammad, but the insurgent inhabitants stoned him as well. The Hajib returned to his master, the Shiḥnah, and reported the matter, whereupon a punitive expedition was at once dispatched to restore law and order in the distracted area, as is the primary duty of every government. The inhabitants of Karkh were too greedy to miss this opportunity of fishing in troubled waters ; they readily joined the expedition, which was already overcrowded. Arson and loot had free play : when one side revels in lawlessness, the other side is not expected to play the lamb. So excess on the part of the executive was a natural consequence of the insubordination of the inhabitants. Yet Caliph Muqtadi ordered restraint and

every or Correspondence Department (Dīwān al-Basūil). I. A., 172, Gibb. 8. A'az Abul Mahāsin was appointed 'Amid of Sulṭān Md. by his Wazir Mu'ayyid in 493. I A , 124. Abul Ma'ali Mufaḍḍal b 'Abd al-Bazzaq and lighāzī were appointed tax-collector and Shiḥnah respectively of Bāghdād by Sulṭān Md. in 495/1101. I. A., 136.

cessation and the Shihnah obeyed his order,¹ The Caliph similarly interfered with Ilghāzī in Rajab 595/1102 through the Chief Justice and Alkiya al-Harrās, the teacher of Nizāmiyah, and prevented him from sacking the west bank of Baghḍtd.² The Caliph, having no army of his own, had to depend upon the troops of the Sultān and Amirs, as we find Caliph Mustazhir appealing to Ṣadaqah in order to prevent the oppression of Yanāl at Baghḍdad after the failure of his request through Abdul Hasan Damaghānī, the Chief Justice. Sadaqa accordingly reached Baghḍdad on 4 Shawwāl 496/1103 and pitched his tent at Najmī. But an agreement being reached, Ṣadaqah left for Hillah, leaving his son Dubais to enforce the fulfilment of its terms. Yanāl subsequently violated the terms, oppressed the people and gave villages as fiefs to his followers. The Caliph again had to requisition the help of Ṣadaqah. This time he sent 1,000 horsemen, who marched towards Yanāl with a group of the Caliph's followers (ومعهم جماعة من اصحاب الخليفة) and Ilghāzī, the Shihnah of Baghḍād. On hearing this, Yanāl crossed the Tigris and proceeded to Bājsarā ; so the expedition came back without any fighting.² In Sha'ban 493/1100, we find Caliph Mustazhir ordering Kamal al-Daulah Yam an to restore

¹ I.A., 90.

² *Ibid*, 140.

peace and order in the city, as the disorders of the 'Ayyars¹ went to extremes in the western part of Bagħdad. Kamāl arrested a group of their chiefs and searched for the rest, so they had to flee from the city.² In Rabi II 438/1095, we find the public of Bagħdad observing the day of commencing the construction of a wall of the palace as a day of festivity and ceremony by order of 'Amid al-Daulah, the wazir of the Caliph.³

The Sultāns had, however, to take a formal oath of allegiance to the Caliph, and the latter thus became involved in the political strife of the period. Although everything was decided by the sword, the Caliph nonetheless gave the finishing touch by his *ex post facto* legal sanction to the triumphant party. The Caliph's action in fact was tantamount to a modern act of indemnity by which the legislature legalizes an illegal act of the executive. Thus we find that though Maḥmud was *de jure* Sultān duly recognised by Caliph Muqtadi, yet the latter, replying to the deputation

¹ Corporation of robbers, originally Ghāzīs: Barthold, 215, 312 ; Cardizi texts, p. 5.

² I.A., 147.

³ *Ibid*, 124. They were the cause of disorder at Bagħdād in 497/1103-4. *Ibid*, 157. They took part in the riot between Ilghāzī and the public of Bagħdād in Bajab 495. *Ibid*, 140.

⁴ *Ibid*, 104. In Jumada I 485/1092 we find him taking a prominent part in extinguishing the fire of Bagħdād by his untiring efforts. I.A., 90.

of the rebel Tutuṣh regarding the Khutbāh said : " I am waiting the arrival of messengers from the army." ¹ Again, Caliph Mustazhir duly invested Barkiyāruq by presenting him with the robe of honour through his wazlr, 'Amid al-Daulah, and by delivering the Khutbah in his name under the title of Rukn al-Dlra (the pillar of religion) on Friday, 14 Mufcarram 487/1094. But in the very same year, the same Caliph delivered the Khutbāh in the name of the rebel Tutuṣh after his victory over Barkiyāruq at the instance of Fakhr-al-Mulk and Aytakln Jab. ² He acted similarly in the case of the rebel Md. by delivering the Khutbāh in his name under the title of " the Refuge of the World and Religion," on Friday, 17 Dhu'lHijjah 492/1099 at the request of Sa'd al-Daulah Kūharain. ⁸ The whole affair was stage-managed like a farce. In the following year we find the puppet Caliph again delivering the Khutbāh in Barkiyāruq's name on Friday (mid-Ṣafar) two days before the latter's arrival at Baghdad. ⁴ The Caliph sent a sealed decree to Sultān Md. at the Sultan's palace at Baghdad, guaranteeing him the redress of the misbehaviour of Barkiyāruq and his party and congratulating him on his august visit with his

¹ I.A., 91.

² *Ibid*, 96.

³ *Ibid*, 119.

⁴ *Ibid*, 121,

brother Sanjar, and the Khuṭbāh was again automatically delivered in his name.¹ Nay, we sometimes find the Caliph actively inciting one party against the other. After the departure of Md. from Baghdād, news reached the Caliph that Barkiyāruq had slandered him at Wāsīt in the presence of his nobles. So he sent after Md. and brought him back to Baghdād, narrated to him the whole story, declared his intention to march with Md. against Barkiyāruq, whereupon Md. said, "There is no need of the Commander of the Faithful's march, I alone am strong enough for this pleasant task/'²

The Caliphate being a religious institution, the wazīrs of the Caliph were often made responsible for the inconsistency and illegal acts of the Caliph. The English legal maxim 'the king can do no wrong' was perhaps practised in those early days. 'Amid-al-Daulah b Jahīr, the wazīr of Caliph Mustazhir, was imprisoned by Barkiyāruq apparently for the political reason of delivering the Khuṭbāh in Md.'s name. The wazīr further had to pay Barkiyāruq 160,000 dīnārs as arrears of annuity due from him and his father, who had been the Wālīs of Diyār Bakr and Mawṣil during the reign of Malikshah.³ He was again made the victim of the wīath of Sulṭān Md. perhaps for the same political offence of delivering the Khuṭbāh in Barkiyāruq's name.

¹ L A., 128,

² Ibīd, 136.

³ *Ibid*, 122.

This time he **was** dismissed and imprisoned together with his brothers. He had to pay a fine of 25,000 dinars at the instance of A'az Abul Mahasin, who was specially deputed to Baghdād for this purpose by Mu'ayyid, the wazir of Md.¹ The wazirs of **the** Caliph were often dismissed and appointed under instructions from the Sultān, as was done in the case of Majd al-Din Ibn Muṭṭalib who was, however, afterwards restored to his office with the permission of Sultān Md. on conditions of justice, good behaviour and non-employment of any of the protected people (in the State service.² Sometimes Caliph's wazlrs were appointed Sultan's wazlrs and *vice versa*.⁸

¹ L A., 124.

² *Ibid*, 191.

³ Sadīdal-Mulk, Sultān's wazir was appointed Caliph's wazir (I.A., 151), while Babib Maṣsur, Caliph's wazir, was appointed Sultān's wazir (I.A., 209).

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION : ECONOMIC FACTORS

On the purely religious side, we find that Sectarianism was one of the curses of the Saljūqīd empire. The decline of the strong central government facilitated the promotion) and propagation of the subversive Bāṭini heresy, which in its turn still more weakened those at the head of the State by murdering the political geniuses of the time. The 'Mais' who were the lowest in the order of the Ismīlīlīs, were so fanatical and rash that they held even their own lives very cheap and death never scared them. Mothers used to weep for grief whenever they found that their sons returned home safely after the accomplishment of murders allotted to them.¹ Their first political victim was the famous Nizām al-Mulk himself, who was approached by a Dailami boy in the guise of a plaintiff, after his breakfast in the evening of 10 Eamāḍān 485/1092. The boy murdered him with a knife and while he was fleeing, stumbled on the rope of the tent at Nihawand, consequently he was caught and* killed then and there.² In Ṣafar of 490/1097 they

¹ Browne, Vol. I I . p. 209.

² I. A, 84. According to I. Q. 121, the murder took place at Hamadān and the assailant escaped. Bundāri (59) gives no details.

murdered all on a sudden 'Abdur Rabman Sumai-**raml**, the wazir of the mother of Barkiyaruq; this time also the assailant was put to death but afterwards.¹ In the end of Ramaḍān 493/1100, two Bāṭinīs assassinated Amir Bulkābak Sarmaz, the Shihnah of Isfahān, in the palace of Sulṭān Md. at Isfahan. One of them escaped and the other was killed. Bulkābak always used to wear a coat of mail and was never without a large bodyguard, as he was very alarmed by the Bāṭinī atrocities. On this day he entered the palace with a small bodyguard and had neglected to wear his coat of mail, thus the Bāṭinīs were given a good chance.² In the year 499/1105-6 Abul 'Ala Sa'id Abu Muhammad, Qaḍi of Nīshāpūr was murdered by a Bāṭinī in the cathedral mosque of Isfahan.³ Abul Muẓaffar b al-khajandī was murdered by an 'Alid Bāṭinī at Rayy as soon as he left the chair after preaching a sermon in 497/1103-4.⁴ Under the year 500/1105 Ibn al-Aṭhīr mentions the murder of Fakhr-al-Mulk, the eldest son of Nizām-al-Mulk,⁵ by a Bāṭinī, with a long fanciful story

¹ I. A. 112.

² I. A. 125. This and the murders of Arghūsh, Qumash the Nizāmīte slaves, Md.'s father-in-law and other prominent partisans of Md. were imputed to Barkiyāruq. I. A. 133.

³ I. A. 163.

⁴ *Ibid*, 153.

⁵ His full name is Abul Muẓaffar 'Alī; he was the wazir of Barkiyāruq; after his dismissal he went to Nishāpūr and was appointed wazir by Sanjar b Malikshah. I. A. 174.

of his dream. He was fasting on 10 Muḥarram and in the afternoon he left his room, intending to go to the women's quarter when he heard the touching cry of a plaintiff, saying "Muslims are gone, there is none to remove an oppression and to take by the hand one oppressed."¹ So he sent for him and the man handed over to him a letter. While he was pondering over it, the Bātinī dispatched him with a knife. He was at the time of his murder sixty-six years old. The murderer was arrested and taken before Sanjar, to whom he deposed against the nobles of the Sulṭān, falsely alleging that they had set him to commit the murder. The persons named, though innocent, were put to death along with the Bātinī. The story clearly illustrates the shrewdness and sagacity of the Bātinīs and shows how they used to decimate their enemies, even by their very deaths.¹

In Ṣafar 502/1108 they murdered 'Ubaidullāh b 'Alī, the Qaḍī of Isfahān, at Hamadān on Friday, when one 'Ajamī penetrated to him in the midst of his followers and did away with him. The Qaḍī was a bitter antagonist of this sect and used to wear a coat of mail out of fear. In the same year on the day of 'Id al-Fiṭr, Saīd b 'Abd al-Rahman, Qaḍī of Nishapur, was assassinated by a Bātinī, who also was put to death.²

¹ I . A. 175.

² *Ibid*, 199.

In the same year in Muharram, Ibn-al-Athīr records "the unnatural death of 'Abdul Wāhid, the Shāfiite jurist of Būyān in Tabaristān. Although Browne mentions his name as one of the victims of the Bāṭinis,¹ it is not quite clear from texts of the source, where the word qatā* is used without any further² indication.

The political factions often employed the Batinīs as their instrument in clearing the field of their opponents. The first instance is the murder of Niẓām al-Mulk, which was arranged at the direction of Tāj al-Mulk, his rival colleague.⁸ The second is the murder of Janāḥ al-Daulah, the lord of JJims, by three Persians belonging to the Batiniyah at the cathedral mosque in 496/1102-3.⁴ They were commissioned by al-Hakīm al-Munajjim, apparently at the instigation of Ruḍwān, who was in open enmity with him.⁵ The third case is the murder of Mawḍūd in Eabi' I 507/1113 at the cathedral mosque of Damascus, while he was walking in the courtyard of the mosque, having his hand in the hand of TugMakīn

¹ Voi. 2, p. 311.

² T. A. 200. According to Yazdī, Sulṭān Barkiyāruq's assailants were also Bāṭinis. He uses the same words **ملاحدة مغازيل** for the murderer of Niẓām-al-Mulk also, pp. 66 and 76.

³ Yazdi, 65-66.

⁴ Gibb, pp. 57-58. I. Q. 142.

⁵ L. Q. 133. 'Umarī f. 92.

after the prayer. A Bāṭinī struck him, wounding him in four places and he was at once taken to the house of Tughṭak̄m, who attempted in vain to break his fast. Mawḍūd died on the same day, the Batini also was killed and his head was taken for identification, but nobody could identify him, So his body was burnt, perhaps as an exemplary punishment, but more probably lest he should divulge the secret, as was done by Macbeth under similar circumstances to the sleeping grooms of the murdered Duncan. Tughṭak̄m was suspected of complicity in the plot, not only by Sulṭān Md. against whom he sided with Tlghāzī, both of them allied with the Franks, but also by the crusading King of the Franks, who wrote a letter to Tughṭak̄m stating that a nation whose 'Amīd was killed in the house of their Lord on their Sabbath day should be destroyed by God.¹ The last recorded case of this period is the murder of Ahmadil b Ibrahim b Wahsudan, the wālī of Marājḥah, in the palace of the Sultan at Baghdad in the beginning of Muḥarram 510/1116. While Ahmadil was sitting by the side of Tughṭak̄m, who was, perhaps, the real object of murder, a Bāṭinī came, in accordance with their usual tactics, in the guise of a weeping oppressed man with a letter in his hand. He requested Ahmadil to hand over

¹ L A. 209. There is also another version in I. A. stating that the Bāṭinīs did it on their own account as they were afraid of Mawḍūd,

the letter to Sultān Md. But as soon as he took the letter from his hand, the Bāṭinī struck him with a knife. Aḥmadil drew him down and sat on him ; at this stage another Bāṭinī Raiīq dashed forward, but Ahmadil killed them both, then a third Raflq came forward and killed Aḥmadil.¹ Though the target was missed and Ibn-al-Aṭḥlīr says that the doubt of Tugḡtaklīn and those present was dispelled by the fact that the assailants were Batinīs at whose audacity they were wondering, yet the practice was more in consonance with the past record and personal philosophy² of Sultān Md. He practised a similar trick in getting rid of Amir Aḡaz on 13 Jumada II 498/1105 after his apparent reconciliation with him.³

The Batinis occupied by force or fraud many mountain fortresses of the empire⁴ and established a rule of terror throughout the country, so much so that even the wāzirs and other high officials of the state were in constant danger of loss of life. As a precautionary measure, they obtained permission from the Sultans to appear before them with a coat of mail under their ordinary civil dress,⁵ while some of them used to carry their

¹ L.A. 217.

² Samarqandī, 46.

³ L.A., 161.

⁴ Browne I I, 204, 316. I. A. 131.

⁵ I. A. 199, 125, 133.

winding sheets with them wherever they went.¹ The derivation of the very word assassin from 'Hashishin' may serve to describe their horrible character.² They also took a prominent part in the unending civil war after the death of Malik-shah. Thus, we find Barkiyāruq being accused of inclining towards the Bāṭinīs by the partisans of Md.³ Nay, even the Batini elements in the army of Barkiyaruq intimidated their religious opponents and were on the verge of a mutiny when Barkiyaruq ordered a ruthless suppression of them. All the Bāṭinis of the army who were properly identified were executed. Md. b Dushmun-ziār, the amir of Yazd, was the leader of the projected *coup d'etat*. He fled but on the second day he was overtaken by the army of the Sultan, as he had lost his way. His tent was raided and the prepared arms and armour were found. The crowd of suspects were taken out into the parade ground and killed. There were killed also a number of innocent men who were not Bāṭinis through the instigation of their enemies.⁴ In the battle between Sanjar and Barkiyaruq, Amlr-dad Habṣḥr b Tuntaq employed 5,000 Bāṭini foot

¹ I. A. 120, e.g. Majd al-Mulk Balāsānī.

² Chambers's Diet., Enoyolo. Brit.

³ I. A. 133.

⁴ Among them was the son of Kaiqubād, the military governor of Takrīt, I.A. 134.

soldiers.¹ Malik Kuḍwān was also sympathetic to the Bātinis who enlisted his favour by deceitful devices and intrigues, but after his death his son Alp Arslān persecuted them at the instance of Ibn Badf, the Rais of Aleppo.²

Besides the Bātinī vandalism, many other communal riots took place during this period between the Shi'as and the Sunnīs, as well as between the Sba'is and the Hanballs.³ Many lives and much property were lost in their conflicts and the ultimate result was impoverishment of the population. We may mention a few of them in detail.

In Dhu'l IJijah 488/1095 one of the amīrs of Khurāsān mustered a huge army, marched to Nisbapur and besieged it. But, fortunately, the inhabitants united together and fought him valiantly, so that after about forty days' siege he had to withdraw his forces in Muḥarram 489/1095. As soon, however, as the common enemy disappeared, the emboldened inhabitants began to dissipate their energy in sectarian riots. Nīshāpūr, saved from the clutches of the Khurāsānī Amir, was turned into a more vicious arena of communal clashes. The Hanafis and the Shaf'ī'is joined hands under their respective leaders Qaḍī Md. b Afcmad Sa'ld and Abūl Qāsim b Imām-al-Ṣaramāin Abūl Ma'āll al-

¹ I. A. 123.

² Gibb. 145, I.Q. 187-188. I.A. 209.

³ *Ibid*, 98.

Juwaini against the Karramites, who were led by Md. Shad. After many acts of vandalism were committed on both sides, including the destruction of the Karramite madrasahs, the Hanafis and the Shaf'ls got the upper hand. There was great loss of life in this fratricidal feud.¹

On Muḥarram 10, 510/1116, there took place another great sectarian riot at the Mashhad of 'Ali b Mūsī al-Riḍā in Ṭūs. A certain 'Alid quarrelled with some of the learned jurists of Ṭūs on that day, which ultimately led to, fighting, but the matter was then dropped. Afterwards both parties sought the help of their partisans and the entire inhabitants of Ṭūs were involved in the riot. Here also, apparently the Sūnnis besieged Mashhad and demolished it. They killed whomsoever they came across and plundered the property of all. Then they dispersed. But the inhabitants of Mashhad became so panic-stricken that they dropped the Khuṭbāh, which is an essential part of the prayer on Fridays, till Aḍud al-Dīn Faramars b 'Ali constructed a protective wall in 515/1121.²

Although details of such sectarian feuds are preserved to us only in a few cases, there is good reason to presume that similar feuds distracted other towns in the Empire as well, and so contributed to a general lowering of the standard of economic prosperity.

¹ LA. 104.

² *Ibid*, 220.

The economic system of the Saljūqs offered little means of relieving the growing miseries of a bad situation. They had recourse to an indiscriminate Iqtā' system¹ for ready collection of land revenues, as was done by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, by introducing Permanent Settlement in Bengal during the decline of the Moghul Empire. The contrast between the two systems was that the Iqtā was unstable while the Permanent Settlement of Bengal is still in vogue. Besides, unlike the Iqtā, the Permanent Settlement had no military stipulation attached to it ; it was a purely civil arrangement while Iqtā made the fief-holders military vassals of the Sultān by requiring them to maintain troops of their own entirely at their own expense, to be utilised by the Sultān in times of war. This device was also made to relieve the imperial treasury of the drain on the upkeep of the armed forces of the state. But this palliative proved a fatal weapon in the hands of the ambitious amirs who vied with one another for the privilege of milking the most productive districts.² Furthermore, it provided a standing encouragement to rebellion and the foundation of independent principalities. The rivalry

¹ Some of the Iqtā's, *e.g.*, 'Iqta'-i-tamlik' were certainly hereditary, as we learn from the letters patent (Manshur) of Sultān Md. to Zahir al-Din Tughtailn granting him the province of Syria. I.Q. 194.

² Gibb. 34.

between the amirs has already been dealt with in detail ; as regards the independent principalities, mention may be made of the Saljūqs of Rūm and Kirmān as well as that of the dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs who succeeded the great Saljūqs.¹

The unhappy empire suffered from many earthquakes of unprecedented violence, which reduced prosperous places to ruins during this period. In Jumada II 508/1114 a great earthquake occurred in Syria and Jazīrah, as a result of which Ruhā, ^Jurrān, Sumaisāt, Bālis and other towns became desolate and many people lost their lives under the fall of buildings.² In Rabi' II 487/1094 there took place many consecutive earthquakes of longer duration, but there was less destruction.³

The visitation of plagues and pestilence was also very common in those days, and famines were not infrequent. These were caused chiefly by serious droughts which laid waste the countryside, or by the excessive floods which totally destroyed the crops. As an illustration of the former we may mention the great famine of 'Irāq in 493/1099-1100. The rivers became dry as there was no rain for a long time. Prices rose abnormally high, so much so that one Kurr of wheat was sold for seventy dinārs and often exceeded even that. People perished in great numbers, sometimes six dead bodies

¹ L A. 110-111.

² Gibb. 149, LQ. 191, L A. 214.

³ *Ibid*, 98, I.Q. 127.

were carried in a single bier.¹ The latter would be exemplified by the description of the flood of 'Iraq in 802/1108-9. In April the Tigris rose very high ; the roads being inundated, communications were cut off and the winter and summer crops were drowned. A great famine broke out, the price of one round pad (Kurr) of bran mixed with flour went up to ten Imam! dinars and there was no bread at all. People lived on dates and green broad beans. The inhabitants of Sawād had nothing to eat during the whole month of Ramaḍan and half of Shawwal except dry grass and mulberries.² In 492/1098-9 a terrible famine broke out in Khurasan which lasted for two years, as the heavy snowfall destroyed the crops completely. It was followed by the pestilence of Cholera, of which many people died ; the number was so great that burial could not be provided for them.⁸

¹ I.A. 125.

² Ibid, 198

³ *Ibid*, 121. Regarding measures to prevent famines the following is the solitary recorded instance. In 489/1095-6, when the six planets were in the same line, the astrologers predicted a deluge like that of Noah. Then the Caliph Mustazbir summoned Ibn 'Iṣṭūn the astrologer, who opined that during Noah's time the seven planets were in the same line and that a city or a place where many people from different countries gathered together might be submerged. The people apprehended Baghdad as failing within the definition ; and the dams and weak points on **the bank** were consequently repaired and strengthened. I.A. 107.

Moreover, these famines were often the direct result of the depredations of the rapacious and war-like bands whom Professor H. A. R. Gibb justly describes as robber-baron amīrs.¹ Some of them even practised brigandage as a profession with the connivance of the local wālis. The story of Yāqūtī, nephew of Suqmān, will make the matter clear. After his release by Karbūqa through the intercession of his grandmother, he stayed near Mardin with a view to capturing it from its wāli, the singer of Barkiyāruq, who had already been harassed by the Kurdish brigands. Yāqūtī wrote to the Singer wāli in the following words : " We have become friends and I intend to fortify your city in order to prevent the Kurds from attacking it and I shall plunder other places and thereby gather riches which I shall spend in your city and I shall live in the suburb/" Accordingly the wāli permitted him to carry on his plan and he began to plunder from Bab-i-Khilat up to Baghdād. Some of the soldiers of the fort also used to accompany him for the sake of booty. He used to honour them and never interfered with them ; so they confided in him. On a certain day it happened that most of the soldiery accompanied him. But when they returned from the raid he gave orders to arrest and imprison them and then preceded them to the fort and called out to their families to open the gate on pain of death.

¹ P. 22.

On their refusal he killed one of them and the panic-stricken residents surrendered the fort to him. He **made** it his headquarters and proceeded to Nūsāibīn and plundered Jazīrah which was under Jikirmish.¹ Again, the prolonged siege of prosperous towns by rival amirs, Fātimid navies, and later by crusaders, impoverished these trade emporia to a very large extent, and the frequency of sieges made their recovery almost impossible. Nay, they often gave rise to temporary famines of great severity.² In Jumada II 494/1101, we find the army of Banjar destroying everything they could lay hands upon at Dāmaghān. The terrified inhabitants took shelter in the fort of Kardkuh. Prices rose high till the people ate corpses of dogs and even human flesh.³ Even the army of Sultan Barktyaruq ravaged the country on his way from Baghdad to Wasit. Abu Ali al-Fariqi the Qaḍī of Wasit had to petition the Sultan repeatedly in order to prevent its being plundered by his army in 495/1101. * In the same year the army of Md. plundered and laid waste Tāriq Khurasān, where they were temporarily stationed.⁴ Md. and Sanjar packed Hāmādān and exacted money from its wealthy inhabitants; the Rais of Hāmādān alone was fined 100,000 dinars,⁵

I.A., 163. ² I. Q. 127. ³ I. A. 126.

⁴ *Ibid*, 123, 137. So did the army of Tutush in Rabi I I. 587, I. Q. 126, 129. Dhahabī. f. 94a.

⁵ I, A. 127.

During the prolonged siege of Isfahān by Barkiyāruq in Jumada I 495/1102, Md. drove out from the city the weak and the indigent, so th^{at} the quarters became uninhabited and provisions ran short and the people began to eat horses, camels and the like. He exacted money by force from the inhabitants to satisfy the ever-increasing demand of his troops. Prices rose very high, ten mans of wheat were sold for a dīnār, four riṭls of meat for a dīnār and every 100 riṭls of straw for four dīnars ; and furniture became cheap for want of customers.¹

In Babī' I 496/1102, during the Qaisari tangle, we find Ilghāzi and Suqmān plundering Dujail. " They stayed neither at a large village nor at a small one but they plundered the properties and spoiled the maidens," says Ibn al-Athlir.² The 'Arabs and Kurds of Sadaqah also ravaged Nahr Malik, but unlike the Turkmens they did nōt meddle with women. They simply destroyed everything they came across by sword or fire. The means of living were thus ruined and prices rose high ; the wheat that was sold ten riṭls for a qīrat became three riṭls for a qīrat, and every other commodity followed suit.³

At the end of 506/1113, we find Baldwin, the Frankish King, consecutively raiding the villages

¹ I. A. 138. I, Q. 127. Dhahabi /94a.

² I. A. 148.

³ *Ibid*, 149.

surrounding Damascus and thereby causing a famine in the city. Consequently prices rose high and provisions became scanty. So in Muḥarram of the following year, Mawṭid of Mawṣil, Tamlfak of Sanjar, Ayāz b Ilghāzī and Tughtakīn of Damascus took concerted action against the Crusaders.¹

Arson and outbreak of fire, in the absence of any fire brigade, were responsible for the desolation of prosperous towns and flourishing villages throughout the Empire. In Jumada I 485/1092, a fire broke out at Baghdād in which Nahr al-M'ala, 'Aqd al-Haḍid up to Kharbat al-Hirrās and Gate of the Mint, the quarter of money-exchangers and florists, together with many inhabitants, were burnt down.² In Dhūl Hijjah 501/1108, Kharābah Ibn Jardah was burnt in which many people perished and uncountable property was destroyed. Some people escaped through a hole which they dug into the wall of the ward, to the cemetery of the Abraz Gate. A group of Jews did not shift anything on account of their Sabbath day. After this there took place many other fires at different quarters, and Ibn-al-Athīr gives a fascinating love-story about the origin of these fires

1 I. A. 208. Gibb 132, I. Q. 182-184. According to I. Q. he incessantly raided at Bathaniyah one of its districts and as a result the road was intercepted.

2 I. A. 90.

which made the inhabitants restless.¹ In 510/1116-17, a great fire broke out in the sheep folds near the Nizamiyyah College and the woodwork within was burnt down ; the fire spread to Salsalah quarter and the sparks flew to the Marâtib Gate where some houses were burnt ; the library of the Nizāmiyyah was also burnt down, but the books were saved as the jurists shifted them in good time.²

Again, as the Bātinis succeeded in establishing a sort of brigand government within the imperial state, the revenues of the places under the *de facto* authority of the former were naturally lost to the *de jure* sovereignty of the latter. This queer kind of rival duplication of jurisdiction led to the abject pauperisation of the population and to the deficiency of the imperial ' Exchequer.'³ So the Sulṭāns resorted to base means of collecting revenues by imposing illegal customs and excise duties (Mukūs). Malikshah abolished all kinds of taxes that were calculated to be a barrier to the natural flow of commerce and trade in 479/1086.⁴ Thus we find commerce at its best during the last few

¹ P. 191-192.1. Q. says that more than 500 houses were burnt down and the inhabitants became paupers, p. 162.

² I. A. 220. Shams al-Dīn, f. 267.

³ This was the reason of Sulṭān Md.'s persecution of the Bātinis in the beginning of his reign, 500/1106-7. I. A., 181.

⁴ L Q. 118. I. A. 88.

years of his reign, with its system of free circulation of bills of exchange from Khurasan to Antioch. Ni[^]ftm al-Mulk gave a bill of exchange on Antioch to the ferrymen of the Oxus (Jlḥūn) in 471/1078. Sultan Md. tried to emulate his father in Sha'ban 501/1108 by abolishing, perhaps momentarily, as was the case before, customs and excise duties, and in commemoration of this 'free trade' policy signboards were erected at the central markets of 'Irāq.²

Commerce was stifled by the political unsettlement and unending revolts, although a fresh impetus was given to it by the direct contact of the West with the East through the agency of the Crusaders. Furthermore warfare and rebellion being the order of the day, most of the male adults were recruited for fighting in the fields of battle. Thus, the factors of production were used as agents of destruction at the whim of the jingoist amirs and young Sultāns. Here and there, however, we find some benevolent spirits trying to protest against the prevailing jingoism of the period by offering the rival Sultan's and amīr's sound advice for amicable settlement of their differences. But their efforts were foiled by the self-seeking amīrs. We find wazir A'az Abul Maḥasin and Amir Ayāz readily responding to the peace efforts of Amid Baldaji in 495/1101 ; and

¹ Qazwīnī-Ta'rikh-i-Guzidah, 444.

² L.A., 191.

in Jumada II of the same year, the treaty was violated by Md. through the active help of Amīr Yan&lb. Anūsh¹ta¹kin, who deserted BarkiySruq and joined Md. after persecuting the Bāṭinls of the mountain fortresses.¹

Owing to the depletion of the imperial treasury, the Sultāns were often satisfied with a petty sum of money as a share of the brigandage and treachery of the amirs and their deputies. Thus, we find in 495/1101-2, when Sarkhāb b. Badr was defeated by Ilqarabli, the former's military governors of Khaftidhkan rebelled against him and occupied it with more than 2,000,000 dinārs, and when Sultān Barkiyāruq was passing by it, they sent him 200,000 dinārs.²

Even the Sultāns did not shrink from handing over their own officials to their enemies if a handsome price for their heads was offered. According to Eāwandl,⁸ Sultān Md. sold the head of Abū Hashim, the Ra'ls of Hamadān for 500,000 dinārs to bis wazīr Aḥmad b. Nizām al-Mulk. But when Abū Hashim came to know of it, he secretly came to the Sultān at Isfahān after a week's journey by a roundabout way. He bribed Lala Qaratagin? a servant of the Sultān, by paying him 10,000 dinārs in ten purses and thus got admittance to the

¹ I . A. 137, 154.

² Ibid., 144.

³ Pp, 162-166.

Sultān at night. Qullagh Khatun, the Sultān's wife was present and Abū Haṣḥim presented a unique pearl, the like of which was not in the Sultān's possession. After praising the Sultān and shedding tears, Abū Haṣḥim pathetically appealed to the Sultan as a descendant of the Prophet and offered 800,000 dinārs for the head of Aḥmad b, Niṣām al-Mulk; and the Sultān, being a Mammon-worshipper agreed to the proposal. Abū Haṣḥim returned to Hamadān with an officer of the Treasury, who brought to the Sultān the stipulated amount within a month. Abu Haṣḥim paid the entire amount out of his own treasury without borrowing or selling anything. This story illustrates that the officers of 'the State became extraordinarily rich at the expense of the people.¹

The Sultān did a similar thing with Zain al-Mulk Abū S'ad, his Mustawfi in 506/1112-1113, after his arrival at Isfahān from Baghdād. According to Bundftri he handed over Abū Sa'd to Tuntāsh for 200,000 dinārs, who took him to Sāwah and crucified him in its street on Friday, and the amirs made the Sultān forget about the amount which was misappropriated by Ibn al-Kāfi, the officiating wazīr.² Ibn-al-Athīr, however, gives a different version.⁸ According to him Abū Sa'd was handed over to

¹ Also corroborated by Bundārī 89-90 with slight variations. According to I. A., (200) 700,000 ; Khālīd Anushirwān himself was the person deputed to bring the money.

² P. 96.

³ I. A., 207,

Amir Kamyar on account of a grudge between them. When he reached Rayy, he mounted Abū Sa'd on a horse with a gold Utter, proclaiming that the Sultān had presented Abu Sa'd with a robe of honour for a fixed sum of money. Thus, he realised a large amount of money from the family of Abu Sa'd and then crucified him. The motive of his arrest, as given by Ibn-al-Athīr, was that he used frequently to talk ill of the Caliph and the Sultān.¹ Besides, the Sultāns illegally exacted huge sums from their helpless subjects in times of distress and allowed the troops to plunder the country in return for their services. Sultān Md. exacted 50,000 dinars from Mukhtass al-Mulk.² He also made illegal exactions from Abū'l Qāsim and Abu'l Faraj in 502.³

¹ I . A., 208.

² Bundari, 106*07.

³ I.A., 199.

PART II

Survey of the Political History (485/1092— 511/1117)

CHAPTER V

MAHMUD B. MALIKSHAH'S REIGN
(SHAWWAL 485/1092—SHAWWAL 487/1094)

The Saljūqid supremacy was at its zenith during the eighties of the eleventh century. But the famous Niẓām al-Mulk, whose mild diplomacy and sagacity were responsible for preserving the cordial relations between the Caliph and the Sultān on the one hand, and for maintaining the effective control of the central government over the unwieldy wālis on the other, suddenly fell from the favour of the Court-¹ Soon after, he was assassinated by a Batini, near Nihawand, at the age of ninety-three, on 10 Ramāḍān 485/1092 while he was on his way to Baghdād with Malikshah. Whether the

¹ It is clear from Būndārī, pp. 59-60, 1. A., pp. 84-85, and I. Q., p. 121, that Nizām al-Mulk was not actually dismissed. Bāwandi, Faḍl Allāh, Qazwīni and other Persian historians got the idea of dismissal from the verse of Abul Ma'ali Nabḥās, which might as well mean that the reconstruction of the ministry took place after the murder of Nizām al-Mulk,

Sultān was directly and personally involved in this plot is not certain. That the impertinence and officiousness of the numerous sons and grandsons of the great administrator holding important imperial offices led to the rupture between the Sultan and his wazīr, appears to be beyond doubt.¹ Malikshah followed his wazīr to the grave after thirty-five days.² He was at the time thirty-eight. Thus was fulfilled the prediction of the enraged and disgraced wazīr when he said: "Tell the Sultān on my behalf that the stability of that crown is dependent on this inkpot, and their union is strength and advantage, but when the one is eliminated, the other goes with it."⁸ Turkan and Taj al-Mulk were instrumental both in changing the mind of Malikshah against Nizām al-Mulk and finally bringing about his death. The subject of contention was the heir-apparentship of the Empire. Turkan had been cherishing the hope of raising her infant son, Maḥmud, to the Sultānate after Malikshah, and Nizām al-Mulk was naturally favourable to Barkiyarūq, the eldest surviving son of the Sultān by another wife.⁴ She succeeded, however, by her tactics in installing Maḥmud to the*

¹ I. A., 84.

² According to I. Q., 121, and Bundāri, 59, 33 days. According to Price, 18 days.

³ L A., 84-85. Bundari, 59-60.

⁴ Bundāri, 58-60. Bāwandī, 140. Yazdi, pp. 66-66.

84 SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY

Sultanate.¹ Barkiyftruq was taken into custody at a precautionary measure.² But when the news of the death of Malikshah became known to the followers of N i z a m al-Mulk, they rose in arms, rescued Barkiyaruq read the Khutbah in his name at Isfahān and proclaimed him Sultan. Thus many people gathered round him and a battle took place between the rival forces of Barkiyaruq and Turkān at the end of ghul Jfrjjah 485/1092 near Burūjird.⁸

The army of Turkān was defeated owing to the defection of some of the amīrs who went over to Barkiyaruq. The routed army returned to Isfahān but Barkiyaruq followed it and besieged the town.⁴ Taj al-Mulk took part in this battle. After the defeat he fled to some part of Burūjird, but was caught up later and taken to the army of Barkiyaruq while it was besieging Isfahan. Barkiyaruq, aware of his excellent accomplish-

¹ Ibn Abi al-Sarur f. 166. On the rôle of Turkān in this struggle see above, page 8.

² According to Bāwandi (pp. 140-141) and Bundāri, ^, 76, Barkiyaruq was not arrested but the followers of Nizām al-Mulk took him out of Isfahān at night to the direction of Sāwab and Abhah, where they appointed Kumushtagin his 'Atabeg.' They ultimately took him to Rayy, made him ascend the throne and Abu Muslim, the Rais of Rayy put the golden crown on his head ? and at the gate of Rayy about 20,000 troops gathered round him.

³ L A , 89.

⁴ *Ibid*, 89.

ments, intended to appoint him wazir. Taj-al-Mulk on his part tried to reconcile the Nizātnites in vain. At the instigation of 'Ufchmān, a Nizamite slave, he was assassinated in Muharram 486/1093.¹ Turkan, thus deprived of her wazir, compromised with Barkiyāruq. But she never gave up her long-cherished plan of self-aggrandisement. She then allured Ismail b Yaquti to rebel against Barkiyāruq.² After the sudden death of Ismā'ill, she again came to terms with Barkiyāruq. Under cover of this false settlement she tried to ally herself with Tutuṣh. This time sudden death put an end to her career of intrigues.³

Tutuṣh was the wali of Damascus and its neighbouring provinces. As he was proceeding to Baghdad to see his brother and liege-lord Malik-shah in 485/1092, the news of the Sultān's death reached him at Hit, which he immediately seized and thence returned to Damascus in order to muster his forces for an attempt to wrest the Sultānate for himself.⁴ He tried to occupy Eahbah and wrote to its wali to surrender it but without success.⁵ At Damascus he raised a huge army and spent a large amount of money on its equipment. His intention was first to march to Aleppo,

¹ I. A., 89.

² *Ibid*, 92. Rawandi, 141-42.

³ I. A., 99. Rawandi, 142.

⁴ I. A., 90.

⁵ I. Q., 122.

where Qasim al-Daulah iqsunqur was the wali. Seeing the dissensions among the sons of his late master, and the inadequacy of his own forces to fight the usurper, Āqsuaqur joined Tutuṣh and marched with him. He further wrote to Yaghisiyan, wali of Antioch and Buzan, wali of Ruḥā and Harrān to obey Tutuṣh pending the final issue of the forthcoming conflict between the sons of Malikshah. So they also joined hands with Tutuṣh and delivered the khuṭbāh in his name in their respective provinces. Then they all marched together to Eahbah and occupied it by capitulation in Muḥarram 486/1093.* Tutuṣh restored order in Eahbah and appointed his own officials.² Afterwards they marched to Naṣṭbīn, the inhabitants of which were hostile to Tutuṣh, in-as much as they openly abused him.- Tutuṣh however besieged it and finally occupied it by force in Safar 486/1093. After a terrible sack of the town it was handed over to Md. the 'Uqailid.³ The next object of the expedition was Mawṣil, which was in a troubled condition. There were two factions, one supporting the cause of Safia Khatun and her Son 'Ali by her late husband, Sharaf al-Daulah, and the other siding with Md. her stepson. In a battle near Kanāsa, 'Ali won the day and occupied Mawṣil, which was, however, soon handed over to

¹ I. A., 91.

² I. Q., 122.

³ I. A., 91.

his step-father Ibrāhīm on his release by Turkān after the death of Malikshah, who imprisoned him.¹

After the conquest of Nasibin, Tutush apked Ibrāhīm to deliver the Khutbāh in his name and to grant him safe conduct to Baghdād. The request being refused, a battle took place at Muḍayya' in Babi' 1 480/1093.² The parties were unequally balanced, 30,000 men fought for Ibrāhīm while Tutush had only 10,000 men, yet Tutush was victorious because Būzān and Aqsunqur were on his left and right wings respectively. Ibrahim and some of the 'Arab amīrs were taken captives and put to death. The property of the 'Arabs—their camels, goats, horses and equipment, were taken as booty. Many 'Arab women committed suicide for fear of ignominious treatment and captivity.³

Ibn al-Qalanīsī gives a very graphic and pathetic description of the atrocities.⁴

Tutush and the party next marched to Diyār Bakr in Babi' II of the year and captured Mayft-fariqn and the whole of Diyār Bakr from Ibn al-Marwan and afterwards moved to Adharbaijān.

¹ L A, 91.

² According to I. Q., on Sunday, the 2nd Kabī'I on the bank of the river Harmas, p. 123.

³ I.A., 91.

⁴ I.Q., 122.

⁵ L A., 91-92.

88 SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY

By this time, the news of the revolt of Tutush reached Barkiyaruq, who had succeeded in occupying Rayy; Hamadftn and the intermediate districts. So he at once dispatched an army against Tutush*. When the armies approached one another, Asqsunqur and Buzan changed sides in accordance with their projected scheme. Tutush, finding himself unequal to the situation, returned to Syria at the end of Dhū'l Hijjah¹ and thus, for the time being Barkiyāruq's position became secure.

On his arrival at Damascus, Tutush raised a great army and again in 487/1094 marched to Aleppo to capture the Sulṭānate. This time, however, iqsunqur and Būzān catae out together and marched with Karbuqā, who was sent by Barkiyāruq to oppose Tutush. The parties came into conflict near Nahr Sabain, adjoining Tall-al-Sultan at a distance of six farasakhs from Aleppo in Jumada I. Owing to defection in the camp of Aqsunqur, Tutush won the battle and Aqsunqur was seized and put to death.² Karbūqft and Būzān took refuge at Aleppo which was besieged and afterwards handed over to Tutush by the residents of Qal'at al-Sharif.³ Tutush arrested Karbuqa and Būzān and sent his army to Ruhft and Harran, the provinces of Buzan, but the army was resisted by the inhabitants. So Būzan was put to

¹ I.Q., 124.

² I.A., 95-96. Al-Makin t 175.

³ I.Q., 127,

death and his head was sent to them and then they surrendered to the army of Tutush. Karbūqa was sent to IJims where he remained in chains till he was released by Ruḍwān b Tutush after the death of his father.¹

Encouraged by this victory, Tutush sought to carry through his plan and marched for further conquests. At this time Barkiyāruq was at Naṣībīn, whence he also marched to stop Tutush's progress. He thus crossed the Tigris at a place above Māwṣil and proceeded to Irbil and thence to the province of Sarkhāb b Badr. He pitched his camp at a distance of nine farasakhs from Tutush's headquarters. Barkiyāruq had only 1,000 men, while Tutush had an army 50,000 strong. Amīr Ya'qūb b Abiq, from the side of Tutush, attacked Barkiyāruq, defeated his army and plundered his camp in Shawwāl 487/1094*. Barkiyāruq escaped with amīrs Barsuq, Kumushta-gīn and Yāruq and journeyed to Isfahān. Maḥmud was naturally favourable to his elder brother and the two brothers embraced each other. But the intriguing amir Unar Bulkabak was trying to keep the last words of Turkān by capturing Barkiyāruq. They were determined to blind him in order to make him unfit for the Sultānate.² In the meantime Mahmud was attacked with small-

¹ I.A., 96.

² *Ibid*, 96.

pox, and the physician, Amīn al-Daulah b Tilmīdh, persuaded the amirs to postpone the blinding till the recovery of Maḥmūd, as they were against ʿUtūṣb, so that if Maḥmūd died they could make Barkiyāruq Sulṭān. Mahmud, however, died at the end of Shawwāl 487/1094, aged about seven years and Barkiyāruq became the sole Sulṭān.¹

¹ I, A., 98-97.

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGN OF BARKIYĀRUQ B. MALIK SHAH

(SHAWWAL 487/1094 RAB' II 498/1104)

The death of Turkān and of her son Maḥmud freed Barkiyāruq from his most immediate danger. He could now count on the support of at least a large proportion of the amirs who had hitherto opposed him on behalf of Maḥmud, and of all those who, for one reason or another, were hostile to Tutush. But in spite of this improvement in his prospects, he was yet far from having secured his position; and by ill fortune he was at this critical juncture incapacitated by an attack of small-pox for some two months. (Dhū'l-Qa'da and Dhū'l Sijjah.)¹

Meantime Tutush was continuing his triumphal progress in the north.² After the occupation of JJarrān and Ruhā, he had secured Mesopotamia, Diyar Bakr and Adharbayjan, by his defeat of Barkiyāruq, and now began to advance into Persia. At Hamadan the Amir Akhur.³ at first resisted,

¹ Since Maḥmud died "at the end of Shawwāl" and Barkiyāruq was at that time well enough to hold the usual mourning ceremonies. I. A., 97.

² I. Q., 127.

³ Amir Akhur is a title—he was "Master of the Horse." LA., 101.

but on venturing out to attack and loot Tutush's luggage-train,^b he was caught and defeated, and saved his life only by surrendering HamadSn, Tutush now prepared to march *qn* Isfahān direct, hoping to seize the opportunity of BarkiySruq's illness, and opened a secret correspondence with the amirs. Uncertain whether BarkiySruq would recover, they thought it prudent to conceal their hostility to Tutush and promised to join his side. Another stroke of good fortune also favoured Tutush for the moment. Fakhr al-Mulk, son of Nizam al-Mulk who, like the other members of his family favoured the cause of Barkiyaruq, fell into his hands at Hamadān. His life was spared at the instance of Yāghisiyān, who pointed out the advantages of appointing him as wazir and so gaining the powerful sympathy of the adherents of their bouse. Added to this, Tutush had brought pressure to bear on the Caliph through his Shihnah at Baghdad, Aytakln, and after Barkiyaruq's defeat, had been proclaimed Sulṭan at Bagdad.¹

Barkiyaruq's position thus seemed desperate, and had Tutush carried out his plan of marching

¹ The persistent hostility of the local troops towards him was, however, shown by the reception given to his next Shihnah, Yūsuf b abiq, on his arrival in šafar of the following year. He was i ef used entry at first and only after defeating the Mazyadite forces at Ba'qūbā could he force his way in, just before the news of the death of Tutush arrived. LA., 101.

directly on Isfahān, there seems little reason to doubt that he would have established himself in the Sultānate with the minimum of opposition. Fortunately for Barkiyāruq, however, the opportunity was thrown away by a characteristic display of revengefulness on the part of Tutuḡfe.

The Amir ikfeur, after his surrender of Hamadān, had made a show of loyal submission to Tutuḡh, and asked permission to proceed to Jurbādaqān (half-way between Hamadān and Isfahān) to prepare forage and provision for the advance of Tutuḡh's army. Thence he fled to Isfahān, and exposed the situation to Barkiyāruq. Tutuḡh, in revenge, sacked Jurbādaqān, and instead of continuing on to Isfahān, turned north-eastwards and occupied Rayy. No reason is alleged for this strange change of plan, though possibly the difficulty of furnishing forage and provisions for a large force in mid-winter may account for it.¹

Barkiyāruq was thus afforded a breathing-space, which was energetically utilised. His first action on recovery was to counter Tutuḡh's appointment of Fakhr al-Mulk by appointing

¹ According to Ibn al-Athir's account (p. 101), it was from Rayy that Tutuḡh opened communications with the amirs at Isfahān, but as this episode is expressly placed during Barkiyāruq's illness, it must have taken place in Dhu'l-Qa'da at latest, and in any case it fits in more naturally with Tutuḡh's preparations for the march on Isfahan.

the latter's brother Mu'ayyid al-Mulk as his own wazir (Dhul Hiiġja). Mu'ayyid al-Mulk at once opened up communication with the amirs of Iraq and Khurāsan and gained their adhesion to Barkiyāruq.

Thus reassured, Barkiyāruq set out with a small force from Isfāhān early in the following month (Muḥarram 488/1095) and on arrival at Jārbadaqān, halted to await reinforcements. There "troops advanced to join them from every side," until, with an army now swelled to the figure of 30,000 men, according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, he felt himself strong enough to take the offensive. Tutuṣb had alienated all sympathies by his harshness and by the ruthlessness with which his army had plundered the country ;¹ the troops of Āqsunqur and Būzān still nourished bitter feelings towards him, and he realised that he could not hope to stand a siege in Rayy.² Risking all on the issue of the conflict, he marched out towards Barkiyāruq, and at the village of Daṣhlū, twelve farsakhs from Rayy, battle was joined on 17 safar. In spite of his own brave stand, Tutuṣh's troops were defeated, and in the heat of battle, one of Āqsunkur's men revenged his former master's execution by seizing

¹ -I.Q., 129.

² According to I.Q. (127) He had in fact called for his son Euḍwān, his deputy in Damascus, to join him with reinforcements. I. A., 102,

and decapitating him,¹ The remnants of his officers and troops fled back to Syria leaving Barkiyāruq undisputed master of the field.

Barkiyāruq had now at last vindicated his claim to the Sulṭānate by the disappearance of all serious rivals. It remained to consolidate his position and assert, as far as possible, his control over the territories which had acknowledged the suzerainty of his father. The central provinces, Jibal and 'Irāq, were for the moment quiet, undisturbed by revolts, and Mawṣil was recovered (from the governor appointed by Tutuṣh) by the amirs Karbūqā and Altūntāsh, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Barkiyāruq.² The two principal areas from which opposition might be apprehended were consequently Khurasān and Syria.

Although Khurasān was the cradle of the Saljūqid power, it always remained a somewhat difficult problem for the Great Saljūqs to maintain their hold over it. In the absence of full information, it is difficult to discover in detail the causes of this restiveness, but two factors may generally be discerned. In the first place, the extent of the province itself made it necessary for the governor to maintain a very large standing

¹ I.Q., 130. It is also narrated that a slave of Buzaa (sic Quran) was his assailant, ftecuieil Hist. Grois. Or., Vol. III, 485, from al-Najfm al-Zahirah.

² See *ante*, pp. 23-24, also I. A., 107.

army* while its wealth and the facilities for recruiting Turkish troops from the neighbouring frontier districts supplied him with ready means for doing so. The possession of such large forces formed a standing temptation to assert independence at times of disturbance, when the Sutyān was precluded from intervening effectively. It must not be forgotten also that large numbers of Turkmen tribes had entered Khurasan along with and after the Saljūqids, and though we are badly informed about their pasturage areas and activities, there can be little doubt that, like the Turkmen tribes in other provinces, they were always ready to join in any enterprise which promised warfare and ready loot.

In addition to this external factor there was another arising from the character of the population itself. Their feudal organization, which had been maintained under the Samānids, and fighting capacities made them valuable allies, or, on the other hand, redoubtable opponents. This warlike character was even more marked amongst the inhabitants of the large cities, Rayy, Nishapur, Merv, Balkh, etc., who not infrequently closed their gates in the face of even powerful armies, and forced their rulers to respect their liberties. There were not a few cases when these cities even took the initiative in political action.¹

¹ It was rumoured, for example, that even during the lifetime of, Mahmud the citizens of of Balkh were in

For good or evil, however, the cities, and the population generally, lacked, so far as can be seen, any organisation which might enable them to concert joint action; each acted simply in its own interests, without paying heed to the others. It is possible that religious factions entered into the matter to some extent; Nīshāpūr had a reputation for Shi'ite proclivities, and was, in the very year of Barkiyaruq's victory over Tutusjj, the scene of a violent conflict between Sunnīs and Karramlis. Thus the population by itself might annoy the central government, but could scarcely endanger its authority; if however cities and governor made common cause against the central government, it might prove a very difficult task to re-establish control.

In the conflict which now ensued between Barkiyaruq and Arslān Arghūn, however, such evidence as can be gathered from Ibn al-Athlir's narrative is against the hypothesis of any co-operation between the population and the latter. Arslan Arghun, a brother of Malikshah, hadjeft Baghdad after his brother's death, with the evident intention of taking advantage of the dispute over the succession in order to make himself independent in Khurasan. He was repulsed by the population of Nīshāpūr, but found an ally in Qtidun,

communioation with Takash b Alp-Arslān, then imprisoned at Takrit, until he was put to death by Barkiyaruq in Babi I, 487 (I. A. 98, 99. 104). See also note on pp 24-25 ante.

the governor of Merv, who surrendered the city to him and assisted him to gain possession of Balkh, Tirmidk, and subsequently of Western Khurāsān as well, including Nīshāpūr. This done, Arslan offered to recognise Barkiyāruq's title to the sultānate and pay tribute, on condition that all Khurāsān, excluding Nīshāpūr,¹ were given him in fief. Maḥmūd was still alive, and under the circumstances Barkiyāruq was unable to do other than acquiesce for the time being.

The relations between uncle and nephew remained for a time on this basis even after the death of Tutuṣh. In the course of the same year, however, Barkiyāruq removed Mu'ayyid al-Mulk from the wazīrate and imprisoned him, at the instance of his mother, Zubaida Khātūn,² replacing him by Fakhr al-Mulk, and the real control of affairs passed into the hands of her favourite, Majd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī. Arslan Arghūn seized upon this as a pretext to break off relations with Barkiyāruq, who retaliated by despatching several squadrons to Khurāsān under the command of his uncle, Arslan's half-brother, Buribars b. Alp-Arslan. The latter was successful in the first

¹ This exclusion of Nīshāpūr suggests that I. A. (108) is mistaken in including Nīshāpūr in his conquests—or else the continued hostility of its population suggested to him that his position would be stronger without it.

² See *ante*, p. 16. Buadari, 79, 81 ; I. A., 104-05.

encounter, but withdrew to Herat while Arslān Arghūn assembled fresh forces at Balkh and forcibly recovered Merv, dismantling its fortifications and putting a great many of its inhabitants to death. He succeeded also in winning over the Amir Akhur, who was with Būribars, and though the Amir Ākhur and his son were put to death by a rival commander, the dissension amongst his forces so weakened Būribars that he was defeated and captured towards the end of 488. Arslān Arghūn now felt himself secure in his independence, and for a year governed Khurāsan with the utmost rigour, destroying the walls of the cities and the principal fortresses, amongst them the Quhandiz of Nīshapur. His suspicions extended also to the principal officers of the 'askar of Khurāsan, many of whom were put to death. 'Imād al-Mulk, another of Nizām al-Mulk's sons, who had joined him and been appointed his wazīr, also suffered the common fate of confiscation and execution.

Such tyrannical conduct (especially on the part of a usurper) could not be long in meeting retribution. Before the end of 489, Barkiyāruq already had a second army on the way, and it was possibly the fear of a mutiny of his own troops that led Arslan Arghūn to the extreme step of putting Būribars to death after a year's imprisonment in Tirmīd. Shortly afterwards in Muḥarram 490, Arslān was assassinated by his own guards, outraged by his cruelties, and a seven-year-old son

of; his proclaimed in his stead.¹ The imperial forces were under the nominal command of Barkiyaruq's brother Sanjar, then only eleven or thirteen years of age, to whom Qumaj was Attached as 'Atftbeg and al-Tughra'i as wazlr. The news of the assassination reached them at Damaghan, and they halted there until Barikyarūq Joined them in person on 5th Jumada I. As was to be expected, his march through Khurasan was in the nature of a triumphal progress; after the tyianny of Arslan Arghūn the cities welcomed the restoration of imperial rule and opened their gates without opposition. Arslan's askar, with the young prince, fled from Balkh into the mountains of Tukharistan, and opened negotiations for their surrender and amnesty. Barkiyāruq granted the request, and the whole force, 15,000 in number, was incorporated in the imperial armies. After completing the re-occupation of Khurāsān by taking Tirmīdb, Barkiyāruq remained for seven months at Balkh, occupied partly in regulating the situation in Transoxania,² where the Qarakhanid ruler Ahmad had been put to death for heresy in 488, and partly in putting down (by means of Sanjar) a revolt led by Amir Amiran (Md. b Sulaiman, a cousin of Malikshah) and supported by the Ghaznavid Sultān Ibrahim,

¹ Hafiz Abru f 218 b.

² See Barffcold 318-9.

The intervention of the Ghaznavid introduced yet a third factor into the problem of holding ghurāsāa. During the thirty years of Alp Arslan's and Malikshah's reign, Ibrahim had resigned himself to the loss of Khurāsān and cultivated a policy of peace, cemented by matrimonial alliances, with the Saljūqs, while extending his rule in the Panjab. But the unsettlement which had followed the death of Malikshah revived his hopes of regaining his ancestral territories. He formally adopted the title of Sultan,¹ and now gave his support to Amīr Amīran on the express condition that he should be recognised in the Khutbab in all the territories recovered. A second motive for his intervention may also be discerned in the fact that Arslan Arghūn had been married to one of his daughters.

¹ See Eacyc. of Islam s. v. *Ghaznavide*, p. 157, Voi. II, Since the publication of Lane Poole's Catalogue, two gold coins of Ibrahim's reign have been acquired by the British Museum, one dated 460 A. H. and the date of the other is obliterated. But there is no mention of Ibrahim as Sultān on any one of them, although on his undated silver coins he styles himself as bulṭān, Sayyid al-Sulātān and al-Sulṭān al-A'zam. So it cannot be precisely determined at present from what year he formally adopted this title in competition with the Saljūqs. The Ghaznavids after Sultān Maḥmūd were, however, called sultāns by courtesy. Lane Poole's Catalogue, 558, 560. Additions to Vol. 11, pp 287, 243* See ante, p. 63, Hftfiz Abrū f 320 b,

The brief account of the rising given by Ibn al-Athir renders it difficult to estimate the extent and seriousness of the movement. Apparently some districts were captured¹ with the aid of a strong Ghaznavid force, which included elephants, but it collapsed when Amīr Amīrān was captured in a surprise attack by the troops of Sanjar and blinded. The death of Ibrāhīm two years later and the energetic government of Sanjar precluded any further attempts to revive the Ghaznavid claims.

On the return of Barkiyāruq to Irāq in the latter part of 490, Sanjar was left behind at Balkh. The opportunity was seized by Qūdun, who had remained behind at Merv on a pretext of illness; in conjunction with another amīr, Yāruqtāsh, he seized and put to death Ikinjī, the governor of Khwarizm, and took possession of his province, ostensibly in the name of the Sultān. Barkiyāruq first continued his march to Irāq to deal with a revolt which had broken out there, and subsequently detached Dad Habasbi b Altuntag to deal

¹ The statement in the printed text of I. A. (110) (ed* Tornberg X, 181) that Amīr Amīrān began his revolt at Balkh is probably to be rejected. Ibn al-Athir has previously stated that Barkiyāruq stayed at Balkh for seven months, and the words "wa bawajjaha ila Baikh" are missing in two MSS. As no dates are mentioned, however, it is possible that the revolt broke out when Barkiyāruq had already left Balkh on his return march.

with the two amirs. Dad-beg succeeded in dislodging them and appointed Muḥammad b Anūshtakīn to the position of Khwārizm-shah, himself remaining wālī of Khurāsān. Qūdun was pardoned by Sanjar, but died shortly afterwards; Yāruqtāsh remained in prison, to play a part later on.

In contrast to his energetic intervention in Khurāsān, Barkiyāruq left Syria entirely alone.

The first, and principal reason, was no doubt his preoccupation with the situation in Khurāsān, and by the time he returned to 'Irāq, the advent of the Crusaders had already changed the aspect of affairs in Syria. But on the other hand, Syria had always been, and remained, a minor appendage of the Ṣaljūqid Empire. Malikshah's rare appearances within its boundaries had been solely for the purpose of preventing his brother or his cousin of Rūm from becoming too powerful. For a brief moment, Tutush had loomed up menacingly, but with his death Syria relapsed—from the point of view of the Sultān—into its old unimportance, unless, indeed, Qilij Arslān of Rūm should emulate his father's ambitious projects. The weakling sons of Tutush, Rudwan and Duqaq, had flown at each other's throats with the usual entourage of ambitious amirs to egg them on.¹ There was no danger to be apprehended there, even if either

¹ Gibb., 30-81.

or feotfc of *them* were to refuse to acknowledge his suzerainty, which was unlikely. It is true that for a moment Rudwan, hoping to attract Egyptian aid against Duqāq (or under the influence of Ismā'III missionaries—for Shi'ism had a strong hold in Aleppo), had been seduced into acknowledging the Fatimid Caliph of Cairo (490), but his Amirs had quickly intervened.¹

Then, while Barkiyaruq was still in Khurasan, the Frankish armies had appeared before Antioch and shortly afterwards occupied al-Buha. Karbuqa of Mawsil attempted to form a coalition against them, but his action was taken, it would seem, entirely on his own initiative, since it is nowhere stated that he was ordered to intervene by either Sulṭan or Caliph. When his attempt failed, mainly through the intrigues of 'udwan, and Antioch was finally captured, the Caliph addressed a remonstrance to Barkiyāruq, urging him to take the field against the Franks before they became too firmly established. The appeal went unheeded, and neither then nor at any later period of his reign, did Barkiyaruq, hard pressed by internal difficulties, show the slightest desire to intervene in the affairs of Syria.

The reinaining years of Barkiyaruq's reign (490-98) were a period of strife with Md., who

¹ The Khutbah in the Egyptian Caliph's name was continued for four Fridays only. I. A., 111-12. Yafi f. 250b.

ustained a claim to the Sulptoate. The history of their struggle for the throne of the SaljūquM Empire is a complicated narratife of battles, compromises and treaties until the death of BarkiySruq and the accession of McL temporarily put an end to the civil war.

The first of these conflicts came when Mu'ayyid al-Mulk and Unar decided to fight for Md.'s cause. The first was the former wazīr of Barkiyīraq and the second the wali of Pars. Both of whom were dismissed from office by the Sultān and thus became his enemies. Fighting was imminent¹ when Unar was murdered by some of his men.¹ Although that relieved Barkiyāruq of a dangerous foe, he still had the difficult task of subjugating Md. and Mu'ayyid ai-Mulk. The situation was made more difficult by the murder of his wazīr, Balasanī, and the desertion of many of his followers. He had therefore to retire from his present headquarters at Rayy to Isfahan, where the inhabitants, fearing molestation by the soldiers, refused him admission in their city while Md. was

¹ According to Qazwini, Unar was murdered by the Batints at Sawah on his way to Khurāsān in the beginning of Mufrarram 492: Tarlkai Guzidah 44, Paid Allah 1806, named as Bulkābak Unar Bulkābak are sama person as Kashld¹ al-Din puts both the parts together, f. 112 b. Yazdi's version Unar wa Bulkābak is rather misleading (p. 75), the more so as he mentions him only as lafahsalār Unar in p. 77. v.

marching on his trail. Barkiyārūq proceeded to Wāsīt, and after his army was reinforced by Sadaqah together with his followers, they went to Baghdād on 17 Ṣafar 493/1099, where the Caliph presented him with robes of honour.¹

Encouraged by his considerable forces and the religious backing of the Caliph, Barkiyārūq thought himself sufficiently powerful to come into open battle with Md. This proved to be a bitter disillusion, for when he finally started fighting at Safidrūd² on 4 Kajab 493/1100, his army was routed and he was forced to flee to Utumah with only fifty men. Md. then approached the Caliph to recite the Khutbah in his name, and the Caliph could do nothing but confirm his claim.³

In the meantime Barkiyārūq seems to have recovered from his first defeat by Md. He raised recruits from the surrounding provinces and marched to Isfahan by way of Nīshāpūr, Jurjān and Dāmaghān.⁴ The number of his followers increased during the march and Md. becoming aware of the situation, hastened to the capital and

¹ I. A., 121.

² Situated at a distance of several farsakhs from Hataadān ; I. A., 122. 20,000 warriors fought for Md. in this battle.

³ See ante, pp. 57-59.

⁴ Where Barkiyārūq and Amir Dad, its wall, fought a successful battle with Sanjar in the field of Nūshjān. I. A., 123.

forced his antagonist to take a different line of progress. Barkiyāruq thus went to Hamadān by way of Samiram and Khuzistān where he was reinforced by Bursuq's sons, Zankī and Abakī— together with their troops. At Hamadān he further received the support of Ayāz as a result of his suspicion that Md.'s wazir, Mu'ayyid al-Mūlk had poisoned his (Ayāz's) father by adoption.¹ The second battle between the two contestants took place at Hamadān on 3 Jumada II 494/1101, and the tide this time turned in Barkiyāruq's favour, for Md. was defeated and his wazir was captured and put to death. The immediate result of this battle was the re-establishment of Barkiyāruq's influence and the flight of Md. to Jurjān in Khurāsān. This province was ruled by his brother, San jar, Barkiyāruq's enemy.²

The two brothers then marched with their Amīrs from Jurjān to Rayy, where they were reinforced by the Nizāmītes and other mercenary troops. Meanwhile Barkiyāruq's victory attracted many followers to his camp near Rayy. His army rose to the number of 100,000 and included many Bātinīs. It became too unwieldy to contain and too numerous to supply with the necessary

¹ The Amīr Akhur. I. A., 125.

² After disbandment, Dubais returned to his father at Hillah, and Karbūqa was sent with 10,000 horsemen to Adharbaijan to subdue the rebellious Maudud b. Ismail b. Yaqu. I. A., 126.

provisions.' He had, therefore, to disband a considerable portion of his followers, while others left the camp in quest of food. With this depleted army, Barkiyftruq had to face the combined forces of Md. and Sanjar, but seeing no prospect of victory in the circumstances he preferred to retreat to Hamadan to join Ayaz, whom he had previously sent there on the occasion of the Ramadan fast. On the way, however, he had to stop the march owing to the treacherous behaviour of Ayāz, who offered allegiance to Md. to save his own province, and Barkiyāruq had to retire again to Khuzistān, then to Irāq in search of help. Near Tustar he invited the spns of Bursuq without any response from them.²

After a circuitous march to Baghdād, followed by Md. and Sanjar, Barkiyāruq became seriously ill at the capital. To avoid the danger of a clash with the enemy the nobles carried the Sult&n in a litter, crossed the Tigris and pitched a temporary camp at Bamlah. From there they proceeded to Wāsīt. There he recovered from his illness and the troops of Wāsīt joined his forces. This encouraged him to meet Md. for a decisive battle and he marched to Budrawar. Md. had arrived at Baghdad³ and,

¹ Who being a full brother of Md. naturally took his side against Barkiyaruq. Moreover, Sanjar used to abhor Barkiyāruq's reckless ways of life. I. A., 145.

² I. A., 127,

³ On the arrival of Md. and Sanjar the Caliph Musta-

instigated by the Caliph, he also marched to Rudrawar. The rival forces were almost equal at this battle—each numbering about 10,000 horsemen. On the first day no fighting took place on account of the extremely cold weather. In the meantime, negotiations were exchanged between the two claimants for an amicable settlement to avoid bloodshed. They were able to patch up a pact the terms of which are mentioned elsewhere.¹ Barkiyāruq retained his title and the empire was divided between the two brothers. Barkiyaruq proceeded to Sāwah and Md. to Asadabād, while their armies retired to their fiefs.

The pact, however, was far from being a permanent settlement; for Md. soon accused the envoys who concluded it, of treason, and arrogated to himself the honour of five bands reserved for the Sulṭān. This was a breach of the terms with Barkiyāruq who surprised his brother at Bayy in Jumada I 495/1101, and the fourth battle took place. The parties were equally balanced, each having 10,000 horsemen. Md. was the loser this time. After his defeat he retired to Isfahan. Barkiyaruq followed him, and his forces increased on the way by 5,000 horsemen. He set siege to the city, within the walls of which Md. had only 11,000 horsemen and 500 footmen. The siege

zhir billah presented them with two banners with his own hand. Stowe Or 7 144 a.

¹ Chap. 1, p. 8. *ante*.

was prolonged and the besieged became short of provisions. Md. therefore, had to leave Isfahān secretly. When the news of his flight reached Barkiyaruq, he sent Ayaz to capture him, but without success. * Barkiyarūq withdrew * from the city and returned to Hamadān on 18 Dhulhijjah, 495/1102, leaving his son, Malikshah at-Shahristan Tarslġak with 1,000 horsemen.

Rayy had been the halting place of some of Md.'s men who were on their way to reinforce his army at Isfahān without knowing of his secret flight,² Learning, however, of the escape of Md. from Isfahan, they set out and met him at Hamadān, and the number of the combined forces rose to 6,000 horsemen. Just before Barkiyaruq's arrival they had been divided, into two sections—the one under Yanāl and his brother 'Ali marching in the direction of Rayy while the other proceeded to Shirwān. Before arriving at Shirwān, however, this last section won the support of Maudūd b Ismā'il at Ardabil. The sudden death of Maudūd at this time did not change the resolution of his troops to fight under Md.'s banner. The joint army therefore went to Khuy in Adharbaijan,

¹ According to another version of Ibn-al-Athīr, Ayāz caught up with him but left him alone after taking away his standard and three loads of dīnārs, p 139.

² They were under the command of Quizughli accompanied by Manşūr b Nisām al-Mulk and his nephew Md. b Mu'ayyid al-Mulk. I.A., 150.

at the gate of which Barkiyāruq overtook them and the fifth and last battle took place between the two brothers on Juinada II496/1103. Md. was defeated and fled to Tirmidh by way of Arjistu Khilatand Aāni with a few of his followers and finally went to Tabriz. After a few days' rest on a verdant mountain * Barkiyāruq journeyed to Zanjan, and then to Kayy.

While Md. was at Tabriz and Barkiyāruq at Kayy, negotiations were begun to settle their long-standing dispute.² The insecure position of the first owing to the last defeat, and the difficult circumstances of the second, arising from the need of money to satisfy his victorious but turbulent troops, created a favourable atmosphere for the establishment of peace between the two. Barkiyāruq retained his title of Sultān and Md. his right to the 'band' (naubah). Further, Barkiyāruq's name was not to be mentioned in the Khuṭbah in Md.'s provinces. No correspondence was to be exchanged directly between the two monarchs—their wazirs should attend to that. The subjects were given the option of joining the army of either at their own choice without interference from the* other.³ Such precarious terms appear to have~

¹ I.A., 151.

² The envoys reached Md. while he was near Marāghah. I.A., 154. See *ante*, p. 51.

³ After the ratification of the treaty, Barkiyāruq presented 300 she-camels and 120 mules' load of other things

left the two antagonists in as anomalous a position as before/ and the peace of the empire of the Saljūqs was maintained partly on account of the exhaustion on both sides, but chiefly because the remaining period of Barkiy (Iraq's reign was a very short one.

The Sultān became seriously ill at Isfahān and Ilghāzī took him in a litter in the direction of Baghdad. On the way however, at Burujird his condition became very critical and he had to halt there for forty days until his death. Before the end, he summoned his amīrs and declared to them his intention to nominate his son Malikshah, a boy of four years and eight months as his successor, with Ayāz as his Atābeg. The amīrs recognised his will and swore to uphold it. Then the Sultan died on 12 Rabī' I I, 498/1104, at the age of twenty-five,² and was carried to Isfahan where he was buried with his ancestors.³

He was generous, patient, forbearing and considerate according to Ibn al-Aīr, who does not, perhaps owing to a saying of the Prophet,⁴

to the family of Md. while they were leaving Isfahan. LA., 155.

¹ 18 farsakha from Hamadāu, Wafayāt, Vol. I, 251.

² Bundari, 88, Mirkhwand, 161.

³ I, A., 158. According to Rasbld al-Din on Thursday 2 R a b i I I f. 144 8.

⁴ Udfekuru mahasina mautakum. " Mention the good qualities of your dead,"

record any of his vices. On the other hand, from Bundftrl,¹ Stowe Or 7 and Jurjani³ it is quite clear that he was addicted to drinking and other vices. Ibn al-Athīr, however, says elsewhere by the way, that Barkiyaruq appointed his singer Wali of Mardin, from which we can easily infer that he was also a passionate lover of music.⁴

Ayāz, Ilghāzī and the party reached Baghdād with Malikshah, after having been delayed by inclement weather on 17 Babi' I I, 498/1104, for the formal confirmation of the new Sultān to his office. The Khuṭbah was delivered in his name under the title of Jalal al-Daulah at the instance of Ilghāzī and Tughayāruq on the last Friday of the month, and money was distributed amongst the people in honour of the occasion.⁵ Probably, Ilghāzī and others, who were once champions of the cause of Md. were actuated by the motive of self-interest in preferring an infant and docile Sultān to a virile and energetic one.

¹ P:78.

² f. 43 b.

³ f. 108 b.

⁴ I.A., 163.

⁵ *Ibid*, 159.

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF MUHAMMAD B. MALIKSHAH

Rabi II 498/1104-Dhu'l-hijjah 511/1118

After the struggles which filled the reign of Barkiyāruq and seemed to herald the dissolution of the Saljūqid Empire, the accession of Sultān Muḥammad opened a period in which the imperial power reasserted itself in an effort to regain the prestige and authority which it had well-nigh lost. By the historians he is always celebrated as the Sultān "who restored the fortunes of the Saljūqs which had declined since the death of Malik-shah." ¹ He "fought infidels and sectarians in his zeal for Sunnī Islām" ² and the 'Abbāsīd'Caliphate" and "was the perfect man of the Saljuqs and their strong he-camel."⁸

¹ Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol, I I I , p. 673.

² This is undoubtedly one of the causes that led Ghazali to address his *Tibṛ al-Masbuk*, Ibn al-Balkhi to dedicate his *Fārs-nāmah* to him and the Sunni chroniclers to sing his praises. Encyclopaedia of Islām, Vol. I I , p. 146. Ibn al-Balkhi, p. 1, *Bashld al-Din*, f. 114 b. Stowe, Or 7 f. 45 a. *Bundāri*, 81. Nay, some of them even went to the extent of wrongly attributing to him some of the Indian conquests of Sultān Mahmud of Ghaznah in order to put a halo of imaginary glory around their hero. Qazwini, *Nuzhat* 56.

³ Encyclopaedia of Islām, Vol. I I I , p. 674. *Bundāri*, 108.

. At the time of the death of Barkiyāruq, Md. was engaged in the siege of Mawṣil against Jakarmish who, however, after due deliberation with his civil and military officials, on hearing the news of Barkiyāruq's death, submitted to him.¹ In 'Irāq, Barkiyāruq's death supplied Ṣadaqah with a golden opportunity of attacking Ilghāzī and his party, from which he had desisted rather unwillingly a few months earlier. Ṣadaqah mustered a huge army of 15,000 horsemen and 10,000 infantry and sent his sons Budran and Dubāis to Mawṣil to invite and perhaps, more accurately to incite Md. to march on Baghḍad.² Accordingly, Md. proceeded to the Metropolis with Suqman Qutbi, Jakarmish and other amirs. Ayaz, on the other hand, still committed to the cause of Barkiyāruq's young son Malikshah, prepared to resist him. On hearing of Md.'s approach, he came out of Baghḍad with his followers and encamped at Zāhir. He further conferred with his amirs who swore allegiance to him in the forthcoming fighting. Yanāl and Sabawā favoured a resort to arms in support of the cause of th^

¹ I.A., 160.

² I.A., 160. Here Kāwandī (p. 153), Qazwini (p. 464), Eashīd al-Din and MirkhVand (p. 162) confuse the two distinct events—deaths of Ayaz (1105) and Ṣadaqah (1108). These chroniclers mistakenly state Ṣadaqah to be an enemy of Md. at this time, while he was an ally ; he actually became an enemy three years after. Acta Orientalia, Vol. III, p. 138.

boy Sultan ; kut the Wazir Safi Abul-Mahasin adfised him to the contrary. Being undecided as to whether a policy of conflict would succeed, Ayāz adopted the safer attitude of compromise. After the exchange of envoys with Md. who had now reached the neighbourhood of Baghdad ready for battle, an agreement was reached whereby amnesty was declared in favour of all but Yanal and Sabawa.¹ Thus Md. became the undisputed Sultan.

Ayaz's submission, however, did not save him from the new Sultan, who was enraged by an unfortunate incident in Ayāz's house during celebrations to commemorate the settlement of peace in the land. Md. noticed that one of Ayaz's men had a coat of mail under his shirt. This made him suspicious. He left his host's house and decided to rid himself of an uncertain follower. Later, he summoned Ayftz to a council of state and put him to violent death by ordering one of his slaves to strike him on the head as he entered into the Sultan's presence.² As soon as the news of Ayaz's murder spread, his own troops hastened to their master's

¹ Alkiya al-Harḥas, the teacher at the Nizāmiyah, administered the oath to Md. on this occasion. Md. treated his nephew Malikshah as his own son. L.A., 161.

² He was forty at the time of his death on 18 Jumada I, 498/1105. His body was thrown on the street near the Diwan. *Ibid*, 162.

house and pillaged it, while his Wazir, Safi became a fugitive, but was ultimately arrested and also put to death at the age of thirty-six, in Kama-dān 498/1105.¹

In the following year (499/1106) Md. was called upon to deal swiftly with the revolt of MankQ-bars and a false prophet at Nihawānd. Mankū-bars was soon arrested by Md.'s alli:s, Banu Bursuq, and carried to Isfahan where he was imprisoned by the Sultān. The false prophet was mercilessly put to death.² Comparatively free from internal disputes and dissensions at his Court, Md.'s next action was to turn against the Batimsin 500/1107. That sect had, during the stormy reign of Barkiyaruq, established itself in many mountain fortresses, with their headquarters at Alainūt. The Sultān had no difficulty in capturing many of these strongholds,³ but in spite of repeated expeditions Alamūt

¹ He came of the family of the B'āis of Hamadān. L.A., 162.

² So the inhabitants used to say : " Within two months two men appeared to us, one claiming the title of Sultān and the other that of a prophet, but neither of them succeeded in his ambition/' L.A., 166. Sibṭ Ibn-ai Jauzī, p. 10.

³ He personally besieged the fort of Shahdiz near Isfahān on 6 Sha'ban 500/1107. L.A., 181, I.Q., 151. His Wazir, Sa'd al-Mulk was involved in secret correspondence with Ibn Attash. Bundāri, 8g; Yazdi, 83; Kāwandi, 153. Le Strange is wrong in putting the construction of this fort by Malikshah in the year 500/1107 (Lands of the Eastern Caliphates, p. 205) as it involves a serious anachronism.

itself was never completely captured, although throughout his reign the work of Batini persecution and the campaign against those heretics never really ceased.¹

Turning to a different field in Syria, we find that the capture of Tripoli by the Crusaders in 502/1109 and their renewed operations against Aleppo, occasioned a fresh appeal from the population of the threatened city to both the Caliph and the Sultān for concerted action against the Franks. Before the arrival of the envoys, an ambassador of the Byzantine emperor reached Baghdād to negotiate an alliance with the Muslims against the Franks. The advent of the latter on the scene left no room for hesitation in the minds of the public, and the festivities of the Sultān's sister's marriage to the Caliph, then being celebrated, had to be interrupted for a council of war.²

On the Caliph's advice the Sultān ordered the amirs present to return to their provinces and

P¹ In Mufearram 508/1109 Ahmad b Nizam al-Mulk, the wazir, besieged Alamūt, but the expedition returned without any operations owing to the advent of winter. L.A., 202. Again, just before the death of the Sultān, Amir Shir-gir was sent to capture it, but this time too, the death of the Sultān intervened and the besieging troops scattered without listening to the good counsels of their comnciander. L.A., 222. Qazwini, 456. T. Oazidah, Dhahabi, f. 98 b.

² I. A-204; L Q., 173.

equip themselves for a holy war. He sent his son Mas'ūd with Maudūd to Mawsil. The amīrs gathered together from all parts of the empire and marched towards Sanjar.¹ They seized many Frankish forts on the way. The Muslim army, however, broke up after the death of Suqmān, and the illness of Bursuq b Bursuq gave the amīrs an opportunity to revive old personal jealousies and dissensions. Maudūd alone continued the contest by annual expeditions into Syria, until after a successful campaign in Palestine in 507/1113, he was assassinated in Damascus.² After his death Tamtrak took possession of his equipment and carried them to Sulṭān Md. His successors at Mawṣil became embroiled with Tlghāzī of Mārdīn.³

The receipt of threatening letters from the Sulṭān decided the latter to seek refuge in Syria, where he made common cause with Tughtagīn who also was apprehensive of the Sulṭān's vengeance for the murder of Maudūd, which was attributed to him. Both malcontents agreed to defy the Sultan and to form a coalition with the Franks.⁴

¹ The following amirs took part in this expedition in addition to Maudud of Mawsil:—Suqmān Qutbi of Tabriz, Ilbaki and Zanki of Hamadān, Ahmad II of Marāghah, Ayaz b Ilghāzī of Mārdīn as a deputy of his father and the Bakjite amirs. I. A., 205.

² I.Q., 159.1. A., 209. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi, p. 31.

³ I. A., 211.

⁴ *Ibid*, 211, 212 ; other amirs accompanying him were Juyushbeg and Kantghadi.

Sultan Md. on tearing this news of the rebellion of Ilghfēi and Tughtagin, despatched an expedition under Bursuq b. Bursuq of Hamadān in Bama4an 508/1115 to punish the rebels and take action against their allies, the Franks. Bursuq succeeded in capturing Hamah from Tughtagin, and having sacked it for three days, handed it over to Qlrkhan, the wāli of Hims, under instructions from the Sultān, as a reward for his loyalty.¹

Eventually, however, after suffering a severe defeat at the hands of Roger of Antioch, he fled with his brother Zanki, and both brothers died in bitter disappointment in 510/1115.²

As a result of this rout the Muslims of Syria were stricken by fear, and Tughtagin visited Baghdād to make his peace with Sultān Md, who pardoned him and presented him with a robe of honour.³

* The intrigues of the self-seeking wālis now turned against one another as there was no rival Sultan in the arena. At first Kudwan of Aleppo collected a huge army to fight the crusaders. Ijghazi, Sabawa, Ilbi also joined hands with him. But Ilghazi, probably owing to some personal grudge, though under a different cover, suggested an attack upon the province of Jakarmish, to which Ilbi, for similar reasons, readily agreed.

¹ I . A. 216.

² *Ibid*, 215.

³ *Ibid*, 217.

So they besieged Nasibīn in RamatJSn 499/1106 with 10,000 horsemen, in the absence of Jakarmish, who was at Hamah for a change of climate. Two of his amīrs fought the invading army from within the city wall. Ilbi was seriously wounded by an arrow and left for Sanjar. On hearing this news, Jakarmish immediately proceeded to Mawsil where the panic-stricken inhabitants of Sawād had already taken refuge. He encamped at the gate of the city for a battle with Ruḍwān, but in the long run, he had recourse to milder diplomacy by setting Rucjwān against Ilghāzī.¹ Accordingly, Ilghāzī was arrested and his numerous Turkmen followers broke up and plundered the country. Ruḍwān now returned to Aleppo, while Jakarmish marched to Sanjar to punish Ilbi for his misbehaviour. Ruḍwān in turn sent messengers to Jakarmish while he was at Sanjar, asking for his help against the Franks. Jakarmish fraudulently promised him help which he did not render in time of need. Ilbi was seriously ill, perhaps as a result of the arrow-wound. He was brought out in a litter to offer welcome and apologies to Jakarmish. The latter was moved to pity and at once sent him back to the city. Ilbi, however, died soon after, and his followers rebelled against Jakarmish and resisted him successfully till the end of Shawwal 499/1106, when Tamīrak, uncle

¹ I. A., 169,

of Ilbi, intervened and restored good relations with Jakannigh, Being assured of their allegiance, Jakarmitk returned to Mawsil.¹ On the other hand, his followers at Harran surrendered the town to Qilij Arslan in the vain hope of fighting the Franks at Euha, which was abandoned owing to the sudden sickness of Qilij.²

Now, the doom of Ṣadaqah was drawing nigh. He was generously treated by Sultān Md. for his past services and implicit obedience. WSSit and Basrah were granted to him as additional fiefs. These favours, unfortunately, made him rather officious and overbearing. He gave refuge to every malcontent that escaped from the Oaliph and the Sultan.³ This naturally turned the Sultan's mind against him. Furthermore, 'Amid Abū Ja'far and Argjmn Sa'dī at court did all they could to alienate Md. from Ṣadaqah.⁴ They even went to the extent of falsely accusing him and his followers of the Bātinī heresy, an accusation which had no basis of truth, as it is certain that Ṣadaqah was only a Shi'ite.⁶ All these circumstances grouped together had their disastrous result on

¹ L.A., 170.

² *Ibid*, 178. He then returned to Malatiah,

³ 8ib\$ Ibn al-Jauzi, p. 10, In 500 Abulqasim Ibn Jahir, the Caliph's dismissed wazir, took refuge with him. *Ibid*, p. 16,

⁴ I.Q., 159.

⁵ I.A., 185,

Sadaqah. The immediate cause of the rupture was, however, that Abu Dulaf Sarfchab b KaiKhusraw of Sawah and Abah took refuge with Sadaqah from the wrath of the Sultān, who wrote to his vassal asking him to surrender the fugitive to the Sultān's representative. Unfortunately, Sadaqah refused to obey his master's orders and further acted in such a way as to exasperate Md. who marched to 'Irāq to investigate into the matter and punish the culprits.¹

On hearing the news of the forthcoming expedition against him, Sadaqah held a council of his followers for a decision as to the right course of action. His son Dubais wisely advised him to conciliate the Sulṭān. On the other hand, Sa'Id b Hamid, Sadaqah's rash and pretentious general, insisted on a declaration of war and mustered an army of 20,000 horsemen² and 30,000 footmen. The Caliph repeatedly tried to mediate for peace but in vain. After the final failure of peace overtures, the Sulṭān sent Amīr Md. b. Būṭā, the Turkmen to evict Sadaqah's deputy from Wāsit, After doing so, Md. b Būṭā marched to Qūsān, a district of Sadaqah, and ruthlessly sacked it. Sadaqah

¹ The army of the Sultan reached Baghdad at the end of Babi⁴ I I, 601. I.Q., 159. AccordiDgto I.A. on 20 Babi I I, accompanied by Atmaad b Nizām al-Mulk, his wazīr, p. 185.

² Composed of Kurds, Turks, Dialamites and Arabs* Stowe, Or. 7, f. 46 b.

on his part, sent his cousin, Thabit, to repel Md. b Buqa. In a skirmish on the bank of the Salim, Inhabit was routed.¹

At the end of Jumada I, 501/1107, the SuH&n gave WSsit as a fief to Bursuqī and ordered Ibn Buqa to attack and sack the province of Sadaqah, which was accordingly badly ravaged. The Sultān himself marched from Baghdād to Za'faraniah on 2 Jamada II. But having been requested by the Caliph, through his Wazīr Ibn Mutṭalib, he stopped his march for a time, more especially as the Qadi of Ispahan also advised him to act in conformity with the Caliph's suggestion. Meanwhile the latter sent a letter to Sadaqah with the chief *naqlb*, 'Ali b Tarrād and Mukhtas, the eunuch, ordering him to submit to the Sultān. This time Sadaqah submitted and was on the point of despatching his son Dubais to the Sultān with two envoys, but the turbulent Turks became discontented and tried to lay hands on some booty before the signing of a treaty. So they crossed the Tigris and attacked the army of Sadaqah without the authorisation of the Sultān. They were, however, disappointed, as they were soon defeated by the Arabs.²

When this news reached Sadaqah, he naturally became suspicious and demanded security and safe conduct for his son Dubais from the envoys. This

¹ I.A., 186.

² *Ibid*, 187.

they did not dare to give, so he wrote to the Caliph explaining his failure to send his son owing to the adverse events which had since taken place. The Caliph renewed his correspondence for peace with Şadaqah. A provisional " settlement was about to be arranged, the first condition of which was that Şadaqah should set all the captives free and restore all the properties that were taken by the Arabs from the Turks at the last encounter. Şadaqah again became suspicious and hesitatingly sent some counter-proposals claiming the restoration of all that was taken by the army of the Sultan from his province, as well as the confirmation of the grant of Sawah as the fief of Sarkhab b Kaikhusraw and the sworn guarantee of the Caliph's Wazir for the observance of these terms.¹

The envoys came back with these proposals and Abu Manşur b Ma'rūf, the plenipotentiary of Şadaqah. They were again sent to Şadaqah by the Caliph and the Sulţān to effect acceptance of the Sulţān's original offer. In his turn, Şadaqah insisted on his own terms. Hence arbitration by force of arms became more and more inevitable every day. So the Sulţān marched from Za'far-aniah on 8th Eajab 501/1108 and Şadaqah also marched to the village of Matr. Thābit, cousin of Şadaqah, went over to the Sulţān's side as he was jealous of Şadaqah. The troops of the Sultan

¹ I . A., 188.

encrossed the Tigris and encountered the enemy on 19 Rajah.¹ The wind was at first adverse to the Sultān's army, but afterwards changed and became favourable to them,² The 'Abadah and the Khafajah tribes betrayed Sadaqah in the field, as they had suffered very greatly from his past policy of "divide and rule." Sadaqah, therefore, sustained a crushing defeat and was ultimately decapitated³ by a slave called Buzghush, at the age of fifty-nine. His head was carried to Bursuqi who presented it to the Sultān to take it to Baghdad. More than 3,000 of his cavalry were killed. His son Dubais, his Commander Sa'Id and Sarkljab who was the cause of the war, were taken captives. His son Budran fled to Hillah and sent his mother and wives to his father-in-law MuhadMhib, the wall of Batiḥah. Later on, Sadaqah's widow was brought to Baghdad by order of the Sultān and treated very courteously. He further set her son Dubais free, on being assured of his allegiance. Sadaqah had been amir for twenty-one years. He built JJillfch in 395/1101-2. He was a master of

¹ According to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi (p. 16) after Friday prayers on 16 Bajab.

² From this natural phenomenon Zahīr al-Dīn Niabāpturi invented a fanciful story about the appearance of a dragon in the sky as adiyine favour to Md., and it has been copied and misplaced by later chroniclers in their seal for him. *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I11, p. 139.

³ Yafi'i, 1254 b.

the art of riding and possessed a ready wit, but could not write. His library contained thousands of volumes. He was a father to his people.¹

Turning from the events which had ended in the death of Ṣadaqah in 'Irāq, to the situation in the North Eastern section of the Saljūqid Empire, we find that Sanjar, Sultān Md.'s brother had become the central figure in the activities that led to the subjugation of unruly amīrs.²

Md. Khān of Transoxania was overboldened by the final defeat of Saghirbeg in 503/1109-10.³ He behaved tyrannically towards his people and even disregarded the orders of Sanjar who, therefore, organised an expedition against him in 507/1113-4. Afraid of disastrous consequences Md, Khān sought the mediation of the amīrs Qumāi⁴ and Khwsrizmshah. On their request Sanjar agreed to pardon him on condition that he should come to Sanjar's court and "tread his carpet."⁵ Being suspicious of Sanjar's intention, Md. Khān rode to the eastern bank of the Jehun and there dismounted and "kissed the ground" while Sanjar was riding on the western bank. After reconciliation they returned to their respective territories.

¹ He never married a second wife nor kept a concubine. I. A., 189. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi, p. 16.

² Yazdi, 95, *et seq.*; Kāwandl, 168, *et seq.*

³ L A., 201.

⁴ *Ibid*, 209. He was the right-hand man of **Banjar** at this time,

⁵ *Ibid*, 209.

The Ghaznawids were considerably weakened by the Saljūqids, although they retained their titles as kings. During the governorship of Sanjar, another opportunity occurred for intervention in the affairs of Ghaznah. On the death of 'Alā al-Daulah in Shawwāl 508/1115, his son Arslān Shah¹ succeeded him and for fear of dispute in the matter of the succession, he imprisoned all his brothers, one of whom, Bahrām, escaped and took refuge with Sanjar, who supported his cause.² Meanwhile, Arslān courted Sultān Md's favour by sending an envoy to complain against Sanjar.³ Md. wished to issue instructions to Sanjar to desist from invading Ghaznawid territory but it was too late, as the army of Sanjar had already approached Bust. After desperate fighting at Masharabad the Ghaznawid army was defeated and Sanjar entered Ghaznah with Bahrām on 20 Shawwāl 510/1117. He enthroned Bahrām who, in his turn, did not desist from the pursuit of his brother until he had caught him. Arslān was strangled by him to avoid any further complications.⁵

¹ His mother was a Saljūqid, sister of Alp Arslān. I.A., 212.

² I. A., 212.

³ See *ante*, p. 15.

⁴ Within a farsakh from Ghaznah ; in this battle Arslān had an army of 30,000 cavalry and a great number of infantry, together with 120 elephants, which caused a considerable consternation in the army of Sanjar inasmuch as they were on the verge of flight. I.A., 213, Bawandi, 169.

⁵ LA., 214.

The last but not the least of Sultān Md/a attempts to subjugate or win over to his side all the important amirs within his empire was the episode in which Jawali*came to the Sultān's camp at Isfahān. He had previously refused to aid the Sultān against the revolting ^adaqah¹ and thus incurred his suzarian's wrath. As a result of this behaviour, he became a hunted enemy of the Sultān and after a period of tribulation and uncertainty as to his fate, he decided to surrender himself and repent for all the misdeeds that he had committed.² He came to Isfahān incognito and through the intercession of his friend, Amir ^usain, the Sultān pardoned him and installed him as Wālī of Fars. In recognition of this great favour,

¹ He even secretly sided with šadaqah and incited him against the Sultān. I.A., 192.

² After leaving Mawsil, when besieged by the Sultan's army at the end of 501, Jāwali went to Naşibln to form a coalition against the Sultān with Ilghāzī who* however, tactfully avoided him as an undesirable ally. I.A., 198, I.Q.i 160. Then he proceeded to Kabbah where he was met by Budran and Mansur, sons of the deceased sadaqah with whom he concluded an alliance against the Sultān. But being advised by Sabawa, the newly appointed waX of Kabbah, he proceeded to Syria to fight the Franks. Meanwhile he secured some money and horses from BanQ Nuroair and Ibn 'Ammār, and Amīr lJusain met him on a mission of peace from the Sultān which was, however, frustrated by the imprudent Maudūd. Next he seized Balis on 18 Safar 502/ 108 and hacked it. Thus being

Jawall served Md. faithfully in his province by suppressing all the elements of dissension. On his way to Fars, he killed Baldajī, whose loyalty had come under suspicion and took possession of his fortress of Istakhr.¹ Another amir, IJasan b al-Mubariz,² was surprised and his forces were crushed. Sasan took to flight and after some negotiations he came to terms with Jāwalī and declared himself for his cause. Jāwalī then marched to Shīrāz and occupied Kazrun. He further besieged Abū Sa'd Md. b Mamas for two years and ultimately put him to death.³ The

fully equipped with men and money, he encountered the combined forces of Budwan and his Frankish allies at Tell-Bāshir at the end of the month. While victory was within sight his troops deserted him as they thought he was not entitled to their allegiance after the capture of Mawṣil by Maudūd. After the defeat Sabawa marched to Syria, Budran to Qal'at Ja'bar, Ibn Jakarmiṣh to Jazlrah and Jāwalī to Babbah, whence in fear of a raiding battalion of Maudūd's troops and confident of Husain's support he decided to surrender to the Sultān. I.A., 196.

¹ See *ante*, p. 6. I.A., 218.

² He was the head of the Shāwānkārīte amirs and was called Khusrāw. *Ibid*, 218.

³ After the protracted seige Jāwalī tried to compromise with Abu Sa'd, who was very arrogant at first, Aa, however, his provisions became depleted, he was forced to seek quarter from Jāwalī. The latter occupied the fort and granted him quarter. Afterwards Jāwalī treated him badly so he escaped, but was traced by a spy and put to death. I. A., 218.

district of Dārābjird was also seized and plundered. Next he turned against the amīr of Kirmān to punish him for the favour he had shown, to Ibrāhīm, wālī of Dārābjird in his contest with Jāwalī.¹ This however, he found to be a task beyond his powers and the amir of Kirmān inflicted a defeat upon him.² Jāwalī's position was further weakened by the untimely death of Jaghrl, the Sultān's son, who accompanied him on his journey. As he was preparing another expedition against Kirmān, death overtook him in 510/1116.

Meanwhile the amir of Kirmān had sent an envoy to the Sultān at Baghdād to stop the incursions of Jāwalī. The Sultān replied by ordering him to surrender Farj and satisfy Jāwalī, whose

¹ Seeing the natural defensive points of their hill fortress of Eananah too strong for him, Jāwalī made a false move towards the desert of Kirman and came back as if the reinforcements from Kirmān were coming under Ibrāhīm. So the innocent inhabitants rejoiced and opened the gate, whereupon they were put to the sword, and their property was pilaged. *Ibid*, 219.

³ This time the cunning Jāwalī was trapped as the army of Kirmān evaded the reconnoitering soldiers by following a bypath and surprised him by night while fast asleep under the influence of drink. The tongue of the first informer was cut off. The second time he realized the danger and rode out, but was defeated in Shawwāl 608/1115. I. A., 219.

death, however, made the situation critical and Md. himself had to take matters in hand.¹

At this critical juncture, Md. had to hurry from Baghdād to Isfahān, fearing an attack on Fars by the amir of Kirmān. But unfortunately> the end of the Sultān's life was approaching. He fell ill in Sha'ban and died on 24 Dhu'lhijjah 511/1118² at Isfahān after nominating his son Maḥmud, a boy of little more than fourteen, as his successor. Maḥmud was however, ousted by his uncle, Sanjar, who became the last of the Saljuqid Sultans. Sanjar's long reign, comprising the downfall of the Saljūqid empire, would be a fit subject for independent research.

¹ *Ibid*, 219.

² *Tarikh-i-Gazidah*, p. 457. According to Stowe Or. 7 (f. 46 b) and Ibn al-Qafānī (p. 198) the date of his death is 11 Dhu'Hijjah. He was aged 37 years and 4 months and 11 days. I. A., 221. Atneer 'Ali (p. 334) is wrong in putting the date of his death on 15 Dhu'lfrijjab as it is unsupported by the authorities. According to Dhahabi (f. 98 b) he left for his son Mahmud 11,000,000 dinārs in cash together with many other things (min al-hawasil). This proves Rawandi's statement (p. 162) that he was fond of gathering wealth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Arabic

- 'Abdu'l Bāsiṭ—Ikhtīṣār al-Dāris, British Museum, Oriental, 772.
- Dhahabī Md. Ahmad—Kitāb al-'Ibār, B.M., Or., 6428.
- Ibn Abi Al-Sariir—«Uyūn al-Akhbār, B.M., Or., 6633.
- al-Isamī Abū Md.—Simt al-Nujūm, B.M., Or., 1553.
- Azdi Ibn ʿĀfir Jamāl al-Din—Akhbār al-Dual al-Manqāṭiāb, B.M., Or., 3684.
- al-Jibrini^f 'Alī—Al-Durr al-Muntakhab fi Tārīkh Iḥlāb Arund, B.M., Or., 25.
- Jirjis b. al-Mākin—Al-Tarīkh al-Mukhtaṣar, B.M. Or., 7561.
- Muḥibb al-Din—Baḍat al-Manāẓir, B.M., Or., 1618.
- Mujir al-Din—Kitāb Tārīkh, B.M., Or., 1544.
- al-Nuʿaimi Nur al-Din—Al-Majmu', B.M. Or. 1550.
- Shams al-Dīn Md. b. 'Alī b. Junghul—Chronicles, Vol. IV, B.M., Or., 5912.
- Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi—Mir'at al-Zamān, B.M., Or., 6419.

Stowe, B.M., Or., 7.

Kitāb al-Tawārikh li Ibn Rahib—B.M., Or., 1337.

al-'Umari Yasīn b. Khair Allah—Al-Āthār al-Jāliyah, B.M., Or., 6300.

al-Yaa'i-Abū Md. 'Abd Allah—Mir'at al-Jamān, B.M., Or., 1611.

Persian

Abu Sulaiman Da'ud—Raufatu-Uli'lalbab, British Museum, Additional, 762fi.

al-Anṣārī al-Lārī Md. b. Muṣliḥ al-Din—Mir'at al-Adwār, B.M., Add., 7650.

al-Makūn Md. 'Alī b. Md. Sadiq—Mir'at al-Ṣafa, B.M., Add., 6539.

al-Mansub al-Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Md.—Naskhi Jahān Ārā, B.M., Or., 141.

'Awfī Md.—Jami' al-Hikayāt, India Office, W. 79; B.M., Or., 236.

Faiḍ Allāh Zain al-'Ābidīn—Jami' Tārikh Lil-ghāzao, B.M., Add., 7629.

Genealogical Tables of the Principal Dynasties of the East, B.M., Add., 19531.

Hafiz Abru—Jami' al-Tawārīkh, B.M., Or., 1577.

Hajī Khalifa—Taqwīm al-Tnvarīkh, B.M., Add., 23886.

Husaini Khurshan—Tarikh Tlīchi Nizamshah, B.M., Add., 23513.

- Ibn Md. Aḥmad—Nigarstān, B.M., Add., 26286.
- Isfahanani Fadl b Euzbahan—Suluk al-muluk, B.M., Or., 253.
- Jurjāni Md. Minhāj Sirāj—Tabaqati Nāṣiri, B.M., Add., 26189.
- Khāni Md. Bihāmand—Tārikh i-Muḥammadi, B.M., Or., 137.
- Khwāndmlr—Khulaṣat 'al-Akḥbār, B.M., Or., 1292; Habib al-Siyar, B.M., Add., 23508.
- Kuhstāni Mas'ūd b. 'Uthmañ—Tārikh-i-Abi al-Khair Khāni, B.M., Add., 26188.
- Mashhad Mirza Md.—Tuḥfat al-Akhyār, B.M., Or., 209.
- Md. b. Ali b. Md.—Majma' al-Ausāb, B.M., Add., 16696.
- Md. Bakhtawār Khān—Mir'at al-'Alam, B.M., Add., 7657.
- Md. Bāpir—Afṣah al-Akḥbār, B.M., Or., 138.
- Md. Yūsuf—Muntakhab al-Tawārikh, B.M., Add., 16695.
- Mirkhwand—Raudat al-Safa, B.M., Add., 16672.
- Mīrza Md.—Jannat al-l'irdaus, B.M., Or., 144.
- Nafā'is al-Ma'aṣir, B.M., Or., 1761.
- Qazwīni Amir Yahyā—Lubb al-Tawārikh, B.M., Or., 140.
- Qazwini IJamd Allah Mastawfi—Tārikhi Guzlda, B.M., Add., 22693.
- Rashīd al-Din Faḍl Allah—Jāmi' al-Tawārikh, B.M., Or., 1684; Add., 7628.

Tāhir Md. b. 'Imad-al-Dīn—Kaudat al-T&birīn,
B.M., Or., 168.

Tārīkh Waṣṣaf, B.M., Add., 23517.

T&brizl Mirza Md. Rada—Zinat al-Tawarikh,
B.M., Add., 235u!

PRINTED SOURCES

Arabic

Abu'l Pida—Taqwīm al-Buldān (Beinaud), Paris,
1840.

Al-Dhahabī Md. b. Aḥmad—Dual-al-Islām,
Hyderabad Deccan, 1337 A.H.

Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, 8 Vols.,
De Goeje.

Bundārī Fath b. 'Ali—Daulat al Ṣaljūq, Cairo,
1900.'

Ghazālī—Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn, 4 Vols., Cairo.
Al-Tibr al-Masbūk, Cairo, 1317 A.H.

Ibn al-'Adim 'Umar b. Ahmad—Al-Muntakhab
Min...Tārīkh Ḥalab, Luteliae Parisiorum
Preytag, 1819.

Ibn al-Aṭhīr—Al-Kamil, Vol. X, Cairo, 1301
A.H.

Ibnal-Zubair—Riḥlat (De Goeje), G.M.S., London,
1907.

Ibn al-Qaṭānī—Dhail Tārīkh Dimashq (Amedroz),
Leyden, 1908.

Ibn al-Tiktaka—Kitāb al-Falḥīrī (Derenbourg),
Paris, 1895.

- Ibn Khadūn—Al-'Ibar, etc. 7 Vols., Bulak, 1867 ;
Muqaddimah, Beyrout, 1886.
- Ibn Khallikān—Wafayāt al-A'yān (De Slane
Trans.) 4 Vols., Paris and London,
1842-71.
- Mawardi Abul Hasan 'Ali b. Md.—Ahkam al-Sul-
tānīyah, Cairo, 1298 A.H.
- Eecueil des Historiens Croisades Sources Arabes.
- Sibt Ibn al-Jauzī—Mir'at al-Zamān (Jewett),
facsimile, Yale, 1907.
- Suyūṭī-Jalāl-al-Dīn—Tārīkh al-Khulafā (Trans.
Jarrett, Calcutta) 1881.
- Tugh rā'I—Dīwān Constantinople, 1883.
- 'Utbī Md. b. 'Abd al-Jabbar—Tārīkh al-Yamīnī
(on the margin of Ibn al-Atbīr), Cairo.
- Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allah al-IJamawī—Mu'jam al-Bul-
dān, 6 Vols. (Wustenfeld) Leipzig, 1866.
Irṣbād al-Arīb {Margoliouth} G.M.S.,
London, 1908-13.
- Zaidān, G.—Tārīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī, 5
Vols., Cairo, 1902-06; Omayyads and
'Abbāsids (Tr. Margaliouth) G.M.S.,
London, 1907.

Persian

- 'Awfi Md.—Lubāb al-Albāb (Browne), G. M. S.,
London, 1903.
- Baihaqi—Tārīkh i 5.1-i-SabuktagIn, Tehran, 1258
A. H.
- Gardizī—Zain al-Akḥbār (Nazim) B. M. S., 1928.

- Ibn at-Balkhi--Firsnama (Le Strange) G. M. S
London, 1921,
- Hm Isfandiyār—History of Tabaristan (Browne)
G. M. S., London, 1905.
- Juwayni Afā Malik—Tarīk^hi-Jahgn-Gushay
M. M. Qazwini) G. M. S., London,
1912.
- Khwāndōāīr—Jfabīb al-Siyar, Bombay, 1857.
- Mlrkhwand—Ramjat al-safa (Vuller)lGissae, 1839,
- Nāṣir Khusraw—Safarnāmah, Berlin, 1922.
- Nifām al-Mulk—Siyāsat Nāmāh (Schefer) Paris,
1891, Supplement, 1897.
- Qazwīni Mustaufī ?amd Allāh—Tārīk^hi Guzldah,
G. M. S., London, 1910. Nuzhat al-
Qulūb (Le Strange) G. M. S. London,
1915.
- Rasījid al-Din Eadū Allāh—Jami* al-Tawārīk^h
(Blochet) G. M. S., London, 1912.
- Kāwandl—Raḥat al-Sudūr, (Iqbāl) G. M. S.,
London, 1921.
- Ṣamarqandl Nizāmī 'Arūdīl—Chahār Maqalah,
(Browne).
- Yazdl—'Urada fi al -Hikayat al-Saljuqiyah (Sus-
sheim) Leiden, 1909.

SECONDARY AUTHORITIES

- Amedroz,; H, F, and Margolioneth, D. S.—The
Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate, Oxford,
1920-21;

- Ameer 'Ali Seyad—A Short History of the Saracens, London, 1899. Persian Culture—Persian Society, June, 1913.
- Arbuthnot, F. F.—Persian Portraits—A Sketch of Persian History, London, 1887.
- Arnold, Sir T. W.—The Caliphate, London, 1924.
- Barthold, W.—Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion, London, 1928. Caliph and Sultan. Tr. H. A. R. Gibb.
- Beale, T. W. and Keene, H. G.—An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, London, 1894.
- Beroaldas, P.—A Short View of Persian Monarchy, London, 1590.
- Braithwaite, R. —The Kingdom of the Shah, 1863.
- Bretschneider, E.—Notices of Mediaeval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia, 1876.
- Browne, E. G.—Literary History of Persia—4 Volumes, London, 1928. A year amongst the Persians, London, 1893.
- Clement, H.—Ancient Persian and Iranian Civilization, London, 1927.
- Defremery, C. H.—Historie des Seldjouikides extrait du Tarkhgusideh. Recherchs sur le regne de Barkiarok (1092-1104) J. R. A. S., 1848-1853. (Also published separately.)
- Dosabhai Framji Karaki—History of the Persis, 2 Vols., 1884.
- Dumret—Historie des Seljoukides extrait de

Towage intitute Khelaesetoul. Achbar.
J. Asit. 13. p. 240.

Eden Richards—The History of Trawayle in the
West and East and othfer countries lying
either way as Mascovia, Persia, Arabia,
Syria, etc., gathered by Richard Wallis,
1577.

Gibb, H. A. R.—The Damascus Chronicle of
Crusades, London, 1932.

Gibbon, E.—History of the Decline and Fall of
the Roman Empire, 6 Vols., London, 1854,
Edr. O. Smeaton.

Griffiths Rogers, A.—In Persia's Golden Days,
1889.

Houtsma, M. Th. and others—Encyclopaedia of
Islam.

Houtsma, M. Th.—Zur Geschichte der Seldjugen
Von Kerman Zeit. deuts, Mogenland.
Ges 1885 xxxix, pp. 362-402.

Recueil de textes relatifs a l'histoire des
Seljoucides. 4 Vols. L. Lugduni, Bata-
vorum, 1886-1902.

Death of Nizâm al-Mulk and the Con-
sequences. Journal of Indian History,
Vol. 3, Tart I I. Serial No. 6., Sept., 1924.

Jackson, A. V. W.—Persia Past and Present,
New York, 1906.

Jhabvala, S. H.—A Brief History of Persia,
Bombay, 1920.

Kaempfer, E.—Journey in Persia, 1736.

- Kinneir, Sir J. M.—Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, London, 1813.
- Kramer, A. Von—The Orient under the Caliphs. Translated by S. Hjudabakhsh, Calcutta, 1920.
- Kramers, J. H.—Article on Sultan in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.
- Lane-Poole, S.—Muḥammadan Dynasties, London, 1894. Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum. 10 Vols.
Additions to the Oriental Collections of Coins in the British Museum, London, 1890.
- Le Strange, G.—Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, London, 1905.
Descriptions of Syria, London, 1892,
Description of the Province of Fars in Persia, Asia. Soc, Mono., 1912. Diary of a Journey through Persia, London, 1888.
Baghdād during the Abbasid Caliphate, London, 1924.
- Levy, R.—A Baghdād Chronicle, Cambridge, 1929.
Sociology of Islām, 2 Vols., London, 1931-33.
- Low, C. R.—Land of the Sun, 1870.
- Mahdi Md.—Translation of Jahāngushay by Guffar A. Syed, Ahmedabad, 1908.
- Malcolm, Sir John—History of Persia, 2 Vols., London, 1829.

- Sketches of Persia, London, 1828.
- Malcolm (Malkum) Khan—Persian Civilisation
Contemporary Review, February, 1891.
- Margoliontb, D. S,—The Place of Persia in the
History of Islam.
Persia Society Monograph, 1925.
- Markham, Sir C. B.—A General Sketch of the
History of Persia, London, 1874.
History of Persia, London, 1874.
- Morgan, J. De—Feudalism in Persia, its Origin,
Development and Present Condition,
Report of the Smithsonian Institution,
1913, pp. 576-606.
- Muir,⁵ Sir W.—The Caliphate, Edinburgh, 1924.
- Mustafa Khan Fateh—Taxation in Persia, Bulletin
of School of Oriental Studies, 1928, Vol.
IV., pp. 720-43.
- Nazim, M.—Sultan Mahmud, Cambridge, 1931.
- Nicholson, R. A.—Literary History of the Arabs,
Cambridge, 1930.
- Parker, E. H.—A Thousand Years of the Tartars,
1895.
- Piggot, J,—Persia : Ancient and Modern, 2 Vols.,
1874.
- riae, D.—Mahommudan History, 3 Vols., London,
1821.
- Rabino, H. L.,—Mazanderan and Astarabad.
G. M. S., London, 1928,
- Ross, Sir E.D.—The Persians, London, 1932.
- Scheff C—Quelques Chapitres de 'Abrigedu

- Seldjouk-nameh de l'etnir Nassireddin Yahya Recueil de textes, published by the Ecole Nat. des lang. Orient, viv Paris, 1889. Vol. I, pp. 3-102.
- Shobert, F.—Persia, London, 1822. 3 Vols., Philadelphia, 1828.
- Speede, J.—The Kingdom of Persia, 1080.
- Stevens, J.—The History of Persia, 1715.
- Sussheim, Karl—Prolegomena zu Einer Ausgabe der im Britischen Museum zu London verwahrten Ohronik des Seldschuqischen Reiches, 1911.
- Sykes, Sir Percy—History of Persia, 2 Vols., London, 1930. A History of Persia, 2 Vols., London, 1930.
- A History of Persia, 1915-22.
- Warfield, W.—The Gate of Asia, 1916.
- Warree, D. de—Peeps into Persia, 1913.
- Watson, Li. G.—History of Persia, London, 1866.
- Wilmot Buxton, E. M.—Stories of Persian Heroes, New York, 1908.
- Wilson, A. J.—Sketch of the Political History of Persia and Arabia, 1917.
- Yonel, B. Mirza—Iran of Iranians, Baltimore, 1913.

MISCELLANEOUS

- A Bibliography of Persia (Wilson, Sir A. T.)
London, 1930.

- A Dictionary of Oriental Quotations (Field, C. H. A.) (Arabic and Persiam) 1911.
- A Handbook of Historical Terms (Howells, I. and Edwards, T. J.) London, 1931,
- Acta Orientalia•
- Al-Qāmūs.
- Arabic-English Lexicon (Lane E. W.) London, 1880.
- British Academy Eeport, Transliteration of Arabic and Persian, London.
- Burhan Qati'.
- Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
- Chambers' Dictionary.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica.
- Encyclopaedia of Islam.
- Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie (Paul Horn) Strassburg, 1893.
- Jewish Travellers.
- Johnson's Persian Dictionary, Edited by Adler, London, 1852.
- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Lisan al-'Arab.
- Mishkat al-Masābīh.
- Fieldhouse's Turkish Dictionary, London, 1863.
- Report of the Smithsonian Institution,
- Vergleichungs Tabellen (Wustenfelf, H. F. and Mahler, E) Leipzig, 1926.

INDEX

A

Abadites, 31
 Abadah 320
 Abaki, 107
 Abdul Jalil, 44
 Abdul Jalil Dibistani, 44
 Abdul Wabid, 64
 Abdur Kabman Sumairami, 62
 Abu Bakr Ubaiduliah, 41
 Abu Dulaf Sarkbab, 123
 Abu Mansur b Maruf, 125
 Abu Mushim, 51
 Abu 8ad Md. b Mamas. 130
 Abu Safd Harawi, 51
 Abul Ala Said Abu Md. 62
 Abul Barakat, 28
 Abul Faraj, 50
 Abul Hai ja al Kurdi, 23
 Abul Ma'ali Nahhas, 40
 Abul Muzaffar b al(-)Kbajandi, 62
 Abul Qasim Hasan b Ali, 31
 Abul Qasim Huaain, 50
 Adhar baijan, 24, 87, 91
 Ahdath, 19
 Abkamal-Suttaniyab, 37
 Ahmad b Nizamul Mulk, 46
 Ahmadil b Ibrahim b Wahsudan, 65
 Ala-al-Daulah, 15,128
 Alamut, 117
 Aleppo. 4,19, 31, 49, 86, 88, 104, 318
 Ali, 14
 Ali b Sharaf-al-Daulah, 23
 Ali b Tarrad, 124
 Alp Arslan, 21,68, 39
 Al-Qarabli,34
 Altuntasb, 23
 Amedroz, H. F.,51
 Amid, 33, 54
 Amid-al-Daulah, 59
 Amir, 8, 6, 8, 11,12, 21, 34, 51, 73, 87, 91
 Amir Akhur, 43, 91, 99
 Amir Ali, 40
 Amir-al-Juyash, 20
 Amir Amiran, 100
 Awiir Azza. 5, 8, 107, 112,115
 Amir Aydbaab, 28

Ainir Bulkabak Unar, 3
 Amir Md. b Buqa, 128
 Amiri Qazwini, 52
 Amir SaniMiz, 62
 Amin-al-Daulab b Tilmidh, 90
 Antioch, 86,104
 Antioch, Lord of, 4.
 Aqburi, 43
 Aqsunqur, 12, 80, 87
 Arid-al-Jaish, 20
 Armed force. Constitution of, 18 19
 ArBlan Arghun, 4, 97, 99, 101
 Arslan Sbah, 15, 16,128
 Askar 38,10,32,48,99
 Atabep, 15,81,112
 Atabegat*. institution of, 5,6
 Aytakin Jab, 48, 55, 92
 Ayyars, 57

B

Baghdad, 27, 89,44, 49, 76,106
 Bagbdad, Caliphate of, 54
 Baghdad, Mohtasib of, 50
 Baghdad, Shihoh of, 27, 48
 Bah ram Shah, 2,15,128
 Bajsara,49
 Balasin, 105
 Baldaji, 130
 Baldwin, 75
 Balkh, 96, 98
 Banu Bursuq, 31
 Banu Namair, 85
 Barkiyaruq, 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 23, 24, 26,39,41. 43, 45, 48, 49, 51, 53, 58,67,74, 83, 86, 102, 104
 army of, 19
 conquests of, 95
 coronation of, 51
 death of, 8,11,12,16, 26
 sister of, 15
 struggles with Md., 7, 8, 9,106, 111
 Basrah, 123
 sack of. 38
 Basrah Gate, 55
 Batihah, 33

Batini, 43, 46, 47, 61, 64, 66, 82,
 106, 117
 chiefs, 8
 Govt., 77
 Rafiq, 66
 Soldiers, 67, 107
 Beltash b Tutush, 7
 Browne, 12
 Bulkabak, 43
 Bundari, 17, 20, 44, 46
 Burdan, 33, 116, 126
 Buribras b Alp Arslan, 98, 99
 Bursuq, 89, 43
 Bursuq b Bursuq, 14
 Bureuqi, 27, 28, 124, 126
 Buzan, 12, 86, 87
 Buzgush, 20, 126
 Byzantine Emperor, 118

C

Caliph, 63, 67, 69, 82, 104, 106,
 109
 headship of the 8
 Caliphate, 68
 Chamberlain, 62
 Chancellor of the Exchequer, 61
 Chancery or Correspondence Dept.,
 66
 Chief Justice, 60, 66
 Coronation, 61
 Crusade (Holy war), 19
 Crusaders, 61, 74, 76, 78, 103, 118,
 120
 Crusades, Damascus Chronicle of
 the, 18

D

Dad Habashi b Altuntag, 102
 Damascus, 30, 76, 86
 Darabjird, 130
 Daftlu, 94
 Diyar Bakr, 26, 27, 87, 91
 Dubais, 115, 123
 Doqaq, 6, 7, 16, 104
 Duziar, 21

E

Earthquake in Syria and Jazirah,
 71
 Egypt, 4, 104
 Espionage, 20, 87 footnote
 Exchequer, 77

P

Fakhr-al-Mulk, 42, 62, 93, 98
 Famine of Iraq, 71
 Fārj, 130
 Fars, 106, 129, 132
 Fatimide Caliphs, 104, navies, 74
 Feudal system, 96
 Fidais, 61
 Fief (Iqta), 4, fief holders 4, 6, 18.
 Military fief, 21
 •• Five bands " (Panj Naubl), 1
 Flood of Iraq, 72
 Franks, 19, 65, 118, 119, 121, 129
 armies of, 104
 " Free-trade " in Islam, 78
 French Premier, 39

G

' Gendarmes,' 60
 Gibb, Prof., 18
 Gbazali, 10
 Ghazoah, 2, 16
 Ghaznavid, 100, 128
 Gibbon, 7

H

Habashi b Jakarmish, 29
 Hajib, 62
 Hajib Md. 66
 Hamadan, 91, 107
 Hanafi, 68
 Harran, 23, 91, 122
 Hasan b al-Mubariz, 130
 Hashishin, 67
 Hawashi, 20
 Hillah, 23, 49, 126
 Hims, 6
 Hisn Haifa, 24, 26, 26

I

Ibn-al-Athir, 2, 11, 18, 44, 46, 93.
 102, 112
 Ibn Khaldun, 38
 Ibn Muttalitu' 124
 Ibn Sinan, 66
 Ibn Sulaihah, 44
 Ibrahim, 14, 28, 44, 87, 100
 Ibrahim, Wali of Darabjird, 130
 Ikinji, 103

Muajjad-al-Mulk, 16, 41, 94, 98, (16 107)
 Mu'ayya, battle of, 14, 28, 87
 Mubaddhib, 126
 Muhaddhib-al-Dauiah, 4
 Muhammad, 1, 2, 23, 26, 81, 38, 39, 43 51, 86, 104
 Muhtasib, 60
 Mir'abid-al-Din Bahruz, 60
 Mukhtas, 124
 Mukus, 77
 Muqaddiro, 20
 Muqtadi, 10, 55, 57
 Mosa, 24, 25
 Mustawfi, 51
 Mustazhir Billnh, 12, 56, 58
 Muttawiah, 10

N

Nahr Sabain, 88
 Nahr Tabiq, 50
 Naqib, 48
 NasibiD, 28, 26, 28, 86, 87, 128
 Nasr, 15
 Nihawand, 117
 Nishapur, 89, 68, 96, 97
 Nizam-al-Mulk, 9, 10 86, 87, 40, 61, 64, 78, 82
 Nizamitee, 40, 85, 107
 Nizamiyya College, 77

P

Palestine, 119
 Punjab, 101
 Panj Naabat, 1
 Permanent Settlement in Bengal, 70
 Persia, 91
 Postal (Barid) system, 37
 Prime Minister, British, 39
 "Princes, Saljuqid, 4, 5

Q

Qadi, 51
 Qadi-al-Qudah, 50
 Qadi Abul Abbas Ibn Ratabi, 50
 Qadi Abu Md. Abdullah, 28
 Qadi Abo Tahir, 35
 Qaid, 20
 Qaid al-Quwad, 20
 Qaiaari Tangle, 71

Qalat-al Sharif, 88
 Qarakhanid, 100
 Qasim-al-Daulah, 49, 86
 Qiam, 13
 Qilij Arslan, 27, 28, 29, 108, 128
 Qirkban, 120
 Qiwan al-Dauiah Karbuqa, 10
 Qizughli, 27, 28, 29
 Qudun 97, 102
 Quhandia, 99
 Qumai, 127
 Qumaj, 100
 Qumushtakin Jandar, 5
 Qntlagh Khatun, 80
 Qutlaghtakin, 6

R

Rabib al-Daulah, 47
 Bais(Mayor) 61
 Rais-al-Abdatb, 19, 49
 Bais al-Rausa, 50
 Rabat-al-Surat, 3
 Rahbah, 30, 86
 Raqqab, 35
 Rayy, 88. 93, 96, 105
 battle of, 19
 Religioufi faction, 97
 Roger of Antioch, 120
 Rudrawar 107
 Rudwan, 4, f, 6, 19, 23, 31, 85, 64, 68 89, 104, 107, 120
 Ruha, 20 91, 104
 Rukn-al-Din, 68

S

Saba* a, 120
 Sad-al-Daulab, 48
 Sad-el-Mulk, 88, 46, 52
 Sadaqab. 4, 23, 27, 29, 32, 38, 34, 49, 51, 56, 106, 115. 122, 1^5, 126
 Sadid-al-Daulah Abul Me'ali, 40
 Safi Abui Mahasin, 116
 Saña Khatun, 18, 86
 Safiyab Khatun, 23
 Safwat-al-Molk, 15
 Saghirbeg, 127
 Sabib-al-Jaish, 20
 Sabib-al-Shurtah, 50
 Said, 51
 said b Abd-aKRabman, 68
 Said b Hamid, 128
 Salghar, 84

- Saljuqid empire, 54, 61, 128^{*}
 aid-de-camp, 21
 army, 17, 18, 19, 20, 82, 48, 99
 Band (Postal) system, 87
 Chancery or Correspondence
 Department, 55
 Court, 8
 decline of, 1, 9/114
 economic system, 51, 70, 77
 espionage, 20, n37
 feudal organisation, 96
 Governors, 97
 Judiciary, 52
 lesser, 3
 of Bum, n2, 71, 103
 police, 50
 princes, 4, 5
 punishment, 17
 revenue, 4
 sectarianism, 61
 slaves, 6
 society, 8
 supremacy, 82
 weakness of, 36, 37, 43, 48
 women, 8, 13, 14, 15
- Salim, 35
- Samanids, 96
- Sanjar, 2, 16, 28, 39, 100, 102, 107,
 119, 127
 becomes Sultan, 132
 conquest of Ghaznah, 128
- Saqawa, 14
- Sarkhab b Badr, 34, 89
- Sarkhab b Eaikhusru, 125
- Satrap, Persian, 21
- Sawah, 125
- Shah, 68
- Sharaf-al-Daulah, 13, 86
- Sbaraf-al-Mulk Abu Said, 40
- Sbawankara, 84
- Shihnah, 83, 48, 54
 of Baghdad, 48
- Shi'ite, 97
- Shraz, 130
- Sipah Salar, 21
- Siyasatr amah, 37
- Sultan, 21, 58, 57, 79, 82, 92, 104
 title of, 1, 2, 53, 101, 111
- Sultanate, 4, '27, 63, 83, 85, 88, 98, 105
- Sultan Md, 4, 6, 14, 17, 19, 28, 33
 84, 49, 65, 119, 128
 death of, 182
 wife of, 17
- Sultana Tughil, '3, 30, 100
- Sunni, 69, 97, 114
- Sunqurja, 24
 death of, 26
- Suqah, 20
- Suqman, 16, 20, 26, 75, 119
- Suqman b Urtuq, 25
- Surwan b Wahaib, 23
- Sykes, 12
- Syria, 108, 118, 120,
 famine in, 71
 flood in, 72
 plague and pestilence in, 71
- T
- Taj-al-Mulk, 9, 40, n64, 88
- Takash, 4, 31
- Tall-al-Sultan, 88
- Tamirak, 119, 1*1
- Tancred, 4, 20
- Tariq Khurasan, 49
- Tax-farming, 4
- Tell-Bashir, 20
- Thabit, 124, 125
- "Three bands," 1
- Tirmidb, 98
- Traosoxania, 100, 127
- Tripoli, 318
- Tnghayaruk b Yazan, 43
- Tughril, Sultana, 18, 89, 100
- Tughtakin, 6, 7, 15, 64, 119
- Turad-al-Zainabi, 65
- Turkan Khatun, 8, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12,
 13, 53, 83
 death of, 12, 91
- Tutusb, 5, 7, 12, 31, 48, 68, 68, 85,
 87, 89, 91
 conquests of, 14, 91
 death of, 19, 49, 94
 wife of, 15
- Turks, 16, 19, 84, 49, 75, 96, 121, 124
 relations with central Govt., 80,
 te
- Turkish cavalry, 14, 16, 19, 24
 General, 5
 troops, 24, 96
- U
- Ubaidullah, 68
- Unar, 11, 105
- 'Uqalid, '86
- Ui-tuq, wife of, 16
- Uthman, 40
- Utuoiaab, 106
- W
- Wakildar, 52
- I Walayat-ai-Mazalim, 60

Wali, 3, 8, 78, 82,108
 Wali-al-Biabah. 50
 Wag;t. 4, 106, 123
 Wazir, 39,60, 66, 94
 Wazirate, 86,42
 Wasir-al-Tafwidh, 89
 Wazir-al-Tanfidh, 39
 Women of Arabia, 87
 Women, Saljuqid, 8,13,14, 15

Y

Yaghiaiyan, 86, 92
 Yaquti, 16, 73

Yalbard, 48
 Taman, 50
 Yaua b Aouabtokin, 45
 Yaruqtash, 102
 Yusuf b Abiq, 48

Z

Zarfan, 43
 Zanki, 107,120
 Zunki b Bursuq, 31
 Zanki b Jakarmisb, 27
 Zain-al-Mulk Abu Said b Hindu, 52
 Zubaida Eh a tun ,12,16, 42, 98

