

ON THREE MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES IN NORTHERN PERSIA IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

E. DENISON ROSS

The three minor dynasties which I propose to discuss in this paper are 1. The House of Musāfir, or Sallār, 2. The House of Shaddād, and 3. The House of Ziyār. The period covered extends from the beginning of the 4th to the end of the 5th century of the Muhammadan era, a period which witnessed the fall of the Buwayhids, the rise of the Ghaznavids and the Saljuqs, and the decline of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate. During these momentous dynastic upheavals and changes, the provinces of Northern Persia, Māzandarān, Gilān, and Azarbaijān, though frequently invaded and subdued usually managed to retain a semblance of local independence, thanks either to pacific submission or to the playing off of one invader against the other. And thus we are able to trace throughout this whole period no less than three families who succeeded in handing on the governorships of large districts to their descendants in spite of defeat, supersession and even imprisonment and exile. The portion of the map with which we are concerned is that embracing Jurjan, Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān) Gilān, Azarbaijān, Arrān, and Eastern Armenia. The principal cities are Ṭārm, Tabrīz, Ānī, Ganja, and Shamīrān. The three families seem to have been originally either Kurds, Daylamis or Gilanis, and their authority often extended into Armenia.

Almost the only Oriental work in which an attempt has been made to classify these obscure dynasties is the great work known as the "History of Munajjim Bāshī," which is a somewhat abridged translation, made by the Turkish poet Nedīm in the beginning of the XVIII Century, of the Arabic original called "*Ṣaḥā'if ul-Akḥbār*," by a certain Ahmad Dédé, composed about 1672. Stanley Lane-Poole enumerates in his well known work "The Muhammadan Dynasties" 118 dynasties. To these Munajjim Bāshī adds another 88. In 1923 Professor Sachau published in Berlin the results of his enquiries into

the new material contained in Munajjim Bāshī's great work under the title of "*Ein Verzeichnis Muhammedanischer Dynastien.*"

Now among these additional dynasties there are two which are not mentioned by Lane-Poole, with which I am concerned in the present article; namely the Bani Shaddād and the Musāfirids or Bani Sallār. Both of these dynasties have of course been dealt with by Justi in his "*Iranisches Namenbuch.*"

Defrémery, in the "*Journal Asiatique*", Juin 1849, Vol. XIII, p. 482, says he hopes to discuss the history of the "Revvādite" amirs of Arrān "dans un travail spécial que j'ai l'intention de consacrer aux événements dont l'Azerbeïdjan et l'Arrān ont été le théâtre depuis l'extinction de la dynastie des Sadjides jusqu'à l'époque du célèbre Djelāl ed-Din Kharezmschah." I cannot discover that he ever carried out this project.

A very thorough investigation of the origin and early history of the Bani Sallār was published by Monsieur Cl. Huart in a *Volume of Oriental studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922. pp. 228—254, under the title of "*Les Mosāfirids de l'Adherbaidjan.*" Most valuable are his translations of passages referring to this dynasty which occur in the Arabic Histories and Geographies, especially in the *Kāmil*. In the later history he has, however, only dealt with the branch which ends with Abū Ṣāhiḥ Jastān II.

It is not my intention in this place to narrate the history of this period, but only to throw some new light on the genealogies of these three families. My researches leave much that is still obscure, but I am hopeful that a number of problems have been simplified for future historians.

In preparing these tentative genealogical tables I have consulted, among many others, the following works:—

1. The Histories of Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn.
2. The Arab and Persian Geographers.
3. The *Qābūs Nāma* of Kay-Kā'ūs: lith. ed. Teheran A. H. 1285.
4. The *General History* of Munajjim Bāshī, Constantinople A. H. 1285.
5. The Histories of Armenia and of Georgia. Brosset: Saint Martin etc.
6. The Armenian Histories of Vardan and Asolīk.
7. Justi: *Iranisches Namenbuch*.
8. Fraehn and Khanikoff: Bulletin of the Petersburg Academy.
9. Markof: Catalogue of Coins in the Hermitage.¹

¹ Инвентарій Каталогъ Мусулманскихъ Монетъ Императорскаго Эршнтажа. Составилъ А. Марковъ. Ст. Петербургъ. 1896.

But to nothing am I so much indebted as to the *Diwān* of the poet Qaṭrān, who lived in the 11th century of our era. This little known collection of poems contains a large number of panegyric odes written presumably between A. H. 425 and 485, which are addressed to as many as twenty different patrons. Unfortunately Qaṭrān very rarely goes beyond the barest mention of one of his patrons' names and seldom gives any clue to their identity or date. Indeed we can only affix a positive date to the two poems he wrote to commemorate the disastrous earthquake which overwhelmed Tabriz in A. H. 434. Without discussing their identity I may give a list of those patrons most commonly addressed by Qaṭrān, in the fullest form in which they occur in the poems.

1. Amīr 'Imād ud-Dīn Abū Naṣr.
2. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd b. Mamlān.
3. Abū'l-Manṣūr Mas'ūd b. Mamlān.
4. Faḏlūn, Abū'l-Muḏaffar.
5. Abū'l-Ḥayjā Minūchihr b. Wahsūdān.
6. Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abdullah b. Wahsūdān.
7. Amīr Sayyid al-Mansūr Abū'l-Faḏl Ja'far b. 'Alī.
8. Abū'l-Khalīl Ja'far b. 'Alī (or b. 'Izz ud-Dīn).
9. Abū Dulaf.
10. Abū'l-Mu'ammar.
11. Abū'l-Yusr.
12. Abū'l-Ḥasan.

It was an attempt to identify the patrons of Qaṭrān that first made me realise how unsatisfying was our knowledge with regard to the three dynasties which form the subject of this paper.

For purposes of ready reference I append here a list of some of the contemporary Moslem rulers.

Caliphs	Saljuqs	Ghaznavids
al-Qādir Bi'llah 381—422	Tughril Bey 429—455	Maḥmūd 388—421
al-Qā'im Biamrillah 422—467	Alp Arslan 455—465	Mas'ud I. 421—432
al-Muqtadī 467—487	Malik Shāh 465—485	Mawdūd 432—440
	Buwayhids of Rayy etc.	
	Rukn ud-Dawlah 320—366	
	Fakhr ud-Dawlah 366—387	
	Majd ud-Dawlah 387—340	

I hope elsewhere to deal fully with the life and works of Qaṭrān, it will here suffice for me to say that the date of his death is variously given by his Persian biographers as A. H. 445, 465, and 485. With this margin of forty years it was hard to decide the approximate date when he might have begun to write panegyrics. All we knew for certain was that when Nāṣir Khusraw met him in A. H. 438, Qaṭrān already had a „*diwān*” to his name. In the first instance I presumed that the Abū'l-Ḥasan, to whom no less than ten „*qaṣīdas*” are addressed might be Shams ul-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Washmgir who died in A. H. 403. I was encouraged in this view by a verse in which reference is made to Abū'l-Ḥasan's son Minūchihr. But the identification of patrons who lived many years later led me to abandon Qābūs and to find Qaṭrān's Abū'l-Ḥasan in the person of one of the Shaddād family, namely Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā Lashkarī; this and various other identifications led me to accept A. H. 485 as the correct date for Qaṭrān's death. There are over forty „*qaṣīdas*” dedicated to „Abū Naṣr,”¹ nearly all of which were addressed to Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Mamlān, of the Sallār family, but a few which contain the title 'Imād ud-Dīn (and 'Amīd ul-Mulk) must, I think, have been addressed to the famous Saljūq vazir Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Kunduri,² who was put to death at the instigation of Niẓām ul-Mulk in A. H. 455. I have not discovered any *qaṣīda* addressed to the vazir Niẓām ul-Mulk.³

The greatest difficulty has been experienced in regard to Abū'l-Khalīl Ja'far b. 'Alī, to whom far the largest number of Qaṭrān's odes are addressed. Taqī ud-Dīn Kāshī, in his „*Khulāṣat ul-Ash'ār*,” says that Abū'l-Khalīl Ja'far was one of the Governors of Azerbaijan and the borders of Kurdistān, and that he died in A. H. 470.⁴ I have

¹ It was the constant occurrence of this name that led to the attribution of many of Qaṭrān's poems to Rūdakī. See my article J.R.A.S. Oct. 1924.

² I have not met the title 'Amīd ul-Mulk elsewhere applied to this vazir. The *Kharīdat ul-Qaṣr* calls him Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad.

³ The little known poet Lāmi⁴ of Jurjān, who was a pupil of al-Ghazālī, addressed *qaṣīdas* to both these vazirs.

⁴ I have only been able to examine two Mss. of this important work, viz. Or. 3506 in the British Museum, which represents the first recension containing copious extracts from the diwans of the poets mentioned, and the India Office MS. No. 2561, which represents the later recension and contains only the biographies. Or. 3506 is the older Ms. but is far less accurate than the India Office MS. Or. 3506 gives the date of Abū'l-Khalīl's death as A. H. 410!! The L. O. MS. gives the date A. H. 470 which I take to be the correct one. The „*Haft Iqtīm*” also gives A. H. 485 for Qaṭrān's death.

therefore tentatively suggested that he is the same with Abū'l-Faḍl Ja'far b. 'Alī to whom many *qaṣīdas* are addressed, supposing that he took the title of Abū'l-Khalīl after the death of his father. He is called in one *qaṣīda* „ibn 'Izz ud-Dīn,” which I presume to mean that such was his father's title, though it is not mentioned elsewhere. The „*Faḍlūn*” of Qaṭrān's *qaṣīdas* also presents difficulties, but on the authority of the „*Qābūs Nāma*” I take him to be the son of Abū'l-Aswār Shāwir of the Shaddād family. I further take Abū'l-Yusr [all Mss. of Qaṭrān read Abū'l-Bishr] to be the general of Faḍlūn referred to in the „*Qābūs Nāma*.”¹ My impression is that all the Faḍls of the Shaddād family who governed were known by the honorific title of Faḍlūn.²

I will now proceed to the genealogical tables.

For the House of Ziyār (called by some writers Ziyād) a table has already been drawn up by Munajjim Bāshī (vol. ii pp. ε v λ). There is one in Justi's „*Iranisches Namenbuch*,” and a very incomplete one in S. Lane Poole's „*Muhammadan Dynasties*” (p. 137). None of these are quite correct, and where we might have expected accuracy, namely in the „*History of Ṭabaristān*” by Ibn Isfandiyār,³ the mis-statements are worst of all, as I shall point out in a subsequent note. Ibn Khaldūn IV, 420, calls Washmgir „Lashkarī,” which would point to some connection with the house of Shaddād.

(See below).

NOTES ON THE ZIYĀRID CHART

Down to the death of Qābūs in A. H. 403 all genealogies agree. All are also agreed that he was succeeded by his son Minūchihr, on whom the Caliph al-Qādir Bi'llah conferred the title of Falak ul-Ma'ālī.

¹ This story is good enough to bear repetition. On p. 149 of the lithographed text we read that Faḍlūn ordered Abū'l-Yusr to proceed to Barda' as commander-in-chief during the summer. Abū'l-Yusr protested saying: „I will not go until winter sets in as the climate of Barda' is very bad, especially in summer.” Faḍlūn replied: „Why worry? No one dies before his appointed time.” To which Abū'l-Yusr answered: „No one whose Fate has not been decided goes to Barda' in the summer.”

² On the termination „ūn” (as in Ḥaṣṣūn, Ḥamdūn etc.) as a sign of nobility see Dozy—*Moores in Spain*—Eng. Trans. p. 316.

³ E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series II, 1905, pp. 233—236.

He died in A. H. 420 (according to Ibn al-Athīr) and according to most authorities was succeeded by his son Nūshirwān (or Dārā) who reigned until A. H. 441, the year in which Kay-Kā'ūs came to the throne. Now Qābūs had two sons, Minūchihr and Sikandar (or Dārā) and I think it was Sikandar who came to the throne in A. H. 420; for Ibn al-Athīr states that in A. H. 424 Mas'ūd the Ghaznavid confirmed "the son of Qābūs" in the government of Jurjān and Ṭabaristān. Sikandar¹ we know died in A. H. 426, and under that year Ibn al-Athīr tells us that Mas'ūd confirmed Dārā, the son of Minūchihr, in the government of those districts. Ibn al-Athīr says that when Tughril in A. H. 433 conquered Jurjān and Ṭabaristān, the *khutba* was read in his name and a certain Mardāwij b. Bāsū who had accompanied him, was married to Anūshirwān's mother and made governor of the provinces. This Mardāwij died in the following year and was succeeded by his son Jastān, who was shortly after dismissed by Tughril who appointed in his place Asfār, one of Minūchihr's nobles. The confusion that has existed will be all disposed of if we take it that both Anūshirwān and Iskandar bore the name of Dārā. The "*Ta'rikh-i-Yamīni*" says, correctly, that Qābūs had two sons, Minūchihr and Dārā.²

Kay-Kā'ūs succeeded his cousin Anūshirwān in A. H. 441 and ruled at any rate down to A. H. 475, for it was in that year he composed the "Qābūs Nāma" for his son Gilānshāh, as he tells us at the end of the book. Ibn Isfandiyār and Rizā Qulī Khān and others following them state that Kay-Kā'ūs died in A. H. 462. How Rizā Qulī, as editor of the lithographed edition of the "*Qābūs Nāma*," came to make such a blunder is inconceivable. But Ibn Isfandiyār makes a second equally bad blunder when he says that "Gilān Shāh died, and was succeeded by his cousin Anūshirwān b. Minūchihr b. Qābūs in A. H. 471. Anūshirwān was, as we know, his father's first

¹ The "*Zinat ul-Majālis*" (Bodleian MS. Elliot 419. fol. 253b.) is the only Persian authority I have seen which says that Sikandar ruled after his father. It has been generally supposed that he never reigned at all.

² Ibn Isfandiyār, p. 235, says that Minūchihr died in A. H. 424, and was succeeded by his son Abū Kālīnjār b. Wayhan [sic] al-Qūhī [the Qūhīs were Kurds, see *Kāmil*, Bulaq X. p. 173. l. 3] who was commander-in-chief of Dārā's army. Can this mean that Anūshirwān was commander-in-chief to his uncle Sikandar? The reading Kālīnjār is doubtful. The correct form may be *Kālījār*, possibly a corruption of the Persian *Kāreār* (battle), in which case Abū Kālījār would have the same meaning as Abū 'I-Hayjā.

cousin, and had died in A. H. 441. Gilān Shāh ruled until he was defeated by Ḥasan-i-Šabbāh in A. H. 483 [the year of the capture of Ālamūt (آلموت) which with the "*alif-madda*" (=two alifs) gives the chronogram]. The "*Ḥabīb us-Siyar*" strangely enough gives A. H. 470 as the year in which the Isma'īlis defeated Gilān Shāh. In his "*Niṣād Nāma*" (B. M. Ms. Or. 3378) Rizā Qulī says Gilān Shāh ruled seven years. The following additional relationships of this family are incidentally mentioned in the "*Qābūs Nāma*." Addressing Gilān Shāh, Kay-Kā'ūs speaks of "your grandfather Maḥmūd," and "your maternal uncle Mas'ūd." The sister of Anūshirwān had married Mas'ūd, who thus became cousin by marriage to Kay-Kā'ūs, the father of Gilān Shāh. Minūchihr had married a daughter of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and this is presumably why Maḥmūd is spoken of as the "*jadd*" of Gilān Shāh, though he was not actually his ancestor. On p. 211 he says: "My grandmother was the maternal aunt of Fakhr ud-Dawlah, the brother of Azud ud-Dawlah [the Buwayhid]. My father and the father of Fakhr ud-Dawlah were the "*dukhtar sadas*" of Ḥasan-i-Firūzān." Ḥasan-i-Firūzān the Daylami ruled over Ṭabaristān and died in A. H. 356, the year that Qābūs came to the throne.¹

By Kay-Kā'ūs' grandmother is presumably meant the wife of Qābūs, who would therefore be a sister to the wife of Rukn ud-Dawlah the Buwayhid. Sikandar b. Qābūs and Rukn ud-Dawlah were thus grandsons of Ḥasan-i-Firūzān. Rizā Qulī (*Niṣād-Nāma* fol. 36b.) says Fakhr ud-Dawlah married a daughter of Qābūs.

Justi says Anūshirwān had a son Abū'l Mazaffar.² Aṣ-Šadafī (*Ta'rikh Duwal il-Islām*) declares that the Ziyārids came to an end with the death of Anūshirwān in A. H. 430. Even Ibn Khaldūn says the Ziyārids came to an end with the conquest of their country by Mas'ūd.

¹ Ibn al-Athīr tells us that when in A. H. 442 Tughril captured Ispahan the governor of 'Amān was Abū'l Mazaffar, son of Abū'l Kālīnjār Karshāsp, the son of 'Alā ud-Dawlah Muḥammad Abū Ja'far, son of Dushmanzar, Ibn Kākwayh, who married the sister of Majd ud-Dawlah the Buwayhid. We hear of this Abū'l Kālīnjār in A. H. 428 concluding a peace with his nephew Jalāl ud-Dawlah the Buwayhid of Iraq [A. H. 416—435]. He was in Hamadān in A. H. 434 when that town was attacked by Ibrāhīm Ināl. He died in A. H. 443. Another Abū'l Kālīnjār was the son of Sulṭān ud-Dawlah b. Bahā ud-Dawlah b. Azud ud-Dawlah, and succeeded his uncle Jalāl ud-Dawlah in A. H. 435 (*Kāmil*). He was also called al-Marzubān.

² Justi (p. 443) gives a tentative genealogy of the descendants of Firūzān, prince of Shukūr (Gilān).

NOTES ON THE SALLĀR CHART.

We first hear of Wahsūdān b. Jastān of Daylam in A. H. 259, as having a dispute with Muḥammad b. Faḡl b. Yabān. (See Ibn al-Athīr VII. 183).

Ibn al-Athīr VIII. 96. mentions Wahsūdān father of Surkhāb. Ibn Khaldūn IV. p. 420 says Washūdān had two sons, Ḥasan and Surkhāb, who were the cousins of Mākān b. Kākī. His brother Ṣa'lūk and his uncle 'Alī b. 'Alī b. al-Faḡl were employed by Daysam against the Kurds in A. H. 330 (*Kāmil*).

Munajjim Bāshī says the Sallār Muḥammad was an officer in Mākān's army, who became an independent ruler in Daylam after the downfall of Mākān in A. H. 329.

Mas'ūdi IX. 16 says that the father of Marzubān Muḥammad ibn Musāfir the Sallār was called ASWĀR.

We are told by Ibn Khaldūn that the first Lashkarī like Mardāwij belonged to the Asfār nobility. Thus the name Aswār (Sawār) or Asfār¹ occurs in connection with all the three dynasties under discussion. Ibn al-Athīr (under A. H. 316) tells us that the chief *qā'id* of Asfār was Mardāwij b. Ziyār ad-Daylami, who was sent to Sallār, lord of *Shamīrān at-Ṭarm* demanding his allegiance. It was this Sallār who afterwards became lord of Azerbaijan etc. Mardāwij finally overcame and slew Asfār, and then turned his attention to Ṭabaristān and Jurjān, which was held by Mākān b. Kākī. Under A. H. 319 he tells us that Lashkarī ad-Daylamī was also a *qā'id* of Asfār's. But under A. H. 326 Ibn al-Athīr speaks of the conquest of Azerbaijan by *Lashkarī ibn Mardī*, a lieutenant of Washmgīr's "who was a far greater man than the Lashkarī we have mentioned above." Munajjim Bāshī confuses the two sons of Marzubān I., namely Jastān I. and Ibrāhīm I. with the son and grandson of Marzubān II., who were also Ibrāhīm and Jastān. His genealogy is as follows: — Marzubān I., son of Muḥammad b. Musāfir, died A. H. 346; Jastān, son of Marzubān I., Wahsūdān, son of Muḥammad b. Musāfir; Isma'īl, son of Wahsūdān; Ibrāhīm, son of Marzubān II.; Marzubān II., son of Isma'īl. The confusion is of course due to the identity of the names, and he supplies no further dates.

¹ Derived from old Persian "asphabara."

Justi is also in error in making Ibrāhīm II. (the father of Jastān II. and Aḥmadīl) the son of Wahsūdān II. Sachau calls Ibrāhīm the 7th ruler the son of Marzubān I. whereas he is as the son of the 6th ruler Marzubān II. and puts Ibrāhīm before his father. Ibrāhīm the son of Marzubān I. apparently never ruled.

All this confusion has been caused by the failure to recognise the two distinct branches which ruled simultaneously. Of this fact we have, however, certain information thanks to Nāṣir-i-Khusraw who tells us that in A. H. 438 he found Abū Ṣāliḥ (i. e. Jastān II.) ruling in Shamīrān,¹ and Abū Manṣūr (i. e. Wahsūdān II.) in Tabriz.² The "dīwān" of Qaṭrān supplies us with the names of the descendants of Muḥammad Mamlān ar-Rawwādi, but of the collateral branch only mentions Jastān II.

Aṣ-Ṣadafi (*op. cit.*) displays his ignorance again in connection with the Musāfirids, by declaring that they came to an end in A. H. 426, when Mas'ūd took Ibrāhīm prisoner.

THE HOUSE OF SALLĀR OR MUSĀFIR.

I have been unable to find any genealogical table of this family which is at all complete; Justi's is the only one with any pretention to completeness, but he has failed to distinguish the branches descended from Isma'īl. Munajjim Bāshī — followed by Huart and Sachau — only deals with one of the two branches into which this family split about A. H. 355. Marquart (See J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 174) has attempted but without success to construct a pedigree by merging the Sallārs with the Shaddāds on the basis of Frāhn's Shaddād tree, of which I shall speak below. Fortunately in preparing this family tree we have one or two assured dates to go upon, and it will be seen that the family split into two distinct branches.

¹ Shamīrān or Samīrān was such an important fort that it was called "*ukht qal'a Alamūt*" the sister fort to Alamut. (Yāqūt III. p. 149.)

² Abū Manṣūr was governor of Tabriz in A. H. 434 when that town was almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake. The Amir was saved because he happened to be visiting a garden. Nearly 50,000 inhabitants perished. The Amir put on black for mourning. But he immediately withdrew to a hill fortress fearing the Ghuzz might take advantage of the city's plight. When in A. H. 446 Tughril entered Tabriz — which had been restored in A. H. 439 — Abū Manṣūr agreed to pay a large sum and gave his son as a hostage. (*Kāmil*)

Aṣ-Ṣadafī (*Tārīkh Duwal il-Islām*) says nothing is known of this family between A. II. 355 and 420: i. e. between the death of Wahsūdān I¹ and the accession of Ibrāhīm II.

The most uncertain personage of my table is the father of Muḥammad Mamlān. All the tables I have consulted give Isma'īl as the father of Marzubān II. and of Muḥammad Mamlān. I have been led to suggest a variation by the study of the Armenian Chronicle of Stephanos Asolīk. If this is trustworthy we must draw up the genealogy of Muḥammad Mamlān as follows: Mamlān, the son of Aphlač the son of Rowād the son of Salar.

The account of these rulers only extends over the years A. H. 373—394 (which I make the equivalent of the Armenian era 431—452: i. e. A. D. 983—1003). Asolīk also mentions during the same period Phatlun (= Faḏlūn), Amir of Ganja, and Aputluph (= Abū Dulaf), Amir of Goḥthn (Nakhchuwan), both of whom were patrons of Qaṭrān.

Aphlač Ⲡⲉⲗⲥⲱⲁⲕ most probably stands for Abū'l-Hayjā, of whom we should know nothing were it not for a casual note in Ibn Ḥauqal's geography which tells us (p. 102) that in A. II. 344 Abū'l-Hayjā b. Rawwād² was ruling over Ahr and Warzaqān³. His father Rawwād must, I think, be Isma'īl of whom nothing is related beyond the fact that he was the son of Wahsūdān I. I think it more than probable that Wahsūdān I. also bore the title of Sallār⁴; and thus we see an important gap in the genealogy of the Musāfir family is filled by this Armenian author. If Asolīk's dates are to be trusted Mamlān I. must have reigned over forty years.

¹ This name which Justi says means "one who has rendered good service to the Religion" is sometimes found contracted to Sūdān. Wahsūdān I. appears from a passage in Yāqūt (III. 129) to have ruled for 40 years over Samirān. From the same source we learn that when in A. H. 379, Fakhr ud-Dawlah b. Rukn ud-Dawlah the Buwayhid occupied this fort, he found in it the son of Nūh the son of Wahsūdān, who was only a child, with his mother. Fakhr ud-Dawlah married the widowed mother, and gave the child in marriage to one of his own relations. It is possible that Nūh's widow was the mother of Majd ud-Dawlah (A. H. 387—420) the father of Qaṭrān's Abū Dulaf, who was still alive in A. H. 444.

² I believe the correct reading of this name is Rowād or Rowwād. The Armenian historian Asolīk always writes Ⲡⲱⲱⲁⲕ and in some Arabic MSS. I have met with

الروادي.

³ ... و آبا الحجاج بن رواد عن نواحيه بأهر
و وزرقان على خمسين ألف دينار

⁴ Sallār is no doubt the dialectic form of Salar which is in turn derived from *sar-dār*.

In connection with the name Abū'l-Hayjā it is to be noted that it is borne by quite a number of historical characters at this period in conjunction with the name Minūchihr, as for example the Shirwānshāhi Abū'l-Hayjā Minūchihr b. Farīdūn, Fakhrud-Dīn, who was the patron of the poet Falakī who died in A. H. 575.

I have been unable to trace, outside the pages of the *Kāmil*, a certain Rabīb ud-Dawlah who married the sister of Abū Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad Mamlān. He had a son named Abū'l-Hayjā, who is also called simply Ibn Rabīb ud-Dawlah. In A. H. 420 he made an alliance with Wahsūdān (i. e. Abū Mānṣūr his uncle) and the Kurds against the invading Ghuzz. He is also spoken of as al-Hidyani,¹ governor of Urumiya. In A. H. 425 (see *Kāmil* IX. 298) he was in the fort of Bākū, in Armenia, when it was captured by the Rumis. It is possible that he is identical with Abū'l-Hayja Minūchihr b. Wahsūdān b. Mamlān to whom several of Qaṭrān's *qaṣidas* are dedicated, though this is a curious confusion for the poet to have made.²

THE HOUSE OF SHADDĀD.

The genealogy of this family was first worked out in detail by Khanikoff in his masterly article in the *Bulletin Acad., Petersb.* 1849 Vol. VI. (Historical & Phil. Section) pp. 195 *seq.* who brings the table down to the end of the XII. Cent. It is also to be found in Munajjim Bāshī who, however, stops at the end of the fifth century of the Hijra. Justi follows Khanikoff.

In the case of the houses of Ziyār and Musāfir there is an almost total dearth of coins. In the case of the house of Shaddād I have been able to discover at any rate six coins mentioned in catalogues, and small as this number is, they are the greatest help for my purpose.³

¹ Perhaps we should read Hiduani, which is the name according to Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 107) of a branch of the Kurds. We may detect, I think, the same name in 'Isa b. Mūsa al-Hidbani. See *Kāmil* sub anno 437 A. H.

² Ibn al-Athīr mentions incidentally that Abū'l-Hayja had previously had a quarrel with his *maternal uncle* Wahsūdān.

³ *Markof* (*St. Petersburg lithographed Catalogue*) gives:

1. al-amīr al-Muzaffar al-Manṣūr Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ja'far.
2. al-amīr as-Sayyid al-Manṣūr Faḏl b. Muḥammad.
3. al-amīr al-Jalīl SHABIK b. al-Faḏl.
4. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Saḥl, not identified, but he must have ruled after A. H. 467

There are, further, two inscriptions which bear on this family, which I shall refer to below.

NOTES ON THE BANĪ SHADDĀD CHART.

Munajjim Bāshī, Vol. II, p. 506, says that the Banī Shaddād ruled from A. H. 340 to 468 and ignores all the later rulers of this house. Khanikoff (*Bull. Acad. Petr.* 1849 VI. 195) agrees with regard to the first dates, but brings the list down to the end of the sixth century of the Hijra. He tells us that they resided in Qarabagh, Arrān, Ganja and later in Ānī, which they had purchased from the Saljuqs. For in A. D. 1064 (A. H. 457) Alp Arslān¹ captured Ānī from the Armenian prince Bagarat IV., and in A. D. 1072 (A. H. 465) Alp Arslān sold Ānī to an amir of Tovin² named Fazlūn [فازلون] who belonged to the Kurdish tribe of RAWWĀDI. He gave the governorship of the city to his grandson Minūchīhr, who married an Armenian princess. Vardan says Phatlun placed his grandson, who was a mere youth, in charge of the town, which had evidently been almost destroyed by Alp Arslān. (See Brosset: *Géorgie I.*, p. 328, and Arisdages Lasdivertsi *apud* Tchamchéan pp. 110 *seq.*) There is obviously great confusion here because the Fazlūn (Phatlun) who became amir of Ānī in A. D. 1072 (A. H. 465) was Minuchīhr the grandson of Faḡl I. (also called Phatlun).

as his coin bears the names of Malik Shāh and the Caliph al-Muqtadī. Frāhn, in his article on the Galathi inscription mentioned below, gives:

5. 'Alī b. Mūsā (أبي مرس) (al-Lashkarī) in reign of al-Qā'im bi-amrillah.

Bartholomaei (4^{ème} lettre. Bruxelles 1864) gives:

6. Al-Amīr al-ajall Shāwūr in reign of al-Qā'im bi-amrillah.

I think the name Shābir or Shāwir, should be read Shābūr or Shāwūr and is only a corruption of Shāpūr. There is a verse in one of Qaṭrān's *qasidas* dedicated to Abū'l-Ḥasan which may possibly read:

نشسته شاه شادان بتخت ملك شاوران

رخش چون لاله نيسان كفتي چون ابر فروردين

"The king of the Shaddādis has mounted the throne of the Shāwir's. His cheek is like a tulip in the mouth of Nīsān and his hand is like a cloud in Farwardīn."

¹ On p. 31 of Al-Bondari's *Saljuqs of Iraq* (ed Houtsma) there is a foot note giving a reading found in one MS. of the text to which Sachau (loc. cit.) has called attention. It runs as follows.

و فتح بلد آني و سلمه من لامير ابي لاسواد (الاسوار) الشدادى

² Tovin, or Duwin, also called Dabil, lies to the south of Erivan, and in the XIth century A. D. was a larger town than Ardabil.

The founder of the house was a certain "Muḥammad b. Shaddād" who ruled from A. H. 340 to 360 when he was succeeded by his son "Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ja'far Lashkarī." His full title according to a coin in the Hermitage was "al-amīr al-Muḡaffar al-Manṣūr;" he died in A. H. 368 and was succeeded by his brother "al-Marzubān," who ruled until he was murdered while out hunting by his brother "Al-Faḡl" in A. H. 375.¹ Al-Faḡl reigned down to A. H. 422. It was he who in A. H. 413 built the great bridge over the Aras. Ibn al-Athīr says that in A. H. 421 Faḡlūn the Kurd made an expedition against the Khazars. On a coin in the Hermitage he is called "Al-Amīr as-Sayyid al-Manṣūr Faḡl b. Muḥammad." He had two sons 1. Abū'l-Faḡh Mūsā² and 2. Abū'l-Aswār Shāwir. On his death he was succeeded by Mūsā who ruled for three years and was succeeded by his son Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā Lashkarī, who was one of Qaṭrān's patrons. A coin of his is mentioned by Frāhn, with an illegible "nisba" which can, I think, now be safely read as "al-Lashkarī." This coin bears the name of the Caliph al-Qā'im bi-amrillah. Munajjim Bāshī says he ruled from A. H. 425 to 440, when he was succeeded by his son Nūshirwān, who only ruled for a very short period, after which in the same year the succession passed to the second son of Al-Faḡl I., Abū'l-Aswār Shāwir, whose full title according to a coin mentioned by Bartholomaei (4^{ème} lettre. Bruxelles 1864) was al-Amīr al-ajall Shāwir, (during the caliphate of al-Qā'im bi-amrillah). There is also a coin in the Hermitage which reads al-amīr al-ajall Shābir b. al-Faḡl. If I am correct in identifying Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā with the Abū'l-Ḥasan so often addressed by Qaṭrān, this man had three sons namely Nūshirwān, Minūchīhr and a third whose name is not mentioned by Qaṭrān. From a *qāṣida* dedicated to Abū'l-Ḥasan

¹ Vardan- (Emin's Russian translation p. 125) says: About this time [no date is given but the last date mentioned in A. D. 1047] a certain woman named Mam came from Persia with three little sons, and settled under Prince Grigor in Parisos. The sons gave their mother to the prince as a hostage and received Shotk and Shamtrān in fief. Finally they killed the amir of Ganja at 'Azīz and occupied that town also. The eldest son was Barzwān who died soon after and was succeeded by the second brother Lalkārī (*sic* for Lashkarī) who took Partar [= Barda'] and Shamkor from Sallār. Lashkarī was killed out hunting by the third brother Phatlūn who took possession of all the lands. This Sallār must I think have been Abū'l-Hayja b. Isma'īl b. Wahsūdān I.

² Munajjim Bāshī in his marginal genealogies says Mūsā was the son of al-Marzubān, but the text is correct.

it would appear that during his life-time these three sons were given district governorships, the youngest being governor of Arrān.¹ The best known of all the Banī Shaddād is, however, ABŪ'L ASWĀR SHĀWĪR, for he is more than once referred to in the *Qābūs Nāma*² and is also mentioned in the Armenian histories. He seems to have ruled from A. H. 440 to 459.³ There is also an inscription in his name dated A. H. 455, which has been described by Frāhn in the *Memoires Acad. Petr.* Tome III. 1835, „*Erklärung der Arabischen Inschrift des Eisernen Torflügels zu Galathi in Imerethi*”. This place is near Kutais in Georgia, and the inscription says:

“This door was made by the order of Mawlanā al-Amīr as-Sayyid al-Ajall Shāwir (شاور) b. al-Faḥl. The work was supervised by Abū'l-Faraj Muḥammad b. 'Abdullah and was executed by the smith Ibrahim b. 'Othman b. Ankwayh in A. H. 455.

Shāwir I. was succeeded in A. H. 459 by his son Faḥl II., otherwise known as Faḥlūn and as Minūchihr. This is presumably the Faḥlūn who was the patron of Qaṭrān. He is also the Faḥlūn of whom several anecdotes are related in the “*Qābūs Nāma*.” He had a commander-in-chief named Yamīn ud-Dawlah Abū'l-Yusr to whom many of Qaṭrān's poems are dedicated and who is the subject of the anecdote referred to above. He was apparently governor of Tovin, Ānī and Ganja. But at this point in the family tree of the Banī Shaddād we begin to experience doubt and confusion. Shāwir I. had,

¹ The passage in question runs as follows:

روم و گرجستان بفرمان منوچهر آورد
هند و ترکستان بزیر دست نوشیران کند
او بتخت ملک ایران در نشیند در نظر
کهترین فرزند خود را مهتر ارآن کند

- “He places Rum and Georgia under the rule of Minūchihr
- “He places Hind and Turkestan in the hands of Nūshirwān
- “He himself openly occupies the throne of Irān
- “He makes his youngest son lord of Arrān.”

I think this youngest son may be the Abu'l Faḥl Ja'far ibn 'Alī mentioned below.

² Kay-Kāwūs tells us that he spent a number of years in Ganja at the court of Abu'l-Aswār Shāwir b. al-Faḥl. He speaks of Faḥlūn b. Abu'l-Aswār who died A. H. 468 in the past tense.

³ In A. H. 446, Tughril after taking Tabriz, visited Ganja where he found Abu'l-Aswār, who swore allegiance (*Kāmil*).

according to some authorities, three sons, namely Faḥl II., Shūt¹ and Faḥlūn. According to the Armenian historians he had two sons, Minūchihr (*i. e.* Faḥl II.) and Bukar I. According to some writers Faḥl II. reigned from A. H. 459 to 466 and was succeeded by his brother Faḥlūn who rebelled against Malik Shāh and was killed in A. H. 468. But I am inclined to think that Faḥl II. is identical with Faḥlūn, and that he was succeeded in 466 by Abū'l Faḥl Ja'far, the son of Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā, and brother of Nūshirwān. I think this man may be identified with Abū'l Khalīl Ja'far b. 'Alī, to whom a great number of Qaṭrān's odes are dedicated, and who, according to Taqī ud-Dīn Kāshī, died in A. H. 470.

According to Khanikoff, Faḥl II. (Minūchihr) had two sons, 1. Faḥlūn I., who was amir of Ganja when that city was captured by Malik Shāh in A. D. 1088 (A. H. 481), and 2. Abū'l-Aswār II., who was amir of Ānī when that city was captured by King David the Restorer in A. D. 1124 (A. H. 518). Abū'l-Aswār II. had a son Maḥmūd, who had a son Kay Sulṭān of whom an inscription exists in Ānī bearing the date A. H. 595 (A. D. 1198).

The inscription begins as follows:

من کی سلطان بن محمود بن شاور بن منوچهر الشدادی
از برای جان فرازی جد و فرزندانم چنان فرمودم کی الخ

My own researches have carried me down to the end of the fifth century of the Hijra, and for the rest of the Shaddād genealogy I have merely followed Khanikoff and Brosset. My object has been achieved if I have succeeded in clearing up some of the chronological difficulties in the history of Northern Persia between A. H. 300 and 500.

¹ These two names are I think Armenian, and represent the originals Ashot [Աշոտ] and Bagr or Bagarat [Բագրատ]. It is quite likely that the Moslems were at this time in the habit of taking Armenian names, just as the Armenians so often took Arabic names. See interesting note on this letter practice by Brosset. *Hist. Arménie. Vol. I. p. 213, note (3).*

THE BANI ZIYĀR ZIYĀR

Mardāwīj

Zahīr ud-dīn Abū Maṣṣūr
Washmgīr
d. A. H. 356

Shamsul-Ma'ālī
Abū'l-Ḥasan
Qābūs.
d. A. H. 403

Bistūn

Falak ul-Ma'ālī
Minūchīr
d. A. H. 420
|
Sharaf ul-Ma'ālī
Anūshirwān (?Dārā)
Abu'l-Kālinjār
d. A. H. 441
|
(?Abū'l-Muzaffar)

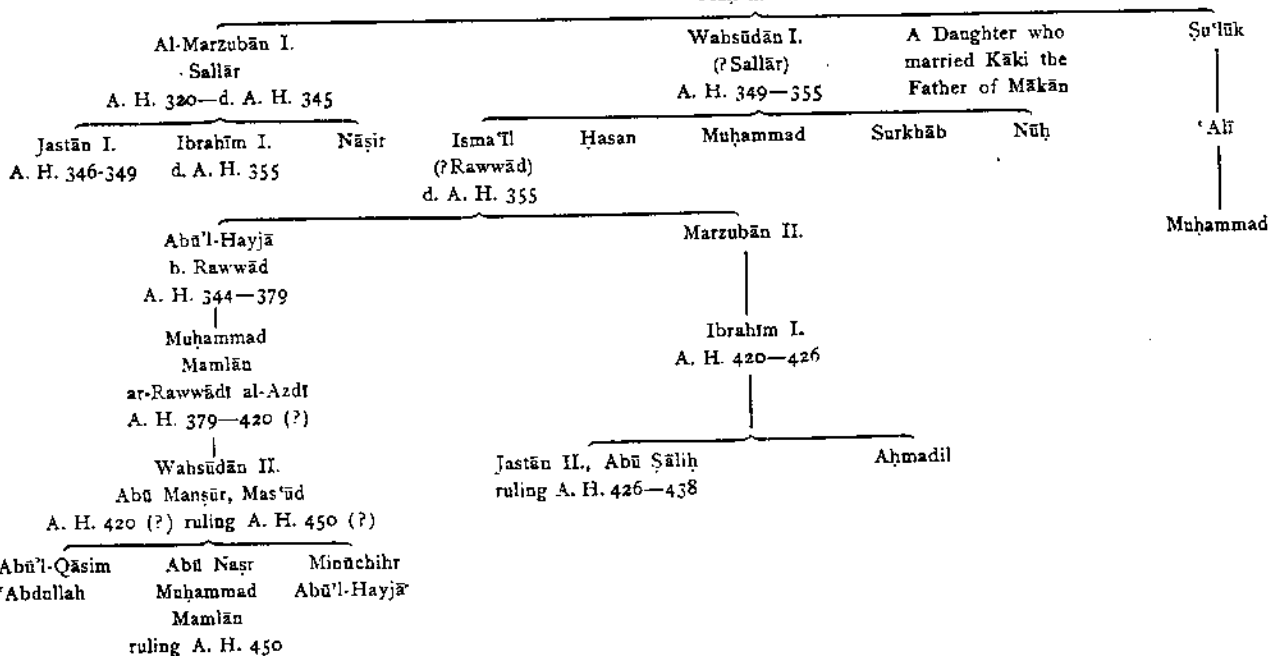
Iskandar (?Dārā)
d. A. H. 426
|
'Unṣūr ul-Ma'ālī
Kay-Kā'ūs
d. Cir. A. H. 475
|
Gīlān Shāh
ruling in A. H. 483

THE BANI SALLĀR

AL-FAZL

(?Sallār) Musāfir, prince of Ṭārm
Aswār
Muḥammad

'Alī b. al-Faḍl



THE BANI SHADDĀD

SHADDĀD

|
 (1) Muhammad (Lashkari ?)
 (cir. A. H. 340
 in Arrān)

(2) Al-Amīr Al-Muzaffar Al-Manṣūr Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī I. Lashkari (b. Ja'far) A. H. 360—368	(3) Marzubān A. H. 368—375 Killed by Al-Faḏl	(4) Al-Amīr As-Sayyid Al-Manṣūr Al-Faḏl I. b. Muḥammad A. H. 375—422	Faḏlūn I. (of Ganja)
---	--	--	----------------------

(8) Al-Amīr Al-Jalīl (or Al-Ājalī) Abū'l-Aswār (or Sawār) Shāwir b. Al-Faḏl A. H. 440—459	(5) Abū'l-Faḏḥ Mūsā A. H. 422—425
--	--------------------------------------

(9) Faḏl II. <i>alīqar</i> Minūchihr Faḏlūn II. of Ganja	Shūṭ (Ashot)	Bukar (Bagrat)	(6) Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī II. b. Mūsā Lashkari (? 'Izz-ud-dīn) A. H. 425—440
(10) Faḏlūn III. Abū'l- Muzaffar, Prince of Ganja	Abū'l-Aswār II. Shāwir Prince of Ānī	? Minūchihr	(7) Nūshirwān A. H. 440

Mahmūd Kay Sultān	Faḏlūn II. Shaddād	Kushlar Faḏlūn IV.	
---------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------	--