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*HISTORY, POETRY AND LANGUAGE IN ANCIENT AND MODERN IRAN*

*IRÁN A ZOROASZTRIÁNIZMUSTÓL A JELENKORIG: TÖRTÉNELEM,  
KÖLTÉSZET, NYELVÉSZET*

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*Front cover:* Rustam sleeps, while his horse Rakhsh fends off a tiger. Probably an early work by Sultan Mohammed, 1510–1520.

*Back cover:*  
The strait gate and the wide gate in Matthew 7, 13  
as represented on the cover of Calvin's  
*Institutio Christianae religionis*,  
published by Antonius Rebulius, Geneva, 1561.

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## FOREWORD

### Iran – the Persianate world – Hungary<sup>1</sup>

The present volume contains studies relating to Iranian civilisation and cultural studies. *Orpheus Noster*, an interdisciplinary journal published by the Károli Gáspár University of the Hungarian Reformed Church, founded in 2009, plays a pivotal role in promoting research in Iranian history and culture in Hungary, since to the best of our knowledge the present volume of this journal is the very first one in Hungary dedicated completely to subjects relating to Iran and Iranian culture.

Before introducing the papers of the present volume, it is important to ask: why it is valuable to discuss Iranian and/or Persianate culture and civilisation at present in Hungary? The precise definitions of the two words ‘Iranian’ and ‘Persianate’ might prompt some political difficulties, but we would like to emphasise that our main aim in using these terms was to show the utmost diversity and complexity covered by these concepts. First of all, it is very important to point out that when we speak about *Iranian culture* or *lands of Irānšamīn*, or about the *Persianate world* (or in some cases the *Persophone world*), this does not refer to a single political entity or a political unit but rather a cultural pattern which connects different geographic regions. In a premodern historical and cultural sense (before the rise of modern western-style nation states in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> centuries), elements of this Iranian/Persianate cultural influence can be discovered in several major centres from the present-day Northern Balkans (Bosnia and to a limited degree Ottoman Hungary) to Asia Minor and the Caucasus, Central Asia, present-day Iran, and in varying levels in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and as far as in India.

Parts of these vast areas have been ethnically populated by several groups who were connected on different levels to Iranian/Persianate cultural influences. The first level is represented by nations speaking variants of Persian in present-day Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan; these groups were exposed to the highest level of Iranian/Persianate cultural influences. Present-day Farsi, Dari and Tajik speakers are all cultural descendants of the Classical Persian cultural and linguistic unity, where these groups followed the same premodern cultural models (though all these groups always showed a great variety of religious and ethnic background in their social structures). The areas populated by these people can be called Persian lands and the use of the plural (‘lands’) is a deliberate one, owing to the complexity of these areas of present-day Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia in the past and present.

<sup>1</sup> *A szerző jelen tanulmánya a Magyar Művészeti Akadémia Művészeti Ösztöndíjprogramjának támogatásával jött létre.* The present paper of the author is supported by the Scholarship Program of the Hungarian Academy of Arts.

The second level is represented by peoples of non-Persian Iranian background in the above-mentioned regions such as Kurds, Balochis, Pashtus, Ossetes, and so on, who have their own Iranian languages and cultures different from Persian-speaking groups; however, in many cases these peoples have been also influenced to a certain extent by Persianate cultural crossroads.

The third group within the Iranian/Persianate world is represented by non-Iranian peoples, mainly but not exclusively different Turkic-speaking groups (especially Azerbaijanis, Ottoman Turks and Uzbeks) in Asia Minor, in the Southern Caucasus and in Central Asia, who came into close contact with Persianate cultural elements. Muslim peoples under Ottoman rule in the Balkan Peninsula, such as Bosnians and groups of Albanians, Muslim subjects of Mughal India, as well as Iranian and Central Asian Jews and Armenians also had Persianate aspects in their culture before the advent of the modern world in the above-mentioned geographical areas. As an example, we can say that the knowledge of Classical Persian and Classical Persian literary works among the educated and religious classes is a constant Persianate element of these non-Iranian peoples. Persianised Islamic culture evidently played a major role in disseminating Persianate cultural trends in this third group. Some branches of Islam became also partly Persianised, especially some Sufi groups in the Balkan Peninsula (such as the Mevlevi dervishes who promoted Persian language in 16–17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Hungary). This short introduction shows that Persianate identity is a cultural phenomenon where Persianate culture could exist independently of any political aspects and this cultural phenomenon was cultivated in several geographical centres between the Bosphorus and the Bay of Bengal.

As for Hungary, it has its own place in the realm of the Iranian/Persianate world. It is not only because of 19–20<sup>th</sup> century Oriental studies that Hungarians became acquainted with Persianate cultural elements. Cultural and historical ties between Hungarians and Iranians are manifold. First we should refer to aspects of early Hungarian history, the birth and roots of the Hungarians, where significant Iranian cultural, ethnic and linguistic influences can be detected. As it is well-known, there are Iranian loanwords in the Hungarian language, the number of which is roughly sixty according to the research of the greatest Hungarian Iranologist, János Harmatta. It is also known that several Iranian languages exerted an influence on Hungarian before 900 AD; therefore one can hypothesise a relatively constant interaction between early Hungarians and different Iranian tribes in the Old and Middle Iranian linguistic periods, before the settlement of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin.

Besides these early contacts, Classical Persian written sources preserved fascinating information on steppe history of the early Middle Ages. Here – among others – we can mention the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (*The borders/ lands of the world*) penned by an anonymous author and Gardīzī’s *Zayn al-aḥbār* (*The beauty of the histories*) from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries AD containing rich material on early Hungarians.

It is also important to note that certain groups of Hungarians could have settled in the Caucasus in the direct vicinity of the Persian lands. In Hungarian national traditions and myths, as well as in medieval Hungarian art, we can also discover several Persianate elements which refer to the contacts of early Hungarians with the northern fringes of the Persianate world in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

It is also important to stress that peoples of Iranian origin settled in the Carpathian basin in the past one thousand years. Peoples of Iranian origin are represented by groups of Scythians, Sarmatians and Iazigs in the Roman period, and in the medieval period by the Jász (Alan) people who all chose present-day Hungary as their new homeland.

Later on, from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a sense of Ottomanophobia played a vital role in cementing ties between Persian lands and Hungary, since both areas were threatened (and later were overrun) by the Ottomans. Ever since the disastrous defeat of King Sigismund in the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, Hungarian rulers were keen to build political ties with political powers in the backyard of the Ottomans in order to halt or derail Ottoman expansionism towards the Balkans. King Sigismund and King Matthias had their own representatives in late medieval Persia, which helped to strengthen contacts between the two areas.

On the other hand, it was also Ottomans who promoted the Persianate culture and the Persian language in Hungary in the 16–17<sup>th</sup> centuries as part of their own cultural identity. Though the Ottomans were enemies of Safavid Persia, they were one of the foremost cultural centres of the Persianate world, representing Persianate culture without direct Safavid political influence. Persian literature was taught and carefully cultivated by Ottoman educated classes in Buda and Pécs, and perhaps elsewhere in Ottoman Hungary. Besides this, a certain amount of Persian poetry was also produced by Muslim Ottoman authors of Bosnian origin in 17<sup>th</sup> century Hungary.

Oriental studies began developing modestly in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in Habsburg-ruled Hungary. In this period it was the Hungarian national awakening which raised interest in the eastern roots of early Hungarians. This new national movement paved the way for the revival of Hungarian-Iranian/Persianate cultural contacts. Emblematic figures such as the eminent Ḥāfiz philologist Károly Imre Reviczky (1737–1793), or famous Orientalists such as Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913) or Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943) came from Hungary and all had a lasting influence on Iranian studies both inside and outside Hungary.

As for the present volume, all the above-mentioned complexity of the Persianate world is reflected in this selection of papers. In this volume we find essays on history, political studies, religious studies, linguistics and Eastern European-Iranian connections, focusing on different historical periods from late antiquity until modern times.

Touraj Daryaee's paper ('Khosrow II in the Pahlavi Text *Māb ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād'*) is an attempt to address the legacy of Khusraw II (Khosrow II) as it



Persian miniature. Scene from Attar's Conference of the Birds, c. 1600.

was reflected in the Middle Persian text entitled *Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād* ('*The month of Farwardīn, the Day of Hordād*'). This paper throws a rare light on the hitherto neglected fact that Khusraw II (591–628), the last significant member of the Sasanian dynasty, is relatively scarcely mentioned in Pahlavi literature; one of the few exceptions is the testimony preserved in the *Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād*, which contains a chapter on the miracles and treasures of Khusraw II. As the author rightly suggests, there is much in common with later Arabic and Classical Persian sources on Ḥusraw II in this chapter and this fact helps to re-interpret parts of Pahlavi literature.

Miklós Sárközy's paper ('Some Notes about Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III—and His Contacts with the Abbasids') addresses the political and diplomatic contacts of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī state at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD during the rule of Ḥasan III (1210–1221). The author proves that the policy pursued by the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was mainly of pragmatist character rather than an ideologically-minded one, thus allowing the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs to balance successfully between several major powers of the Middle East. Besides this political attitude conducted by the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, interesting details about the Mongol policy towards the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs are revealed in the concluding chapter of the paper. Sárközy's other contribution to this volume is his Hungarian translation of a part of the well-known travelogue of Nāsir-i Ḥusraw Qubādiyānī (1004–1088), the famous Ismā'īlī thinker and author of Central Asian origin. Through this vivid description of Fatimid Cairo in the 1030s we can have a closer look at one of the flourishing centres of medieval Islam. Nāsir-i Ḥusraw's travelogue represents one of the first, but already mature, examples of Classical Persian prose.

Hadi Jorati's paper is written about problems of historiography of the early Mongol period of Iran ('Persian Primary Sources on the Mongol Campaigns, a Pre-Appraisal'). More precisely, this paper offers a very detailed study relating to the sources on the 13<sup>th</sup> century Mongol conquest of Iran, where Jorati shows true mastery in the classification of different accounts of the Mongol campaigns against the Persian lands in this era. Following a thorough overview of different sources composed in various languages, Jorati focuses on the two perhaps most significant Classical Persian accounts written in the Ilkhanid period: the chronicles of Juwaynī and Rašīd al-Dīn, addressing their highly complex philological background and manuscript problems as well as questions of authorship history and the very important issues of the textual interdependence of the two sources.

András Barati's elaborate essay ('The Succession Struggle Following the Death of Nādir Shāh') follows based on primary sources the political struggles for power just after the assassination of Nādir Shāh (1736–1747) in mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Iran. By the thorough analysis of important political events as well as the Nādirid successor state's inner political system, Barati proves that the state of the Nādirids can be considered more complex than a mere buffer zone between the other emerging post-Nādir Shāh regional states of the Zands and the Durrānīs. This paper greatly

helps us to understand the highly turbulent and complicated character of Iranian history in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Katalin Somogyi's paper ('Between Paris and Ahvaz: Rudolf Macúch in Iran (1949–1956)') is an introduction to the personality, life and work of Rudolf Macúch (1919–1993), a famous linguist of Slovak origin who spent long years in Iran and himself was an expert of several neglected Iranian minority groups, their languages and literature. In the present essay a special emphasis is put on Macúch's connections with the Mandaean community of Ahvaz, who are followers of a gnostic religion founded in late antiquity. This paper well represents the importance of Eastern European scholars and their remarkable scientific achievements in Iranian studies.

Rozina Dombi belongs to the youngest generation of qualified and promising Iranists in Hungary. Her paper examines sources on different periods of Persian in the Islamic period, focusing on the characteristics of plural formation of words in Persian. Relying on various genres, such as classical poetic and historical texts, modern Persian prose, electronic media in Iran, and the lyrics of famous Persian songs, Dombi successfully demonstrates that the ways in which the plural form is expressed show wide diversity. Furthermore, the characteristics of the examined plural formation used in different variants of this language (namely classical Persian, modern standard Persian, and modern colloquial Persian) appear to be extremely rich. Different plural formations co-exist, and it depends on the speaker's social, cultural and acoustic choices which of these plural formations are preferred.

Benedek Péri's article is an important contribution to the study of Turco-Iranian literary connections and interactions in Mughal India. Through the detailed analysis of the Persian and Turkish (Chaghatay) ghazals of Bayrām Khān, an important Mughal official of Turco-Iranian background in the service of Mughal emperor Akbar (1556–1605), we are offered a glimpse at post-Classical Persian poetry and the influence it exerted on non-Persian literary traditions. Like many noblemen following Timurid literary traditions, Bayrām Khān also composed poetic works in order to demonstrate his sophisticated knowledge of Persian literature and poetry. It is also worth mentioning that, according to the thorough analysis and numerous examples provided by Péri, Turkic literary genres often had a significant impact on Persian poetry in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as well, as is made clear in Péri's detailed paper.

In conclusion, we hope that this important collection of papers helps raise interest in Iranian studies and culture in a wider audience in Hungary and in Eastern Europe as well. The present editor would like to express his deepest gratitude to the *Orpheus Noster* journal of the Károli Gáspár University of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and especially to Dr Monika Frazer-Imregh for her support and enthusiasm during the editorial process of this volume.

Miklós Sárközy

TOURAJ DARYAEE

## Khosrow II in the Pahlavi Text *Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād*

*Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād* is a short but important Pahlavi text with which some of the important events in the ancient Iranian tradition are associated. This text provides much of the religious and mythical history of Iran relating to the day of Khordād, in the month of Farwardīn. The first half of the text describes the mythological events and the sacred history of Iranians, while the second half has an apocalyptic aspect to it. The text has been translated many times into both English and Persian, but the Persian translations have received far less notice and have been consulted much less frequently. The translations include those by K.J. JamaspAsana,<sup>1</sup> M.-Š Bahār,<sup>2</sup> S. Kia,<sup>3</sup> S. Orian,<sup>4</sup> M. Nazerī,<sup>5</sup> and most recently by Frantz Grenet,<sup>6</sup> who has provided the best English translation of this text and discussed some of the interesting passages that depart from other Pahlavi texts.

Passages 27 and 28 at the transition point between the two sections of the text deal with Sasanian history and events in the seventh century CE. Passage 28 describes Wāhrām ī Warzāwand<sup>7</sup> with whom a short Pahlavi poem is associated, and refers to the coming of Yazdgerd III's son (Wāhrām) from China/India to defeat the Arab Muslims.<sup>8</sup> Passage 27, the focus of this article, reads as follows (MFRH 27):

*Māh [ī] Frawardīn rōz ī Hordād 18 čis pad  
18 sāl ō Husraw [ī] Ohrmazdān rasēd*

- <sup>1</sup> Kirshasp K. JAMASPASANA: 'The day of Khordād of the month Farvardin commonly called Khordād-sāl, translated from the original Pahlavi text.' In: Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (ed.), *The K.R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, 122–129.
- <sup>2</sup> Malik al-Šucarā' BAHĀR: 'Māh farwardīn, rüz-e khordād.' In: Muḥammad Gulbun (ed.), *A Translation of Some Texts in Pahlavi Language*, Tehran, 1379, 143–149.
- <sup>3</sup> Šādiq KIYĀ has provided the best Persian translation with copious notes which has escaped most of the translators of this text, *Māh-i farwardīn, rüz-i kburdād*, Iran Kūdah 16, Tehran, 1335/1956
- <sup>4</sup> Sa'īd 'URĪĀN: *Mutūn-i Pablawī*, Tehran, 1371.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibrāhīm MĪRZĀ-YI NĀZĪR: *Māh-i farwardīn rüz-i kburdād*, Taraneh Publishers, 1373/1994.
- <sup>6</sup> Frantz GRENET: 'The Pahlavi text Māh ī Frawardīn rōz I Hordād: A Source of Some Passages of Bīrūnī's Chronology.' In: Werner Sundermann, Almut Hintze, Francois de Blois (eds), *Exegisti monumenta. Festschrift in honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009, 161–170.
- <sup>7</sup> Carlo CERETI: 'Again on Wāhrām ī Warzāwand.' In: *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X Secolo*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1996, 629–639.
- <sup>8</sup> Touraj DARYAEE: 'On the Coming of Zoroastrian Messiah: A Middle Persian Poem on History and Apocalypticism in Early Medieval Islamic Iran' In: Wali Ahmadi (ed.), *Converging Zones: Persian Literary Tradition and the Writing of History. Studies in Honor of Amin Banani*, Costa Mesa, Mazda, 2012, 5–14. The latest translation into English is by Prods Oktor Skjaervo: *The Spirit of Zoroastrianism*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011, 165–166.

‘On the day Hordād of the month Frawardīn, eighteen things will reach Khosrow son of Hormizd over eighteen years.’<sup>9</sup>

Grenet points out that this passage contains a strange piece of information. He interprets it following Tabarī ii.1042 as referring to the treasure amassed during the first eighteen years of the king’s reign at Ctesiphon. He goes on to state that it is possible that the ‘eighteen things’ refer to eighteen categories of offerings presented to the king by his subjects as *ēwēn*, ‘customary gifts.’<sup>10</sup>

Here, I would like to provide some observations and suggestions which may shed new light onto this enigmatic passage. I would like to propose that ‘the eighteen things’ refer to a recognised tradition in Perso-Arabic literature describing the unique possessions of the late Sasanian king. Khosrow II, also known as Aparwēz, is one of the most colorful kings of the Sasanian Empire. His rise and fall have been the subject of much observation in Byzantine and Perso-Arabic histories. Except for a few references, Khosrow II is absent from the Pahlavi corpus. His ultimate defeat, dethronement, and murder by the Iranian nobility, as well as his religious affiliation, might explain this absence.<sup>11</sup>

However, his rare mention in the Pahlavi texts could be less due to historical matters than to the opulence of his reign. Khosrow II’s opulence and his treasures have been known for some time from early Islamic sources.<sup>12</sup> I would like to draw attention to the treasures and unique possessions of Khosrow II that are mentioned in one of the rare passages about the rule of this king in the Middle Iranian textual corpus. In the *Jāmāsp Nāmag*, which is a Zoroastrian Apocalyptic text, Khosrow II is mentioned in the following manner (JN 16.30):

*avad īn-či gōyam ki andar ayāš ōy avarvēx xudāy andar zamīn arūm  
vas šabr u vas šabristān gīrēd u vas xvāsta pa az zamīn arūm āvarad*<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> GRENET: 164.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>11</sup> J. Howard-Johnston suggests that the reason why Khosrow II’s history and defeat at the hands of the Romans is glossed over by Firdawsī is that he was writing for his patron, Mahmud of Ghazneh, who had to contend with the Byzantines. Consequently, Ferdowsī did not mention the wars as a main subject of this part of the *Šābnāmeb*. Rather, Ferdowsī concentrated on the romance of Khosrow II and his wife, Šērīn, ‘Khosrow II.’ In: Ehsan YARSHATER (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2010, iranicaonline.org/articles/khosrow-ii.

<sup>12</sup> Jivanji Jamshedji MODI: ‘Eighteen Remarkable Things or Events of the Reign (593–628 A.C.) of Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II) of Persian,’ *Asiatic Papers*, Bombay, 1929, 19–45; Arthur CHRISTENSEN: *L’iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, Paul Geuthner, 1936, 459–460; Mihrī Bāgari: ‘Afdihā-yi hijdah-gāna-yi Khusraw Parwīz,’ *Našrīya-yi Dāniškāda-yi Adabīyāt wa ‘Ulūm-i Insānī*, vol. 125, 1357, 91–115.

<sup>13</sup> I have used the latest transcription by Domenico AGOSTINI: *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg, un texte eschatologique zoroastrien* (Biblica et Orientalia 50), Rome, Gregorian and Biblical Press [Pontifical Biblical Institute], 2013, 80–81. Also see Giuseppe MESSINA: *Libro apocalittico persiano Ayātkār ī Zāmāspīg*, Rome, 1939, 70–71; and Harold BAILEY: ‘To the Zamasp Namak II.’ *BSOAS*, passage 63, 581, also noted by Sean ANTHONY: ‘Chilastic Ideology and Nativist Rebellion in the Early ‘Abbasid Period: Sunbadh and Jamasp-nama.’ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 132, No. 4, 2012, 647.

‘And this too I will (fore)tell that it will be at that time: King Parwēz, he will take many cities and provinces and bring much wealth from the land of Rome.’

It is interesting that this passage, one of the few in the Middle Persian corpus dedicated to Khosrow II, mentions his success against the Roman Empire and, most importantly, his ‘wealth’ (Paz.) *xvāsta*. The final date of the redaction of *Jāmāsp Nāmag* nearly coincides with the production of the above-mentioned Arabic texts, followed by the Persian historical and literary material. One can say that there is a good overlap between this material in the early Islamic period, and their interrelation needs much attention.

But what are these ‘eighteen things’ that came to Khosrow II? Let us look at four important texts, two in Arabic and two in Persian that reveal the list of Khosrow’s riches. These texts are: 1) *Ta’riḳ al-rosol wa’l-moluk* of Ṭabarī; 2) *Ghurur akbbār mulūk al-Furs wa-siyaribim* of Tha’ālibī; 3) *Šābnāmeḥ* of Ferdowsī; and 4) *Zaynu’l akbbār* of Gardīzī which are important for the literary and historical tradition for the Sasanian period, and cover the riches and unique possessions of Khosrow II. None of these texts provide a complete or exact list, but from their contents we can speculate about the possessions of Khosrow II. Ṭabarī’s *Ta’riḳ al-rosol wa’l-moluk*, the earliest source of them all, discusses the possessions of Khosrow II in a different manner and will be analysed last.

Tha’ālibī’s *Ghurur akbbār mulūk al-Furs wa-siyaribim* was written between 1017–1021 CE.<sup>14</sup> This work is independent of the *Šābnāmeḥ* tradition,<sup>15</sup> and as such, has offered an important alternative source about Sasanian history and lore. The *Šābnāmeḥ* of Ferdowsī was finished by 1050 CE,<sup>16</sup> and its material was based on the lost *Xwadāy-nāmag*<sup>17</sup> and oral tradition. Finally, *Zaynu’l akbbār* by Gardīzī, which dates from 1051–1052 CE, takes as its principal source the work of Jayhānī, who wrote the now lost *Ketāb-e Tawārīḳ*.<sup>18</sup>

In *Ghurur*, Tha’ālibī is less interested in the history of the time of Khosrow II than the tales associated with his rule. It is here that we find clues concerning the *18 čis* ‘eighteen things,’ although the number is not exact. Tha’ālibī tells us that once Khosrow II was able to defeat his opponent, Wāhrām Čōbīn, he began accumulating wonderful things, living a regal lifestyle. Tha’ālibī lists a number of rare things in

<sup>14</sup> Bilal ORFALI: ‘The Works of Abū Mansūr al-Taḥālibī.’ *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. 40, 2009, 297.

<sup>15</sup> Mahmoud OMIDSALAR: ‘Could al-Tha’ālibī have used the Shāhnāma as a Source?’ *Der Islam*, Vol. 75, 1998, 344.

<sup>16</sup> *Šābnāmeḥ of Ferdowsī*. In: Jalal KHALEGI-MOTLAGH (ed.), *The Great Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 8, Tehran, 1368.

<sup>17</sup> For the *Xwadāy-nāmag* tradition see Alireza Shapoor SHAHBAZI: ‘On the *Xwadāy-nāmag*.’ In: *Iranica Varia: Studies Presented to E. Yarshater*, Leiden, Brill, 1990, 208–229. For the most detailed discussion of the sources for Ferdowsī’s *Šābnāmeḥ* see, Jalal Khaleghi-Motlagh: ‘Az *Šābnāmeḥ tā Xodāy-nāmeḥ*: Jostārī darbāre-ye ma’khaz-e mostaghīm va gheyr-e mostaghīm *Šābnāmeḥ*.’ *Nāme-e Iran-e Bāstān*, Vol. 7, No. 1–2, 1386, 1–122.

<sup>18</sup> Vladimir MINORSKY: ‘Gardīzī on India.’ *BSOAS*, Vol. 12, 1948, 626–627; Clifford Edmund BOWORTH: ‘Gardīzī.’ In Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2012, iranicaonline.org/articles/gardizi.

reference to the Pahlavi text of *Māh Frawardīn*. On the other hand, two sections of the *Šābnāmeb* recount two different sets of wondrous accumulations of Khosrow Parwēz. The first one is concerned mainly with his treasures, (Per.) *ganj*. In the final section, which focuses on the life of Khosrow, we find another list placed in a eulogy to the king. The list, however, does not correspond to the content provided by the other texts. *Zaynu'l akbbār* on the other hand, provides a list, just like *Ghurar*, but the items cited are different. Let us look at the list provided by the three authors:

<i>Ghurar</i>	<i>Zaynu'l akbbār</i>	<i>Šābnāmeb</i>
Ctesiphon arch	Ctesiphon arch	Ctesiphon
Khosrow's Throne	Khosrow's Throne	Khosrow's Th.
Chess set [?]	Chess set [?]	
Šabdīz		horse
Sargīs	Sargīs	Sargīs
Bārbad	Bārbad	Bārbad
White elephant		elephant
Šīrēn		
Kayānian banner		
Young man		
Backgammon		
True Cross		
-----		
Treasures		
Wind Treasure	Wind Treasure	
Cow Treasure		
	Arūs Treasure	Arūs Treasure
	Khazrā Treasure	Khazrā Tr.
	Dibā Treasure	Dibā Treasure
	Burnt Treasure	Burnt Tr.
	Šādruwān Bozorg Gušeh	
Šādruwān BG		
	Moštfešār gold Treasure	
	Mēšsār throne	
	Qasr Šīrēn	
		Poudr Tr.
		Afrāsīyāb Tr.

It is apparent that Tha'alībī's list is the most complete, and *Zayn ul-akbbār* supplies a list that is similar to it. It is also apparent, as mentioned by Omidsalar, that Ferdowsī did not use the same source as Tha'alībī, as attested by the content of the list above. On the other hand, Gardīzī and Ferdowsī's lists of treasures are not mentioned by-

and-large by Tha'ālibi. However, the list of treasures appears to be arbitrary, and was perhaps an embellishment. It is for this reason that Tha'ālibī only speaks about two treasures: The Wind Treasure (he uses the Persian term *kanj bāzāvārd*) and the Cow Treasure (*kanz al-sūr*). The Wind Treasure was the treasure that Heraclius placed on his ships after the Persian general Šahrwārāz put Constantinople under siege. The wind carried the ships to Alexandria and it fell into the hands of the Šahrwārāz who sent it forth to Khosrow. The Cow Treasure (*kanz al-sūr*) was a find of one hundred containers of fine gold which belonged to Alexander the Great.<sup>19</sup> Let us now turn to the oldest and most important sources, namely that of Ṭabarī. Ṭabarī was born in Āmol in the ninth century CE, in the Abbasid period.<sup>20</sup> Ṭabarī reports a large number of riches belonging to Khosrow II: 12,000 women and servants; 999 elephants; 50,000 horses and camels and other exorbitant numbers in terms of coinage.<sup>21</sup> The tone of the text is quite negative.

None of the lists found offer a complete and firm account of the 'eighteen things.' The original tale was probably lost with time; only the number eighteen has remained, unless it was a literary embellishment. It is possible that authors shared their lists or simply added items that they saw as important treasures. Some of the objects precede Khosrow II's rule. What is important is that authors had only a vague memory by the early Islamic period while compiling the tradition of late antiquity about the wealth of Khosrow II.

Aside from these reports, can we find another explanation for the eighteen treasures of Khosrow II? I would like to propose another scenario which may connect us to our Pahlavi text. Ṭabarī relays an interesting tale according to which Khosrow II had eighteen sons, a piece of information corroborated by the Sprenger 30 manuscript, Hamza al-Isfahanī, as well as Nihayat al-Arab. The names of the sons are as follows: 1) Šahrīyār; 2) Mardānšāh; 3) Kūrānšāh; 4) Pērōzān-šāh; 5) Abzūd-šāh; 6) Šādmān; 7) Rad-abzūd-šāh; 8) Šād-zīk; 9) Arwand-zīk; 10) Xorreh; 11) Mard-xorreh; 12) Zādān-xorreh; 13) Šīrzād; 14) Jawān-šēr; 15) Jahān-baxt; 16) Mard-panāh; and the last two being somewhat unclear as 17) Pus-del and 18) Pus-wēh.<sup>22</sup> Ṭabarī also states that the soothsayers had told Khosrow of an impending catastrophe, relating to one of his sons, who would have a deformity. Yazdgerd III is presented with a deformity, hence he was either sent to Sīstān or Sawād.<sup>23</sup> This piece of evidence is important in that it fits well with the second half of the *Māb ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād* and its apocalyptic tone.

In conclusion, it is important here to note the relevance of Arabic and Persian texts to solve some of the riddles found in the Pahlavi corpus. While most scholars

<sup>19</sup> THA'ĀLIBI: 702.

<sup>20</sup> Elton DANIEL: 'Tabari,' In: Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 2013, iranicaonline.org/articles/tabari-abu-jafar.

<sup>21</sup> Alireza Shapoor SHAHBAZI: *Tārīkh-i Sāsānīān*, Tehran, Markaz-i Našr-i Danišgāhī, 1389, 201–202.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 649.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 204.

have been concentrating on the list of the unique possessions of Khosrow II, it may be possible to link the ‘eighteen things’ that came to the king of kings with his eighteen sons. Certainly, the context of the passage fits Ṭabarī’s discussion about the end of the Sasanian Empire. While one would assume that *18 čs* would be associated with inanimate objects, there is a long tradition in Indo-Iranian and Zoroastrian numerology to connect disparate things.<sup>24</sup> Hence the connection of ‘eighteen things’ to eighteen sons may have been an oral tradition and a biographical linkage that was since forgotten.

This essay shows that the idea of a pre-Islamic and post-Islamic division in literature and history does not hold, especially for those who work on the field of Zoroastrianism, and the ancient and Islamic History of Iran. In late antiquity, literature circulated through most of the communities living in the Near East, hence the presence of a passage in the Pahlavi texts and its mention in the Arabic and Persian texts seems natural. This collaboration and corroboration between the different fields and genres of literature is the key to a better knowledge of late antiquity and the traditions that circulated among Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians and Muslims. The story of the eighteen sons of Khosrow II may be one of these traditions tangentially referred to in the Pahlavi texts.

### Abstract

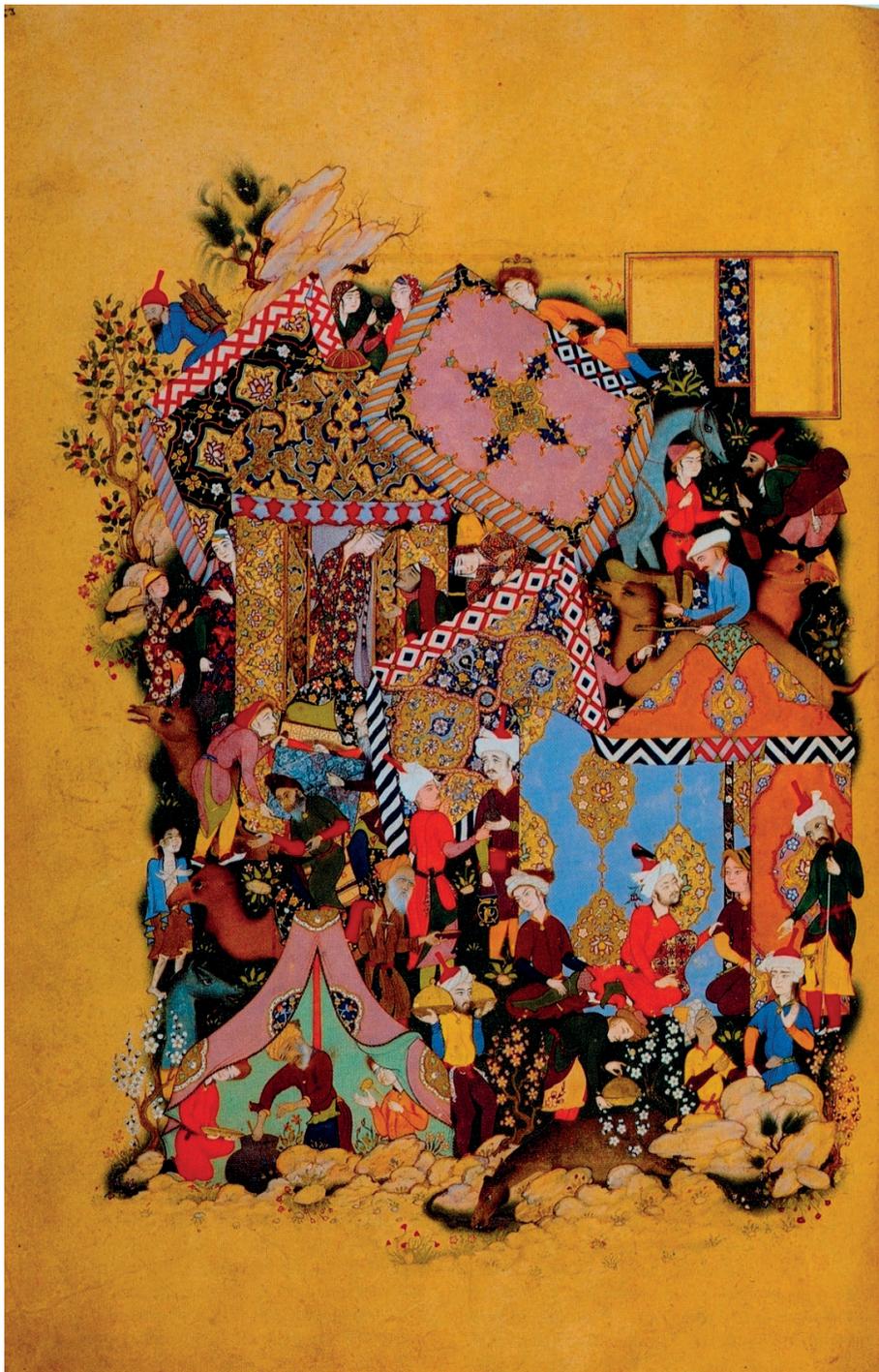
*This paper addresses the representation of Khosrow II (Khusraw) in the Pahlavi text Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād. Despite the historical importance of the last significant Sasanian ruler, his remembrance is scarcely mentioned in Pahlavi literature. Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād is exceptional, however, in this respect, because it preserved a chapter containing a list of miracles and treasures of Khosrow II which is very similar to Arabic and Classical Persian testimonies on Khosrow II. This creates a broader perspective for the interpretation of Pahlavi traditions in the light of Islamic sources.*

Keywords: *Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād*, Pahlavi literature, II. Khosrow, Tha’ālibī, Ṭabarī

### Rezümė

A tanulmány célja II. Khosrow (Khusraw) szászánida uralkodó reprezentációjának vizsgálata a *Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād* című pehlevi szövegben. Annak ellenére, hogy II. Khosrow az utolsó jelentős szászánida uralkodó volt, viszonylag kevés alkalommal tűnik fel a pehlevi irodalomban. A *Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād*

<sup>24</sup> For numbers and their connection to the larger issues of the cosmos and society see, Yuhan VEVAINA: ‘Textual Taxonomies, Cosmological Deixis, and Numerological Speculations in Zoroastrianism.’ *History of Religions*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 2010, 127–134.



Persian miniature. Camp scene from late in the classic period, with no frame. Manjun (at top wearing orange) spies on his beloved Layla (standing in tent doorway).

azonban kivételes ebből a szempontból, mivel fennmaradt benne egy fejezet, amelyben II. Khosrow csodáinak és kincseinek listája található. A forrás a II. Khosrowról szóló arab és klasszikus perzsa szövegekkel közös hagyományt őrzött meg, megismerésével lehetőség nyílik arra, hogy a Pehlevi irodalmat szélesebb látószögéből, iszlám források fényében is értelmezzük.

#### Kulcsszavak

*Māh ī Farwardīn rōz ī Hordād*, pehlevi, II. Khosrow, Tha'ālibī, Ṭabarī

MIKLÓS SÁRKÖZY

## Some Notes about Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III – and his Contacts with the Abbasids

### *Foreword*

The rule of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III lasted for only a decade between 607/1210 and 618/1221 but it proved to be significant in the history of the Nizārīs. During his rule, momentous changes were occurring in the Middle East: the mighty Khwārizmian Empire was annihilated by Chingiz Khan's invading Mongol armies, who pillaged much of Central Asia and northern Iran, causing an unprecedented disaster in the Islamic world.

Generally, Ḥasan III is credited with building a rapprochement with Sunni Islam and, for this, he was awarded the title *naw-musalmān* (according to Sunni sources).<sup>1</sup> Indeed, his efforts to gain wider acceptance within the Islamic world—and to be accepted by the Abbasid caliphate—were especially successful. Ḥasan III was a significant and talented figure among the *kbudāwands* of Alamūt, someone who did his utmost to reposition the Nizārī state both internationally and locally. His bold steps transformed the milieu around the Nizārī state, which was in dire need of obtaining new allies.

The Nizārīs had been extremely flexible in their local and regional policies, usually making agreements with every possible local force and dynasty which could serve their interests. Thus, we see the existence of Nizārī-Twelve Shi'ī, Nizārī-Sunni and Nizārī-Zaydī coalitions, which nonetheless greatly fluctuated according to the needs of the Nizārī state.

In the case of Ḥasan III his rapprochement with the Abbasids and Sunni Islam fits well into the above-mentioned Nizārī policy of pragmatism; however, we also believe that some aspects of his rule were exceptional. First, Ḥasan III's decision was widely publicised in the Sunni world by both contemporary and later Sunni

<sup>1</sup> The term *naw-musalmān* refers to Ḥasan III's newly acquired 'Sunni identity' as reflected in Sunni sources. See 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Atā-Malik b. Muḥammad JUWAYNĪ: *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 3, tr. John A. Boyle. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1958, 243–249. Faḡl Allāh Hamadānī RASHĪD AL-DĪN: *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Rawshan, Tehran, Mirās-i maktūb, 1387 Sh./2008, 171–175. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū'l Qāsim 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Kāshānī: *Zubdat al-tawārīkh: bakhsb-i Fāṭimiyān wa Nizāriyān*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, 2nd ed., Tehran, Našr-i Dāniš, 1366 Sh./1987, 214–217, Marshall G. S HODGSON: *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizārī Ismā'īlīs Against the Islamic World*. The Hague, Mouton & Co, 1955, 217–225, Bernard LEWIS: *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam*. London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967, 78–81. Farhad DAFTARY: *The Isma'īlīs, Their History and Doctrines*, Second Edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, 375–376.

chroniclers.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the dealings of his predecessors with various local and major powers, which are either neglected or suppressed in our written sources, the decision of Ḥasan III to join the Abbasid Caliphate was generally well received.

It is beyond this article's scope to comprehend the true reasons for this adoption of Sunni Islam – and much has been written about them. I very much agree with Marshall Hodgson<sup>3</sup> and Farhad Daftary,<sup>4</sup> who both emphasise an increasing isolation as a possible reason for Ḥasan III's decision to nominally accept Sunni Islam. On the other hand, Hodgson is right when he says that Ḥasan III was perhaps the most versatile Nizārī ruler, one who did not hesitate to create a coalition with any possible partner who might serve his interests.<sup>5</sup> His followers regarded his 'new' policy simply as a certain kind of *taqiyya*.<sup>6</sup>

### *The foreign policy of Ḥasan III*

As for the Khwārizmians, we need to note that, according to Juwaynī<sup>7</sup> (who occasionally praises Ḥasan III for his turn towards Sunnism), Ḥasan III had also made some gestures towards the Khwārizmians at the beginning of his rule, sending envoys to Gurgānj and perhaps having the *khutba* recited in the name of the Khwārizmian ruler. Nasawī<sup>8</sup> says that the Khwārizmians carefully noted this gesture and, later, under Ḥasan III's successor, 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad III, they reproached the Nizārīs for abandoning their custom of reciting the *khutba* in the name of the Khwārizmshāh. The Khwārizmians demanded this as one of the preconditions for reinstating normal contacts between the two states.<sup>9</sup>

While Ḥasan III could, theoretically, make overtures to the Khwārizmians, in reality he had clearly sided with the Abbasids. According to Juwaynī, Ḥasan III sent secret envoys to Nizārī communities living under Khwārizmian rule in Central Asia as early as 616/1219 to inform them about the arrival of the enormous Mongol army.<sup>10</sup> Yet it was the same Ḥasan III who was the first ever Muslim ruler to greet Chingiz Khān (in Jumādā I 616/August 1219) when the Mongols crossed the Oxus River.<sup>11</sup> These two facts (the secret Nizārī operations in Central Asia and the attempt

<sup>2</sup> See DAFTARY, 2007, 635, n. 177–178.

<sup>3</sup> HODGSON, 217–220.

<sup>4</sup> DAFTARY, 2007, 175.

<sup>5</sup> HODGSON, 223.

<sup>6</sup> Taqiyya is certain sort of concealment of intentions and identity widely practiced by different Shī'ī groups in order to save their communities.

<sup>7</sup> JUWAYNĪ, vol. 3, pp. 243–245.

<sup>8</sup> Muḥammad b. Aḥmad NASAWĪ: *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mīnkubīrni*, ed. Muḥammad Minuwī. Tehran, Bungāh-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitāb vol. I, 344 Sh./1965. 230.

<sup>9</sup> NASAWĪ, 163–166.

<sup>10</sup> JUWAYNĪ, vol. 3, 243; HODGSON, 223.

<sup>11</sup> HODGSON, 223; DAFTARY, 2007, 377.

to make peace with the invading Mongols), and the wish to have the Mongols not attack Nizārī areas, prove the great flexibility of Nizārī state policy under Ḥasan III.

Hodgson emphasises the signs of mutual understanding and reconciliation between Baghdad and Alamūt since it is highly likely that Caliph al-Nāṣir (r. 596–622/1200–1225) was as motivated as Ḥasan III when it came to building up stronger contacts with the each other. As Hodgson and others have said,<sup>12</sup> al-Nāṣir was an avid supporter of the so-called *futuwwa* movement<sup>13</sup> and a builder of the so-called *Talisman Gate* in Baghdad with its inscription ‘*al-da‘wa al-bādīya*’ (‘the rightly guiding mission’)—which possibly shows Shī‘ī influence.<sup>14</sup> The presence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrāwardī in Baghdad, a leading Sufi scholar of his age who was attracted by al-Shāhrastānī’s alleged Ismā‘īlī thought,<sup>15</sup> and his influence over the caliph cannot be excluded, either. Al-Suhrāwardī was even accused by Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad II of Ismailism when the latter was sent as an envoy to the Khwārizmians camp in Hamadān in 615/1218.<sup>16</sup> As noted, accusations of Ismailism were quite widespread and indeed demonstrated a type of paranoia before the Mongol period.<sup>17</sup>

Abbasid-Nizārī cooperation thus quickly evolved into a relatively strong anti-Khwārizmian military and political coalition. Ḥasan III, as a ‘Sunni’ *Ḥasan naw-musalman*, acted relatively freely—with the blessings of the Abbasids. His main objective was (as Daftary says)<sup>18</sup> to create a less isolated geopolitical situation in northern Iran for the Nizārīs. Within the framework of this cooperation, Ḥasan III and al-Nāṣir intervened on behalf of the last Īldigūzid ruler, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Uzbek (607–622/1210–1225), the ruler of Ādharbayjān and northern ‘Irāq, when Minglī, the governor of northern ‘Irāq and western Iran, rebelled against his overlord and made himself an independent ruler in ‘Irāq-i ‘Ajam. In an unprecedented military adventure organised by al-Nāṣir, forces from Baghdad, Syria and Alamūt joined in concerted action against the rebellious Minglī, who suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of this coalition. The whole military action lasted for two years (610–612/1214–1215). During this time, Ḥasan III left Alamūt and enjoyed the hospitality of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Uzbek. The decisive battle of this campaign was fought near Hamadān in 612/1215, and the forces of the

<sup>12</sup> HODGSON, 1955, 222, n. 31.

<sup>13</sup> For Shī‘ī sympathies and other alternative religious tendencies under al-Nāṣir see: Angelika HARTMAN: *An-Nasir li-Din Allah: Politik, Religion und Kultur in der späten Abbasidenzeit*. Berlin–New York, De Gruyter 1975, 109–172.

<sup>14</sup> HARTMANN, 118–121.

<sup>15</sup> HARTMANN, 111–122. Muḥammad AL-SHAHRASTANI: *Struggling with the philosopher: a refutation of Avicenna’s metaphysics*. ed. and transl. Wilferd Madelung – Toby Mayer, London, I.B. Tauris, 2001, 13.

<sup>16</sup> HODGSON, 223, n. 32.

<sup>17</sup> Deborah TOR: ‘The Importance of Khurāsān and Transoxiana in the Classical Islamic World’ A.C.S. Peacock and D.G. Tor (eds.), *Medieval Central Asia and the Persianate World: Iranian Tradition and Islamic Civilisation*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2015, 1–12. 279–297.

<sup>18</sup> DAFTARY, 2007, 375–376.

caliphate, the İldigüzids, the Syrian amīrs and the Nizārīs, defeated the army of Mingli—who was imprisoned and put to death by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Uzbek. It was a major victory which could have strengthened the positions of the anti-Khwārizmian forces in the region.<sup>19</sup> Following this military intervention, the retreating Nizārī forces, headed by Ḥasan III, were rewarded with the cities of Abhar and Zanjān in the south of the Alburz for their military services. Rashīd al-Dīn says that Abhar, a former Sunni and pro-Saljūq stronghold, as well as Zanjān, remained in Nizārī possession for a few years under Ḥasan III, perhaps implying that these were probably lost to the Nizārīs before the end of Ḥasan III's rule in 618/1221.<sup>20</sup> The Nizārī acquisition of these two cities was of major importance both in terms of the economy and of strategy. The Nizārī state already possessed significant sites and locations around Dāmghān and Bistām, and many of its revenues could have come from taxes levied on merchants and caravans along northern Iranian trade routes. We have also suggested that during Sanjar's time there had also been economic agreements between the Nizārīs and Sanjar about the division of taxes and revenues from major trade routes in northern Iran. From this point of view the Nizārī request for Abhar and Zanjān may seem a logical step to widen their taxation base in the area of the Alburz Mountains.

As Hodgson has noted, the gift of Abhar and Zanjān was a quite unique 'reward' in the history of the Nizārīs: 'the direct conquest of alien territories by formal armies without settlement or conversion. Villages had been taken before; but only in the case of rectification of frontiers. Now the Nizārīs took towns openly as tribute for their assistance.'<sup>21</sup> After the victory of the allied Nizārī-Sunni forces, the İldigüzid Muẓaffar al-Dīn Uzbek appointed a certain Ighlamīsh as the new governor of 'Irāq-i 'Ajam. Ighlamīsh received the bulk of the areas that Mingli had formerly possessed—including Hamadān, Rayy and Isfahan. However in 614/1217, Ighlamīsh rebelled against his master. At this time there was no serious military intervention against Ighlamīsh, but Ḥasan III was asked by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Uzbek and al-Nāṣir to despatch *fidā'īs* (self-sacrificers) against him and the rebellious İldigüzid governor was promptly executed.<sup>22</sup>

Control over Abhar and Zanjān helped the Nizārīs to weaken and isolate Qazwīn, which fiercely resisted the Nizārīs. Nevertheless, Ḥasan III made some efforts to convince the Qazwīnīs of his sincerity and his conversion to Sunni Islam—and it is said that he invited a delegation of devout Sunni Qazwīnīs to Alamūt to participate in the burning of books deemed heretical by this delegation.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> JUWAYNĪ, tr. Boyle vol. 2, 245–246, 701–702; RASHĪD AL-DĪN, ed. Rawshan, 176–177; KĀSHĀNĪ, *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, 216–217; 'Alī 'Izz al-Dīn al-Jazarī IBN AL-ATHĪR: *al-Kāmil fi'l Tārīkh*, vol. 12. ed. Carl Johan Thornberg, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1982. vol. 12, 114, 116, 118; DAFTARY, 2007, 377.

<sup>20</sup> HODGSON, 223. RASHĪD AL-DĪN, 176.

<sup>21</sup> HODGSON, 221.

<sup>22</sup> DAFTARY, 2007, 377; HODGSON, 221–222.

<sup>23</sup> HODGSON, 218.

As far as local history is concerned, these events have their own significance and implications. Firstly, the strong support of al-Nāṣir, and the possible personal sympathy between Ḥasan III and the caliph helped to legitimise the Nizārī state. Al-Nāṣir, for instance, stipulated that local Sunni clans of Gīlān give their daughters to Ḥasan III, which would greatly enhance the acceptance of the Nizārī state. We do not know what sort of relations these Sunni clans held with the Nizārīs, but they accepted the caliph's offer of marriages with the relatives of Ḥasan III. This step perhaps helped to lessen the isolation and anti-Nizārī feelings in Gīlān.<sup>24</sup> One must note, however, that Ḥasan III's mother was also said to be a local Sunni—and this fact suggests that there had been Nizārī contacts with local Sunni clans long before 607/1210, though these remained entirely unnoticed in our sources.

The brave military adventure into 'Irāq-i 'Ajam greatly enhanced the international prestige and acceptance of the Nizārīs. The reasons for this campaign may have been manifold: the personal ambitions of Ḥasan III, the mutual sympathy and interests shared by al-Nāṣir and Ḥasan III and their concerted efforts to suppress any kind of disunity in their camps on the eve of possible Khwārizmian military intervention into northern and western Iran.

Be that as it may, all these aspects clearly suggest that it was chiefly the Abbasid caliphate which underwent notable ideological-doctrinal changes via the 'innovative' or unique personality of al-Nāṣir. As with Ḥasan III, in the case of al-Nāṣir there were personal doctrinal interests that actively shaped al-Nāṣir's perceptions of Islam—and these were often seen as verging on 'heresy'. It remains a question, though, whether these rulers' theological rapprochement can be conceived as personal religious interest and unconnected with doctrinal questions—or did these bold steps to create alliances with diverse religious groups serve the political interests of the two main decision-makers, Ḥasan III and al-Nāṣir? This question cannot be easily answered, for political and personal ambitions seem to be inseparable here.

It is also important to note that al-Nāṣir's attempts to foster good relations with the Shī'ī rulers of northern Iran were not restricted to Ḥasan III. According to Ibn Isfandiyyār, al-Nāṣir sent robes of honour to Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr I, the Bāwandid ruler in 591/1195, following the Abbasid occupation of Rayy by Ibn al-Qassāb, an Abbasid military leader. Not long after the Saljūqs' fall, the speedy return of the Abbasids to Rayy and Ṭabaristān is more than surprising. It appears that the Abbasids endeavoured to fill the political vacuum left by the Saljūqs,

<sup>24</sup> Jamāl al-Dīn Abū'l Qāsim 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Kāshānī: *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū*, Tehran, Širkat-i intišārāt-i 'ilmī wa farhangī, 1391 pp., 57–58, Hyacinthe Louis RABINO DI BORGOMALE: 'Deux inscriptions du Gīlān du temps des Mongols', *Journal Asiatique*, 238 (1950), 328–329. See also Hyacinthe Louis RABINO DI BORGOMALE: 'Rulers of Gīlān', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1920. 288–289, 293–295. Hyacinthe Louis RABINO DI BORGOMALE: 1949 'Les dynasties locales du Gīlān et du Daylam', *Journal Asiatique* 237 (1949), 314–315.

thus challenging the Khwārizmians. However, in Abbasid connections with the Bāwandids we are not able to discover any personal ‘episode’ as in the case of Ḥasan III. Owing to the scarcity of our written sources the response of Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr I is not known—but it must have been at least constructive given that his political position was under heavy pressure from the Khwārizmians after the death of Ṭughril III in 590/1194; so Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr I turned his attention towards non-Khwārizmian forces in western Iran.

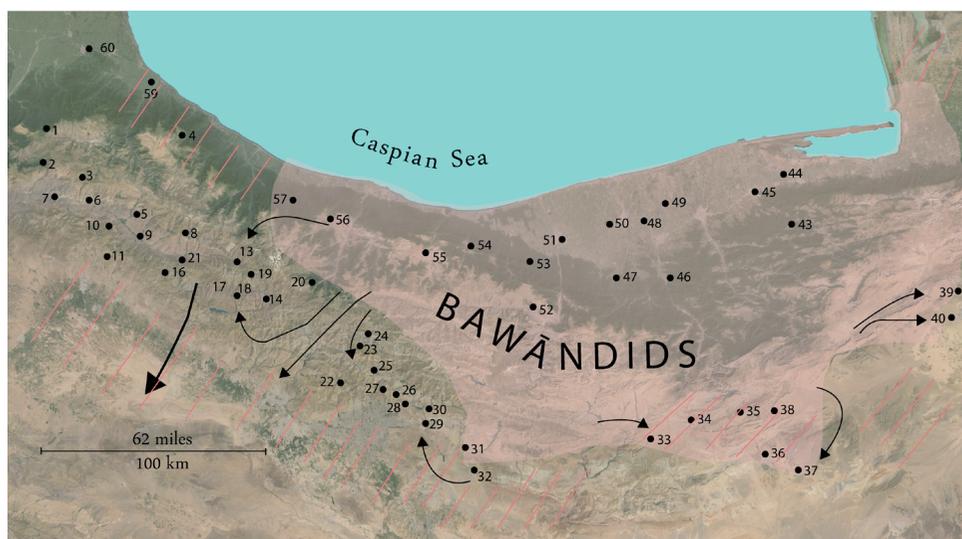
The arrival of the Abbasids could have not caused the Bāwandids too much frustration in terms of politics as the deposed Saljūqs were also Sunnis. In 592/1196, the Abbasid forces were forced to retreat from Rayy after receiving Khwārizmian threats—and we do not then hear any more about Abbasid-Bāwandid contacts. Yet it is not unlikely that the case of the Bāwandids can be seen as a forerunner to Abbasid attempts to win the favour of the *khudāwands* of Alamūt. The possible warm welcome given to the Abbasid envoy in Ṭabaristān may have further enhanced the need to send delegations to courts threatened by the Khwārizmians.

As for the above-mentioned difficulty of choosing between personal and political motifs in Nizārī-Abbasid rapprochement and reconciliation, Abbasid-Bāwandid contacts suggest that perhaps political hopes and gains could have played a more important role than personal convictions. As is clear from our sources, during these years a new political alliance was created in northern Iran with Twelver Shī‘īs, Nizārīs and Sunnis cooperating closely against the Khwārizmians—which resulted in an interesting political and religious situation just before the Mongol invasion.

Concerning the results of this pro-Abbasid policy of Ḥasan III, one might also refer to two other interesting examples which appeared to be important in the Caspian provinces. First, according to the *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū*,<sup>25</sup> al-Nāṣir, after accepting Ḥasan III as a true Sunni leader, urged the local Sunni clans of western Gilān to have arranged marriages for Ḥasan III (or, as he was called in Sunni sources ‘Ḥasan-i naw musalmān’). According to this source (written in the Ilkhānid period), Ḥasan III married not less than four daughters of local Gilānī families—among others the daughter of Kay Kā’ūs b. Shāhanshāh, the hereditary ruler of the town of Kūtum, who claimed to have a mythical pre-Islamic lineage. The *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū* does not name the three other local Gilān dynasties, and the possible reason for naming the ruler of Kūtum was because this wife of Ḥasan III bore Ḥasan’s later successor, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad III. One needs to note, too, that (according to Rashīd al-Dīn)<sup>26</sup> even the mother of Ḥasan III was of Sunni origin. Even though this is not corroborated by other sources, her Sunni origin also means that intermarriages were not uncommon between Nizārī Imams and local Sunni families. As for the marriage policy of the Nizārī Imams, it is rather unclear as a phenomenon; and

<sup>25</sup> KĀSHĀNĪ: *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū*, 57–58, RABINO DI BORGOMALE, 1950, 328–329. See also RABINO DI BORGOMALE, 1920, 288–289; 1949, 314–315.

<sup>26</sup> KĀSHĀNĪ: *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū*, 57–58.



- |                      |                    |                          |                   |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Kasha             | 16. Diz Shirkūh    | 31. Rūdahan              | 46. Firīm (Pirīm) |
| 2. Jarrīndah         | 17. Diz Āwa        | 32. Diz Kulkhandān       | 47. Lafūr (Lapūr) |
| 3. Kilīshum          | 18. Qalca Haranj   | 33. Fīrūzkūh             | 48. Mamṭīr        |
| 4. Diz digāsar       | 19. Diz Jalūpar    | 34. Diz-i Lājiwardī      | 49. Sārī          |
| 5. Lamāsar           | 20. Alīt/Alayt?    | 35. Diz-i Wahal          | 50. Bābul         |
| 6. Ganjak            | 21. Mucallimkalāya | 36. Shahmīrzād           | 51. Āmul          |
| 7. Chārūd            | 22. Shāhdiz Aranka | 37. Diz-i Sarawi (Sārūi) | 52. Lārijān       |
| 8. Qalca Shamskalāya | 23. Kājira         | 38. Shīr Qalca           | 53. Lāwīj         |
| 9. Ustaband          | 24. Diz Lūrā       | 39. Mihrān (Mihr Nigār)  | 54. Nātil         |
| 10. Bahrām dizh      | 25. Diz Ustuwār    | 40. Girdkūh              | 55. Kujūr         |
| 11. Dizwartawān      | 26. Fašm/Bašm      | 41. Dihistān             | 56. Kalār         |
| 12. Chanāshak        | 27. Maygūn         | 42. Astarābād            | 57. Gurjiyān      |
| 13. Alamūt           | 28. Diz Imāma      | 43. Kabūdajāma           | 58. Rūdsar        |
| 14. Diz Arzhang      | 29. Diz Sarband    | 44. Bahmanshahr          | 59. Hawsam        |
| 15. Andijrūd         | 30. Ufja/Afja      | 45. Nikā                 | 60. Fūman         |

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except for the two cases of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad and Ḥasan III, our sources remain silent about the wives and concubines of Nizārī Imams.

### *Disturbances of succession*

As for the ‘harem policy’ of the *kbudāwands* of Alamūt, these certainly did have a growing importance in the history of Alamūt in the last decades of its history.

After the assassination of Ḥasan II in 562/1166, we notice regular troubles connected with Nizārī Imams' successions. Although the concept of *naṣṣ* (divinely inspired designation of successors) did work—i.e. it was never put into abeyance by any *kbudāwand* of Alamūt, and all Imams were designated their predecessor's successor based on *naṣṣ*—there were personal conflicts in every succession 'case'; we see a number of occasions when the succession of an Imam was heavily disputed or questioned by other family members.

The plot against Ḥasan II, the eradication of his plotters led by Ḥasan b. Nāmāwar in 562/1166, the alleged poisoning of Muḥammad II in 607/1210, the supposed plot against Ḥasan III in 618/1221, the question of the participation of his wives in this plot, the later execution of all the wives of Ḥasan III at the order of his successor, the murder of Muḥammad III by one of his friends and the spying of one of the former concubines of Muḥammad III on Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, were all cases when the increasing role of the Nizārī Imams' harem might have played some part in events. The growing role of wives and concubines suggests a more clan-like character for the ruling Nizārī dynasty; and though our sources are limited, these well-recorded conflicts lead us to hypothesise that, alongside the act of *naṣṣ*, the role of influential women and powerful courtiers should not be underestimated. Factors relating to a prestigious marriage with a local Gīlānī and Māzandarānī princess as well as the role of important courtiers or clan figures could not undermine or eliminate the importance the act of *naṣṣ*; indeed, they probably filled it with certain nativist or clan-like dynastic tradition, where concubines tried to exert some influence when there was to be official designation of a successor Imam or at a time of dynastic crisis upon the death of an *kbudāwand*. The cultural backgrounds of these new princesses was first and foremost local Caspian, where legends, 'pre-Islamic' tales and different Shī'ī groups could all play a role. Thus we can see that the concept of *naṣṣ* was complemented by local traditions. The more the Nizārī state resembled a local Caspian kingdom, the more the succession of the Nizārī Imams reflected local clan-like influences. The series of above-mentioned scandals suggests this new behaviour.

### *Final years*

The last years of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III were, however, marked by the menace of the Mongol conquest. As noted, the Nizārīs were well-informed concerning the political events of their age and Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III was the first Muslim ruler to try to make terms with the Mongols after their crossing of the Oxus in August 616/1219. The period 616–619/1219–1222 saw the first Mongol attacks against Iran and Central Asia. It is not precisely known what the direct objective of the Nizārī visit in 616/1219 to the Mongol camp was, but perhaps the Nizārīs realised the menace the Mongols posed to the eastern Iranian world and wished to make diplomatic contacts with the Mongols before any potential onslaught. It was the

vehemently anti-Nizārī Juwaynī who said that the Nizārīs were building contacts with the Mongols upon the arrival of Chingiz Khan at the Oxus river although some scholars have raised doubts about the claim.<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that we do not hear of any Nizārī-Mongol clashes during the first Mongol attack against Iran. If this was a result of this early and cautious diplomatic mission, it was indeed a successful step taken by the Nizārīs. Hodgson's opinion, that both the Nizārīs and the Abbasid caliphate were involved in the diplomatic mission against the Khwārizmians, is quite plausible based on the following analogies: '[Hasan III] was noticeably loyal to the Caliph. This is supposed to have gone so far when the (pagan) Mongols invaded (Sunni) Khwārizmian territory, allegedly at the invitation of the (secretly Shī'ite) Caliph, that the Ismā'īlīs claimed that Hasan had sent them friendly overtures even before the invasion. Juwaynī, who, unlike Rashīd al-Dīn, doubts this claim, admits that the Ismā'īlīs were the first to make a submission after the Mongols had crossed the river Oxus.'<sup>28</sup>

On the other hand, the Nizārīs of Quhistān hosted Khwārizmian and Khurāsāni refugees in their fortresses, which caused anxiety among the Nizārīs of Alamūt. According to Jūzjānī, the *muhtasham* (governor) of Quhistān, when hosting Khwārizmian refugees after the first Mongol attack in about 617/1220, was immediately reprimanded by the vehemently anti-Khwārizmian 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad III.<sup>29</sup> We must note that Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī was among the refugees when he fled from Nishāpūr to Quhistān.<sup>30</sup> Yet the hosting of Khwārizmian refugees can be explained as a sign of solidarity and as evidence of daily contacts existing between local Nizārīs and Khwārizmians. The story preserved by Juzjānī underpins our idea that some Nizārī groups (especially those of the Caspian provinces) may have helped or even served as guides for the Mongols against the Khwārizmians.

Lewis's suggestion that Nizārī-ruled Quhistān was deliberately spared by the Mongols during their first attack against Iran<sup>31</sup> cannot be entirely accepted since *The Shengwu qinzheng lu* (*Campaigns of Chingiz Khan*), a Chinese source written in the Yuan (Mongol) period, says that Tolui, the fourth son of Genghis Khan, plundered Nizārī-populated areas in Khurāsān, too:

<sup>27</sup> 'It was alleged that the Heretics and the truth are not clear, but this much is evident, that when the armies of the World-Conqueror Chingiz-Khan entered the countries of Islam, the first ruler on this side of the Oxus to send ambassadors, and present his duty, and accept allegiance, was Jalāl al-Dīn [Hasan III]' JUWAYNĪ, tr. A. Boyle, vol. 3, 248.

<sup>28</sup> HODGSON, 223.

<sup>29</sup> Minhāj al-Dīn Uthmān b. Sīraj Jūzjānī: *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabibi, 2nd ed., Kabul, (1342–1343 Sh./1963–1964), Anjuman-i tārikh-i Afghānistān vol. 2, 699–700. Daftary, 2007, 376.

<sup>30</sup> Clifford Edmund BOSWORTH: 'The Isma'īlis of Quhistān and the Maliks of Nīmrūz or Sīstān', in F. Daftary (ed.), *Medieval Ismaili History and Thought* (London, 1996), Cambridge University Press, 211–229. Hamid: DABASHĪ: 'The Philosopher/Vizier Khwāja Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī and the Isma'īlis', in Farhad Daftary (ed.), *Medieval Ismaili History and Thought*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1996, 321–345

<sup>31</sup> LEWIS, 90.

[§51.2] In the winter, the Fourth Crown Prince also sacked Maruchaq, Yeke Maru,<sup>32</sup> and Sirāqs<sup>33</sup> cities, before moving on with his troops. [§51.3] In year *ren/xu* [Year of the Horse, or 619/1222], in the spring, he also sacked Tus, Nicha'ur,<sup>34</sup> and other cities. Since just then the summer-heat was becoming excessive, His Majesty sent envoys summoning Tolui to make haste and return. As he was passing through the Mulayid realm,<sup>35</sup> he totally plundered them. Crossing the Choqchoran River, he sacked Heri<sup>36</sup> and other cities.<sup>37</sup>

Almost the same information and the same text can be found in the *Yuanshi* (another Chinese chronicle of the Yuan period) which covers Tolui's attack on Khurāsān and Quhistān:

Year seventeen, that of *ren/xu* [that is, 619/1222]. Spring. The imperial prince Tolui conquers Tus, Nicha'ur and other cities. Returning, he passed through the Mulayid kingdom, plundering it heavily. Crossing the Choqchoran River, he conquered Heri and other towns.<sup>38</sup>

It would be interesting to see whether the Nizārī areas and their neighbours in the Caspian provinces were affected or not by the first Mongol invasion. As peripheral and mountainous and often inaccessible areas with a largely humid and unwelcoming climate, Gīlān and Māzandarān had many fewer urban centres than other provinces in Iran, and the Nizārī-controlled areas in these provinces offered the Mongols less promise than other parts of Iran.

However, on one occasion the first Mongol armies did not even leave these areas untouched. The reason for Mongol penetration into the Caspian region was due to the escape of Muḥammad II, the Khwārizmian ruler of the Caspian areas. Muḥammad II, who never dared to fight face-to-face with the much-feared Mongol opponents, found asylum in northern Iran having first made his way into Ṭabaristān in 617/1220 and then fleeing to the Caspian littoral area of Astarābād in 618/1221.

<sup>32</sup> Yeke Maru, present-day Merv. The Mongol attack against the city took place on 1–2 Muḥarram 618/25–26 February 1221; see JUWAYNĪ, tr. A. Boyle, vol. 3, 160–61.

<sup>33</sup> Sarakhs at the present day border of Iran and Turkmenistan.

<sup>34</sup> Nicha'ur (Neysḥābūr or Nishapur) is an important urban centre of Khurāsān. The decisive Mongol assault took place on 12–15 Šafar 618/7–10 April 1221, JUWAYNĪ, tr. A. Boyle, vol. 3, 176–77.

<sup>35</sup> The term '*mulayid*' is the usual Mongol name applied to the Nizārīs in this Chinese source; it is almost certainly a borrowing of the Arabic-Persian term *mulhid*.

<sup>36</sup> The river here called the Choqchoran is the modern Harī Rūd, and Heri must be the city of Herat, the most important city in present-day northwestern Afghanistan. This first Mongol siege of Herat ended with a negotiated surrender and thus meant the sparing of most of the city's population (by courtesy of C. P. Atwood).

<sup>37</sup> §51.3 in Christopher P. ATWOOD: *The Campaigns of Chinggis Khan: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (forthcoming, Leiden). These data are provided by courtesy of Prof. C. Atwood.

<sup>38</sup> *Yuanshi*, ed. Song Lian, Beijing, Liyue, 1976, 1.22.

It is also known that Muḥammad II visited Āmul, the former Bāwandid capital during his flight, where unnamed local princes advised him to flee to the islands of the Caspian Sea. He presumably died on the island of Ashūrada due to the grief and upset caused by his losing his harem during the flight (or, according to Nasawī, Muḥammad II died of pneumonia).<sup>39</sup> The first Mongol forces led by the most famous Mongol generals of the age Jebe and Sübötei closely trailed Muḥammad II as he fled but failed to capture him. Thus the Mongols entered the Caspian areas for the first time in 618/1221, in hot pursuit of the Khwārizmian court. It is also known that they caused more damage in Māzandarān than in Gīlān. According to Juwaynī, Jebe's forces caused great destruction in Māzandarān, when marching from the direction of Juwayn, and he states that they pillaged the city of Āmul in their search for Muḥammad II.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, Jūzjānī says the Mongols raided the encampment of Muḥammad II in Tamīsha, in Eastern Māzandarān. Jūzjānī's statement is confirmed by Juwaynī: that the Mongols invaded Māzandarān for the first time from Gurgān, via the traditional gate of Gurgān, which was the weakest strategic point in the Caspian area.<sup>41</sup> The Mongols in Māzandarān, in 618/1221, failed to capture Muḥammad II, but they intercepted his harem by successfully besieging those castles where his women and concubines had taken refuge.

Meanwhile, the forces of Sübötei, arriving from the direction of Nishāpūr, razed the town of Dāmghān almost to the ground. The local aristocracy had fled to the neighbouring Nizārī fortress of Girdkūh before the Mongols overrun Dāmghān. According to Juwaynī, only some '*runūd*', or disorganized elements of the Dāmghān population, resisted the invading Mongol forces. Yet one should note that the Nizārīs of Girdkūh moved in and captured Dāmghān, and perhaps Qūmis, after the departure of the main Mongol forces.

Sübötei's forces headed westward, and they swiftly conquered and destroyed Simnān and Rayy as well as massacring the local population. During this first Mongol campaign, whose principal objective was the capture of Muḥammad II, we do not hear about any attacks against the Nizārīs and the Nizārīs abstained from attacking the Mongols.<sup>42</sup>

The fact that the Nizārīs kept a low profile here can be explained by two reasons. Firstly, they were outspoken opponents of the Khwārizmians but Nizārī leaders had witnessed the unprecedented brutality, ruthlessness and absolute military supremacy of the Mongols. The forces of Jebe and Sübötei did not waste time attacking the Nizārīs, either, because their designated task was to capture Muḥammad II; and in the case of the first Mongol attack in the Middle East, we cannot speak of any systematic territorial conquest. Their main goal was to paralyze

<sup>39</sup> Nasawī, 68–69.

<sup>40</sup> JUWAYNĪ, tr. A. Boyle, vol. 1, 133–140.

<sup>41</sup> Jūzjānī, vol. 2, 108–109.

<sup>42</sup> JUWAYNĪ, tr. A. Boyle, vol. 1, 133; Berthold SPULER: *Die Mongolen in Iran, Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit, 617/1220–1350*, Leiden, Brill, 1985, 23–25.

any defensive forces and prepare these areas for a later, more complete administrative and military submission to the Mongol empire. As the Nizārīs were enemies of the Khwārizmians, it would be interesting if we could see traces of any possibly tacit support given by the Nizārīs to the Mongols, which might be a logical step; yet our sources do not mention any pro-Mongol activity coming from the Nizārīs during the Mongol campaign in Māzandarān and Gilān in 618/1221.

The petty warfare between the Nizārīs and Bādūspānids continued around and after 618/1221. Yet neither Āmulī and Mar'ashī provide information about these wars and there is no historical data to link these local campaigns with the much more important Mongol wars. Such Nizārī activity of petty warfare was more in consequence of the radically changed political landscape after 618/1221. The Nizārīs therefore survived the first Mongol attack and, they did not hesitate to exploit these wars for their own benefit after the fall of the Khwārizmian Empire.

### *Abstract*

*This paper addresses the political relations of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī state at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD during the rule of Ḥasan III (1210–1221). As for the religious-political profile of this Imam, it appears that he had a conscious, cautious and first of all pragmatist approach rather than a pro-Sunni religious attitude on behalf of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī leadership who always sought to counterbalance major powers politically. Nizārī relations held with the Ildigūzids and Abbasids in their anti-Khwarizmian stance very much helped the Nizārīs to reach the zenith of their power in the early thirteenth century. Somewhat later the same flexible policy of Ḥasan III can be detected in his diplomatic contacts with the emerging Mongol world-empire.*

### Keywords

Ḥasan III, Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, Alamūt, Abbasids, Qazwīn,

### *Rezüimé*

A jelen dolgozat a 13. század elejének észak-iráni politikai viszonyait vizsgálja, azon belül a nizári iszmá'ilita állam politikáját III. Ḥasan (1210–1221) alatt. A dolgozat rámutat, hogy III. Ḥasan szunnitabarátnak gondolt, a síta taqiyya 'tettetés' fogalmával jellemzett politikája valójában óvatos és tudatos pragmatizmus volt a nizári iszmá'ilik részéről, akik regionális politikájukban mindig a nagyhatalmak ellensúlyait keresték és támogatták. Az Abbászidákkal és az Ildigüzdákkal fenntartott kapcsolatai és khwārizmsah-ellenes szövetségi rendszere révén a nizári iszmá'ili állam hatalma csúcsára a 13. század elején. III. Ḥasan ugyanilyen pragmatikus és rugalmas politikát folytatott a felemelkedő mongol világbirodalommal kiépített diplomáciai kapcsolataiban is.

### Kulcszavak

III. Ḥasan, nizári iszmá'iliták, Alamút, Abbászidák, Qazvín, taqiyya

HADI JORATI

## Persian Primary Sources on the Mongol Campaigns, a Pre-Appraisal

The Mongol military campaigns of the thirteenth century resulted in major political, economic, and demographic shifts not only in West Asia, which is our focus area, but also in a vast territory stretching across Eurasia, from the Sea of Japan to Hungary. The Mongol campaigns have been studied in the West by generations of scholars based on a plethora of sources on the history of the Mongols, and the Mongol campaigns. Those include primary sources in a host of source languages: Medieval Persian, Classical Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, Latin, Mongolian, and more. Many of these studies are based on occasional translations of those sources, or their commentaries, into modern European languages. For a variety of reasons Persian sources occupy a special place among those.<sup>1</sup> Some of these translations date back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> There are also numerous translations

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, of *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*: Marc QUATREMERE, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite en Persan par Raschid-ELDin; traduite en français*, Paris, Imprimerie impériale, 1836; Edgard. BLOCHET, *Djami el-Tevarikh; histoire générale du monde, par Fadl Allah Radbid ed-Din. Tārikh-i moubarek-i Ghāzāni; histoire des Mongols*, in two volumes, reprinted in Gibb Memorial Series Leiden vol. XII, 1910, and vol. XVIII, 1911; Karl JAHN, *Die Geschichte der Öguzen des Rašid ad-Din*, Wien, 1969; Karl JAHN, *Die Chinageschichte des Rasid Ad-Din, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Facsimiletafeln*, Wien, 1971; ---, *Die Frankengeschichte des Rasid Ad-Din, Einleitung, Vollständige Übersetzung, Kommentar und 58 Texttafeln*, Wien, 1977. Editions not accompanied by translations: *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, three volumes, ed. Akif Alizade, Baku 1957–1980, of which publication vol. 3 is accompanied by a Russian translation, 1965; *Faṣṣṣā al-Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh: Sarguzasht-i Hasan Šabbāh va Jānīshīn-i ū yā Tārikh-i Firqa-yi Rafīqān wa Ismā'iliyān-i Alamūt*, ed. M. Dabīrsiyāqī, Tehran 1958; *Jāmi' Al-Tawārīkh*, ed. B. Panāhī, 2 vols, Tehran 1959, reprinted 1988; *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh: Qismat-i Ismā'iliyyān. wa Faṭīmiyyān, wa Nazāriyyān va Dā'iyyān wa Rafīqān*, ed. M. T. Dānīspāzūh, and M. Zanjānī, Tehran, 1959, reprinted 1987; *Camī al-Tawārīkh (Metin) II. Cild, 5. Cüz, Selçuklular Tarihi*, ed. A. Ateş, Ankara 1960; *Tārikh-i Afranj, yā Faṣṣā al-Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, ed. M. Dabīrsiyāqī, Tehran, 1960; *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh, Ta'lif Raschid al-Din Faṣṣāllab Vazir ibn Imad al-Dawlab Abi Khayr ibn Muwaffiq al-Dawlab*, ed. B. Karīmī, Tehran: Iqbal 1959 [1338Sh.]; *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, ed. M. Rawšan, Tehran 2005. Of *Tārikh-i Jahāngushā*, Andrew BOYLE, *Genghis Khan, the History of the World-conquerer*, London 1958, which is a translation of the text of *Jahāngushā* according to Qazvīnī's edition, as well as a translation of Qazvīnī's notes and comments; Andrew BOYLE, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, 1971. Other Persian sources: *Habīb al-Siyar: The History of the Mongols and Genghis Khan*, tr. Wheeler THACKSTON, Cambridge, 1994, reprinted London: I.B.Tauris, 2012; Vie de Djenghiz-Khan: texte persan, par Mirkhond, ed. Etienne LATOUCHE, Paris, 1841; *The Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri of Aboo Omar Minbaj al-Din Othmān, ibn Sirāj al-Din al-Jewzjani*, ed. W. Nassau-Lees, K. Hosain and A. al-Hai, Calcutta, 1864; *Ṭābakāt-i-Nāsiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindustan; from A. H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam*, ed. and trans. Henri George RAVERTY, New Delhi, 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the earliest ones include: Petis DE LA CROIX, *Histoire du Grand Genghizcan*, Paris 1710, English



Persian miniature. Scene from the Demotte or "Great Mondol Shahnameh", a key Ilkhanid work, 1330s.

and renderings of the Medieval Arabic and Persian sources into the corresponding modern registers.<sup>3</sup>

translation London: Darby 1722 (of which a copy is preserved in Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library); Antoine GAUBIL, *Histoire du Gentchiscan*, Paris 1739; Constantin Mouradgea D'OHSSON, *Histoire des Mongols*, Amsterdam 1834–1835, reprinted London 1850; HOWORTH *History of the Mongols* (1888) in English, and Otto FRANKE, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* in German; Henry HOWORTH, *The History of the Mongols from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, London 1876–1927, reprinted New York 1965; Joseph Freiherr von HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte der Ilchane: Das ist der Mongolen in Persien*, Darmstadt, 1842–43; Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate (from contemporary Arabic and Persian sources)*, Oxford 1900; Edward Granville BROWNE, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1902–1930, reprinted Cambridge 1956–59. Of the later ones, those most relevant or exerting the most influence include Berthold SPULER, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350*. Habil. Göttingen 1939; 2 Auflage, Berlin 1955, and the second volume of his *Geschichte der Islamischen Länder: Die Mongolzeit*, published in 1953, English translation published under the title *History of the Muslim World: The Mongol Period*, Leiden 1960, reprinted Princeton 1994; John Joseph SAUNDERS, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, 1971; Articles in the fifth volume of *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1958, including Andrew BOYLE, „Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans,” and Ilya Pavlovich PETRUSHEVSKY, „The Socio-Economic Condition of Iran under the Ilkhans;” also, Dorothea KRAWULSKY, *Iran: Das Reich der Ilhane*, Wiesbaden, 1978; David MORGAN, *The Mongols*, 1986; and numerous articles and Encyclopedia entries by Aigle, Amitai, Biran, Jackson, Lane, Melville, Morgan, et al.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the most notable ones include: in Persian: ‘Abbās IQBĀL, *Tārīkh-i Īrān pas az Islām: az sadr-i Is-*

Most of the early accounts of the Mongols and the Mongol campaign were, in fact, produced by sedentary populations the Mongols conquered, and whose secretarial service was employed by the administration of the new Mongol empire. The sources can be categorised according to the corresponding linguistic register, into four groups: A) East Asian sources: Chinese from the Yuan dynasty; and Mongolian and various Turkic sources from the Mongol court in Qaraqurum or Turkic vassal states; B) West Asian sources: Persian Sources from Ilkhanid Iran, as well as outside the Ilkhanid State, either by Persian speaking courts outside of Iran such as the Delhi Sultanate, or produced after the dissolution of the Ilkhanate; Arabic accounts produced by Islamic states which interacted with the Mongols in some capacity, in particular Syria and Egypt under the Ayyubids and the Bahri Mamluks. There are, however, other Arabic accounts, including some produced from within the Ilkhanid State, such as (pseudo-) Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *al-Ḥawāḍith al-Jāmi'a*. Perhaps one could also append to this group the Syriac account of Bar Hebraeus, and its abridged version in Medieval Arabic; C) Eastern Christian sources in Armenian, Georgian, or Russian, of various courts and vassal states that interacted with the Mongols; and D) Western Christian sources, consisting of various Latin documents of either correspondences between the Papal States and the Ilkhanid court, or, by extension, letters and other documents produced by missionaries sent to Mongolia and Yuan China, as well as travel accounts.

East Asian sources received attention earlier in the history of scholarship on the Mongols. Some were reproduced or translated into European languages as early as the mid-nineteenth century or early-twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> Already in 1972 Thomas Allsen produced an extensive bibliography of the Mongols in East Asia,<sup>5</sup> as well as an extended bibliography of primary sources in his dissertation, a revised version of which appeared in 1987.<sup>6</sup> Among East Asian sources, some have received a fair share of attention, chiefly the history of the Yuan dynasty of China, *Yüan-shih*, in Chinese,<sup>7</sup> and the so-called *Secret History of the Mongols*, in Mongolian, also available in a Chinese version, *Sheng-wu*. Some scholars place *Yüan-shih* more restrictedly

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*lām tā Inqirāz-i Qājāriyab*, Tehran: Našr-i Namak, 1999; in Arabic: Aḥmad al-Azzāwī, *Mawsū'at Tāriḫh al-'Irāq Bayna Iḥtilālāyn*, Beirut: al-Dār al-'Arabīyah lil-Mawsū'āt, 2004. There are also some with a narrower focus which is relevant to the subject of this study, such as (in Persian) Manūčīhr Murtaẓawī *Masā'il-i Asr-i Ilkhānān*, Tabriz: Mu'assasah-'i Tāriḫ wa Farhang-i Īrān, 1358 [1980], and (in Arabic) Abū Sa'd b. Ibn Muḥammad Ḥanīfa al-Ghāmidī, *Suqūt al-Dawlah al-'Abbāsīyah*, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1981. The majority of such studies fall short of the standards of modern historiography, although occasionally they present very rich data collections, particularly that of Iqbāl.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Édouard CHAVANNES, „Inscriptions et pieces de chancellerie chinoise de l'époque mongole” in two parts (1904–1905) in *T'oung Pao*, 5–6. Also cf. Ilya Nikolaevich BEREZIN, *Tarḫbannye iarlyki Tokhtamysha, Timur Kutluga I Saadet-gireia*. Kazan, 1851.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas ALLSEN, *The Mongols in East Asia, Twelfth – Fourteenth Centuries: A Preliminary Bibliography of Books and Articles in Western Languages*, Philadelphia: Sung Studies Newsletter, 1976.

<sup>6</sup> As an appendix to Thomas ALLSEN, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, 239–242.

<sup>7</sup> Of this text many prints and translations exist, e.g. *Yüan Shih*, Taipei: National War College, ed. 1966.

under ‘Chinese’ as they believe it conforms to the Chinese historiographical pattern, and is mostly concentrated on China, while the Persian material, which will be discussed in detail below, purports to be ‘Universal.’<sup>8</sup> West Asian sources have also received some attention at a relatively early date. In spite of their relative importance, however, they remain understudied.

Of the Eastern and Western Christian sources a few documents and accounts have been the subject of sporadic studies, but nothing in the magnitude of the first two groups. Examples from these groups which have attracted the most attention are: (from group C) the account of the Mongols according to Grigor of Arkanc<sup>9</sup> and *The Chronicles of Novgorod*<sup>10</sup> (available in English translation, 1914), and (from group D) the observations of two Franciscan friars: that of John of Plano, Carpini, who was sent to Mongolia by Pope Innocent IV,<sup>11</sup> *Ystoria Mongalorum*, which is chiefly a travelogue, as well as that of William of Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, who attended the court of Great Khan Qubilai. The most famous piece of this genre is perhaps the account of the travels of Marco Polo, an annotated translation of which into English appeared as early as 1903.<sup>12</sup>

Among the West Asian sources, the Syriac account of Abu ‘l-Faraj Ibn al-‘Ibrī, occupies a place in between, in our classification of sources. Bar Hebraeus, who was a Bishop of the Syriac church, a position he retained also under the Mongols, penned encyclopedic writings; among these is a book of the history of the world, the first part of which, referred to by the Latin title *Chronicon Syriacum*, focuses on political history. A facsimile reproduction of an early manuscript of this work together with a translation to English was already published in 1932.<sup>13</sup> An Arabic abridgment of this book was prepared by Bar Hebraeus under the title *Tārikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*,<sup>14</sup> which itself shows remarkable textual dependence on the early Persian sources. The Arabic text of Bar Hebraeus was known to Latin readers very early on as is attested by early Latin translations of it.<sup>15</sup> Setting it aside, one can safely focus on the sources in Arabic and Persian.

<sup>8</sup> David MORGAN, *The Mongols*, Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Robert BLAKE (trans. R. Frye): „The History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Arkanc.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1940), 269–399.

<sup>10</sup> *The Chronicles of Novgorod, 1016–1471*, translated and edited by R. Mitchell and N. Forbes, London: Offices of the Society, 1914. Reprinted Hattiesburg, MS: Academic International, 1970.

<sup>11</sup> It was returned together with a letter by the Great Khan Güyük, composed in Persian, preserved in the Vatican archives. Cf. MORGAN, *Mongols*, 22.

<sup>12</sup> *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, translated and edited, with notes, by Colonel Sir Henry YULE, London: J. Murray, 1903.

<sup>13</sup> BAR HEBRAEUS, *The chronography of Gregory Abū’l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus; Being the first part of his political history of the world, translated from the Syriac by Ernest A. Wallis Budge*, London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1932.

<sup>14</sup> Several editions of this text exist. The most recent one is: *Tārikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal / lil-Ghriḡbūryūs al- al-Mīlāṭī al-Ma’rūf bi-Ibn al-‘Ibrī*, ed. Anṭūn Ṣāliḡānī AL-YASŪ’I, Beirut: al-Maṭba’ah al-Kāthūlikīyah lil-Ābā’ al-Yasū’iyīn, 1958.

<sup>15</sup> *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum, authore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio. Historiam complectens universalem à*

Avoiding general discussions of various topics pertaining to Islamic historiography, or Persian historiography, on which many worthy studies are available already,<sup>16</sup> we will focus exclusively on those historiographical accounts, biographies, bibliographies, bio-bibliographies, epistles and chancellory prose that are of immediate relevance to the history of the Mongol campaign in the West. For more of an in-depth study of this topic we refer the reader to the classic book by Rosenthal, as well as a more recent publication by Robinson.<sup>17</sup>

At some level one must treat the Arabic and Persian historiographical traditions in the pre-modern period always in tandem, for the two traditions were aware of each other and in conversation with each other. Scholars who composed in one genre had access to, read, and often reproduced texts from the other, in a number of complicated ways. The issue of textual interdependence of the Medieval Arabic and Persian corpora in various genres, however, falls outside the purview of this piece. Accordingly, we will treat the two, following one another, starting with Arabic, though one must be aware that this distinction is accidental, rather than essential.

One way in which the two traditions mimic each other to a great degree (though not completely) is the formats, or 'genres' of the compositions of historiographical material. One such group in Arabic is that of biographical dictionaries (*Kutub al-Ṭabaqāt*). The archetype of this genre may be considered Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-A'yān*,<sup>18</sup> which covers a period that has minimal overlap with our focus here, but is still somewhat useful. Ibn Khallikān's model was emulated by many later historians, in the following centuries, most relevantly for our purposes by prominent Mamluk historians Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī in *al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafayāt*,<sup>19</sup> and his other composition *A'yān al-ʿAṣr wa A'wān al-Naṣr*<sup>20</sup> as well as Ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī in *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*.<sup>21</sup> While there are a few Mamluk sources that were produced by authors whose lifespan was close to or overlapped with some of the major events and figures they report on, occasionally also later sources are of significance, for

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*mundo condito, usque ad tempora auctororis, res Orientalium accuratissimè describens.* Arabice edita, & latine versa, ab Edvardo POCOCCIO, Oxford: H. Hall, 1663. Of this book there is a copy preserved at Yale University's Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library.

<sup>16</sup> cf. Gerhard ENDRESS, *Islam, an Historical Introduction*, tr. Carole HILLENBRAND, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002; F. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden: Brill, 1968; J. S. MES-AMI, *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

<sup>17</sup> Chase F. ROBINSON, C. *Islamic Historiography*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

<sup>18</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-'Abbās Shams al-Dīn al-Barmakī al-Irbilī IBN KHALLIKĀN, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968–1977, in 8 vols.

<sup>19</sup> Khalīl ibn Aybak, AL-ṢAFADĪ, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi l-Wafayāt*, ed. Abd al-Qadir AL-ARNA'UT, Beirut: Dār al-Ihyā al-Tūrāth al-'Arabī, 2000, in 29 vols.

<sup>20</sup> Khalīl ibn Aybak AL-ṢAFADĪ, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, *A'yān al-ʿAṣr wa-A'wān al-Naṣr*, ed. F. SEZGIN, and M. 'Amāwī. Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1990. in 3 vols.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Shākīr AL-KUTUBĪ, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt wa-l-Dhayl 'Alayhā*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1973–1974, in 5 vols.

they may have had access to accounts and included them, that are otherwise lost to us. One can name many such compositions from the late (Burji) Mamluk period, for instance Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *al-Durar al-Kāmina*.<sup>22</sup> Some biographical dictionaries focus on personalities within a particular group. Within this group, some of the most relevant ones for our purposes are Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*<sup>23</sup> (14<sup>th</sup> century CE, of self-evident focus), as well as later sources on the biographies of eminent Shiʿis, such as al-Khwānsārī's *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*,<sup>24</sup> (19<sup>th</sup> century CE), and more recently Muḥsin al-Amīn's *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* (20<sup>th</sup> century CE). Within this genre, there are also books in a mixed style, switching between historical narratives and biographical cameos, especially in the later periods, and particularly in Persian, such as Qāḍī Nūrullāh Shushtarī's *Majālis al-Muʾminīn* (late 16<sup>th</sup> early 17<sup>th</sup> century CE).<sup>25</sup> Then there are those of a more bibliographical nature, perhaps styled after Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fibrīst* at some level. The most notable examples of this genre in the pre-modern period, which are relevant to the subject of this study are Hājī Khalifa's *Kashf al-Zunūn* (17<sup>th</sup> century CE),<sup>26</sup> and Āqā Buzurg Ṭīhrānī's *al-Dharīʿa ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīʿa* (20<sup>th</sup> century CE). Although neither Arabic nor Persian, Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur (GAL)* and the *Supplementband (GALS)* may be considered the modern counterpart to this genre. Conversely, relevant historiographical data can be found not in a more restrictive, but a more inclusive genre, which is that of encyclopedic collections. Among the books of interest to us, to this genre belong such books as al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (early 15<sup>th</sup> century CE),<sup>27</sup> and various modern encyclopedias, such as the *Encyclopedia of Islam (EI)*, and *Encyclopaedia Iranica (EIr)*, that harvest information from many different medieval sources. Perhaps some more restrictive encyclopedias can be appended to this genre, such as Yāqūt's *Muʾjam al-Buldān* and *Muʾjam al-Udabā*, with a Persian counterpart to the former in Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī's *Nuzḥat al-Qulūb* (14<sup>th</sup> century CE).

By far the most expansive genre of Arabic and Persian sources relevant to this study is the premodern *Chronographia* or *Kutub al-Tārikh*, occasionally referred to as 'annalistic chronographies,' due to the prevalence of a particular format. Although such branding is, at core, restrictive, and somewhat inaccurate. In its various

<sup>22</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-shahīr bi-Ibn AL-ʿASQALĀNĪ, *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Mīʿab al-Thāminah*, Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1993, in 4 vols.

<sup>23</sup> *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā* / li-Tāj al-Dīn Abi Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Kāfi AL-SUBKĪ, ed. M. al-Tanāhī, M. and A.M. Al-Ḥilw, A.M. Cairo: Hajar lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Naṣr, 1992, in 11 vols.

<sup>24</sup> al-Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir al-Musawī AL-KHWĀNSĀRĪ, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt fī Aḥwāl al-ʿUlamāʾ wa l-Sādāt, taʿlif al-Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir al-Mūsawī al-Khwānsārī al-Iṣbahānī*, Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifā, 1970, in 8 vols.

<sup>25</sup> Nurallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh SHUSHTARĪ, *Kitāb-i Mustatāb-i Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, Tehran: Kitābfurūshī Islāmiyyah, 1955–1956, in 2 vols.

<sup>26</sup> Katip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub wa l-Funūn*, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1990, in 2 vols.

<sup>27</sup> Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, AL-QALQASHANDĪ, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā fī Ṣināʿat al-Insā*, Cairo: Al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya li l-Kutub, 1985, in 10 vols.

incarnations, a book of this genre (*Tārīkh*) pieces together shorter narratives of events to constitute a 'unit' of history. Each unit is the events of a particular year or the reign of a certain ruler, and the like. The individual units, then, are combined into larger sections of 'periods' or 'dynasties,' to cover the geographic area and timespan of the focus of the report. Occasionally, the geographic expanse is not restricted, and the units consist of accounts of events in a time unit (such as one year), and are then pieced together into a grand narrative. Many of the texts in the *Tārīkh* genre in Arabic tradition in the premodern period, that are of relevance to the subject of this study, took after notable earlier works, used as models, in particular Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī l-Tārīkh*.<sup>28</sup> Since Ibn al-Athīr died in 1236, however, *al-Kāmil* itself does not cover the entire period of immediate interest to us. Some later chronicles, however, styled after *al-Kāmil*, cover more. A few notable ones are Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāya wa l-Nihāya*,<sup>29</sup> al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-Islām*,<sup>30</sup> as well as *al-Ibar*<sup>31</sup> by the same author, Qutb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, and Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*,<sup>32</sup> all produced during the early Mamluk period. On numerous occasions, the aforementioned texts include invaluable information about the Persian tradition as well, or preserve their narratives or indeed their texts, with minor emendations. Because of that, even Arabic historiographical writings of later periods are often directly relevant to the Persian tradition, most notably perhaps the universal histories by Ibn al-Furāt *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa l-Mulūk*,<sup>33</sup> or Ibn Khaldūn *Kitāb al-Ibar*.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, to the confluence of the Arabic and Persian traditions belong those historiographical texts that are sometimes marked by sectarian loyalties, preserving and promoting a version of historical reports that comport with their respective ideological allegiances. Notable examples include Ibn al-Ṭīqtaqā's

<sup>28</sup> Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad, AL-QALQASHANDĪ, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Sīnā'at al-Inṣā*, Cairo: Al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya li l-Kutub, 1985, in 10 vols. *Mulūk* to Ibn al-Jawzī's *al-Muntaẓam* predate Ibn al-Athīr's composition. However, *al-Kāmil* was of such definitive influence on Mamluk historiographical model, that we thought it deserves to be mentioned here as the prototype.

<sup>29</sup> Ismā'īl IBN KATHĪR, *al-Bidāya wa l-Nihāya*, ed. al-Turki, Beirut: Dār Hijr, 1999, in 21 vols.

<sup>30</sup> Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyṡmāz ibn 'Abdallāh al-Turkumānī al-Fāriqī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'i, AL-DHAHABĪ, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa Wafayāt al-Mashābir wa l-'Alām*, ed. Tadmuri, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabī, 1989, in 53 vols.

<sup>31</sup> Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyṡmāz ibn 'Abdallāh al-Turkumānī al-Fāriqī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'i, AL-DHAHABĪ, *al-Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar*, ed. Zaghlul, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1985, in 4 vols.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Faḍlullāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, ed. Kamil Salman AL-Jubūrī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyah, 2010, in 27 vols.

<sup>33</sup> Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Alī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī IBN AL-FURĀT, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa l-Mulūk*, ed. al-Shamma, Zurayq 'Izz al-Dīn, Baṣra: Dār al-Ṭībā'a al-Ḥadītha, 1967.

<sup>34</sup> Abū Zayd 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad IBN KHALDŪN, *Kitāb al-Ibar wa-Diwan al-Mubtadā wa-al-Khabar fī Ayyām al-'Arab wa l-'Ajam wa l-Barbar wa-man 'Aṣarabum min Dhawī al-Sulṭān al-Akbar*, Cairo, 1867, in 7 vols.

book, *Tārīkh al-Fakhrī*<sup>35</sup> a Shi'i account, and Ibn 'Imad al-Ḥanbalī's *Shadharāt al-Dhabab*,<sup>36</sup> a decidedly Hanbali account. While not clearly sectarian, the (pseudo-) Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmi'a*<sup>37</sup> also hovers in the space in between, as an Arabic account from within the Ilkhanid administration, and agreeing with its contemporaneous Persian accounts, or informing them.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the immense influence of the Arabic precursors, the Persian historiographical tradition of the Mongol and post-Mongol period is distinct in a number of ways. The administration of the later Mongol campaigns in the West consisted of Persian bureaucrats, and the Ilkhanate fashioned itself after a vision of Iranian kingship (hence the conscious choice by Hülegü Khan, to refer to his Ilkhanate as 'Iran'). As a result the chronicles, as well as the rest of the apparatus of the Mongol rule in the West were produced in Persian, and the Persian sources were privileged with their access to raw data. It is not even true that such a privileged position, or indeed the meticulous compilation and presentation of the said data would necessarily make an account more 'accurate.' Rather, the post-Mongol Persian historiographical sources are singular in the fact that they establish and follow a new model of Universal History, best exemplified by the corpus of texts that belong to the textual tradition of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (henceforth *RJT*). Rashīd's project, in turn, was modeled after an earlier exemplar by 'Atā Malik Juwaynī in his *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* (henceforth *Jahāngushā*). It can be said with great accuracy that, together, *Jahāngushā* and *RJT* became the model for all subsequent Persian historiography. Indeed, many later Persian historiographical compositions are styled after them, or include lengthy quotations or abbreviations from the two. Furthermore, even between *Jahāngushā* and *RJT* there are such interdependencies, in style and quotations, including some almost verbatim quotations. There are, however, a number of issues with the Persian sources contemporaneous and near contemporaneous with Mongol rule in Iran. In the first place, and most importantly is the obscure textual tradition of the seminal sources listed above, which present serious challenges to the editor and historian alike.

The other problem is that of revisions in the sanctioned or privileged 'official' narratives during different periods, according to the political allegiances of the patrons, occasionally amounting to divergent or even conflicting accounts of the same event. What complicates the matters even further is that through the relatively short period of the rule of the Ilkhans in Iran (ca 1259–1335), the changing politics of a volatile Ilkhanid court resulted in several major shifts in policy, purges of senior

<sup>35</sup> Jalāl-ad-Dīn Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Tāji' d-Dīn Abi'l-Hasan 'Alī, *IBN AL-TIQTIQĀ, Tārīkh al-Fakhrī fī al-Ādāb al-Sulṭāniyah wa-l-Duwal al-Islāmiyah*, Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1966.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn al-'Imād AL-HANBALĪ, *Shadharāt al-Dhabab fī Akhbār man Dhabab*, ed. ARNĀ'ūt, Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1986.

<sup>37</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāk b. Aḥmad, *IBN AL-FUWATĪ, al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmi'ah wa l-Tajārūb al-Nāfi'ah fī al-Mi'ah al-Sābi'ah*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf; Bayrūt: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997.

<sup>38</sup> As well as *IBN AL-FUWATĪ'S* (partially lost) *Talkhīṣ Majma' al-Ādāb fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb*, ed. Mustafa Jawad, Damascus: Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriya, 1962, in 3 vols.

administrators, and a rebranding and re-representing of the sanctioned narrative of events. Accordingly, one may divide the period of the Ilkhanate roughly into three distinct periods: 1. Pre-Ghāzān (From Hülegü to Arghun, when the original entourage of Hülegü's campaign was in charge of the administration), 2. The Ghāzān era (major reforms in the administration, as well as official conversion to Islam), and 3. Post-Ghāzān (the consolidation of dynastic succession and the waning of the Ilkhans as an empire). The first phase is represented by Juwaynī's *Jabāngushbā*, as well as (pseudo-) Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *al-Hawādith al-Jāmi'a* (in Arabic). The second phase is represented, par excellence, in the body of texts that is collectively referred to as *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, and the third phase by such texts as Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī's *Tārīkh-i Guẓida*,<sup>39</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abdullah Shīrāzī's<sup>40</sup> *Tajẓiyat al-Amṣār*, better known as *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*,<sup>41</sup> Abu l-Qāsim Qāshānī's *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū*,<sup>42</sup> which was envisioned as a continuation of *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, and Hindūshāh Nakhjawānī's *Tajārib al-Salaf*,<sup>43</sup> which is itself partly based on the Arabic text of *Tārīkh al-Fakhrī* mentioned above.

Setting aside the Ilkhanid corpus, other notable and relevant Persian works of the same genre include Jūzjānī's *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*<sup>44</sup> (from India, Delhi Sultanate), as well as later sources such as Ḥāfiz-i Abrū's *Majma' al-Tawārīkh al-Ṣultāniyya*,<sup>45</sup> from the early Timurid period, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*<sup>46</sup> of Mīrkhwānd from the late Timurid period, and *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*<sup>47</sup> of Khwāndamīr, of the early Safavid era.

<sup>39</sup> A facsimile reproduction of it together with an introduction by Edward Browne was published in the Gibb Memorial Series: Ḥamdullāh MUSTAWFĪ, *The Tārīkh-i-guẓida; or, Select history of Hamdul'lāh Mustawfī-i-Qazwīnī*, Leiden: Brill, 1910–1913, in 2 vols.

<sup>40</sup> Better known under his title *Waṣṣāf al-Ḥadra*.

<sup>41</sup> No complete edition of this work has been published yet. Already in the mid nineteenth century Hammer-Purgstall published a translation of parts of the text: *Geschichte Wassaf's*, tr. Hammer-Purgstall, Wien, 1856. There are three facsimile reproductions of this work from three Iranian manuscripts, and a partial edition (of book five, of the five books) published under the title: *Tajẓiyat al-Amṣār va Tajẓiyat al-A'sār (Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf) / ta'rif-i 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Izz al-Dīn Faẓl Allāh ibn Abi Na'im Yazdī, Shīrāzī*, ed. I. Afšār, M. Umidsālār and N. Muṭallibī, Tehran: Našr-i Ṭalāya, 2009.

<sup>42</sup> Abu l-Qāsim Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū – Tārīkh-i Pādīshāh-i Sa'īd Ghīyāth al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn Uljāytū Sulṭān Muḥammad Ṭayyib Allāh Marqadab*, Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma wa Našr-i Kitāb, 1969.

<sup>43</sup> Hindūshāh NAKHJAWANĪ, *Tajārib al-Salaf: Completed in 724 A.H., A History of the Caliphs and Their Ministers*, ed. A. IQBĀL, Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1966.

<sup>44</sup> There is an early translation of this book to English available: *The Ṭabaqāt-i nāsiri of Aboo Omar Minbaj al-Dīn Othmān, ibn Sirāj al-Dīn al-Jewzjani*, ed. W. Nassau Lees and Khadim Hosain and 'Abd al-Hai, Calcutta: College Press, 1864.

<sup>45</sup> Ḥāfiz-i Abrū's other historiographical compositions include *Dbayl-i Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, which deals with the post-Ghāzān period, and *Dbayl-i Zafarnāma-yi Shāmī*, which deals with the Timur era.

<sup>46</sup> There is no critical edition of this text available, but it has been printed in Iran: *Tārīkh-i Rawḍat al-Safā / taṣnīf Mīr Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Khāwand Shāh al-Shabīr bi-Mīr Khwānd*, Tehran: Kitāb-furūshī Markazī, 1960.

<sup>47</sup> Printed in Iran in four volumes in 1954. Volume three has been translated to English: *Habībū's-siyar, Tome three. The reign of the Mongol and the Turk / Khwāndamīr*, ed. and tr. Wheeler Thackston, Cambridge: Department of Near Eastern Languages, Harvard University, 1994. Reprinted in the series Classical writings of the medieval Islamic world: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties, volume

Juwaynī's *Jabāngushā* and Rashīd's *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*

Perhaps the most significant of the Persian sources, for a variety of reasons, are the two medieval Persian texts from the early Ilkhanid period: 'Atā Malik Juwaynī's *Tārikh-i Jabāngushā* and Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb's *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*. Juwaynī's text is the source closest in time to the Mongol conquest and Hülegü's campaign: the form available to us now was most probably finished no later than 1260, while Hülegü was still alive.<sup>48</sup> Both of these two sources were produced from within the Mongol-Ilkhanid administration.<sup>49</sup> The composition of the surviving part of the text of *Jabāngushā* was concluded even before Hülegü's campaign in the West ended. It is not clear whether the work was envisioned to include only those campaigns up to a particular time, or whether it was a work in progress. This is relevant to questions pertaining to the structure of the composition, and textual complications in its manuscript tradition. As for why the events of the last five years of Hülegü's rule are not included in *Jabāngushā* one possibility is that his later campaigns were of a different nature (consolidating his rule rather than expanding his empire), and that they did not always meet the same success. It is also possible that since after Hülegü's retreat to Azerbaijan Juwaynī stayed in Iraq and assumed the role of governor of Iraq, he was not commissioned for an extension. Of *Jabāngushā* an edition is available (Berlin, 1912–1937) by the early twentieth century scholar Muḥammad Qazwīnī, based on a number of manuscripts at Paris, though mainly on the oldest surviving MS housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale (BNF Suppl. Pers. 205), which he used as his exemplar, and collated with a few more Iranian and European manuscripts. Qazwīnī also commented on the text and annotated it heavily. His work on *Jabāngushā*, which

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three, London: I.B. Tauris, 2012.

<sup>48</sup> There are other contemporaneous accounts though, albeit from without the Ilkhanid realm, most notably from the Delhi Sultanate, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*.

<sup>49</sup> Juwaynī was a senior administrator under the Mongol regent Arghūn Āghā and was later appointed to accompany Hülegü in his campaign to the West. After the establishment of the Ilkhanid state by Hülegü he was appointed governor of Iraq – a position he retained under Abaqa until his death in 1283. For more on the Juwaynī family and their role in the Mongol Ilkhanid administration cf. George LANE, „Jovaynī, 'Alā al-Dīn” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Yarshater, E. vol. XV, Fasc. 1, 63–68; Hāšim RAJABZĀDA, „Jovayni family” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Yarshater, E. vol. XV, Fasc. 1, 61–63; or the excellent monograph on Atā Malik Juwaynī in the introduction to vol. 1 of *Jabāngushā* by the editor Mohammad QAZWĪNĪ, *Jabāngushā*, Leyden: Luzac, London: Brill, 1912, xi–vi; Rashīd was a senior Ilkhanid administrator under Pulad Āghā and later assumed the post of vizier under Ghāzān, a position he retained under Ghāzān's successor Ūljeitū, and Ūljeitū's successor Abū Sa'īd, until his sacking and execution in 1318. For more on Rashīd cf. the introduction by Blochet to his edition of *RJT* (in French), the introduction by Alizade to the third volume of his edition of *RJT* (in Russian), and Dorothea KRAWULSKY, *The Mongol Ilkhans and their Vizier Rashīd al-Dīn*, Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2011; as well as Josef VAN ESS, *Der Wesir und seine Gelehrten: zu Inhalt und Entstehungsgeschichte der Theologischen Schriften des Rasīduddīn Faḡhullāh (gest. 718/1318)*, Wiesbaden: Steiner, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1981. For medieval sources cf. AL-KUTUBĪ *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* on Juwaynī, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn, KHWĀNDAMĪR *Dustūr al-Wuzarā* on Rashīd.

was the basis of Andrew Boyle's annotated translation has received less credit than it deserves. This translation, titled *Genghis Khan: The History of the World-Conqueror*, first published in 1958, and considered an indispensable tool for researchers in the field, was based, to a large extent, on the translation of Qazvini's marginal notes. Boyle did something similar, on a smaller scale, with parts of the text of Rashīd's *RJT*, and published it under the title *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, in 1971. On a more fundamental level, on the other hand, the interdependence between the two compositions, *RJT* and *Jahāngushbā*, as well as their respective textual transmission, is far from fully understood. The issue of the manuscript tradition of *Jahāngushbā* and *RJT*, as well as the textual tradition of their various translations into modern languages deserves a separate study.

Of Rashīd's text (or rather parts thereof) there had long existed a translation of, and extensive commentary by, Edgar Blochet as well as an earlier one by Quatremere dating back to the 19th century.<sup>50</sup> There are numerous other later editions and prints of *RJT*, some of which were mentioned in the first footnote. However, there are many problems with the text of *RJT* as it has survived in a number of divergent recensions.<sup>51</sup> The issue of the textual complications of the *RJT* corpus deserves a separate, lengthy study, though a few aspects of these complications can be observed readily. Scholars seem to have arrived at the consensus that the title, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, suggests that the project was envisioned as a universal history, and would have involved an extensive collection of data (texts) and its processing. A parallel, and close, interpretation could be that the title simply suggests that different types of historiographical material are put together in this project. Within the vast corpus of surviving *RJT* manuscripts there is some variation regarding the subject matter. Roughly, one may distinguish between two major types of texts: dynastic histories, and universal histories: While some volumes cover histories of nations, prophets, and so on,<sup>52</sup> in the style of older texts such as Ibn Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-Umam*, other volumes focus on the Mongol, or rather Ilkhanid, dynastic history, styled after *Jahāngushbā*.<sup>53</sup> Yet a third type of texts<sup>54</sup> in the *RJT* corpus covers specific topics that do not fall under either genre, in particular the parts that

<sup>50</sup> Blochet used a variety of primary sources in Persian, as well as Chinese and Mongolian for his edition. He also collected valuable geographical information on the place names mentioned in the text, in his translation and commentary.

<sup>51</sup> This is, in fact, true even of *Jahāngushbā*, which is often perceived to be definitive. This assumption has not been questioned by Boyle, or any later scholar since.

<sup>52</sup> For instance the exemplars of the volumes produced by Karl Jahn, and more recently some of the volumes edited by Muḥammad Rawšan.

<sup>53</sup> To this group belong the texts of the manuscripts used for the editions by Quatremere (which covers the part on the life of Hülegü), Karīmī, Blochet, and Ateş (covering the part on the life of Ghāzān), and Alizade (volume three covering from Hülegü to Ghāzān, although the text is divergent).

<sup>54</sup> In this group fall the texts in the manuscripts used for the editions produced by Dānišpazhūh and Zanjāni, the edition by Dabīrsiyaqī, as well as those used by Ḥāfiz-i Abrū in his *Majma' al-Tawārīkh al-Sulṭāniya*.

deal with the history of the Nizari Isma'ilis of Iran.<sup>55</sup> The different types of texts described above survive occasionally in manuscripts with non-overlapping texts, which could be an indication that they were envisioned as different projects, even if produced by the same team or for the same patron.<sup>56</sup> While all of the editors of various editions of *RJT* comment that the project was envisioned in different volumes and in several stages, they seem not to agree on how many stages or volumes, or which part was produced first.<sup>57</sup> Some editors, including Dānishpazhūh, Ateş, and Blochet, have noted that there are 'very close parallels' between certain passages in *RJT* and various other compositions<sup>58</sup> that predate it, including *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*,<sup>59</sup> and *Tawārīkh al-'Ālam*.<sup>60</sup>

Dānishpazhūh and Zanjānī, the editors of the part on the history of the Isma'ilis from *RJT*, comment that they have included in their collations two manuscripts of Ḥāfiz-i Abrū's *Majma' al-Tawārīkh al-Sultānīya*,<sup>61</sup> since the texts are, "with some minor additions and omissions, identical," and then add that the same is true for

<sup>55</sup> However, evidence from the text itself suggests that it was meant as an appendix to the sections on histories of 'Nations': Cf. *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, [RJT-DPZ], 17: *chūn jam'-i tawārīkh-i sāyir-i umam wa an-wā'-i zumra-yi banī ādam muta'allifdar aqālim-i sab'a chi aḡ turk wa khatāy wa hunūd wa yahūd wa naşārā wa farang wa mağārība wa 'ajam bi itmām paywast wa mukammal sbud khwāst ki tārīkh-i firqa-yi rafīqān wa tāyifā-yi dā'iyān-i ismā'īlyya wa mulāhida ki ummatī and 'alāhida ... bar fitrāk-i jāmi' al-tawārīkh bandad. After completing the collection of the histories of all other nations of the World, and all sorts of peoples, written [anywhere] in the seven climes, be it Turks, the Cathay, the Indians, or the Jews, Christians, Franks, or the Persians, was completed, [the author] wished to append to it also the history of the sect of 'comrades' and the tribe of the Ismaili missionaries, and the [dualist] *Mulhids*, who are [in reality] a separate nation"*

<sup>56</sup> Karīmī based his edition on two manuscripts, one in the India Office and one in the British Museum (he does not record more specific information on the manuscripts); Dabīrsiyāqī based his edition (which he comments was the completion of a project started by the late Soviet scholar Ivanow) on two manuscripts: one a Paris manuscript BNF Persan no. 2004, dated 1430 CE, and another in the library of Panjab University in Lahore, dated 1223 AH. Alizade based his edition on seven manuscripts: Four of those manuscripts are from without the Soviet Union, from Tehran University, Topkapı Saray Istanbul, the British Museum London, and BNF Paris, and three from within: one from Tashkend and two from St Petersburg. Dānishpazhūh and Zanjānī based their edition on three manuscripts (listing four more that they did not use) and collated it with some manuscripts of Ḥāfiz-i Abrū's *Majma' al-Tawārīkh al-Sultānīya*, and Qāshānī's *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*. They choose as the exemplar for their edition the Istanbul manuscript Topkapı Saray No. 1653 (dated 1314), and the rest for variant readings. One of the two other manuscripts is the same Paris manuscript used by Ivanow, and the other one an incomplete copy from Tehran University library which does not contain the part on Mongol history.

<sup>57</sup> Karīmī believes the production was envisioned in seven volumes, and Dabīrsiyāqī three.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the introduction section in *RJT* ed. Dānīspazhūh and Zanjānī, 12; ed. Blochet, vol. 1, 204.

<sup>59</sup> Alternatively titled *Kitāb-i Yamīnī*, of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbī, published London 1858 by the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. Reprinted Lahore 1975.

<sup>60</sup> This book is not edited yet. Dānīspazhūh mentions that it is preserved in an Istanbul manuscript Topkapı Saray No. 12539, and the name of the author recorded as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī.

<sup>61</sup> Istanbul MS Damad Ibrahim Paşa No. 919, ff. 602v–628v, and Tehran MS Malek Library No. 4163, ff. 74r–92r.

Qāshānī's *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* (without actually mentioning a particular manuscript of it), adding 'this was acceptable and common practice at the time.'<sup>62</sup> A closer study of this part should reveal more information about the complex textual history of both *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, as well as *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*.

#### *Abstract*

*This paper presents a classification of the accounts of the later Mongol campaigns in West Asia in the thirteenth century, with a focus on the Arabic and Persian accounts of the establishment of the Ilkhanate of Iran, in particular the issues of manuscript recensions and textual complications. The paper presents a brief overview of the modes of production of historiographical texts in Classical Arabic and Persian first, situating them in a larger context of the extant accounts of the Mongol campaigns. Then it takes a closer look at the two earliest Persian sources, and addresses the complicated history of their production and distribution, as well as their textual interdependence.*

#### Keywords

Mongols, Juwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, historiography, Ilkhanids

#### *Rezümé*

Jorati írása a 13. századi nyugat-ázsiai mongol hadjáratok írott forrásainak klasszifikációját tekinti át, különös tekintettel az arab és perzsa kútfőkre az iráni ilkhánida dinasztia alapításáról a kézirat-recenziók és a textuális problémák fényében. A tanulmány röviden bevezetést nyújt a klasszikus arab és perzsa történeti források megszületésének viszonyaiba, belehelyezve azokat a mongol hadjáratok tágabb kontextusába. Ezt követően közelebbről vizsgálja a két legkorábbi perzsa forrást, Juwaynī és Rashīd al-Dīn krónikáit, és körbejárja a keletkezésükkel és elterjedésükkel kapcsolatos ismereteket, valamint a két forrás egymáshoz fűződő viszonyát.

#### Kulcsszavak

mongolok, Juwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, történetírás, ilkhánidák

<sup>62</sup> Cf. DĀNĪŠPAŽŪH, 'introduction,' *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, [RJT-DPZ], 13–15.

ANDRÁS BARATI

## The Succession Struggle Following the Death of Nādir Shāh (1747–1750)

Nādir Shāh's short and turbulent reign (r. 1736–1747) was characterised by uninterrupted military campaigns and iron-fisted rule. Nādir had 'raised his country from the lowest depths of degradation to the proud position of the foremost military power in Asia,'<sup>1</sup> as Laurence Lockhart puts it. Nevertheless, towards the end of Nādir's rule, the extortionate requisitions for his wars resulted in general unrest and discontent among the populace, to which Nādir Shāh's response was most often execution and massacre. Eventually, Nādir lost his confidence in most of his Turco-Iranian officers. Fearful for their lives, a group of Qizilbāsh Afshār and Qājār tribal leaders assassinated the Shāh on the night of 10 Jumādā II 1160/19 June 1747 in Fathābād near Khabūshān (present-day Qūchān). The political and military disintegration was immediate, and the royal camp was dispersed by the morning. The ensuing struggle for succession embroiled Iran in a civil war for the following years.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. *The ephemeral reigns of 'Alī Qulī Mīrzā and Ibrāhīm Mīrzā*

Following the death of Nādir Shāh there was only one possible contender for the throne, 'Alī Qulī Mīrzā, the son of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā. The information available about his life before the assassination of his uncle is rather scarce. He is mentioned first at the time of Nādir Shāh's resolution to move against Qandahār, when he was appointed governor of Mashhad and was surrounded with experienced statesmen to assist him.<sup>3</sup> After the demise of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā in Dāghistān by the hands of the rebellious Lazgīs, Nādir summoned 'Alī Qulī and took an oath to avenge Ibrāhīm after the campaign against Turkestan.<sup>4</sup> It seems 'Alī Qulī was in a favourable position even in the late years of Nādir Shāh's reign, when no one was safe from him; this changed drastically when the leaders of Sīstān, the sons of Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī,

<sup>1</sup> Laurence LOCKHART: *Nadir Shah. A critical study based mainly upon contemporary sources*, London, Luzac & Co, 1938, 269.

<sup>2</sup> Peter AVERY: 'Nādir Shāh and the Afsharid Legacy'. In Peter Avery – Gavin Hambly – Charles Melville (eds.): *The Cambridge History of Iran Volume 7*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, 50–59; LOCKHART: 257–263.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad Kāzīm MARWĪ: *Ālamārā-yi Nādirī*, ed. Muḥammad Riyāhī, Tehran, Naqsh-i Jahān, 1364/1985, 626.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 783.

Amīr Bēg and Rustam Bēg, refused to pay the heavy taxes. Nādir sent 'Alī Qulī and Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir to resolve the problem. In the meantime, Nādir's mental sickness endangered even his family members and he turned against 'Alī Qulī, who was forced to defy his order to return.<sup>5</sup> The news spread quickly and a number of tribes joined him. Nādir ordered Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir to kill 'Alī Qulī, but the subsequent events are quite unclear. As reported by Astarābādī, the latter was informed about the content of the letter and acted quickly to kill Ṭahmāsp Khān Jalāyir.<sup>6</sup> However, according to Raḥmī Tātār's account Ṭahmāsp Khān showed the letter to 'Alī Qulī and they had come to the decision to kill Nādir.<sup>7</sup>

At the time of the assassination of Nādir Shāh, 'Alī Qulī resided in Herat. The overwhelming majority of our sources are convinced that 'Alī Qulī must have had a role in the murder and some of them assume he was even the mastermind behind it.<sup>8</sup> For instance, Hanway reports a dubious edict in which 'Alī Qulī himself reveals that he had planned the elimination of the shāh.<sup>9</sup> Raḥmī Tātār also provides us with details about 'Alī Qulī's involvement in the events. Immediately after the heads of the Qizilbāsh decided to move against Nādir Shāh, a letter was received by Muḥammad Qulī Khān *kishīkehī bāshī* (commander of the royal guard) and Allāhvirdī Khān *jaḥāyir bāshī* (commander of the fusiliers) from 'Alī Qulī Mīrzā about the agreement he made with Ṭahmāsp Khān on killing Nādir.<sup>10</sup> Shortly thereafter, the murderers were given amnesty and even positions in the court of 'Alī Qulī.<sup>11</sup> Based on the available sources 'Alī Qulī's complicity cannot be dismissed.

During the time of the death of Nādir Shāh, the head of Mashhad was the *mutawallī*<sup>12</sup> of the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad. Receiving the news, he expelled the Afghāns from the city and gave the control over to the Qizilbāsh. Naṣrullāh Mīrzā and Imām Qulī Mīrzā were informed about their father's passing in Chinārān and they went straight to Mashhad. However, they were not given permission to enter the city and Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad dispatched

<sup>5</sup> Muḥammad Riyāhī (ed.): *Sifāratnāmāhā-yi Irān*, Tehran, Tūs, 1368/1989, 234.

<sup>6</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad Mahdī ASTARĀBĀDĪ: *Jabāngushā-yi Nādirī*, ed. Sayyid 'Abdullāh Anwār, Tehran, Anjuman-i Āṣār-i Millī, 1341/1962, 425; 'Abd al-Razzāq Big DUNBULĪ: *Tajribat al-ahrār wa tasliyat al-ahrār*, ed. Hasan Qāzī Tabāṭabā'ī, Tabriz, 1349/1970, 1/480–481.

<sup>7</sup> RIYĀHĪ: op. cit. 234.

<sup>8</sup> Muḥammad Hāšim Āṣaf RUSTAM AL-ḤUKAMĀ', *Rustam al-tawārikh*, ed. Mitrā Mihrābādī, Tehran, Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1382/2003, 222; Muḥammad Shafī' ḤUSAYNĪ 'ĀMILĪ: *Mahāfil al-Mu'minin*, ed. Ibrāhīm 'Arabpūr, Manṣūr Chaghtāyī, Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī, 1383/2004, 130; Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm QAZWĪNĪ: *Fawāyid-i Safawīya*, ed. Mīr Aḥmadī, Tehran, 1367/1988, 154; Muḥammad Khalīl MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: *Majma' al-Tawārikh*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl Aṣhtiyānī, Tehran, Iqbāl, 1328/1950, 84–85; RIYĀHĪ: op. cit. 236; Jonas HANWAY: *The Revolutions of Persia*, London, 1753, II/263.

<sup>9</sup> HANWAY: op. cit. II/287.

<sup>10</sup> RIYĀHĪ: op. cit. 236.

<sup>11</sup> Père Louis BAZIN: 'Seconde lettre Du Frere Bazin, contenant les révolutions qui suivirent la mort de Thamas Kouli-Khan.' In *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses IV*, Paris, 1780, 332.

<sup>12</sup> Administrator of a charitable endowment (*waqf*).

a letter to Herat inviting 'Alī Qulī to Mashhad.<sup>13</sup> As expected, he accepted the invitation and advanced towards Mashhad where Muḥammad Mīrzā greeted him. On the same day of his arrival—27 Jumādā II 1160/6 July 1747—he sat on the throne of Iran and his royal title became Sulṭān 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.<sup>14</sup>

In the meantime, he sent troops to Kalāt under the leadership of the Georgian Suhrāb Khān to take possession of the treasury of Nādir and his offspring. The capture of Kalāt was not an easy task given that it was nearly impenetrable, especially with so small a force. However, a ladder was left on the outer side of one of the towers, which gave Suhrāb Khān the opportunity to invade the stronghold.<sup>15</sup> Obviously, they must have had some help from the inside. Based on the accounts of Astarābādī and Marwī, sixteen descendants of Nādir Shāh were killed on the spot: three sons of Nādir, five sons of Rizā Qulī Mīrzā and eight sons of Naṣrullāh Mīrzā.<sup>16</sup> The other two sons of Nādir, Naṣrullāh Mīrzā and Imām Qulī Mīrzā, fled the citadel with the 14-year-old Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, but they were eventually apprehended by 'Alī Qulī's soldiers not far from Marw.<sup>17</sup> They were executed in Mashhad, but Shāh Rukh Mīrzā was taken to the citadel and the news of his murder was circulated.<sup>18</sup>

After the elimination of the possible contenders, 'Ādil Shāh settled on a plan to transfer the immense wealth of Nādir Shāh to Mashhad. In order to store it properly, a well-guarded depository was built in the city in three months. During the construction, the builders received the quadruple of the average wage,<sup>19</sup> and generally everyone benefited from the riches of his uncle.<sup>20</sup> One of the first measures of 'Ādil Shāh—and the most noteworthy as well—was the restoration of the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī's independence and all its former properties. The *Tūmār-i 'Alīshāhī* was written in this context in Ramażān 1160/September 1747, which is the oldest *dastūr al-'amal* (regulations) of the endowment's revenue and expenditure.<sup>21</sup>

The situation changed soon after Khurāsān had been severely hit by a famine and 'Ādil Shāh was forced to secure provisions for the city. He requested them from the Kurds of Qūchān but they declined.<sup>22</sup> Thus, he set out to subdue the Kurds. After the

<sup>13</sup> Sulṭān HĀSHIM MĪRZĀ, *Zabūr-i Āl-i Dāwūd*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī, Tehran, Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1379/2000, 90; MAR'ASHĪ HUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 96.

<sup>14</sup> ASTARĀBĀDĪ: op. cit. 427; Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn GULISTĀNA: *Mujmal al-tawārīkh pas az Nādir*, ed. Mudarris Rażawī, Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān, 1344/1966, 20; MAR'ASHĪ HUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 97.

<sup>15</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 19.

<sup>16</sup> ASTARĀBĀDĪ: op. cit. 427; MARWĪ: op. cit. 1197–1198. Marwī interestingly counts Shāh Rukh Mīrzā too, which is obviously erroneous.

<sup>17</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 19–20.

<sup>18</sup> ASTARĀBĀDĪ: op. cit. 426–427; MARWĪ: op. cit. 1196–1197; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 20; QAZWĪNĪ: op. cit. 155; Mahmūd b. Ibrāhīm AL-ḤUSAYNĪ: *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadshāhī*, ed. Ghulām Ḥusayn Zarrgarīnīzād, Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān, 1384/2005, 122–124.

<sup>19</sup> BAZIN: op. cit. 330.

<sup>20</sup> ASTARĀBĀDĪ: op. cit. 428; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 21.

<sup>21</sup> 'Azīzullāh 'AṭārūdĪ: *Tārīkh-i Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī*, Tehran, Intishārāt-i 'Aṭārūd, 1386/2007, 634.

<sup>22</sup> BAZIN: op. cit. 331.

victory he returned to Mashhad with supplies to lower the tensions, but soon after, in Zū al-Hijja 1160/December 1747, he went to Māzandarān. This was unexpected considering the harm the famine had caused in the region and particularly in Mashhad.<sup>23</sup> At the time, the Yomut Turkmens gave shelter to Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār, who was previously able to get away from Nādir Shāh's camp. Receiving the news of the Shāh's arrival to Astarābād, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān immediately returned to pay his respects and later he was appointed governor (*ṣāhib-i ikhtiyār*) of Māzandarān. However, at the instigation of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Shāmbayātī, 'Ādil Shāh turned against Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, who managed to escape to the Yomut Turkmens under the cover of night. In the morning 'Ādil Shāh pursued him, but the Yomuts attacked and ransacked the royal camp. Thus, 'Ādil Shāh was forced to retreat to Māzandarān.<sup>24</sup> Upon his return, he received news of the open revolt of his brother, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.<sup>25</sup>

There are only a few facts available about the early life of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, much like that of his sibling. Originally, his name was Muḥammad 'Alī Bēg, but after the demise of his father he inherited the title Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.<sup>26</sup> In the year of the Safavid pretender Sām Mīrzā's revolt, Nādir appointed him as the governor of Āzarbayjān.<sup>27</sup> Until the insurrection of his brother, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā had a secure place in Nādir's court as the head of the *ḥaram-i shāhī* (imperial Seraglio).<sup>28</sup> When Nādir Shāh intended to execute him, owing to the intervention of the *mullā bāshī* (supreme religious official) and the *mu'ayyir al-mamālik* (chief assayer), he was imprisoned and sent to Kalāt instead. However, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā en route escaped to his brother.<sup>29</sup> With 'Ādil Shāh's ascent to the throne he was appointed to the governance of 'Irāq and was sent to Iṣfahān.<sup>30</sup>

There was a fierce discord between the different contingents of Nādir's army. Since the Qizilbāsh were responsible for the death of Nādir Shāh and they opted for 'Alī Qulī Mīrzā, the Afghān and Uzbek corps distanced themselves from 'Alī Qulī. Some of them left with Aḥmad Khān Abdālī in the direction of Qandahār, but the remaining forces joined Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and accompanied him to his new post in Iṣfahān.<sup>31</sup> As a result of the apparent inefficiency of 'Ādil Shāh's policies and the

<sup>23</sup> Muḥammad Ja'far bin Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'inī: *Jāmi'-i Ja'farī*, ed. Īraj Afshār, Tehran, Anjuman-i Āṣār-i Millī, 1353/1974, 4. Gulistāna states that after the subjugation of the Kurds, 'Ādil Shāh set course for Māzandarān due to the famine in Khurāsān (GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 21).

<sup>24</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 21–22; ASTARĀBĀDĪ: op. cit. 428; MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 98; QAZWĪNĪ: op. cit. 98.

<sup>25</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 23.

<sup>26</sup> ASTARĀBĀDĪ: op. cit. 396.

<sup>27</sup> MARWĪ: op. cit. 1038.

<sup>28</sup> RIYĀḤĪ: op. cit. 235.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 235.

<sup>30</sup> NĀ'INĪ: op. cit. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Muḥammad Mahdi bin Muḥammad Riżā AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, *Niṣf-i Jabān fī ta'rīf al-Iṣfahān*, ed. Manūchihr Sutūda, Tehran, Amīr Kabīr, 1368/1989, 276; NĀ'INĪ: op. cit. 5.



Persian miniature. Mi'raj of the Prophet by Sultan Muhammad, showing Chinese-influenced clouds and angels, 1539.

incitement of the Afghāns and the Uzbeks to challenge the shāh, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's thirst for power grew so dire that the war between the brothers was inevitable.

Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's first move was to get hold of Nādir's artillery in Kirmānshāh. At the time Amīr Khān 'Arab Mīshmast was stationed there, by reason of having been sent by 'Ādil Shāh with 8000 cavalry and 50000 *tūmān* (monetary unit). Ibrāhīm Mīrzā entrusted Muḥammad Khān Afshār to capture the city, who defeated Amīr Khān Mīshmast and seized Kirmānshāh. In the meantime, 'Ādil Shāh's favourite commander, Suhrāb Khān, was killed in a *ḥammām* at the order of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.<sup>32</sup> As a result of these successful steps, Amīr Khān Mīshmast and the governor of Āzarbayjān, Amīr Aṣlān Khān Afshār, decided to stand with Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.<sup>33</sup>

'Ādil Shāh broke camp and advanced south. The battle took place between Sulṭānīya and Zanjān.<sup>34</sup> According to Bazin, who accompanied the forces of 'Ādil Shāh, the encounter occurred in June 1748.<sup>35</sup> A considerable number of soldiers from 'Ādil Shāh's army defected to Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, therefore, 'Ādil Shāh suffered defeat and fled to Tehran. The local governor, Mīrzā Muḥsin Khān, took him captive and had him blinded.<sup>36</sup> After this, he was handed over to the *ṣadr*<sup>37</sup>, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad,<sup>38</sup> who took him to Mashhad. He was executed at the request of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā and the mother of Naṣrullāh Mīrzā.<sup>39</sup>

The massive desertion during the battle between the brothers shows us that 'Ādil Shāh was extremely powerless. To some extent, this was attributable to the massacre of the lineage of Nādir Shāh. However, I am convinced the immediate cause of his downfall was the inept administration of the realm and the lack of viable policy for tackling the situation that the famine brought about. 'Ādil Shāh increased and ignored the problems at hand instead of addressing them.

Like Nādir, 'Ādil Shāh also wanted to build a mausoleum in Mashhad for himself and his wife, Zīnat Sulṭān Bēgum, alias Gawhar Tāj Bēgum, in the vicinity of the Qatlgāh, north of the Ḥaram. Despite his short reign it was erected and he allocated a charitable endowment to it. In the *waqfnāma*<sup>40</sup> (Ramaḥān 1161/September 1748) it is written that the mausoleum was located at Mazār-i Mīr. This place can be identified with the mausoleum of Mīr Fakhr al-Dīn, which has become known today as the Qabr-i Sabz and was situated in the Qatlgāh cemetery.<sup>41</sup> As stated in the deed, his son was designated as *mutawallī* of the waqf. The number

<sup>32</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 24–25.

<sup>33</sup> DUNBULĪ: op. cit. I/486; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 23–27; AL-ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 128.

<sup>34</sup> DUNBULĪ: op. cit. I/488; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 27.

<sup>35</sup> BAZIN: op. cit. 337.

<sup>36</sup> MARWĪ: op. cit. 1199; MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 85.

<sup>37</sup> Chief religious authority.

<sup>38</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 99.

<sup>39</sup> ASTARĀBĀDĪ: op. cit. 433 (the last entry of the *Jabāngushā-yi Nādirī*); GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 36.

<sup>40</sup> Deed of endowment.

<sup>41</sup> This mausoleum survived every alteration of that area through the centuries and has remained intact. Nowadays it can be found next to the Bāzārcha-yi Hāj Āqā Jān.

of attendants and endowed estates give the impression that it must have been a building of considerable size.<sup>42</sup> At the end of the document the seal of 'Ādil Shāh can be seen.<sup>43</sup> A few months after the charter had been composed, 'Ādil Shāh was beheaded and buried in the cemetery of the Qatlgāh as a common man.<sup>44</sup> Only later was his body relocated to the mausoleum and according to the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* it was positioned in the middle of the Qatlgāh, near to the Ghassālkhāna.<sup>45</sup>

After his triumph, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā became suspicious of his aid, Amīr Aṣlān Khān, and wanted to assassinate him. Having been told about this scheme, Amīr Aṣlān Khān rushed into battle, although he was vanquished and retreated. Kāzīm Khān lured him to Qarājadāgh, where he detained him and turned him over to Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, who executed him and his brother, Sārī Aṣlān Khān.<sup>46</sup>

Meanwhile in Mashhad the tribal leaders of Western Khurāsān made the 15-year-old Shāh Rukh the ruler in Shawwāl 1161/October 1748,<sup>47</sup> and requested Ibrāhīm Mīrzā to pay his respects in person. Ibrāhīm Mīrzā politely declined to do so. He was pretending that his rebellion was in favour of Shāh Rukh and rather invited him to Iṣfahān for the coronation.<sup>48</sup> Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's purpose was to obtain the treasury of Nādir Shāh. However, the nobles of Khurāsān saw through his bidding and asked Ibrāhīm to come to Mashhad as a gesture of good faith.<sup>49</sup> An impasse was taking shape, hence Ibrāhīm chose to reveal his true intentions and headed for Tabriz where he was crowned in Zū al-Ḥijja 1161/December 1748.<sup>50</sup> Subsequently, he gathered his army and set forth to Khurāsān.<sup>51</sup>

Taking heed of the advice of the tribal leaders, Shāh Rukh sent Mūsā Khān Afshār Ṭārumī, as the general of 'Irāq, with the task to repel the attack of Ibrāhīm Shāh.<sup>52</sup> The battle took place in the vicinity of Simnān, during which Ibrāhīm Shāh's Qizilbāsh troops assaulted his Afghān and Uzbek companies. Under the leadership of Allāhyār Khān, Afghān and Uzbek soldiers were stationed in Qum. After they learned what had happened, chaos erupted, and they ransacked the city.<sup>53</sup> Ibrāhīm Shāh was forced to withdraw, although Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, who was left in charge of the city by Ibrāhīm Shāh,<sup>54</sup> did not allow him to enter

<sup>42</sup> The copy of this document was shown to me at the Pizūhishhā-yi Islāmī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī.

<sup>43</sup> The text reads as follows: *یلع بتی الو هاشن هدنب هلل کل مل ا*

<sup>44</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 36; ASTARĀBĀDĪ: op. cit. 433 (the date is probably Jumādā II 1162/May–June 1749).

<sup>45</sup> Mullā Muḥammad Hāshim KHURĀSĀNĪ: *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, Tehran, Islāmīya, 1347/1968, 702.

<sup>46</sup> Mīrzā Rashīd ADĪB AL-SHU'ARĀ': *Tārīkh-i Afshār*, ed. Parwiz Shahriyār Afshār, Maḥmūd Rāmīyān, Tabriz, Intishārāt-i Shūrā-yi Markazī-yi Jashn-i Millī, 1346/1967, 102–103.

<sup>47</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 30.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. 29; NĀ'INĪ: op. cit. 7.

<sup>49</sup> MARWĪ: 1199 (the last entry of the *Ālamārā-yi Nādirī*).

<sup>50</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 30.

<sup>51</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 99.

<sup>52</sup> DUNBULĪ: op. cit. 11/2.

<sup>53</sup> HĀSHIM MĪRZĀ: op. cit. 92.

<sup>54</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 99.

the city. Eventually, a part of the Afghān and Uzbek troops joined Shāh Rukh's forces and the others fled.<sup>55</sup> Ibrāhīm Shāh managed to escape to Qal'a-yi Qalāpūr, where he was captured and turned over to Mūsā Khān Afshār Tārumī. As might be expected, he was blinded and sent to Mashhad. He died on the road before reaching his destination.<sup>56</sup>

The bulk of our sources recount the abovementioned events in the same way. However, the *Rustam al-Tawārīkh* has an intriguing remark on the circumstances. Ibrāhīm Shāh's artillery had been stuck in the mud and they had to be fired in order to pull them out. The army was not notified about this by mistake and was under the impression that they were attacked by the enemy. As a result, the army fell in disorder.<sup>57</sup> However, Dunbulī claims that the captain of the artillery, the aforementioned Amīr Khān 'Arab Mīshmast, was aiming at Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's army deliberately.<sup>58</sup> We can safely presume that both the Qizilbāsh and Amīr Khān Mīshmast's revolts are plausible, although the insinuation of the *Rustam al-Tawārīkh* about Amīr Khān Mīshmast's incompetency appears to be unlikely.

Taking into consideration the events surrounding the reigns of 'Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Shāh, the absence of a firm central command seems to be the prevailing pattern. Furthermore, Ibrāhīm Shāh deeply miscalculated the extent of the hostility between the Qizilbāsh and the Afghāns,<sup>59</sup> and as it had been previously suggested, he was heavily under the influence of the latter faction. For that reason, when Ibrāhīm Shāh's victory was within sight—and the recurrence of Afghan dominance it would bring with it—the Qizilbāsh turned against him immediately. Besides, his hostility towards Amīr Aṣlān Khān made ineffective his effort to consolidate his position further.

## 2. The rise of the tribal factions in Kburāsān

We are quite well-informed concerning the early life of Shāh Rukh. After the coronation of Ṭahmāsp II (r. 1730–1732) in Iṣfahān—with the intervention of Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim Kāshī and the *mu'ayyir al-mamālik*—Nādir<sup>60</sup> married one of Ṭahmāsp II's sisters and made another sister of the shāh, Fāṭima Sulṭān Bēgum, be wedded to his eldest son, Rizā Qulī Mīrzā.<sup>61</sup> The news that Rizā Qulī Mīrzā's son, Shāh Rukh, was born, reached the court in Nawrūz of 1146/March 1734.<sup>62</sup> Nādir granted him

<sup>55</sup> DUNBULĪ: op. cit. II/1–2.

<sup>56</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 86–87; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 32–38; Muḥammad Ṣādiq Nāmī: *Tārīkh-i Gīṭīgushā*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran, Amīr Kabīr, 1363/1984, II.

<sup>57</sup> RUSTAM AL-ḤUKAMĀ': op. cit. 223.

<sup>58</sup> DUNBULĪ: op. cit. II/1.

<sup>59</sup> HĀSHIM MĪRZĀ: op. cit. 93.

<sup>60</sup> His title at the time was Ṭahmāsp Qulī Khān, to be precise.

<sup>61</sup> MARWĪ: op. cit. 121–122.

<sup>62</sup> ASTARĀBĀDĪ: op. cit. 226.

the city of Herat<sup>63</sup> and after the return of the shāh from India he sent for Shāh Rukh and instructed him to mint coins in Herat in his name.<sup>64</sup>

As Nādir Shāh became over-suspicious with time, he decided to dispatch Shāh Rukh to Kalāt and there he stayed until 'Alī Qulī's rise to power.<sup>65</sup> It has been mentioned before that he was the only survivor of the massacre. By reason of his lineage, he could have been useful in the hands of 'Adil Shāh if by any chance unrest occurred regarding his rule. Interestingly, both al-Ḥusaynī and Gulistāna imply that the prominence of Shāh Rukh originated from his Safavid background and they clearly regard the Nādirid parentage as less relevant.<sup>66</sup> However, as the issue of discontent with 'Adil Shāh among the courtiers did not arise, consequently Shāh Rukh remained in prison until 'Adil Shāh's death, after which the tribal leaders placed him on the throne.<sup>67</sup> With the death of Ibrāhīm Shāh and 'Adil Shāh it seemed there was no rival left. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār disobeyed for a short period of time, but eventually he yielded to Shāh Rukh's commander.<sup>68</sup>

Directly after the death of Nādir Shāh, authority was shifted into the possession of the Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish tribal leaders in Western Khurāsān. The 15-year-old Shāh Rukh had only nominal command. Genuine control rested in the hands of those amīrs who put him on the throne.<sup>69</sup> Since the power was not divided and balanced equally between the grandees, Shāh Rukh's reign was not stable. The amīrs who were side-lined—or fell out of the inner circle—formed the shāh's opposition. Soon the opponents of Shāh Rukh gathered around Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad. Given his lineage, he posed a direct threat to Shāh Rukh's rule that was unacceptable in the eyes of the young Shāh's followers.

Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was Safavid on his maternal side and Alawī on his paternal side. We are provided with a lot of details about his life. His father, Mīrzā Dāwud, started his career in the office of the *istifā'-yi mawqūfāt-i kull-i mamālik*<sup>70</sup>, but soon after he was promoted to *ṣadr*. His next appointment was the position of *mutawallī* of the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī from the year of 1110/1698–1699.<sup>71</sup> He ascended to a prominent position in the court of Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694–1722) and became a close aide of the shāh. Mīrzā Dāwud married one of Sulaymān Shāh's (r. 1666–1694) daughters, Shahrbānū Bēgum, and one year later, in Jumādā II 1126/June 1714, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was born in Iṣfahān. During the siege of Iṣfahān, he was taken to Yazd in secret by Sulṭān Bāfaqī Sayyid at the command of Sulṭān

<sup>63</sup> MARWĪ: op. cit. 239.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 828; QAZWĪNĪ: op. cit. 151:

ناشن و مان خرداش زا تاره رد دیاب هکس نارق بحاص ردان ناهاش هاش زا دش رم

<sup>65</sup> MARWĪ: op. cit. 1194.

<sup>66</sup> AL-ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 124; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 20.

<sup>67</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 30.

<sup>68</sup> AL-ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 134.

<sup>69</sup> AL-ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 136.

<sup>70</sup> Revenue office of the charitable endowments.

<sup>71</sup> HĀSHIM MĪRZĀ: op. cit. 48–49.

Hosayn.<sup>72</sup> After the death of Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Ṭahmāsp II found it preferable to keep him close, since his spiritual stature was significant among the people. Muḥammad Khān Turkistānughlū was sent to bring him to Qazwīn. When the shāh decided to move into Khurāsān, he sent Muḥammad Mīrzā to Bārfurūsh and appointed Allāh Qulī Khān Qājār for his protection.<sup>73</sup> Following the coronation, Ṭahmāsp II requested the presence of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad and gave him the hand of one of his sisters.<sup>74</sup>

With the ascension of Nādir Shāh to Persia's throne Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, Ṭahmāsp II and the latter's sister—and also the former's mother—were sent to Sabzawār. Following the shāh's return from India, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was summoned to Mashhad and Nādir offered him the position of *ṣadr*. Nonetheless, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's mother did not allow it, therefore, he refused the offer and travelled to Iṣfahān. Years later, his mother passed away and Nādir sent for Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad. The shāh appointed him as *mutawallī* of the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī in 1156/1743–1744,<sup>75</sup> the position he held for approximately four years. The *Majma' al-tawārikh* tells us he was the *mutawallī* for seven years, although the documents say otherwise. Based on a small number of official documents, he could not have held the position after 1160/1747, since Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Rażawī Ḥusaynī was appointed to *mutawallī* in that year.<sup>76</sup> He was probably replaced for a short period of time in 1163/1750 during the reign of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, nevertheless, it seems he was reinstated after that, as it is proved by a financial record of his dating back to 1164/1751.<sup>77</sup>

Consequently, at the time of Nādir's death Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was the highest authority in Mashhad. He respected 'Alī Qulī's position as the actual governor of Mashhad and enabled him to ascend to the throne. In return, 'Ādil Shāh appointed him as *ṣadr*,<sup>78</sup> and he always accompanied the royal camp, thus to Qūchān and Māzandarān, too.<sup>79</sup> As it is claimed by the *Zabūr-i āl-i dāwūd*, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was constantly fomenting discontent among the supporters of the shāh.<sup>80</sup> Following the victory of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was appointed the *mutawallī* of the Āstān-i Quds in Qum,<sup>81</sup> where he played a decisive role in his master's defeat. Shāh Rukh ordered him to return to Mashhad

<sup>72</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 92–93.

<sup>73</sup> HĀSHIM MĪRZĀ: op. cit. 85–86.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. 86.

<sup>75</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 95.

<sup>76</sup> Document Nos.: 32087, 32013, 32090, 32006 (Central Library of the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī).

<sup>77</sup> Document No.: 36151 (Central Library of the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī).

<sup>78</sup> HĀSHIM MĪRZĀ: op. cit. 91.

<sup>79</sup> Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān I'TIMĀD AL-SALĀNA: *Tārikh-i Muntazam-i Nāṣiri*, ed. Muḥammad Ismā'īl Riżwānī, Tehran, Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1367/1988, 1143.

<sup>80</sup> HĀSHIM MĪRZĀ: op. cit. 91.

<sup>81</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 99.

immediately. The urgency was due to the fact that both Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and ‘Alī Qulī were in his camp as prisoners.<sup>82</sup>

Regarding the relationship between Shāh Rukh and Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the sources are conflicting. Some of them regard Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad as a usurper and a fraud, who was capable of anything to get his hands on the throne and he was instigating the amīrs to murder Shāh Rukh.<sup>83</sup> As stated by John Malcolm, he abused his father’s prestige and was stirring up the people against their king.<sup>84</sup> Other authors portray Shāh Rukh as a hypocrite, who wanted to assassinate Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad out of jealousy.<sup>85</sup>

According to our chronicles, Shāh Rukh was adamant that Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad be killed, and at one point made a proposition to Bihbūd Khān: in exchange for the assassination of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, he would be promoted to regent (*wakīl*). Bihbūd Khān refused the offer and the next day he was arrested in front of the court. This action triggered the events that led to the coup. At first, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad refused the request of the newly formed alliance to sit on the throne.<sup>86</sup> However, after Bihbūd Khān’s case, Mīr ‘Alam Khān Khuzayma, the leader of the Arab tribes, and sixteen other amīrs approached Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad on 20 Muḥarram 1163/30 December 1749. Mīr ‘Alam Khān greeted him as shāh and asked him to accept the crown, which he graciously did.<sup>87</sup>

The opportunity for the overthrow of the shāh came with the departure of Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān Jalāyir from the city of Mashhad, who was the head of the faction of the Turks and the primary supporter of Shāh Rukh. Mīr ‘Alam Khān Khuzayma and the Kurds, led by Ja‘far Khān Za‘farānlū, placed Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad on the throne on 5 Ṣafar 1163/14 January 1750. He assumed the title of Sulaymān II. Although Shāh Rukh was captured, he was left alive.<sup>88</sup>

Gulistāna mentions an incident according to which Shāh Rukh was informed about the intent of his deposition and anticipated one of ‘Ādil Shāh’s sons to be the successor. Hence in corporation with the eunuchs (*kebāja sarā*), he gave the order to kill his five children. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was notified directly and succeeded in saving two of them, Ḥasan Mīrzā and Ḥusayn Mīrzā.<sup>89</sup>

The narrative of the events told by the historians, who were biased towards Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, seems inconsistent and dubious at some parts, nevertheless,

<sup>82</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 30–36; MAR’ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 105.

<sup>83</sup> BAZIN: op. cit. 343, 345; AL-ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 147.

<sup>84</sup> MALCOLM, John: *The History of Persia from the Most Early Period to the Present Time*, London, John Murray, 1829, II/III.

<sup>85</sup> MAR’ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 107.

<sup>86</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 38; HĀSHIM MĪRZĀ: op. cit. 95.

<sup>87</sup> MAR’ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 110; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 41–43.

<sup>88</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 45; NIEBUHR, Carsten: *Safarnāma*, translated by Parwīz Rajabī, Tehran, Intishārāt-i Tūkā, 1354/1975, 197; BAZIN: op. cit. 344–345.

<sup>89</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 44–45. According to Mar’ashī Ḥusaynī their names were Raḥīm Mīrzā and Ḥasan Mīrzā (MAR’ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 113).

one point is evidently clear. On account of Shāh Rukh's young age he was in no possession of independent decision-making ability. He was not able to conduct the affairs of state, let alone oversee the prevalent power relations. In fact, we can safely assume that the tribal leaders loyal to Shāh Rukh took actions against the Sayyid. However, Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad was an experienced statesman and clearly had a claim for the throne.

On the first day of his reign, Sulaymān II went to the Āstān-i Quds-i Rażawī and arranged the transport of Nādir Shāh's body to the Ḥaram.<sup>90</sup> Among his first actions were the new administrative appointments. Not unexpectedly, his supporters were nominated to the highest ranks: Mīr 'Alam Khān as regent (*wakīl*), Biḥbūd Khān as governor (*sardār wa bēglerbēg*) of Khurāsān, Aḥmad Khān Bayāt as *qūrchī bāshī*,<sup>91</sup> Amīr Khān 'Arab Mīshmast as *tūpchī bāshī*,<sup>92</sup> Amīr Mihrāb Khān as *nāzīr-i kārkhānājāt-i sbāhī*<sup>93</sup> and Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār as governor (*sardār wa bēglerbēg*) of Māzandarān, as well as chamberlain (*ishikāqāsī bāshī*). Also worthy of note is the designation of his elder son, Sulṭān Dāwud Mīrzā, as *mutawallī* and Mīrzā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Mūsawī's appointment as his deputy (*nā'ib al-tawliyya*).<sup>94</sup>

Soon afterwards, Mīr 'Alam Khān Khuzayma and the leading nobles concluded that Shāh Rukh needed to die. No matter how much they insisted on killing Shāh Rukh, Sulaymān II did not allow it. The previous *ishikāqāsī bāshī*, Muḥammad Riżā Bēg, was instructed to guard the Palace where Shāh Rukh was held and with the exception of five eunuchs (*keb'āja sarā*) no one had permission to enter or exit the premises.<sup>95</sup> When the shāh left for Rādkān for hunting, the amīrs took action. Mīr 'Alam Khān summoned Muḥammad Riżā Bēg, and in the meanwhile Amīr Khān Qarā'ī and Amīr Mihrāb Khān went to the Chahārbāgh Palace, where the guards let them pass and they blinded Shāh Rukh in the harem.<sup>96</sup> Sulaymān II was furious at the amīrs who had been involved in the plot. Even though they were replaced, eventually they were reinstated a few days after.<sup>97</sup>

The position and role of Sulaymān II in the incident is not clear. According to the *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadshāhī* Sulaymān II orchestrated it entirely, because he regarded Shāh Rukh as the only obstacle standing in the way of his supremacy. The amīrs were reluctant at first, nonetheless they carried out the order.<sup>98</sup> As we have stated before, the tribal leaders were the real powerbrokers in Western Khurāsān, acting autonomously. Therefore, it seems plausible that it was their decision only to blind

<sup>90</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 45.

<sup>91</sup> Commander of the Turkmen tribal cavalry.

<sup>92</sup> Commander of the artillery.

<sup>93</sup> Steward of the Royal Household.

<sup>94</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 119–120; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 46–47.

<sup>95</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 113.

<sup>96</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 50.

<sup>97</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 128–131; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 50–52; QAZWĪNĪ: op. cit. 155.

<sup>98</sup> AL-ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 147–148.

Shāh Rukh. Based on this scenario, the extent of involvement of Sulaymān II must have been small.

However, Sulaymān II's reign soon reached its end. As a result of the dethronement of Shāh Rukh, Sulaymān II was in conflict with a great number of amīrs of the region, which led to an unstable government. Moreover, he made the wealthy landowners dissatisfied with one of his decrees, upon which he granted tax exemption to the people for three years.<sup>99</sup> In addition, Sulaymān II had decided to send Karam Khān Afghān and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Bēg Afshār with a letter to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (r. 1747–1772), in which he demanded the Afghān ruler's submission and the cities of Herat and Qandahār. Aḥmad Shāh killed Ṣāliḥ Bēg and imprisoned Karam Khān. In response to this, Sulaymān II dispatched Bihbūd Khān, Amīr Khān Mīshmast and Amīr Ma'sūm Khān, brother of 'Alam Khān Khuzayma, and a few other commanders with an army in the direction of Herat. They successfully accomplished their mission and ousted the infant Tīmūr Khān, son of Aḥmad Shāh, from the city.<sup>100</sup> These measures were not received by unanimous consent, either, and caused only disruption among his followers.

Shāh Rukh's supporters saw the funeral of Amīr Mihrāb Khān, a relative of Mīr 'Alam Khān Khuzayma, as their opportunity to take action against Sulaymān II. Under the leadership of Yūsuf 'Alī Khān Jalāyir they stormed the Chahārbāgh and captured the shāh. He was blinded and taken to the citadel.<sup>101</sup> The role of Shāh Rukh's Jalāyir wife in the coup cannot be understated. She is to be considered as the main instigator who mobilised the dissenting elements in favour of her husband. A key factor was her claim that Shāh Rukh was not blind.<sup>102</sup> After the disappointing revelation, Shāh Rukh's followers made everyone believe that he was sighted and perfectly fit to rule.<sup>103</sup> On 11 Rabī' II 1163/20 March 1750 Shāh Rukh ascended to the throne again. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad died of tuberculosis in 1177/1763–1764 and was buried in the Ḥaram of Imām Rizā.<sup>104</sup>

### 3. Concluding remarks

With Shāh Rukh's return to power the succession struggle eventually came to an end in Western Khurāsān after nearly three years.

Even though Shāh Rukh was dissuaded by his proponents to advance into Western Iran,<sup>105</sup> he would not have been able to reassert his control over 'Irāq and Āzarbayjān, since the region was ruled by the powerful coalition of Zagros tribes

<sup>99</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 121–123, 134.

<sup>100</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 123–28; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 47–49.

<sup>101</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 131–137, 145; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 55–58.

<sup>102</sup> GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 54.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. 55–56.

<sup>104</sup> MAR'ASHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 131–137, 145; GULISTĀNA: op. cit. 55–58.

<sup>105</sup> AL-ḤUSAYNĪ: op. cit. 112.

commanded by the Bakhtiyārīs at the time (and later by the Zands). The authority of Shāh Rukh further deteriorated when Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī turned his attention to the Nādirid successor state.<sup>106</sup>

Be that as it may, the major political forces started to take shape in Western Khurāsān shortly after the assassination of Nādir Shāh. The real powerbrokers in the region turned out to be the three factions of the Arabs, Turks and Kurds. The incessant conflicts between the chieftains of these confederacies marked heavily the long reign of Shāh Rukh, who was not able to maintain an equilibrium among them. Despite his—and Sulaymān II's—Safavid descent, on which their legitimacy rested, he was compelled to manoeuvre between the competing tribal interests and to adapt to the shifting dominance of factions. The suzerainty of Shāh Rukh over Western Khurāsān was nominal; in reality, it extended only to the gates of Mashhad.

### Abstract

*Over the course of the turbulent history of eighteenth-century Iran, Nādir Shāh Afshār's reign (r. 1736–1747) is to be regarded as an exceedingly significant turning point. Following the death of Nādir Shāh, succession struggles broke out, which lasted for several years and led to the disintegration of the vast empire and to the diminution of sovereignty of the Nādirid descendants. After the reign of 'Alī Qulī Mīrzā and Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (1747–1749), the territory of the successor state decreased significantly and its internal functioning was based on a delicate equilibrium between the ruler Shāh Rukh (r. 1748–1750; 1750–1796) and the different tribal factions of Western Khurāsān. This article engages the events of the contest for power after the assassination of Nādir Shāh to explore the origin of this tribal resurgence and the precursors of the Nādirid successors' loss of political weight in Iran.*

### Keywords

*18<sup>th</sup>-century Iran, Nādirids, Shāh Rukh Afshār, succession struggle, tribal resurgence*

### Rezümé

Irán 18. századi viharos történelmében Nādir Shāh Afshār (1736–1747) uralkodása jelenti az egyik legjelentősebb fordulópontot. Nādir Shāh halálát követően egy több éven át tartó örökösödési háború vette kezdetét, mely a nagy kiterjedésű birodalom szétszakadásához és a Nādirida utódok hatalmi pozícióinak csökkenéséhez vezetett. 'Alī Qulī Mīrzā és Ibrāhīm Mīrzā uralkodása (1747–1749) után az utóddal- lam területe jelentősen leszűkült és belső működése a Shāh Rukh (1748–1750; 1750–1796) és Nyugat-Khurāsān különböző törzsi vezetői közötti egyensúlyon alapult.

<sup>106</sup> Christine NOELLE-KARIMI: *The Pearl in its Midst: Herat and the Mapping of Khurasan (15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, Vienna, Verlag der ÖAW, 2014, 121–126.

Jelen tanulmány célja a Nādir Shāh halála utáni örökösödési háború eseményeinek részletes elemzésével a törzsi újjáéledés kezdeteinek és a Nādiridák autoritásának elvesztésének a feltérképezése.

#### Kulcsszavak

18. századi Irán, Nādiridák, Shāh Rukh Afshār, örökösödési háború, törzsi újjáéledés

SOMOGYI KATALIN

## **Between Paris and Ahvaz – Rudolf Macúch in Iran (1949–1956)**

Rudolf Macúch (16 October 1919, Dolné Bzince [Bzince pod Javorinou] – 23 July 1993, Berlin) was a world-class orientalist and linguist specialising in, but not limiting the focus of his research to, Mandaic, Samaritan and Syriac studies. While his works are still highly appreciated by academics around the globe, many aspects of his biography remain unclear. This paper, therefore, attempts to present a relatively detailed overview of Macúch's years spent in Iran, hopefully without the bias or prejudice (positive or negative) which characterises most biographies that have been published in Slovakia since Macúch's death.

### *Research Methodology and Sources*

The present article is an outcome of nearly two years of extensive archive research, interviews with Macúch's family members in Slovakia and Germany; his colleagues and friends in Slovakia and Iran; as well as with members of the Mandaean community of Ahvaz, who still have very fond memories of him, and members of the Mandaean diaspora communities in Germany and Denmark, who perceive a relevant influence of his work on contemporary Mandaean identity. The field research in Tehran and Ahvaz conducted by members of the Department of Comparative Religion of Comenius University in Bratislava and Dr. Sárközy from Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Budapest took place in October 2015, while my research among the Mandaean communities of Dachau, Germany and Løgstør, Denmark took place in November and December 2015. I have maintained contact with Prof. Maria Macuch, the daughter of Rudolf Macúch, and several of his relatives and colleagues in Slovakia since mid-2015. Their names and personal data are not presented in order to protect their privacy. The completion of the research also required a thorough study of secondary sources and countless consultations with colleagues, researchers of modern history as well as non-experts providing valuable information about the era of focus in my research, and, also very importantly, priests and administrative officers of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Bratislava and the places where Macúch officiated between 1943 and 1945.

Certainly the greatest disadvantage in the research was the relatively vast array of existing biographies. The first question after realising their number was whether

it actually makes sense to research an issue on which several acknowledged scholars have already published articles. However, after a detailed study of these texts, I realised that instead of creating a complex picture of the life and personality of Macúch, they provided a rather heterogeneous set of facts, opinions and guesses, and actually posed more questions than they answered.

I am aware of the fact that I was not able to answer all of these questions despite my sincerest efforts. Some would need consultations with people who are no longer alive, others would require access to private correspondence and other documents which are either lost or kept as treasures in private archives as the last memories of a beloved family member, friend or colleague. I firmly believe that I have no right to forcefully attempt to gain such cherished personal memorabilia, not even in the name of a research of the relevance of which I am strongly convinced.

### *Macúch's early life and his departure from Czechoslovakia in 1949*

A man of humble origins, Macúch was born in 1919 in rural Trenčín County as a son of poor Slovak peasants. Being a child prodigy in languages from his early years, Macúch was trained as a Lutheran priest in pre-WWII Bratislava, where he showed signs of great scholarly promise. In 1945, instead of serving as a priest, Macúch temporarily left the newly restored Czechoslovakia and moved to Paris for further studies in Semitic languages. It was in Paris that he met his later wife, Irandokht Shaghghi, a daughter of a well-to-do Iranian family.

Macúch had to return to Czechoslovakia after two years, in 1947. During his stay in Paris,<sup>1</sup> Ján Bakoš became the first Ordinarius for the Seminar for Semitic Studies established at the Faculty of Arts of the Slovak University (the contemporary name of Comenius University) in Bratislava in 1945<sup>2</sup> and the dean of the Faculty in 1946<sup>3</sup> and based on the narration of his previous relations with Macúch, we might assume that he was glad to offer his favourite student a position at the Faculty.

Thus Macúch spent two years at the Faculty of Arts of the Slovak University in Bratislava. He also wrote and defended his dissertation titled 'Slavic Names and Expressions in Arabic Geographies' here. His graduation ceremony took place on 30 June 1948<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that the dissertation is missing from the archive of the Faculty.

<sup>1</sup> Maria MACÚCH: 'And Life is Victorious!' Mandaeen and Samaritan Literature – In Memory of Rudolf Macúch (1919–1993).' In *Und das Leben ist siegreich! And Life is Victorious! Mandäische und samaritanische Literatur. Mandaeen and Samaritan Literatures*, Rainer Voigt (ed.), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Filozofická fakulta UK, N. d., N. p.

<sup>3</sup> Libri, N. d., N. p.

<sup>4</sup> Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave 1948, 410. After defending his dissertation, in the academic year of 1948/49, Macúch received the position of Assistant at the Seminar for Semitic Studies. MACÚCH, 'And Life is Victorious!', 12.

Neither the dissertation nor its German translation prepared by Macúch later were ever published despite much encouragement from colleagues and mentors, since Macúch himself was not satisfied with the quality of his own work.<sup>5</sup> However, during this time Macúch did write a book which is still considered to be of high relevance for the Slovak studies of humanities.<sup>6</sup> *Islam a kresťanstvo. Historické a kultúrno-náboženské štúdie o islame (Islam and Christianity. Historical, Cultural and Religious Studies of Islam)* was published in 1950 (several months after the departure of Macúch to Tehran, after which he did not return to his homeland for twenty years) by Tranoscius publishing house in Liptovský Mikuláš.<sup>7</sup> The book presents an overview of the religious principles of Islam and a basic introduction to Islamic history of nearly 100 pages, and a brief comparison of the fundamental concepts of Islam and Christianity in the last chapter. While the contribution of *Islam and Christianity* to the study of Islam (and religion in general) in contemporary Czechoslovakia is indisputable, one certainly notices a certain level of bias of the author against Islam, explainable by Macúch's educational and social background. For instance, on page 104 he states the following:

The teachings of Muhammad, the same as those of Jesus, met a fiery opposition of the local aristocracy and both faced attempts to threaten their lives, similarly to many other prophets. However, there was a cardinal difference in their attitudes. While Jesus did not elude the danger of death, Muhammad ran away from his prosecutors and strenuously plotted revenge and plans to violently convert his enemies at any cost. This essentially describes the fundamental contrast in the morals of these religions which is the same as the contrast between the morals of their founders. It would be difficult to apply the description Jesus used to characterise himself, 'I am gentle and humble in heart' (Matthew 11:29) to the moral personality of Muhammad, even though the Muslim tradition has decorated him with these characteristics as well.<sup>8</sup>

Despite such claims, which would be difficult to accept in a scholarly work of the twenty-first century, *Islam and Christianity* was a major work at the time of its publishing and an essential 'first' for the Slovak humanities and, forty years later, Slovak Religious Studies.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>6</sup> János Molnár claims Macúch had established Slovak Comparative Religious Studies by publishing this book. While I personally consider such claims farfetched, that a certain impact of *Islám a kresťanstvo* on the shaping of modern humanities in present-day Slovakia is indubitable. János MOLNÁR: 'Rudolf Macúch – slovenský teológ, orientalista a religionista.' In *Sláva šľachetným III*, edited by Ján Juráš, Daniela Kodajová et al., 51–60. Liptovský Mikuláš: Spolok Martina Rázusa; Tranoscius, 2014, 52–54.

<sup>7</sup> Rudolf MACÚCH: *Islám a kresťanstvo. Historické a kultúrno-náboženské štúdie o islame*. Liptovský Mikuláš, Tranoscius. 1950.

<sup>8</sup> MACÚCH, *Islám a kresťanstvo*. 104.

Macúch was joined by Irandokht Shaghghi in Bratislava sometime during the academic year 1948/49.<sup>9</sup> According to his daughter, Macúch and his wife, Irandokht Shaghghi, got married on 31 March 1949 in Bratislava.<sup>10</sup> However, according to the documentation of the Czechoslovak Commission of Interior,<sup>11</sup> they got married at the Iranian embassy in Prague. We were unable to verify either version at the time of writing.

It might be interesting to point out that their only child Maria was born on 1 January 1950, exactly nine months after the wedding.

### *Difficult Beginnings in Iran*

The couple did not remain in Czechoslovakia for a long time. They left for Iran in autumn 1949. File no. 1913<sup>12</sup> claims they left Czechoslovakia on 3 November 1949. However, this documentation is not to be considered of an absolute informative value and we were unable to verify this (or another) exact date of the departure from a different source by the time of writing.<sup>13</sup>

There were several reasons for their departure. According to interviews conducted with his family members and most of his existing biographies Macúch had already been interested in Aramaic languages and dialects for a long time and the library of the newly established Seminar for Semitic Studies offered nearly no possibilities for research in this field. His research also required contact with living Aramaic languages, which was obviously impossible in Bratislava. The departure was probably also encouraged by his wife, who, according to both Macúch's relatives and the available documentation of the Commission of Interior,<sup>14</sup> had difficulties adjusting to life in post-war Czechoslovakia, especially since we might assume the income of her husband at the University was a rather modest one and she never learned to speak Slovak fluently.<sup>15</sup>

According to file no. 1913,<sup>16</sup> Macúch was granted an official permit to leave the country for study purposes. The funding of the trip is unclear. Documents of the

<sup>9</sup> MACÚCH, 'And Life is Victorious!', 12.

<sup>10</sup> Maria MACÚCH: 'Rudolf Macúch (1919–1993).' In *Christlicher Orient im Porträt – Wissenschaftsgeschichte des Christlichen Orients, Teilband 2*, Predrag Bukovec (ed.), Hamburg, Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2014, 1036.

<sup>11</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1981: Zásílka z 31. 10. 1961, 6.

<sup>12</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1950, n. p.

<sup>13</sup> This file perfectly illustrates the lack of competence of the officers of the Commission of Interior of Czechoslovakia at the time. The document comprises only two pages of written text containing numerous spelling mistakes as well as factual errors (for instance the name of Macúch's wife was transcribed as Iran Changhanghi and his last job in Czechoslovakia was presented as 'student of Semitic Philosophy').

<sup>14</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1981: Zásílka č. 2 z 30. 1. 62, 32.

<sup>15</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1981: Zásílka č. 7 z 27. 7. 62, page no. blurred.

<sup>16</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1950, n. p.

Czechoslovakian intelligence written more than ten years later<sup>17</sup> state that he had obtained a scholarship from the Slovak University. However, these documents do not provide any further or more specific information on the issue and I was unable to obtain any other documentation proving such claims by the time of writing this paper.

The explanation of the funding of the trip provided by his daughter Maria differs. She states that her father financed the trip from the advance payment of his book *Islam and Christianity*.<sup>18</sup> Obviously, a combination of both financial sources is also possible.

As mentioned in the introductory section, one may encounter several rather absurd narratives of the departure of Rudolf Macúch from Czechoslovakia while analysing published papers and searching the web 'or information concerning his life and work. The one according to which Macúch faced persecution in totalitarian Czechoslovakia and fled the regime via an unspecified Italian port dressed as a stoker.<sup>19</sup>

Most existing biographies agree that Macúch learned Persian very quickly,<sup>20</sup> which is proven by the fact that his first academic paper written in Persian, '*Nufūd-i Zardušt dar dīn-i Yabūd wa Masīh*' ('Zarathustra's Impact on the Jewish and Christian Religions'), was published as early as 1950. He was even able to write poems in Persian: during our research trip to Tehran I obtained a copy of a poem Macúch wrote in Persian for his colleague Prof. Abolghassemi in the mid-1950s.

The life of the young couple in Tehran was not easy. Macúch had difficulties finding a job suitable for a man of his education and experience. For the first several years he worked as a teacher at Community School, an American missionary school in Tehran, teaching French, Latin and German.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the contemporary Iranian society of the time was not exactly open towards accepting strangers, which Macúch and his wife experienced despite his fluency in Persian and the Iranian citizenship he obtained in 1952 (see below). As his daughter Maria Macuch puts it: "...with his blue eyes and blond hair he was obviously a foreigner and a Christian, married to my mother who, knowing her fellow countrymen, felt the resentment against this marriage very clearly."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1981: Zásilka z 31. 10. 1961, 6.

<sup>18</sup> MACÚCH 'And Life is Victorious!', 12.

<sup>19</sup> AZ-europe; osobnosti.sk

<sup>20</sup> The Slovak relatives of Macúch claim that he already spoke Persian upon his arrival to Tehran, which is also likely given his extraordinary interest in and talent for languages and his Iranian wife. Rudolf MACÚCH: '*Nufūd-i Zardušt dar dīn-i Yabūd wa Masīh*'. *Nūr-i Jahān* II/3, 1950.

<sup>21</sup> According to my interviews conducted with Macúch's colleagues in Tehran, he also (or primarily) taught Russian, but I found no other source proving such statements. MACÚCH, *Christlicher Orient*, 1036.

<sup>22</sup> MACÚCH, 'And Life is Victorious!', 12.

A further serious complication in the life of the young couple appeared only several months after their daughter was born. On 31 May 1950 Macúch's travel permit, issued by the Commission of Education, Science and Arts, was withdrawn and he was ordered to return to Czechoslovakia immediately.<sup>23</sup> He had received two letters commanding him to return to his homeland without delay.<sup>24</sup> However, he refused to obey and remained in Iran. I can only speculate on the reasons for his decision. After the 1948 coup d'état the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia was gaining an ever stronger grip on all aspects of the functioning of the state. This was a period of persecution and great uncertainty for intellectuals and clerics. By early 1950 it was certainly clear that living in this country would be very difficult for a person with Macúch's education, profession and family. Thus I might hypothesise that the decision was to a certain level motivated by the fear of imprisonment and/or an official ban on continuing his job and serious doubts about the destiny of his family in the event of their return to Czechoslovakia. Furthermore, as mentioned above, his wife was probably not willing to stay in Czechoslovakia permanently due to multiple factors, and, again, I can assume that this reluctance was further intensified by developments concerning basic human rights, mainly the freedom of speech, conscience and religion.

Another reason that might have been of high importance is that Macúch was unable to finish (or, given his job at the time, possibly even properly begin) his research, one of the main reasons of his journey to Iran. This is the reason stated in a letter to a friend in Czechoslovakia, the renowned writer Emil Boleslav Lukáč (confidant of the Czechoslovak State Security under code name Spisovatel' – Writer. Macúch apparently kept in touch with Lukáč after his departure from Czechoslovakia and sent him a letter stating he did not intend to return to Czechoslovakia before finishing his studies, which Lukáč handed over to the State Security in Bratislava.<sup>25</sup>

In late 1961, during his first encounter with the Czechoslovakian embassy in Tehran, Macúch claimed a lack of funds to be the main reason for refusing to return to Czechoslovakia—he said he simply did not have enough money to pay for his journey back to Czechoslovakia and the embassy had not provided him with any funds to cover the fare.<sup>26</sup> Considering other existing data, I can safely assume this was certainly a relevant, yet not the sole factor motivating Macúch to stay in Iran.

The legal closing of the case remains unclear. I was unable to obtain copies of the letters requesting the immediate return of Macúch to Czechoslovakia, thus their exact content remains unclear by the time of writing. They probably included a threat to withdraw Macúch's Czechoslovakian citizenship should he refuse to obey and thus Macúch believed that he was not a Czechoslovak citizen anymore. However,

<sup>23</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1950, n. p.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1950, n. p.

<sup>26</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1981: Zásilka z 31. 10. 1961, 6.

Investigation File No. 1913,<sup>27</sup> which presents the outcomes of the investigation into the case of Macúch's refusal to return to Czechoslovakia, does not state exactly that he lost his citizenship as a result of staying in Iran. Neither does the 1<sup>st</sup> Account of the National Security Corps No. 12353/309<sup>28</sup> state specifically that Macúch was not a Czechoslovakian citizen anymore, despite the fact that Macúch had always applied for a visa before traveling to Czechoslovakia in the 1970s. Apparently, even the officer of the Czechoslovak Military Mission in West Berlin in charge of maintaining contact with Macúch was not clear on the issue. After his meeting with Macúch in West Berlin on 21 January 1972 he wrote:

I used this situation to ask him [Macúch] about the situation with his citizenship. He claimed he did not know himself what the situation was like. He never received any official document stating he had lost our citizenship, nor was he informed about a trial case in the issue. Therefore I offered him to find out what the situation was like according to our institutions, stating that if the results were positive, there would be a possibility to legalise his stay abroad *ex post facto*. If his request was approved, he would obtain an expatriate passport from the Czechoslovakian institutions and thus would not be limited in any way in his journeys to the ČSSR<sup>29</sup> or the length of his stay, and all formalities would be much easier. Macúch welcomed this with great interest and said that he had wanted to ask about this already during our first encounter. We agreed that I would bring him the proper form at our next appointment so he could ask the ČSSR whether his citizenship has been preserved.<sup>30</sup>

Macúch obtained the necessary forms during his next encounter with officer Bureš on 8 February 1972,<sup>31</sup> but never submitted them,<sup>32</sup> at least not during the time period which was subject to this documentation.

### *Among the Mandaean*

After this case Macúch applied for Iranian citizenship which he obtained by 1952 with the help of his wife's family.<sup>33</sup> Therefore he was eventually able to conduct field research among the Mandaean of Khuzestan, which was difficult to access at the time, especially for a foreigner, due to extensive oil exploration and drilling in the

<sup>27</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1950, n. p.

<sup>28</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1982.

<sup>29</sup> Československá socialistická republika – Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

<sup>30</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1982: Zásilka č. 2/1972, page numbers blurred.

<sup>31</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1982: Zásilka č. 3/1972, page numbers blurred.

<sup>32</sup> Ústav pamäti národa 1982: Zásilka č. 5/1977, 91.

<sup>33</sup> MACÚCH, 'And Life is Victorious!', 12.

area. Macúch himself explains the circumstances of his first research trip to Ahvaz and the beginnings of his cooperation with the community as follows:

My visit to the Mandaean community of Ahwāz in winter 1953 was prepared by Eng. Hossein Shaghāghī, former general director of Iranian Railroads, who not only offered me hospitality in his house in Ahwāz but also invited [Yalūfa ('literate') Nāšir] Šābūrī<sup>34</sup> to his house in Tehran for the whole summer of 1954.<sup>35</sup>

Šābūrī was Macúch's main informer on vernacular Mandaic, while Sheykh Abdolla Khaffājī, the *tamīda*<sup>36</sup> of the Mandaean community of Ahvaz, provided him with information on the traditional pronunciation and conception of classical Mandaic.<sup>37</sup> I believe it is important to note that Macúch and Šābūrī, who died shortly after this cooperation ended, had become close friends. As Macúch explains:

Both of them broke the traditional prejudices against people of another religion. Nāšer especially became a sincere friend of mine and with great patience gave me valuable information found nowhere else. His help made it possible for me to study the vernacular in its full extent and to present the fruits of this study to scholars interested in this language. My study of modern Mandaic could not have been realised without his competent help. I greatly deplore the loss of this sincere friend who always proved his devoted friendship to me, but especially a few days before his sudden death, in a most impressive way. In Summer 1956 I informed him by letter of my going to Oxford. Desirous of saying "Goodbye!" to me in person, he set out for Teheran. Unfortunately, he arrived only one day after my departure, became sick on the journey and died a few days after his return to Ahwāz. May the Great Life be gracious to him in his dwellings in the World-of-Light!<sup>38</sup>

This and similar later relationships that Macúch established with representatives of the Mandaean community of Ahvaz explain not only the circumstances under which he was able to conduct such extensive and detailed research which led to the publishing of several comprehensive volumes on Mandaic grammar and vocabulary, but also the affinity which has influenced both Macúch personally for the rest of his life and the Mandaeans of Ahvaz until the present day. Their deep mutual respect and Macúch's keen interest not only in the language, but in the community and its members as well, has not only led to several world-class publications on Mandaic,<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The ritual slaughterer of the Mandaean community of Ahvaz who taught Macúch vernacular Mandaic. Rudolf MACÚCH: *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1965.

<sup>35</sup> MACÚCH *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, ix.

<sup>36</sup> Priest; *tamīda* refers to the lower priestly rank, the higher being *ganzibra*.

<sup>37</sup> MACÚCH, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, ix.

<sup>38</sup> MACÚCH, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, ix–x.

<sup>39</sup> The most important and extensive ones being the following: Ethel Stefana DROWER – Rudolf

but also to a deep mutual relationship which is visible among the Mandaeans of Ahvaz even twenty-five years after the death of Rudolf Macúch. As his daughter Maria explains:

I should add that my father was not only interested in the languages of the minorities already mentioned, but also especially in the culture and identities of the people he was working with. His correspondence with friends and colleagues in different languages and scripts, in English, French, German, Slovak, Czech, Russian, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Mandaic, Syriac fills many thick volumes. Long before the so-called *linguistic turn*, he saw language as the most important tool to achieve access to people of another culture, to understand the differences and similarities which tie humankind to each other across cultural barriers. This became very clear to me when Sheikh Choheyli told me during his sojourn in Berlin that my father's work has been eminently important for the Mandaean community in Iran since it not only preserved traditions vital for the identity of the people, but also helped the Mandaeans survive persecution during the turbulent period after the revolution of 1979. Similar statements could be made with respect to his other branches of study.<sup>40</sup>

This relationship was also confirmed by the Mandaean community of Ahvaz during our research trip in October 2015. Until the present day members of the Mandaean community speak about Macúch with great respect and admiration, half-jokingly call him 'a Mandaean without a beard,' own a collection of his books and numerous photographs of him and members of the community, mainly Sheykh Sälem Choheyli. There can be absolutely no doubt of the fact that the intensive contacts of Rudolf Macúch with the Mandaean community of Ahvaz has played a crucial role in preserving and sustaining its perception of its own identity and self-identification in the difficult twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

In 1954 Macúch finally received a position at the University of Tehran which suited his education and accomplishments: he became *dānešyār* (assistant reader) for Semitic languages.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to conducting extensive field research on both classical and vernacular Mandaic, Macúch also finally managed to gain access to various Mandaean manuscripts, despite serious obstacles and complications. As he explains:

.....  
MACÚCH: *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963; Rudolf MACÚCH: *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1965, and his last major work, published posthumously: Guido DANKWARTH – Rudolf MACÚCH: *Neumandaische Texte im Dialekt von Ahvaz*, Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz Verlag, 1993.

<sup>40</sup> MACÚCH, 'And Life is Victorious!', 15.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 13.

The preparation of such a work in Teheran was hindered by many difficulties. Almost all scholarly literature was accessible to me only on microfilm. I should like to express my sincere appreciation to Professor Parwīz Nātel Khānlārī, former director of Teheran University Press, State Secretary of the Interior and Minister of Education successively, who founded a microfilm library at the University, and to Professor Hans R. Roemer, at that time at the University of Mainz, who sent me about 30 microfilms containing all essential literature in mandaicology and related fields. Without this help my research in Mandaic would have been completely impossible.<sup>42</sup>

The outcomes of this research were published in the *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, published in 1965 after several years of postponements, an essential volume for modern Mandaic studies. The first Mandaic grammar had been published in 1875 by German Orientalist Theodor Nöldeke. As Macúch stated in the Preface, he did not attempt to create a fully comprehensive volume, but rather to ‘complete the knowledge of classical Mandaic by a direct study of traditional and colloquial pronunciations as well as of vernacular morphology and syntax.’<sup>43</sup> He adds that: “Contrary to Nöldeke’s *Mandäische Grammatik*, which this work intends to complete, the phonetics is the largest and most important part, while the syntax, treated exhaustively by Nöldeke, had to be limited to the essentials.”<sup>44</sup>

Macúch did most of his work on the book by 1955, yet it was only published in 1965 after a long series of complications, to Macúch’s significant annoyance, which he also voiced in the Preface:

The grammatical part as well as parts A – C of the Appendix were written in the year 1955 and the work was ready for publication before the preparation of the *Mandaic Dictionary* started in Oxford in summer 1956. But the history of its publication was in no way pleasant. Accepted for publication by Deutsche Akademie Der Wissenschaften in East-Berlin in autumn 1956, the manuscript lay six years in the Akademie-Verlag, its printing being continually postponed *ad Kalendas Graecas*. After six years of resultless and discouraging waiting I had to withdraw the manuscript. It was returned on 27<sup>th</sup> July 1962 ... In the seventh year after the completion of the manuscript I stood again before the problem of looking for an editor. Former experiences which I had with several publishers who, without seeing the manuscript, were interested only in a subsidy, as well as the demoralising effect of endless procrastination in the Academy deprived me of the forces of facing the same problems once again, and I was about to abandon the idea of publication. The book would hardly appear if at that time of my moral depression two Professors of Freie Universität Berlin, Franz Altheim

<sup>42</sup> MACÚCH, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, x.

<sup>43</sup> MACÚCH, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, vii.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

and Ruth Stiehl, had not become keenly interested in my manuscript and intervened for its publication. At their recommendation, Walter de Gruyter & Co. immediately accepted the publication.<sup>45</sup>

Macúch also reveals further details of the preparation of the volume, which are of high informative value for anyone interested both in the history of Mandaic Studies and Macúch's biography:

At that time, Mandaic was transcribed in Hebrew letters and all other Oriental words and quotations in the manuscript were given in the original scripts. The production of the work in its original form would have been extremely expensive. As I was at that time still in Tehran, and the sending of the manuscript back to Persia seemed not at all to be recommended, Altheim and Stiehl went so far in their zeal that they put aside their own work and started to transliterate the Oriental words in my manuscript. I must confess that this generous action of theirs had an extremely blessed effect on my demoralised soul. For the first time after seven years I felt that my manuscript had not been written in vain and that there are people bringing self-sacrifice to help its publication. They have transliterated one hundred pages of my manuscript which are published almost unaltered. And although the publishers later agreed to print Hebrew, Jewish-Aramaic and Talmudic words in Hebrew type, I decided to leave certain of their transliterations (e.g. 4: 5f.) as a pleasant souvenir of their collaboration which the reader, realising that the book would hardly be in his hands without their keen interest, will also have to appreciate.<sup>46</sup>

Since Mandaic studies have always been a minor discipline among Semitic and Oriental studies, there were obviously very few experts on the issue in Macúch's era (and, one must add, not much has changed since). Macúch maintained correspondence with Lady Ethel Stefana Drower<sup>47</sup> in Oxford, Franz Rosenthal<sup>48</sup> at Yale University and Johann Fück<sup>49</sup> at Halle University in order to consult his

<sup>45</sup> MACÚCH, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, vii–viii.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* viii.

<sup>47</sup> Author's note: Lady Ethel Stefana Drower (1879–1978) was a British cultural anthropologist who conducted numerous long-term field trips among the Mandaean communities of Iraq and Iran. She authored numerous publications on the religion and traditions of the Mandaeans as well as translations of some of their most important religious texts. Her work *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran. Their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends and Folklore*, published in 1937, is still widely cited and could be considered to be the most exhaustive volume on the issue. Ethel Stefana DROWER: *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran. Their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends and Folklore*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1937.

<sup>48</sup> Author's note: Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003) was a Professor of Semitic languages, Arabic and Islam at Yale University.

<sup>49</sup> Author's note: Johann Fück (1894–1974) was a renowned German Orientalist who specialised mainly in Quranic Arabic.

field of research.<sup>50</sup> The relationship with Lady Drower proved especially fruitful for Mandaic Studies. As his daughter explains:

In 1955 my father published a critical review of Lady Drower's work *The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa* in the ZDMG. Although he was extremely critical of her work, it was exactly this kind of criticism that convinced Lady Drower that he was the best living specialist on Mandaic to be found and she arranged for the Faculty of Oriental Studies in Oxford to invite him to work on the *Mandaic Dictionary* she had been planning. Since my father refused to leave his family behind, we all set off for Oxford in 1956. I truly believe that this was the most exciting journey I have ever experienced in my life: we rode by train to Turkey from Teheran, sitting on the wooden benches of the third class between hordes of travellers to save money.<sup>51</sup>

These contacts proved highly valuable not only in the process of the preparation of the *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, but also in Macúch's further career.

#### *Abstract*

*The purpose of the following paper is to introduce the personality, life and work of Rudolf Macúch, a world-renowned linguist of Middle Eastern languages from Czechoslovakia. The author attempts to present a comprehensive biography of Macúch's life while clarifying events that have been uncertain or subject to speculation in the past. A special emphasis is put on Macúch's contacts with the Mandaeans of Ahvaz, Iran, since this relationship was of strong influence on both the scholar and the small religious community.*

#### Keywords

Rudolf Macúch, Oriental studies, Mandaic studies, Mandaeans

#### *Resümé*

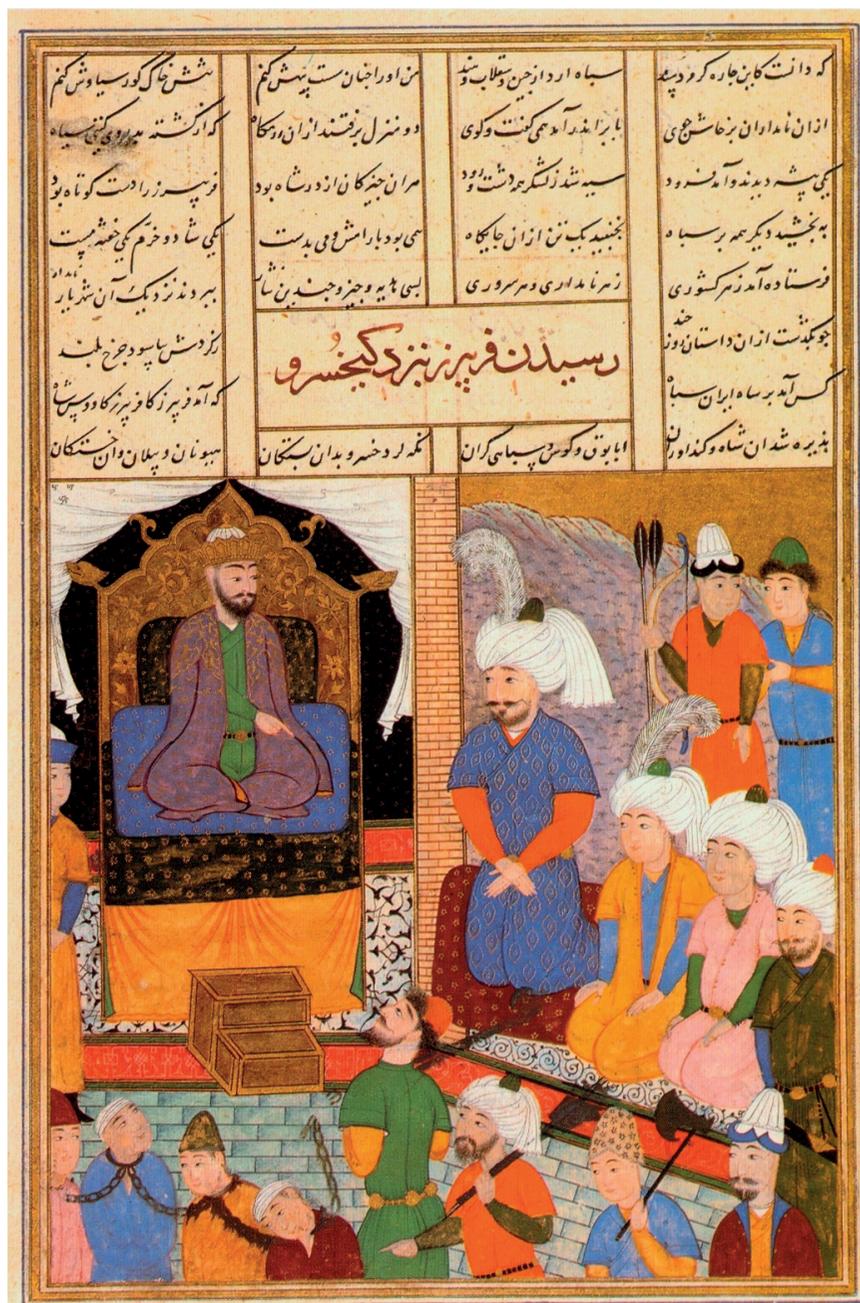
A tanulmány célja, hogy bemutassa Rudolf Macúch, a közel-keleti nyelvek világhírű szlovák származású kutatójának életét, személyiségét és művét. A szerző megkísérli átfogóan bemutatni Macúch élettörténetét, különös tekintettel azokra az évekre és eseményekre, amelyek az eddig megjelent életrajzokban bizonytalanok, homályosak, illetve eltérőek voltak. A tanulmány kiemelt figyelmet szentel Macúch érintkezéseinek az ahvazi mandeusokkal, mivel ez a kapcsolat erősen befolyásolta a tudóst és a kis vallási közösséget egyaránt.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> MACÚCH, 'And Life is Victorious!', 13.

Kulcsszavak

Rudolf Macúch, orientalisztika, mandeus tanulmányok, mandeusok



Persian miniature. Page from the Turkmen „Big-head Shahnameh”, Gilan, 1494.

BENEDEK PÉRI

## “When they praise your lips Bayrām’s verses are the water of life”

### Bayrām Khān’s Persian and Turkish ghazals

#### *Introduction*

Bayrām Khān (d. 1561) was one of the most influential nobles at the Mughal court during the reign of Humāyūn (1530–1540, 1555–1556) and his successor, Akbar (1556–1606).<sup>1</sup> As a member of an eminent Baharlu Türkmen family, he simultaneously represented three major components of Mughal culture: Persian, Central Asian Turkish and Indian. He was of Turkish origin. He had family ties in Iran, his contacts at the Safavid court proved essential for Humāyūn in regaining his kingdom, he was brought up in a mixed Perso-Turkish literary culture that developed during the reign of Timur’s successors, he married into a Turkish royal family, and he spent most of his adult life in an Indian environment. All in all, he was a typical Timurid nobleman, a sedentarised, Persianised Turk who, besides being a member of the military class, the people of the sword, *abl-i sayf*, was also an acknowledged poet, and thus also belonged to the ‘people of the pen,’ the *abl-i qalam*. Like many other Turkish poets of his age, he produced poetry both in Persian and in Turkish, and if we can believe his contemporary, the historian Badā’unī, his collection of poems (*divan*) ‘was in every hand and his verses were on every tongue.’<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N. H. ANSARI: “Bayram Khān”. In: *Encyclopedia Iranica*. iranicaonline.org/articles/bayram-or-bayram-khan-mohammad-kan-e-kanan-an-illustrious-and-powerful-iranian-noble-at-the-court-of-the-mugh (II. 01. 2018). For a more detailed description of his life see Sukumar RAY: *Bairam Khan*, Karachi: Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Karachi, 1992; Kausar CHANDPURI: *Mubammad Bairam Khan Turkman*, Agra: Akhbar Press, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wolseley HAIG (trans.): *The Muntakhabu-t’-Tawārikh by ‘Abdu-l’-Qādir Ibn-i-Mulūk Shāh known as al-Badāonī*, Vol. 3, Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1925, 265. Bayram Khān’s full *divan* consisting of Persian and Turkish verses was published three times. Edward DENISON ROSS, *Persian and Turki Diwans of Bairam Khan*, Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1910; Husamuddin RASHDĪ – Muhammad SABĪR (eds.): *Divan of Bayram Khan*, Karachi: The Institute of Central & West Asian Studies, 1971; ‘Abd al-Majīd TURAN: *Muhammed Bayram Khānkhānān: Türkmen Khalqının Böyük Şaxsiyat ve Şā’iri*, n.p., 1378. The Turkish poems were published separately by Münevver TEKCAN: *Bayram Han’ın Türkçe Divanı*, İstanbul: Beşir Kitabevi, 2007.



Persian miniature. Youth reading, by Reza Abbasi, 1625–1626.

*Bayrām the poet*

His motives to compose poetry might have been the same as with other Turkish nobles of Timurid and post-Timurid Persianate societies, that is, to demonstrate that they were cultured and not one of the uneducated and boorish Turkish semi-nomads, the *atrāk-i bī-idrāk* ('stupid Turks'), who were sneered at even in 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman sources.<sup>3</sup>

Writing poetry and composing original pieces appears to have been very important for Bayrām, who formulated his poetic credo in one of his poems in the following way:

Out of sheer ignorance, poets nowadays,  
Are not ashamed of borrowing lines.  
Verses of this servant are not borrowed like the verses of others,  
Because I would be ashamed if I borrowed verses.<sup>4</sup>

A story related by Badā'unī, however, suggests that Bayrām Khān's poetic principles could turn very flexible when it came to 'borrowing' another poet's works.

One of the remarkable incidents of this year was that the Khān-i Khānān published as his own a *ghazal* of Hāšim Qandahārī, putting the lines into a different arrangement; he ordered 60,000 tankahs of money to be paid to him by way of compensation, and asked if the sum were sufficient; Hāšim by way of an extempore joke said 'Sixty is too little,' upon which he increased the sum by 40,000 and gave him altogether a complete *lac*.<sup>5</sup>

The present paper has a twofold aim. First, it endeavours to give an overall description of Bayrām's *ghazal* poetry, observe the basic differences between his Persian and Turkish (Chaghatay) poems and decide where between the two extremes of plagiarism and originality his poems should be placed; secondly,

<sup>3</sup> Güvāhī, for example, relates three stories to illustrate the boorishness of Turks in his *Pend-nāme* written in 1526. GÜVĀHĪ: *Pend-nāme*. Haz. Mehmet Hengirmen, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1983, 166–168. A 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman historian, Naima (d. 1716), uses the denigrating term *etrāk-i bī idrāk* ('stupid Turks') as an adjective for rural Turks from Anatolia. *Naima Tarīhi*. Vol. 3. Çev. Zuhuri Danişman, İstanbul: Zuhuri Danişman Yayınevi, 1968, 1381, 1382.

<sup>4</sup> *Imrūz şā'irān-i digar az kamāl-i jabl*  
*Az šīr-i mustā'ar na-dārand nang u 'ār*  
*Aš'ār-i banda čun digarān mustā'ar nīst*  
*Dāram hažār 'ār xī aš'ār-i mustā'ar*  
RASHDI – SABIR: *op. cit.*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> George RANKING: *The Muntakhabu-t' -Tawārikh by 'Abdu-l'-Qādir Ibn-i-Mulūk Shāh known as al-Badāoni*, Vol. 2, New Delhi: Atlantic Pub. & Distributors, 1990, 36.

through analysing some of his imitations, it attempts to present a somewhat more detailed picture of Bayrām Khān’s poetic talent and poetical strategies.

### *Imitation poems and the interpretation of traditional ghazals*

I have decided to focus on Bayrām’s Persian and Turkish imitations for the following reasons: Since Bayrām’s ghazals were preserved in his *divan* in a traditional form, that is, arranged in alphabetical order by the last letter of the *radīf* or the rhyming word, they came down to us ‘as isolated pieces of poetry detached from the context they originally belonged to.’<sup>6</sup> Due to the conventionality of the ghazal as a genre, an interpretation of such poetic texts is almost impossible without additional information from outside sources. Sometimes we might be able to discover the historical context which inspired the poet, as is the case with Bayrām’s Chaghatay ghazal composed for his protégé, Šāh-quli Maḥram Baharlu, but most often we cannot tell exactly why a poem came into being.<sup>7</sup> In case of poetic imitations, however, the model poem (or in certain cases poems) might be used as a reference point, creating a sort of poetic context that makes at least a partial interpretation possible because the choice of model (or models) might provide us with clues as far as a poet’s character, talent and poetic skills are concerned.

Quintilian, the Roman author of a much-used manual on rhetoric, advised his readers to consult their own powers before ‘shouldering their burdens,’ and warned them to avoid models ‘which, though capable of imitation, may be beyond the capacity of any given individual, either because his natural gifts are insufficient or of a different character.’<sup>8</sup> Ašraf al-Dīn Ḥasan, a Ghaznavid poet, gave a very similar piece of advice to a young poet when he advised him whose poetry to study and whose poetry to avoid.<sup>9</sup> The range of models a poet of the classical Persian tradition chose to imitate thus might be very telling of his character and professional skills.

Furthermore, the character or the dynamics of the relationship between an imitation and its model or models might not only supply us with further information on a poet’s natural disposition and on his way of thinking, but it also might give us clues why the imitation poem was composed. Depending on a poet’s

<sup>6</sup> J. T. P. DE BRUIJN: *Persian Sufi Poetry. An Introduction to the Mystical Use of Poems*, Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997, 56.

<sup>7</sup> Benedek PÉRI: “Ki és milyen nemű Bayram Hân egyik csagatáj gazeljében a rejtélyes lírai kedves?” *Keletkutató*, 2014 ősz, 5–20. For an English version see Benedek Péri, “The gender of the beloved in one of Bayram Khan’s gazels” (Forthcoming).

<sup>8</sup> *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian with an English Translation* by H. E. Butler. Vol. 4, London: W. Heinemann, 1968, 81.

<sup>9</sup> RĀWANDĪ: *Rāḥat al-šudūr va āyat al-surūr dar tāriḫ-i āl-i Saljūq*. Bi-sa’ī va tašḫīḫ-i Muḥammad Iqbāl. Bi-muqaddima-yi Ustād Badī’ al-Zamān Firūzānfar va Ustād Muḥtabā Mīnuvī, Tihrān: Intišārāt-i asāṭīr, 1385/2006, 57–58.

capabilities, motives and aims, strategies of poetic imitation might range from the most basic modes of ‘repetition of the same’ to higher levels of emulation.<sup>10</sup> Though the process of poetic imitation in Persianate traditions usually involves the notion of competition, besides competing with past or contemporary poetic texts, imitations and emulations might also be composed to honour a fellow poet, to show off professional prowess, or to simply disguise the lack of original thoughts.

### *Bayrām’s Persian ghazals*

Bayrām Khān’s Persian *divan* as we have it today does not include too many imitation poems, but we should keep in mind that his poetic oeuvre does not seem to have survived in its entirety. ‘Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī saw in the library of Bayrām’s son and heir ‘Abd al-Rahīm a copy of the *divan* that consisted of more than 2000 couplets, but this manuscript has not surfaced yet.<sup>11</sup> Our modern editions contain much less of Bayrām’s verses. We cannot tell how many Persian ghazals Bayrām composed in his life, but all three modern editions – the 1910 edition prepared by Edward Denison Ross, the more comprehensive Karachi edition published more than sixty years later, in 1971 by Husamuddin Rashdi and Muhammad Sabir and the latest edition of ‘Abd al-Majid Turan that appeared in 1999 – contain only thirty-nine such poems.

Only very few modern critics seem to have bothered to deal with Bayrām’s Persian poetry but those who did have two totally opposing opinions. Hadi Nabi in his *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Poetry* claims that each verse in Bayrām’s ‘concise *Diwan* is a specimen of excellence.’<sup>12</sup> Annemarie Schimmel, on the other hand, does not seem to have had a very high opinion of Bayrām’s Persian poetry because she labelled his verses ‘rather conventional.’<sup>13</sup>

Schimmel was right in her judgement if she meant by the term ‘conventional’ that Bayrām’s ghazals are very simple and mediocre pieces which rely heavily on the traditional arsenal of commonplace poetical devices. Bayrām is clearly an amateur poet who is capable of composing poetry but whose poems usually lack complex metaphors, elegant rhetorical figures and original thoughts. In this respect he is one of those self-designated poets whom Ḥusayn Muḥammad Šihāb Anṣārī, a 14<sup>th</sup> century Indian literary critic, termed versifiers (*mawṣūn tab’*) ‘whose mind has not realised the minutest niceties of poetry and has not recognised its principles’

<sup>10</sup> For a useful taxonomy of imitation strategies see John MUCKELBAUER: *The Future of Invention. Rhetoric, Postmodernism and the Problem of Change*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008, 57–77.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Abd al-Bāqī NIHĀWANDĪ, *Ma’āthir-i Rahīmī*. Vol. 2. Ed. Muhammad Hidayet Husain, Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1925, 61.

<sup>12</sup> Nabi HADI: *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Poetry*, New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts–Abhinav Publications, 1995, 306.

<sup>13</sup> Annemarie SCHIMMEL: *Islamic Literatures of India*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973, 25.

and who ‘do not know that a poem consists of pleasant words and elegant and unique content.’<sup>14</sup>

Bayrām’s favourite trope appears to have been a very simple and easy-to-handle rhetorical figure, *tazādd* (‘antithesis’) which he endeavoured to insert into his lines as often as possible and which he sometimes used quite skilfully.

*Dar sāya-yi šab jamʿ šawad partaw-i kburšīd*  
*Har gab šawad az kākul-i ū tār parišān*  
 The light of the sun gathers into the shadow of the night  
 Each time a string of hair separates from her/his forelock.

Though all the opposing conceptual pairs, ‘shadow’ (*sāya*) and ‘light’ (*partaw*), ‘night’ (*šab*) and ‘sun’ (*kburšīd*), ‘come together’ (*jamʿ šudan*) and ‘fall apart’ (*parišān šudan*) are topoi of classical Persian poetry, the way Bayrām handles them indicates that he had not only learnt the basic skills of composition, he also had a natural flair for poetry.

A possible reason for the lack of elegant rhetorical figures and the resulting simplicity of several of Bayrām Khān’s Persian poems might be that they were hastily composed or improvised and meant for specific occasions. Bayrām’s ghazal with the *radīf* ‘*ma-ranj*’ ‘don’t be enraged,’ possibly meant as an apology and a pledge of loyalty to Akbar, clearly belongs to this category.<sup>15</sup>

A characteristic feature of Bayrām’s more elaborate ghazals is that they are burdened with many repetitions as if the poet was unable to break free from the hold of the few key concepts and keywords he worked with. The ghazal Bayrām composed using the metre *ramal-i muṣamman-i makbbūn* (- . - - or . . - - | . . - - | . . - - | . . - - or - - ), the rhyme *-ā*, and the *radīf*<sup>16</sup> ‘*mī-gardad*’ is for example a typical Bayrāmian product.

*Gird-i ān kākul agar bād-i Šabā mī-gardad*  
*Sabab-i tafarruqa-yi khāṭir-i mā mī-gardad*  
*Har nafas gird-i sar-i kākul-i ū gašta Šabā*  
*Hama asbāb-i parišānī-yi mā mī-gardad*  
 Whenever the gentle breeze is circling that forelock,  
 It becomes a reason for our mind to be distracted.  
 In every breath of time when the gentle breeze circles the end of that forelock,  
 It becomes the sole reason for us to be distraught.

<sup>14</sup> Ḥusayn Muḥammad Šihāb ANSĀRĪ: *Kanḡ al-Favāʿid*. Ed. A. S. U’sha, Madras: University of Madras, 1956, 14.

<sup>15</sup> Ross: *op. cit.*, 28.

<sup>16</sup> *radīf* is a refrain like element following the rhyme (*qāfiya*). It can be a suffix, a word, a phrase or a whole utterance.

Out of the keywords of this couplet *kākul* ‘a lock of hair’ and *gird* ‘around’ reappears once more and *sar* ‘head’ two more times, which makes the poem quite colourless and monotonous. In spite of the poem’s flatness, the third couplet is an exception from the ghazal’s overall insipidness and it illustrates that occasionally Bayrām was able to produce quite skilfully constructed lines:

*Khāk bar sar kunam aẓgham šuda dar ātaš u āb*  
*Ki ba-gird-i sar-i ū bād čirā mī-gardad*<sup>17</sup>

I throw dust upon my head and it’s surrounded by fire and water because of my grief.

Why is the wind circling around the head of my beloved?

The inclusion of the four elements (*čahār ‘unsūr*), *khāk* ‘dust, soil’, *ātaš* ‘fire’, *āb* ‘water’ and *bād* ‘wind’ in a single couplet is not an uncommon phenomenon in classical poetry.<sup>18</sup> Though it is a traditional poetic device that could be taken to the extremes of mentioning earth, fire, water and wind in almost every single couplet of the poem, as Anwarī did in one of his *qasīdas*,<sup>19</sup> in Bayrām Khān’s poetry such rhetorically well-structured couplets count as exceptional accomplishments.

We cannot tell exactly which classical poets Bayrām Khān read and from whose poems he learnt the *tanāsub* (‘congruency’) of *čahār ‘unsūr*, but it might well have been from the *divan* of the abovementioned poet, Anwarī (fl. 12<sup>th</sup> c.), who was a favoured author at the Mughal court.<sup>20</sup>

Bayrām Khān, as we have seen in his poetic credo, made a loudly advertised programme not to ‘borrow’ from earlier or contemporary poets, perhaps because his poetry also served as a means to stress his personal integrity and independence. A handful of his Persian poems still contain very explicit intertextual allusions, suggesting that they were inspired by earlier poetic texts. One such poem is a paraphrase, a *jawāb* of a ghazal written by Anwarī. The two poems share the same metre (*baḡaj-i musaddas-i mahzūf*; . - - - | . - - - | . - -), rhyme (-*ār*), and *radif* (-*ī na-dāram*) combination and their first couplet<sup>21</sup> (*maṭlaʿ*) is very similar.

<sup>17</sup> ROSS: *op. cit.*, 29; RASHDI – SABIR: *op. cit.*, 20.

<sup>18</sup> Franklin D. LEWIS: “The Rise and Fall of a Persian Refrain. The Radif ‘Ātash u Āb’”. In: Suzanne PINCKNEY STETKEVYCH: *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994, 202.

<sup>19</sup> For Anwarī’s *qasīda* see *Dīvān-i Anwarī*, Lucknow: Nawal Kishore, 1897, 220–221.

<sup>20</sup> Annemarie SCHIMMEL: “Anvari and his Poetry”. In: Annemarie SCHIMMEL – Stuart Cary WELCH: *Anvari’s Divan: A Pocket Book for Akbar*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983, 66.

<sup>21</sup> A couplet (*bayt*) consists of two hemistichs (*miṣrāʿ*). The first and the last couplets of a ghazal are termed *maṭla* and *maqṭāʿ* respectively.

Anwarī

*Nigārā* JUZ TU dildārī na-dāram

*Bi-juz* tu dar jabān yārī na-dāram<sup>22</sup>

My beautiful one, I do not have a beloved except for you.

Except for you I do not have a companion in this world.

Bayrām Khān

*Nigārā* BI-GHAYR-I TU yārī na-dāram

*Bi-juz* fikr-i waṣl-i tu kāri na-dāram

My beautiful one, I do not have a companion, but you.

I do not have anything to do except for thinking of being with you.

This first *bayt* is an example of one the most basic methods of reproductive imitation, when an author creates a close replica of the model text. John Muckelbauer, describing the various paths of imitation antique authors followed, terms this type of imitation the ‘repetition of the same.’<sup>23</sup> Bayrām’s way of reproducing his model is simple. He retains the first word of the model hemistich and replaces its keywords with synonyms. Instead of *juz*, he inserts *bi-ghayr-i* and in the place of *dildār* he uses *yār*, the rhyming word of the second hemistich in Anwarī’s first *bayt*. We might surmise that evoking Anwarī’s first couplet was a very purposeful and conscious act on Bayrām’s side. It is very typical of the genre of the *jawāb*, an imitation poem retaining the metre, rhyme and *radīf* combination of the model text that the first couplet might serve as a kind of introduction to the paraphrase, providing the reader with a literary context in which its poet wishes his imitation or emulation to be interpreted.

Bayrām’s aim might have been something very similar here. Since every single couplet of the poem might be interpreted as a declaration of loyalty, we might suppose that through dressing up his message into a poetic garb evoking Anwarī’s ghazal, Bayrām intended to please the Emperor Akbar, who was a great admirer of Anwarī’s poetry and whose favour he started losing in the late 1550s.<sup>24</sup>

The highly successful conspiracy of his enemies finally alienated Akbar from his prime minister, who rebelled and was routed by the imperial forces at the battle of Gunachur in 1560. Bayrām fled but soon realised that he did not have a hope to escape. Before turning himself in, Bayrām Khān sent a letter to the Emperor

<sup>22</sup> *Dīvān-i Anwarī*, 494. Typographical devices in the quotations are meant to highlight parallelisms of the couplets compared.

<sup>23</sup> MUCKELBAUER: *op. cit.*, 57.

<sup>24</sup> According to Abū al-Faḥl °Allāmī, the *divan* of Anwarī was one of the favourite books of Akbar. (Henry BLOCHMANN: *The Ā’in-i Akbarī*, Vol. I, New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1994, 110). His admiration for the poetry of Anwarī is well attested by the exquisite copy of the *divan* prepared for him in 1588. For the initial incidents that led to the estrangement of Akbar and Bayrām Khān see RAY: *op. cit.*, 188–190.

in which he repented his sins and stressing his loyalty, begging for forgiveness.<sup>25</sup> Sin, forgiveness and the poet's loyalty to an unnamed shah are the key motifs of a ghazal that might have been composed during this period. In this poem Bayrām wrapped his message into a poetic garb of a paraphrase of a poem originally written by Kamāl Khujandī (d. 1401).

Besides using the same unique metre (*bazaj-i musamman-i sālim*), rhyme (*-āb*) and *radif* (*-i kbud na-mī-dānam*) combination, textual evidence also testifies to the connection of the two poems as Bayrām Khān's second couplet seems to have been inspired by the second *bayt* in Khujandī's ghazal.

Kamāl Khujandī

*Agar qaṣd-i gurīz uftād ma-rā az javr-i čāsm-i ū*

*Bi-juṣ dar sāya-yi zulf-aš panāb-i kbud na-mī-dānam*<sup>26</sup>

Should I wish to escape from being tortured by his/her eyes,

Except for the shadow of his/her locks I do not know of any place of refuge.

Bayrām Khān

*Či mī-sūzī bi-tāb-i qabr-am ay kburšīd-i mah-rūyān*

*Ki ghayr az sāya-yi lutf-at panāb-i kbud na-mī-dānam*<sup>27</sup>

You, who are the sun among the moon faced ones, why are you burning me with the heat of your anger,

Except for the shadow of your favours I do not know of any place of refuge.

The similarity of the two couplets is less striking here than it was in the case of Bayrām's paraphrase of Anwarī's *bayt*, because, though Bayrām repeated the keywords and retained the syntactic and metrical structure of Khujandī's second *miṣrāʿ*, he completely rewrote the first one. He did it in an interpretative way that suited his own momentary purposes. Bayrām's intention was not to produce a perfect replica of his model, perhaps because the message the poem conveys was more important for him than rhetorical niceties. This is why he was willing to sacrifice the rhetorically valuable poetic bond that connects the concept of shadow to the motif of the traditionally also black locks of the beloved in Khujandī's line and replaced the noun *zulf* 'a curling lock of hair' with the similarly sounding one-syllable word *lutf* 'grace,' which fits into the context of the message of his poem. He aimed at reproducing Khujandī's couplet in a different way and he reshaped it in such a manner that suited his purpose.

Bayrām used a very similar method in the case of a couplet he included in one of his paraphrases that was inspired by a Persian ghazal of Mir ʿAlī-šīr Nawāyī

<sup>25</sup> RAY: *op. cit.*, 213.

<sup>26</sup> *Dīwān-i Kamāl-i Khujandī*. Bā tashīḥ u ihtimām-i ʿAzīz Dawlatābādī, Tabriz: Kitābfurūšī-yi Tīhrān, 1337/1958, 255.

<sup>27</sup> ROSS: *op. cit.*, 33.

‘Fānī’ (1441–1501), whose Turkish poems, as we will see, had a great influence on Bayrām’s Turkish poetry.<sup>28</sup> Both of the two ghazals in question are composed using the metre *mujtas-i muṣamman-i makbbūn* (. - - | . . - - | . - - | . . -), the rhyme *-āna* and the radīf *-yi ū*.

Bayrām’s poem looks as if its author had tried to conceal the fact that his poem was an imitation and though he struggled hard not to create an exact replica of Nawāyī’s couplets he could not distance himself from his model. He closely followed Nawāyī’s method of structuring the couplets: the keyword of the *bayts*, after appearing either in the first hemistich or at the beginning of the second *miṣrāʿ*, resurfaces as the rhyming word of the couplet. Bayrām’s ghazal, compared to Nawāyī’s fluent and rhetorically embellished poem, is halting, ungraceful and boring due to the many repetitions. Nevertheless, his fifth *bayt*, which is an exceptionally elegant emulation of Nawāyī’s sixth couplet, approaches the key topic, the motif of the bird and the seed from a different angle and suggests that Bayrām was occasionally also capable of composing outstanding pieces of poetry.

Nawāyī VI.

*Ma-šaw farīfta-yi zulf u kbāl-i šāhid-i dabr*

*Ki jast tāyir-i xīrak xi dām ū dāna-yi ū*

Do not get misled by the plait and mole of the beloved of our age,

The cunning bird leaps away from snarl and seeds.

Bayrām V.

*Kabūtar-i haram-aš gar šawad hawāla-yi man*

*Bi-čašm kb<sup>w</sup>īš kunam fikr-i āb u dāna-yi ū*

If the pigeon of his closed quarters is transferred to my care,

My eyes would supply it with water and seed.

Bayrām took the method of imitation by variation further and used it in a more explicit way in a ghazal that was most probably inspired by a poem of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492). The subject and the tone of the poem suggest that Bayrām’s ghazal was composed as a lyric letter mildly reproaching the addressee for neglecting the poet. According to a heading in Turan’s editions of the *divan*, the poem was meant for Humāyūn, who failed to send a letter to Bayrām for quite a long time.<sup>29</sup>

Strictly speaking, this poem does not fall into the category of *jawāb* because the metre and the *radīf* of the model poem and its imitation are different. A closer look at both poems, however, reveals that the apparent differences involve a great deal of similarities. Both poets used metres that share common metrical patterns (. - - )<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Alisher NAVOIY: *Mukammal asarlar toʻplami. Yigirma tomlik. Oʻn toʻqquzinchi tom. Devoni Foniyy (davomi)*, Toshkent: Fan, 2002, 233.

<sup>29</sup> TURAN: *op. cit.*, 109.

<sup>30</sup> Jāmī’s poem is in *ramal-i muṣamman-i makbbūn* (- - - or . . - - | . . - - | . . - - | . . - or - -) and Bayrām’s is in

and Bayrām got his *radīf* (*na-kardī* ‘you didn’t do’) by omitting the second half of the *radīf* Jāmī applies (*na-kardī bargiz* ‘you’ve never done’).

Besides the formal similarities, intertextual allusions consciously or unconsciously scattered mainly in the first three couplets of the imitation ghazal also show that Bayrām’s poem was really modelled upon Jāmī’s ghazal. The method of imitation or, to be more precise, emulation by variation can be best observed in the first three couplets. Bayrām picked one or two keywords of Jāmī’s *bayts* and put them in a new poetic context. In the first couplet the selected words are the rhyming words of Jāmī’s *maṭlaʿ* – *šād* ‘happy’, *yād* ‘memory’ – in the second bayt it is *ābād* ‘populated’ and in the third one it is *faryād* ‘cry.’

Jāmī I.

*Yād bād-at ki zi man yād na-kardī bargiz*

*Dil-i nā-šād-i ma-rā šād na-kardī bargiz*<sup>31</sup>

You should remember that you have never remembered me,

You have never made my unhappy heart happy.

Bayrām Khān I.

*Harfī na-niwīštī dil-i mā šād na-kardī*

*Mā-rā bi-ḡabān-i qalamī yād na-kardī*

You have not written a word to us, you have not made our heart happy,

You have not remembered us with the tongue of your pen.

Jāmī II.

*Kardam ābād bi-šad khūn-i jigar khāna-yi čašm*

*Jā dar-īn manzil ābād na-kardī bargiz*

I populated the house of my eye with blood drops from my heart,

But you have never come to settle down in this place

Bayrām Khān II.

*Ābād šud aḡ lutf-i tu šad khātar-i wīrān*

*Wīrāna-yi mā būd ki ābād na-kardī*

Your grace turned hundreds of ruined minds into cultivated places,

The only place that remained uncultivated is our ruins.

Jāmī III.

*Gūš-at ay sīm-bar aḡ halqa-yi zar gašt girān*

*Yā tu khud gūš bi-faryād na-kardī bargiz*

Oh, silver bodied one! Has the golden ring made your ears too heavy?

Or you just simply have never listened to my cries.

*baḡaj-i mušamman-i akbrab-i makfūf-i mahzūf*(- . . | . . . | . . . | . . .).

<sup>31</sup> *Kulliyāt-i Dīwān-i Jāmī*. Bā muqaddima-yi Faršid Iqbāl, Tihirān: Iqbāl, 1388/2009, 271.

Bayrām Khān III.

*Bar yād-i tu šad bār kunam nāla u faryād*

*Faryād ki yak bār ma-rā yād na-kardī*

I weep and cry hundred times when I remember you,

Alas, you have never remembered me.

We can only guess as to why Bayrām deviated from the metre, rhyme, *radīf* combination of his model. It was perhaps because, like in the cases we have seen earlier, he wished to adapt an earlier poetic text to his poetic needs. He eliminated the second word of Jāmī’s *radīf* (*bargīz* ‘never’) because he might have felt that the meaning it lent to the lines would not have been true as far as his correspondence with Humāyūn was concerned. Nevertheless, by modifying the *radīf*, the metrical pattern also changed, which he tried to counterbalance with the unusual number of intertextual allusions to Jāmī’s poem.

Another ghazal composed using the metre *baḥāj-i muṣamman-i akbrab-i makfūf-i mahzūf* (- . . | . . . | . . . | . - -), the rhyme *-ār* and the *radīf* “*digar nīst šumā-rā*” ‘you do not have it any more’ falls even farther from the traditional definition of *jawāb*, as it belongs to a rare, nevertheless very interesting sub-genre of imitation poems. The model is unrecognisable at first sight, but a closer reading reveals that the poem belongs to a network of *jawābs* composed in Central Asian Turkī (Chaghatay) during the 15<sup>th</sup>-mid 16<sup>th</sup> centuries by prominent poets of the Central Asian Turkish tradition, Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī (fl. early 15<sup>th</sup> c.), Luṭfī (d. 1465?), Gadāyī (fl. 15<sup>th</sup> c.), Bābur (d. 1530), ‘Ubaydī (d. 1530) and last but not least Bayrām himself. All poems belonging to the paraphrase network use the same metre and rhyme we see in Bayrām’s ghazal, but the *radīf* is Turkish, *tapılmas* ‘cannot be found.’ Bayrām translated *tapılmas* into Persian but he did it very clumsily, which clearly indicates the limits of his knowledge of classical Persian authors because he did not realise that the model poems that served as a starting point for the Turkish network of paraphrases were Persian ghazals originally composed by Sayf-i Farghānī (d. 1305) and Awhadī using the rhyme *-ār*, the *radīf* ‘*na-tvān yāftan*,’ ‘cannot be found,’ and the metre *rajaḥ-i muṣamman-i sālim* (- . . | . . . | . . . | . . .).<sup>32</sup>

Bayrām’s Persian poem heavily relies on the *mundus significans* (signifying universe) of this Turkish ‘*tapılmas* paraphrase network’ and uses many of its traditional elements. The notion of ‘buying and selling,’ for example, is the central motif of Bayrām’s second couplet, and it is also the key topic in Luṭfī’s second Turkish *bayt*. In addition to the shared key motif, the rhyming word (*kbarīdār* ‘buyer’) is the same in both couplets and this confirms that Bayrām took the basic idea for his couplet from Luṭfī’s ‘*tapılmas* ghazal.’

<sup>32</sup> *Guz̄ida-yi ašār-i Sayf-i Farghānī*. Bi-kūšīš-i Abū al-Qāsim Rādfar, Tih-rān: Amīr Kabīr, 1365/1986, 92–93; *Dīwān-i Kāmīl-i Awhadī Marāghayī*. Tashīh-i Amīr Ahmad Ašrafī, Tih-rān: Intiṣārāt-i Pišraw, 1376/1997, 315.

Bayrām II.

*Bāzār-i šumā bā digarān garm wa līkan  
Ān banda kharīdār digar nīst šumā-rā*

Your marketplace is crowded with strangers, but  
You will never have a buyer like this servant of yours.

Lutfi II.

*Gül keldi yūzūng dewride kim hūsn satay dep  
İdlandı wü hīç yerde kharīdār tapılmas<sup>33</sup>*

The rose came close to your face and said ‘I am going to sell beauty’,  
And though it had a nice smell, it did not have any buyers at all.

Lutfi’s poem was not the only Turkish source from which Bayrām borrowed ideas for his poem. The *jinās* Bayrām uses in his fourth couplet might be a Persian version of a Turkish wordplay we see in the ‘*tapılmas* poem’ composed by Bābur (*gham-khār* ‘companion’ and *gham khārī* ‘the thorn of sorrow’), who used every opportunity to insert a homophone pun in his poems as *jinās* was his favourite trope.

Bayrām IV.

*Mā-rā bi-rab-i ‘aşq zi gham khār ma-dārīd  
Ān ‘āşiq-i gham-khār digar nīst šumā-rā*

On the road of love do not look down upon us because of our sorrow,  
Because you do not have another sorrowful lover.

Bābur III.

*Aghyār köz allıda wü ol yār ‘iyān yoq  
Gham khārı köngül ichre wü gham-khār tapılmas*

My rivals are in front of me and my companion is nowhere to be seen,  
A thorn of sorrow is in my heart and there is no one to soothe me.

Bayrām Khān was not ashamed of recycling elements of his earlier products and seems to have turned to his own ‘*tapılmas* poem’ for raw material as well. This is at least what the rhyming words of his Persian *maṭla‘* and *maqta‘* (*zār* ‘mournful’, *yār* ‘companion’ and *vafā-dār* ‘faithful’), the occurrence of the noun *jafā* ‘cruelty’ and the phrase *mibr u vafā* ‘love and fidelity’ later in the text allude to.

The intertextual links present in the poem suggest that Bayrām’s Persian ghazal is a ‘*tapılmas* poem’ in essence and as such it is an integral part of the Turkish ‘*tapılmas* paraphrase network.’ It is not the only non-Chaghatay element of the *jawāb* set, as three 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman poets, Sāmī paşa (d. 1813), Meşhūrī Efendi (d. 1857) and Yenişehirli Awnī (d. 1883), composed ghazals in Ottoman Turkish

<sup>33</sup> Günay KARAAĞAÇ: *Lutfi Divanı. Giriş-Metin-Dişin.TipkiBasım*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1997, 88.

that rely on the signifying universe of the ‘*tapılmas jawāb* network’ and the *radīf bulunmaz* ‘it is not possible to find,’ the Ottoman version of Chaghatay *tapılmas*.<sup>34</sup>

As far as Bayrām’s Chaghatay ‘*tapılmas ghazal*’ is concerned, the choice of rhyming words, the vocabulary and the numerous scattered intertextual clues indicate that it was inspired by the ‘*tapılmas* poems’ of his near-contemporaries, Bābur and the Özbek ruler, ‘Ubaydullāh Khān ‘Ubaydī.’ Bayrām’s *maṭla*<sup>35</sup> makes it evident that he wished his poem to be interpreted as a poetic response to Bābur’s ghazal, because the title-like first couplet is a rearranged and modified version of Bābur’s first *bayt*, very consciously and efficiently evoking its model.

Bābur I.

*Sen-dek manga bir yār-ı jefā-kār tapılmas*<sup>35</sup>

*Men-dek sanga bir yār-ı wefā-dār tapılmas*

I would never find a companion as tormenting as you,  
You would never find a companion as loyal as me.

Bayrām Khān I.

*Men zārga sen-dek yana bir yār tapılmas*<sup>36</sup>

*Sen yārga men-dek yana bir zār tapılmas*

It is not possible for me, the tormented one, to find a companion,  
It is not possible for you, who is my companion, to find anyone as tormented as me.

This method of repetition by variation can also be observed in the second *bayt* of Bayrām’s poem, which seems to be consisting of two slightly reworked hemistichs borrowed from two different couplets of ‘Ubaydī’s poem.

Bayrām II.

*Köp zār sanga boldı giriftār welikin*

*Men-dek yana bir zār-ı giriftār tapılmas*

Many tormented ones have been captivated by you, nevertheless  
You will not find a tormented captive like me.

‘Ubaydī IV.

*Köp yār egerçi tapılır sanga welikin*<sup>37</sup>

*Jān bergüçi men kibi wefā-dār tapılmas*

<sup>34</sup> *Dīvān-i Ebu Bekir Sāmī Paşa*. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aşir Efendi 332, f. 48a; *Selānikli Merhūm Meşbūrī Efendinin Dīvānıdır*, Selānik: Selānik İslāhhanesi, 1292, 76; Lokman TURAN: *Yenişehirli Avnī Bey Dīvānı’nın Tablilī*. Doktora Tezi, Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1998, 780.

<sup>35</sup> Bilal YÜCEL: *Bābūr Dīvānı*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1995, 133–134.

<sup>36</sup> TEKCAN: *op. cit.*, 90.

<sup>37</sup> QUL UBAYDIY: *Vafo qilsang*. Nashrga tayyorlovchi A. Hayitmetov, Toshkent: Yozuvchi, 1994, 10.

Though you will find many companions, nevertheless  
You will not find anyone as self-sacrificing and loyal as me.

°Ubaydī II.

*Akbtarsang eger bir yaratıp ikeki jibānmi*

***Men-dek sanga bir xār u giriftār tapılmas***

Should you search both worlds, hunting high and low,

You will not find anyone as tormented and captivated as me.

The result of Bayrām's poetic efforts is a typically structured 'Bayrāmian' couplet, examples of which we have already seen in his Persian ghazals. The keyword of a *bayt* is introduced either in the first *mişrāc* or at the beginning of second and it reappears in a rhyming position within the same couplet.

### *Bayrām's Chaghatay ghazals*

The cross-linguistic '*tapılmas jawāb* network' takes us to Bayrām Khān's poetry composed in Chaghatay Turkish. The available manuscripts of his divan contain 46 ghazals, most of which are heavily influenced by poets of the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Luḫfī, Gadāyī, Bābur, °Ubaydī, but most of all by the undoubtedly most outstanding author of the Chaghatay poetic canon, Mīr °Alī-şīr Nawāyī. In this respect Bayrām Khān followed in the footsteps of many other Chaghatay poets who consciously or unconsciously chose the oeuvre of Nawāyī as a poetic reference point.

By the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Nawāyī's poetry was not only known in a vast geographical area extending from Anatolia to India, but it also became a benchmark of high-standard poetry in Turkish. A long line of first-rate poets tried their hands at composing poetry in Nawāyī's style, among them such outstanding Ottoman authors as Aḫmed Paşa (d. 1497), Nejātī (d. 1509), Khayālī (d. 1557), Sultan Süleymān, the Lawgiver (d. 1566) or the Azerbaijani Muḫammad Fuẓūlī (d. 1556).<sup>38</sup>

Nawāyī's popularity in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Turkic world might be assessed by the fact that amateur poets also did their best to imitate Nawāyī's style. Seydī °Alī Re'īs (d. 1563), an Ottoman navy captain who got shipwrecked at the coasts of India and reached Humāyūn's court sometime in 1555, became very much affected when his literary accomplishments in Chaghatay were compared to the ghazals of Nawāyī. Humāyūn called him a second Mīr °Alī-shīr and praised him with the following clearly over-exaggerating words: "...bir yıl bu ravişe warzış oluna çaghatay tayfesine

<sup>38</sup> For a detailed list of poetic paraphrases of Nawāyī's ghazals composed by Ottoman poets see Yusuf Çetindağ: *Ali Şir Nevâî'nin Osmanlı Şiirine Etkisi*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006.

*Mir ‘Alī-Šīri unutturursun.*<sup>39</sup> “If for one more year thou perfectest thyself in this kind of poetry thou wilt altogether supplant Mir Ali Shir in the affections of the people of the Djagatai’s.”<sup>40</sup> Nawāyī’s influence can be detected at various levels in Bayrām Khān’s poems. The most direct level is represented by ghazals written as *jawābs* to Nawāyī’s poetic pieces.

Bayrām’s strategy of imitating the works of earlier poets can take, as we have already seen, the crudest form of imitation, when full lines of the original poem are repeated, though in a slightly modified version, as it is the case with Bayrām Khān’s first poem of his *divan* imitating the *tawhīd* from Nawāyī’s *Gharā’ib al-Šighar*.<sup>41</sup>

The third couplet of Bayrām’s ghazal is clearly a copy of the fourth *bayt* of Nawāyī’s poem.

Nawāyī, *Gharā’ib* no.3/IV.

*Kün ſekli yūzüng sejdesidin* **BOLDI MÜŞEKKEL**

*Tün turrası qabrmg yelidın boldı mutarrā*

The Sun prostrated before you and this shaped its face,

The curls of the night became perfumed by the wind of your anger.

Bayrām Khān no.1/III.

*Kün çebresi mibring nūridın* **BOLDI MÜNEVVER**

*Tün turrası qabrmg yelidın keldi mutarrā*<sup>42</sup>

The face of the Sun became radiant from the light of your sun like face,

The curls of the night became perfumed by the wind of your anger.

The second *mişrā‘* of Bayrām Khān’s couplet quite evidently falls into the category he terms ‘borrowed lines’ (*aş‘ār-i musta‘ār*) in his poetic credo. Nevertheless, it should be considered a rare example of lines borrowed from Nawāyī, whose influence heavily permeated Bayrām Khān’s *ghazals*. Though Nawāyī’s *ghazals* clearly serve as models for Bayrām, in most cases the influence of the great poet is present in more subtle ways, only as inspiration.

To quote a typical example for this subtle type of relationship between Nawāyī’s and Bayrām Khān’s *ghazals*, let us have a look at the fifth couplet, the *maqta‘* of Bayrām’s ghazal no. 21 in Münevver Tekcan’s edition.

<sup>39</sup> SEYDİ ‘ALİ RE’İS: *Mirāt al-Memālik*. Ed. Ahmed Jevdet, Istanbul: Iqdam 1313/1895, 49. For a modern edition of his poems written in Türkî see Kemal ERASLAN: “Seydi Ali Reis’in Çağatayca Gazelleri”. *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 16, 1968, 41–54.

<sup>40</sup> ARMINIUS VÁMBÉRY: *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia during the Years 1553–1556*, London: Luzac & Co., 1899, 50.

<sup>41</sup> For Nawāyī’s poem see Günay KUT: *‘Alī Šīr Nevāyī: Garā’ibü’s-Sigar*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2003, 28–29.

<sup>42</sup> TEKCAN: *op. cit.*, 63.

Bayrām Khān V.

*Bilip sipibr ghamım qan yašin töker Bayrām*

*Şafaq emes ki erür her namāz-i şām qızıl*<sup>43</sup>

The sky has realised my sorrow and sheds bloody tears, Bayrām,  
It's red at the time of the evening prayer not because it signals: dawn is near.

Nawāyī, *Gharā'ib* no. 404/III.

*Çarkh agar hāluma qan yıghlamadı hijr tüni*

*Nega bas boldı şafaqın yüzi ol şām qızıl*<sup>44</sup>

If the sky, seeing my state on a lonely night, had not shed bloody tears,  
Why has the face of that night become deeper red than the colour of dawn?

The rhyme (-ām) and the *radīf* (qızıl 'red') of the two poems are the same but their metres are different. Since Bayrām's poem is in *mujtas-i muşamman-i makbbün-i mahzūf* (. . . | . . . | . . . or -) and Nawāyī composed his piece using *ramal-i muşamman-i mahzūf* (- . . | - . . | - . . | - . .), Bayrām's *ghazal* is not a *jawāb* in the strict sense of the term. Nevertheless, the close relationship of the two couplets as far as form and content is concerned cannot be denied. Both couplets are built upon a rhetorical figure called *husn-i ta'lil* 'poetical aetiology.' Nawāyī provides us with a very imaginative and poetic explanation why the sky looks red before the night falls. Bayrām, as we can see, adopts not only the meaning (*mā'nā*) of Nawāyī's lines, but he also uses Nawāyī's key concepts and places them into a slightly modified poetic context.

In some of Bayrām Khān's *ghazals* Nawāyī's influence is present in a very subtle way. Bayrām composed a *ghazal* using the metre *bazaj-i muşamman-i sālim* (. . . | . . . | . . . | . . .), a very common rhyme, -ān and a much used Chaghatay *radīf* -ImGA, the first person possessive combined with the dative ending.<sup>45</sup> Nawāyī does not have a poem that would exactly match these formal characteristics. He wrote two *ghazals* using the abovementioned rhyme and *radīf* combination, but both of them are in another metre, *mujtas-i muşamman-i makbbün* (. . . | . . . | . . . | - . .).

The wide range of poetic choices provided by a great number of rhyming words ending in -ān and the flexibility of the *radīf* coupled with the fact that the poems of the two poets use different metres would suggest that they are not connected in any way. A deeper analysis, however, shows that Bayrām's *ghazal* is related to both Nawāyī poems. Bayrām, it seems, was inspired by one of the motifs that appears twice in Nawāyī's lines. He might have seen some poetic potential in the motif of the beloved's ear and built his own piece around it. The subtle but perhaps unconscious allusions present in two of his couplets illustrate this connection very well.

<sup>43</sup> TEKCAN: *op. cit.*, 101.

<sup>44</sup> KUT: *op. cit.*, 308.

<sup>45</sup> TEKCAN: *op. cit.*, 136–137.

If we compare his *maṭlaʿ* to the seventh couplet of Nawāyī’s *ghazal* no. 542 from *Nawādir al-Šabāb*, the relationship becomes evident.<sup>46</sup>

Bayrām Khān I.

*Figbānimdin qulaq aghrip mudur ārām-i jānimgha*

*Yoq erse ne ücün yā Rab qulaq salmas figbānimga*

Is it possible that hearing my cries the ears of him/her who guarantees my soul’s peace hurt?

I cannot imagine another explanation for him/her not listening to my cries.

Nawāyī, *Nawādir* no. 542/VII.

*Ne sūd elni gar etse Nawāyī afighāni*

*Çu yār salmadı bargiz qulaq figbānimga*

Is it useful for the people to listen to Nawāyī’s hues and cries?

My beloved has never listened to my cries.

It is evident from the beginning that Bayrām followed the basic lines of Nawāyī’s couplet. Besides building his *bayt* upon a basis provided by Nawāyī’s key words and expressions (*fighān* ‘hue and cry’ and *qulaq salmaq* ‘to listen to’), Bayrām made use of the same rhetorical figure, a *husn-i ta’lil* (‘fabulous aetiology’), and explained why his beloved did not listen to his sorrowful cries. Though Bayrām used some of the main building stones of Nawāyī’s lines, the result is something undoubtedly new and original. Bayrām did not attempt to imitate or recreate his model in a slightly changed poetic garb. Nawāyī’s lines provided him with inspiration and he used the model *bayt* as a starting point for his own couplet.

A very similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of the third couplet of the same poem. This *bayt* is connected to another Nawāyī *ghazal*, *ghazal* no. 567 from *Fawā’id al-Kibar*.<sup>47</sup>

Bayrām III.

*Birew kim āşkār nālaī qilsam ol qulaq salmas*

*Ne türlüğ yā Rab olghay muṭṭalī DARD-I NIHĀNIMGHA*

If a person does not even listen, when I am wailing in public,

My Lord! How is that person going to notice my hidden sorrow?

Nawāyī, *Fawā’id* no. 567/IV.

*Qalip gham içre yana körmedi nişāt yüzün*

*Birew ki saldı qulaq NĀLA-I NIHĀNIMGHA*

He/She has never escaped from sorrow and has never seen the face of joy again,

[As] he/she listened to my hidden wailing.

<sup>46</sup> For Nawāyī’s poem see Metin KARAÖRS: *’Alī Şir Nevāyī: Nevādirü’ş-Şebāb*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2006, 539.

<sup>47</sup> For the poem see Önal KAYA: *’Alī Şir Nevāyī: Fevāyidü’l-Kiber*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1996, 522.

It is easy to see how skilfully Bayrām used the same method of recreating something new from classical, recycled elements. He retained the rhyming word and also kept some choice vocabulary elements of his model, *birew ki* ‘a person who’, *qulaq salmaq* ‘to listen’ and *nāla* ‘wailing.’ The result of this process of poetic recreation is a couplet that is more of an interpretive emulation than a simple imitation of Nawāyī’s *bayt*.

### Summary

As a conclusion, we can say that Bayrām’s attitude towards poetry seems to have been very similar to Petrarch’s approach, who opined that an ideal imitator ‘will produce one thing, his very own, out of many things, and he will, I will not say flee, but conceal [*celabit*] the imitation so that he will appear similar to no one and will seem to have brought, from the old, something new to Latium.’<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of his loudly advertised poetic credo, Bayrām Khān’s poetry is full of appropriated ideas and poetic devices borrowed from earlier or contemporary poetic texts.

Bayrām seems to have had a natural flair for poetry but he was more of a versifier than a proper poet. Still, as far as borrowed poetic elements and devices are concerned, a perceptible difference may be observed between Bayrām’s Persian and Chaghatay ghazals.

Most of his Persian ghazals, though occasionally modelled upon other poets’ works, are ‘original’ Bayrāmian pieces built up from the building stones of a well-established and faceless poetic tradition. In early Mughal India the treasure-house of canonised Persian traditional poetic texts provided even amateur poets like Bayrām with abundant ready-made and flexible raw material, poetic devices, topics, motifs, vocabulary items that could be easily adapted to a poet’s instant needs. The Persianate Chaghatay classical literature, on the other hand, was a relatively new tradition, established in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by Nawāyī, whose works played a key role in shaping other Turkish literary traditions as well. Compared to the large number of Persian classical poetic texts at hand, there was only a very small number of works written in Chaghatay a mid-16<sup>th</sup> century hobby poet could turn to for inspiration or use as a model. It should be stressed here that most poets, both professionals and amateurs, needed models because due to the short history of the tradition and the characteristics of the Turkish language it was more difficult to write classical poetry using the qualitative system of prosody in Chaghatay than in Persian. In this situation the small number of poetic texts produced by the classics, Luṭfī, Gadāyī, Bābur and, above all, Nawāyī, offered a firm and reliable base part-time poets like Bayrām could use as a starting point. Perhaps this is the reason why Bayrām’s Chaghatay ghazal poetry includes a greater number of author-based imitations and conscious or unconscious intertextual links.

<sup>48</sup> George W. PIGMAN III: “Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance”. *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, 1980, 10.

As far as Bayrām’s methods of imitation are concerned, they range from the basic ‘repetition of the same’ to the highest levels of emulation. In this respect there is no difference between his Persian and Turkish works. Bayrām chose his models wisely and never seems to have overburdened himself. Most of his poems, his imitations and emulations included, are acceptable pieces of poetry that, except for a few rare instances of originality and creativity, do not cross the boundaries of conventional mediocrity.

#### *Abstract*

*The present paper aims at a comparative analysis of the Persian and Turkish (Chaghatay) ghazals of Bayrām Khān, a Mughal official, who was one of the most influential characters during the initial phase of Akbar’s reign (1556–1605). Like many noblemen who tried to follow the legacy of their Timurid predecessors, Bayrām Khān composed poetry in order to demonstrate that he was educated, erudite and cultured. His Persian and Chaghatay poems and the poetic strategies he applied provide the modern reader with an opportunity to get a glimpse of the cultural background of a Turko-Mughal official, his personality and worldview.*

#### Keywords

Bayrām Khān, Mughal, India, Persian poetry, Chaghatay poetry, ghazal

#### *Rezümé*

A tanulmány célja egy indiai mughal tisztségviselő, Bayrām Khān (megh. 1561) perzsa és török gazel-kötészetének összehasonlító vizsgálata. Az Akbar (1556–1605) uralkodásának korai szakaszában meghatározó szerepet betöltő Bayrām Khān számos más, magát a timurida hagyományokhoz tartó előkelő kortársához hasonlóan a versírással a klasszikus műveltségben való jártasságát, műveltségét kívánta demonstrálni. Perzsa és keleti török (csagatáj) nyelven írt versei lehetőséget teremtenek arra, hogy rajtuk keresztül bepillantást nyerjen az utókor egy török származású mughal előkelő irodalmi műveltségébe, s költői stratégiáin keresztül kicsit jobban megismerje a szerző személyiségét, világlátását.

#### Kulcsszavak

Bayrām Khān, mughal, India, perzsa költészet, csagatáj költészet, gazel

DOMBI ROZINA

## A többes szám sajátosságai a perzsa különböző nyelvi változataiban

### I. Bevezetés

A perzsa többes szám kérdése az anyanyelvi beszélők és a nyelvtanulók számára is a perzsa nyelvtan egyik legegyszerűbb részének tűnhet. A nyelvtanok és nyelvkönyvek többsége tömör részfejezetben foglalja össze, ha azonban áttekintjük ezeket a leírásokat, megfigyelhetjük, hogy azok számtalan ponton különböznek abban, hogy mit tekintenek helyesnek és mit helytelennek. Ha az elmúlt ezer év újperzsa szövegeit vizsgáljuk, ugyanezt tapasztalhatjuk: más jellemzi a klasszikus perzsa szövegek többesszámhasználatát és más a modern perzsaét, más tendenciákat láthatunk a mai írott sajtóban és megint mást tapasztalhatunk élőszóban. Nem tehető olyan kijelentés a perzsa többes számot illetően, amely maradéktalanul igaz lenne az újperzsa minden korszakára (klasszikus és modern) és minden „stílusváltozatára” (standard és kollokvialis).<sup>1</sup> Jelen tanulmány arra vállalkozik, hogy az elmúlt század perzsa és idegen nyelven készült grammatikáit és szótárait áttekintve bemutassa a többes szám sajátosságait és változásait a klasszikus, a modern standard és a modern kollokvialis perzsában. A példákat az elmúlt ezer év perzsa nyelven született szövegei adják: klasszikus költői és történeti művek, a modern perzsa irodalom nagyjai, a mai iráni média és híres, perzsa nyelven született zeneszámok szövegei.

A perzsa névszók többségének nincs speciális alaktani jellemzője, vagyis nincs olyan tipikus végződés, amely jelezné az adott szó osztályát. (Ez alól kivételt képez a határozószók egy része.) A névszók többsége alaktani változás nélkül léphet más szóosztályba, és tölthet be a mondatban más-más mondattani funkciót. A szófajok közti átjárhatóságot mutatja, hogy a főnevesült (állandó vagy alkalmi jelleggel főnévként használt) melléknevek gyakran megkapják a többes szám toldalékát, és ez jelzi szófajváltásukat. Ezt mutatja a modern perzsában egy iráni minisztérium neve: *Vezârat-e Varzeš-o Ğavân-ân-e Irân*<sup>2</sup> (‘Irán Sport és Fiatalok Minisztériuma’) és a klasszikus perzsában Sa‘di *Bustân*jának egy sora: „*čo kbâhi ke nâm-at bovad ğâvedân / ma-kon nâm-e nik-e bozorg-ân nehân*”<sup>3</sup> (‘Ha azt szeretnéd, hogy a neved örök

<sup>1</sup> A diglosszia kérdését lásd részletesebben: JEREMIÁS Éva: Diglosszia a perzsában. In: *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984, 75–91; JEREMIÁS Éva: Mai nyelvi változások és nyelvtörténeti hátterük a perzsában. In: *Keletkutatás*, Budapest, 1986, 56–68; JEREMIÁS Éva: Sajátos kétnyelvűség a modern perzsában. In: *Quo vadis philologia temporum nostrorum?*, BÁRDOSI Vilmos (ed.), Budapest, Tinta Tvk., 2009, 165–172.

<sup>2</sup> A perzsa szavak esetében egységesen a modern átírást alkalmazom.

<sup>3</sup> Gólámhoseyn YUSEFI: *Sa‘di-ye Širâzi: Bustân*, Tehrán, Šerkat-e Sahâmi-ye Entesârat-e Kh<sup>w</sup>ârezmi,

legyen / ne rejtse el a nagyok jó hírnevét!) Sajátos újperzsa jellegzetesség a „csoportos ragozás.”<sup>4</sup> Ez azt jelenti, hogy a különböző toldalékok nemcsak egy névszóhoz, hanem névszói csoporthoz is járulhatnak. Állandósult szókapcsolatok esetén a többes szám toldaléka a főnévi csoport után járul: *kot-o-šalvâr-bâ* (‘öltönyök’), alkalmi felsorolásban kerülhet az egyes főnevek után és a teljes főnévi csoport után is. Ez a beszélő alkalmi döntése. Az arab nyelvi hatás nemcsak a kölcsönszavakban mutatkozik meg, hanem a morfémák szintjén is. A többes számú arab főneveket nemcsak átveszi a perzsa, hanem azok képzési módját sokszor analogikusan a perzsa szavakra is alkalmazza.

## 2. Többes szám a különböző nyelvi változatokban

A perzsában a főnév egyes és többes számú lehet, kettős szám nincs. Néhány szó, elsősorban páros testrészek, az arab kettős szám toldalékával (-*eyn*) lexikalizálódtak: *arnabateyn* (‘a két orrcimpa’), *šafateyn* (‘a két ajak’), *‘Erâqeyn* (‘a két Irak’, azaz az arab Irak és a perzsa Irak), *šeykheyn* (‘a két sejk’, azaz Abu Bakr és ‘Omar). Ezek használata kifejezetten formális és ritka. Az egyes szám jelöletlen. A többes számot négy toldalék (és ezek különböző változatai) jelölheti, illetve az úgynevezett arab tört többes számú alakot használja a perzsa, amelyben a főnév nem toldalékot kap, hanem belső szerkezete változik meg. Az alternációnak lehetnek szemantikai (pl. élő vagy élettelen), etimológiai (arab eredetű vagy perzsa) és „stílusbeli” (kollokvialis vagy standard) okai is. A két leggyakrabban használt többes számot kifejező toldalék a már a középperzsában<sup>6</sup> is megtalálható hangsúlyos *-bâ* és *-ân* (az előtte álló főnév utolsó hangjától függően: *-yân*, *-gân*, *-(o)wân*) toldalékok (pl.: *ketâb-bâ* ‘könyvek’, *miž-bâ* ‘asztalok’, *mard-ân* ‘férfiak’, *dokhtar-ân* ‘lányok’, *dânešgu-yân* ‘egyetemisták’, *bande-gân* ‘szolgák’, *bâžo-wân* ‘karok’). Továbbá elsősorban arab kölcsönszavak esetében használatos az úgynevezett arab ép (más néven szabályos) nőnemű toldalék (*-ât* → *ehsâs-ât* ‘érzések’, *-iyyat* → *ma‘ruf-iyyat* ‘ismertek’), az arab ép (más néven szabályos) hímnemű toldalékok (*-in* → *mosâfer-in* ‘utazók’, *-(y)un*: *enqelâbiyun* ‘forradalmárok’) és a tört (más néven szabálytalan) többes szám (*‘elm* → *‘olum* ‘tudományok’).

A többes szám toldaléka nem csak főnevekhez és főnevesült melléknevekhez járulhat. Állhat bizonyos személyes névmások (pl. *šomâ-bâ* ‘ti’, *mâ-bâ* ‘mi’)<sup>7</sup> és kérdő névmások után (*kodam-bâ* ‘melyikek’, *ki-bâ* ‘kik’)<sup>8</sup> és járulhat néhány számnévhez is,

2008, 45.

<sup>4</sup> JEREMIÁS ÉVA: Iranian languages. III. New Persian. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2. ed.) *Supplementum*, Fascicules 7–8, Brill, 2003, 440.

<sup>5</sup> Jelen tanulmány nem tárgyalja a modern perzsa hangtanának problémás kérdéseit (pl. a glottális zárhang fonémastátusza). Az *‘eynt* minden esetben etimologikusan jelölöm.

<sup>6</sup> JEREMIÁS: 2003, 441.

<sup>7</sup> Gilbert LAZARD: *A grammar of Contemporary Persian*, Mazda Publishers, 1992, 106.

<sup>8</sup> Uo., 120–123.

pl.: *bežâr-hâ* / *bežâr-ân* ('ezrek'). A *-hâ* toldalék egy további használatát írja le Jeremiás Éva: „Az adverbialis kifejezésekben megjelenő *-hâ* többesszám-toldalék sajátos jelentéssel bírhat: a »becslés« jelentésárnyalatát hordozza.”<sup>9</sup> Pl. *birun-hâ* ('valahol kint'),<sup>10</sup> *pištar-hâ* ('valamikor korábban').<sup>11</sup>

A következőkben a többes szám sajátosságait három részben tárgyalom: az első részben a modern standard perzsával, a második részben a klasszikus perzsával, a harmadik részben pedig a modern kollokvialis perzsával foglalkozom. Fontos hangsúlyozni, hogy ezek a történeti és szociális variációk egymástól élesen nem különíthetők el, továbbá azt tapasztalhatjuk, hogy a többes szám kifejezésének eszköze sokszor a beszélő alkalmi döntése, melyet befolyásolhatnak akusztikai, antropológiai és egyéb tényezők is.

### 2.1. A többes szám a modern standard perzsában

A modern standard perzsában az *-ân* toldalék hagyományosan az élőlényeket jelölő főnevekhez járul, a *-hâ* toldalék pedig az életteleneket (pl. tárgy, anyag, fogalom stb.) jelölő főnevekhez. Bár az élőlényeket jelölő főnevek esetén az *-ân* és *-hâ* toldalékok szabadon váltakozhatnak a beszélő szándéka szerint, a személyeket jelölő főnevek gyakran kapják az *-ân* toldalékot: *dokhtar-ân* ('lányok'), *pesar-ân* ('fiúk'), *mard-ân* ('férfiak'), *zan-ân* ('nők'), kivétel a *khânom-hâ* ('hölgyek') szó és az idegen szavak, pl. *diplomât-hâ* ('diplomáták'), *futbâlist-hâ* ('focisták'), *doktor-hâ* ('orvosok'). Ezt igazolja Šadri Afšâr szótára is: a legtöbb személyt jelölő főnév mellett szerepel a *-hâ* és az *-ân* is mint lehetséges toldalék, viszont utóbbi kivételként felsorolt szavak mögött csak a *-hâ* toldalék olvasható.<sup>12</sup> Az állatokat, növényeket és páros testrészeket jelölő főnevek mindkét toldalékot megkaphatják, de jellemzően inkább a *-hâ* toldalék áll utánuk. Bizonyos állatok és páros testrészek viszont nem fordulnak elő az *-ân* toldalékkal: *boz-hâ* ('kecskék'), *ordak-hâ* ('kacsák'), *guš-hâ* ('fülek'), *pâ-hâ* ('lábak').<sup>13</sup> Ezt bizonyítja Šadri Afšâr szótára is. Míg bizonyos állatokat és testrészeket jelölő főnevek esetén mindkét toldalékot feltünteteti (pl. *dast* 'kéz', *sag* 'kutya', *angošt* 'ujj'), addig más szavak (pl. *ordak* 'kacsa', *guš* 'fül') mellett csak a *-hâ* toldalékot olvashatjuk.<sup>14</sup> A toldalékok szabad alternációját jól mutatja, hogy Khânlari egy fejezeten

<sup>9</sup> JEREMIÁS: 2003, 440, „There is a special use of the plural marker *-hâ* occurring in adverbial expressions conveying a shade of meaning »approximation«.”

<sup>10</sup> LAZARD: 93.

<sup>11</sup> TELEGDÍ Zsigmond (1961): Zur Morphologie des Neupersischen. In JEREMIÁS Éva (ed.), *Opera Omnia* II, Piliscsaba, 2006, 312.

<sup>12</sup> Gólamhoseyn ŠADRI AFŠÂR és Nasrin HAKAMI és Nastaran HAKAMI: *Farhang-e mo'âšer-e fârsi*, Tehrán, Farhang-e mo'âšer, 2012.

<sup>13</sup> Saeed YOUSEF és Hayedeh TORABI: *Basic Persian*, London and New York, Routledge, 2013, 21.

<sup>14</sup> ŠADRI AFŠÂR és HAKAMI és HAKAMI: 2012.

belül hozza példának a *derakbt-ân*<sup>15</sup> ('fák') és a *derakbt-hâ*<sup>16</sup> ('fák') alakokat. Ugyanezt bizonyítja a 20. század két irodalmi példája is. A következő felsorolás Sâdeq Hedâyat *Sag-e velgard* című novellájában található: „*âdam-hâ, dokkân-hâ, derakbt-hâ va ġânvar-ân*”<sup>17</sup> ('emberek, boltok, fák és élőlények'). Míg az 'emberek' és 'fák' a *-hâ* toldalékot kapják, addig az 'élőlények' az *-ân* toldalékot. Hedâyat ugyanebben a művében a *češm* ('szem') szóhoz minden esetben a *-hâ* toldalékot kapcsolja, pl. „*yek-nafar tu-ye češm-hâ-ye u negâh na-karde bud*.”<sup>18</sup> ('egy ember sem nézett a szemébe'), míg Sâdeq Ćubak harminc évvel később írt *Tup-e lâstiki* című művében minden esetben az *-ân* toldalékkal használja ugyanezt a szót, pl.: „*Češm-ân-aš-râ be žamin mi-dužad va fekr mi-konad*.”<sup>19</sup> ('A szemeit a földre szegezi és gondolkodik.') Ha egy népszerű iráni hírportálon<sup>20</sup> megjelent összes cikk nyelvezetét vizsgáljuk a kereső segítségével, megállapíthatjuk, hogy a *sag* ('kutya') szó 307 alkalommal szerepel a *-hâ* toldalékkal a hírekben, míg az *-ân* toldalékkal csupán 46 alkalommal. Ugyanakkor más eredményt kapunk, ha a *mard* ('férfi') szóval próbáljuk ki ugyanezt, *-hâ* toldalékkal csupán 1679 alkalommal került leírásra, míg az *-ân* toldalékkal 55 259 alkalommal.<sup>21</sup> A népnevek esetében mindkét toldalék használatos, pl. *tork-ân* / *tork-hâ* ('törökök').<sup>22</sup>

Az arab többes számú alakok használata gyakori a standard perzsában. Az alternáció általában szabad: stílustól, kontextustól és egyéni választástól függ. Bizonyos szavak esetén az arab többes szám használata kifejezetten formális, pl. *asâtid* ('professzorok'), *kotob* ('könyvek'), míg más szavak esetén semleges stílusértékű, pl. *qavânin* ('törvények'), *kalemât* ('szavak'). Megfigyelhetjük, hogy vannak olyan arab kölcsönszavak is, melyekhez stílustól függetlenül csak nagyon ritkán járul perzsa többesszám-toldalék, pl. *no'* ('fajta'). Ezek a különbségek viszont még a mai kiváló szótárak alapján is nehezen tetten érhetők. Ha Šadri Afšâr egynyelvű szótárát hasonlítjuk össze Karim Emâmi perzsa–angol szótárával, számos különbséget láthatunk. Bár mindkét szótár jelöli az egyes szótári egységeknél, ha azok stílusspecifikusak, a lehetséges többesszám-toldalékok között sajnos nem tesznek stíluskülönbséget. Šadri Afšâr szótára feltünteti a ritkán használt toldalékokat is (egyenrangúként feltüntetve elterjedtebb párja mellett), pl. *ešsâs-hâ* / *ešsâs-ât* ('érzések'), *no'-hâ* / *anvâc* ('fajták'), Karim Emâmi szótára viszont bizonyos esetekben csak az arab többes számú alakokat javasolja: *no' → anvâc* ('fajták'), *elm → olum* ('tudományok'), *ešsâs → ešsâš-ât* ('érzések'), míg más esetekben több lehetséges többes számú alakot is feltüntet: *dalil-hâ* / *dalâyel* ('okok'), *ostâd-hâ* / *ostâd-ân* / *asâtid* ('tanárok').<sup>23</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Parviz Nâtel KHânleri: *Dastur-e žabân-e fârsi*, Tehrân, Čâpkhâne-ye zar, 1972, 51.

<sup>16</sup> Uo., 52.

<sup>17</sup> Sâdeq HEDÂYAT, *Sag-e velgard*, Tehrân, Entesârat-e Amir Kabir, 1963, 9.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>19</sup> Sâdeq Ćubak: *Antari ke lušiš morde bud*, Tehrân, Entesârat-e Ćâvidân, 1981, 113–178.

<sup>20</sup> isna.ir

<sup>21</sup> Az eredmények a 2017.10.20-ai állapotot mutatják.

<sup>22</sup> Moġammad Ćavâd ŠariĀT: *Dastur-e žabân-e fârsi*, Tehrân, Entesârat-e Asaŷir, 1996, 199.

<sup>23</sup> Karim EMÂMI: *Farhang-e mo'âšer-e kimiâ*, Tehrân, Farhang-e mo'âšer, 2010.

Előfordul, hogy nem arab eredetű szó többes számú alakja a szóalak feltörésével, különböző arab képletek analógiájára jön létre: *dabâqin* ('dehkánok'), *basâtin* ('kertek').<sup>24</sup> Ezek az eredetileg perzsa szavak még a klasszikus korszakban kerültek át az arabba, majd „kölcsonzódtak vissza” már a tört többes számukkal együtt.<sup>25</sup> Szabályos arab többesszám-toldalékok is járulhatnak perzsa eredetű szavakhoz, kifejezetten a formális stílusban: *bâg-ât* ('kertek'), *pišnehâd-ât* ('tanácsok'), *deb-ât* ('falvak'),<sup>26</sup> *farmâyeš-ât* ('parancsok'),<sup>27</sup> *bâz-res-in* ('ellenőrök'). Ennek használatáról az iráni nyelvtanírók véleménye megoszlik. Faršidvard szerint bár nem helytelen, de nem is „kedves a szívnek”.<sup>28</sup> Anvari és Aḥmad-Givi ezzel nem értenek egyet, nyelvтанukban a szóalakhasadás jelenségéről írnak: „Néha az »ât« szuffixum kerül bizonyos helyet kifejező főnevek után, például: *bâg-ât*, *deb-ât*, amit néhány nyelvтан- és *adab-tanár* helytelennek tart, de tudnunk kell, hogy az »ât« az ilyen típusú főnevek esetén az anyanyelvi használatban sajátos jelentéssel bír, többnyire környéket, körülbelüliséget fejez ki, a tulajdonnevek esetében különösen, pl. *Šemirânât* ('Šemirân felé, környékén)').<sup>29</sup> Az *-ât* toldalék, amennyiben perzsa eredetű, magánhangzóra végződő főnévhez járul, [ġ] kötőhanggal kapcsolódik a szóhoz, pl. *ruẖ-nâme-ġât* ('újságok'), *kâr-khâne-ġât* ('gyárak').<sup>30</sup> Anvari és Aḥmad-Givi leírják közös munkájukban, hogy bár sok nyelvтанíró használatát hibásnak véli, ők más véleményen vannak. Szerintük a *širini-hâ* és *širini-ġât* nem helyességükben különböznek, hanem jelentésükben: a *-ġât* toldalékkal ellátott szavak egy adott csoporthoz való tartozást, fajtát, részt fejeznek ki, vagyis míg a *širini-hâ* édességeket jelent, addig a *širini-ġât* édességféléket. Például – ahogy írják – a következő orvosi javaslatban a *-ġât* végű főnév tekinthető helyesnek: „*Šoma na-bâyard širini-ġât bokborid.*” ('Önnek nem szabad édességfélét ennie.') Ezzel ellenétben, *-hâ* végű párja az adott kontextusban értelmetlen: „*Šoma nabâyard širini-hâ bokborid.*” ('Önnek nem szabad édességeket ennie.')<sup>31</sup>

Számtalan arab többes számú alak lexikalizálódott a perzsában, melyek szemantikai szempontból nem többes számúak, pl. *šâderât* ('export'), *vâredât* ('import') stb.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>24</sup> ḤASAN ANVARI és ḤASAN AḤMAD-GIVI: *Dastur-e zabân-e fârsi*, Tehrân, Mo<sup>ʿ</sup>asese-ye Entesârat-e Fâtemi, 1998, 90.

<sup>25</sup> JEREMIÁS: 2003, 440.

<sup>26</sup> KHOSROW FARŠIDVARD: *Dastur-e mofaššal-e emruẖ*, Entesârat-e Sokhan, Tehrân, 2003, 187.

<sup>27</sup> ANVARI és AḤMAD-GIVI: 90; JEREMIÁS: 2003, 440.

<sup>28</sup> FARŠIDVARD: 188.

<sup>29</sup> ANVARI és AḤMAD-GIVI: 90, „Gâhi »ât« râ be âkhar-e barkhi az esm-hâ ke mafhum-e makân dârand mi-afzâyand; mânand-e »bâg-ât-o deh-ât« ke barkhi az ostâd-ân-e adab-o dastur-e ân-râ nâ-dorost mi-dânand, ammâ bâyard dânest ke »ât« dar âkhar-e in gune esm-hâ dar nazd-e ahl-e zabân kâr-bordi-ye khâš peyda karde ast va bištar mafhum-e havâli va ḥodud dârad, be-khoš dar asâmi-ye khâš-e nazir: šemirân.”

<sup>30</sup> FARŠIDVARD: 187–188.

<sup>31</sup> ANVARI és AḤMAD-GIVI: 88; 93.

<sup>32</sup> FARŠIDVARD: 187.



Rustam sleeps, while his horse Rakhsh fends off a tiger. Probably an early work by Sultan Mohammed, 1510–1520.

## 2.2. A többes szám a klasszikus perzsbán

A klasszikus perzsbán általában *-ân* toldalékot kapnak a személyeket (*mard-ân* 'férfiak', *zan-ân* 'nők', *dânešgu-yân* 'egyetemisták'), állatokat (*sag-ân* 'kutyák', *asb-ân* 'lovak') és növényeket (*derakht-ân* 'fák', *gol-ân* 'virágok') jelölő főnevek, bizonyos páros testrészek (*češm-ân* 'szemek', *dast-ân* 'kezek') és hagyományosan néhány egyéb szó is (*sokhan-ân* 'beszéd', *gam-ân* 'bánatok', *akhtar-ân* 'csillagok').<sup>33</sup> Ezekre láthatunk példát a következő idézetekben.

Ferdowsi 10–11. század fordulóján született, *Šābnâme* című művének egyik sorában szerepel a *gol-ân* ('virágok') alak: „be-nâlad hami bolbol az šâkh-e sarv / čo dor-râg zir-e gol-ân bâ tazarv”<sup>34</sup> ('Fel-felsír folyton a fülemüle a cédrus ágáról / amikor a fajt a virágok alatt a fácánnal időzik.')

Attâr 12. századra datálható *Manteq al-Teyr* című *masnavij*-ében olvashatjuk a *morg-ân* ('madarak') szót: „behtar ân bâšad ke čon morg-ân ze dâm / dur mi-bâšim az ham va's-salâm”<sup>35</sup> ('Jobb lesz, ha mint a madarak a csapdától / távol leszünk egymástól és kész.')

A 13. századi Sa<sup>c</sup>di használja a *gusfand-ân* ('birkák') alakot *Bustân* című művében: „sar-e gorg bâjad ham avval borrid / na čon gusfand-ân-e mardom darrid”<sup>36</sup> ('A farkas fejét is az elején kell levágni / nem akkor, amikor az emberek birkáit már széttépte.')

A Rumi által írt 13. századi *Divân-e Šams* egyik *gāzalj*-ében láthatjuk a *češm-ân* ('szemek') alakot: „čon su-ye man meyli koni meyli koni / rowšan šavad češm-ân-e man češm-ân-e man”<sup>37</sup> ('Ha a közelemben vágyódsz, vágyódsz / felragyognak a szemeim, felragyognak a szemeim.')

Sa<sup>c</sup>di *Golestânj*-ának negyedik *bâbj*-ának tizedik történetében<sup>38</sup> a következő többes számú alakok találhatók: *šo'arâ* ('költők', *šâ'er* tört többes számú alakja), *dozd-ân* ('rablók'), *sag-ân* ('kutyák'), *mardom-ân* ('emberek'), *kas-ân* ('valakik').

Nemcsak az *-ân* végződés, de az arab többes számok használata is sokkal gyakoribb a klasszikus perzsa szövegekben, mint a modern perzsbán. Sa<sup>c</sup>dinál például a következő szavak számtalanszor előfordulnak: *moluk* ('királyok'), *tavâyeŧ* ('törzsek'), *ayyâm* ('napok'), *vozarâ* ('vezírek'). A *Siâsatnâme*-ben pedig a következőt olvashatjuk: „Va az in ahvâl hame-ye bozorg-ân-o khavâš khabar dârand.”<sup>39</sup> ('És ezekről a körülményekről a nagyok és nemesek mind tudnak.')

<sup>33</sup> Yuri RUBINCİK: *Dastur-e zâbân-e adabi-ye moš'er-e fârsi*, ford. Maryam Šafaqi, Pežuhešgâh-e 'Olum-e Ensâni va Mojtâle'ât-e Farhangi, 2012, 154.

<sup>34</sup> Jules MOHL, *Šābnâme-ye Ferdowsi II*; Tehrân, Šerkat-e Entesârat-e 'Elmi va Farhangi, 1995, 504.

<sup>35</sup> DEZFULIÂN, Kâzem: *Attâr: Manteq al-Teyr*, Tehrân, Talâye, 2013, 74.

<sup>36</sup> YUSEFI: 2008, 43.

<sup>37</sup> Badi' al-Zamân FORUZ-ANFAR: *Mowlânâ Ġalâl al-Din Moħammad: Divân-e Šams-e Tabrizi* (I), Tehrân, Simâ-ye Dâneš, 1999, 671.

<sup>38</sup> Ġolâmhoseyn YUSEFI: *Sa'di-ye Širâzi: Golestân*, Tehrân, Šerkat-e Sahâmi-ye Entesârat-e Kh"ârezmi, 1995, 130.

<sup>39</sup> Hubert DRAKE: *Nezâm al-Molk: Siyar al-Mulûk*, Tehrân, Bongâh-e Tarġome va Naš-e Ketâb, 1961, 73.

ban amellet, hogy két tört többes számú alak is szerepel, egy új példáját is láthatjuk a fent említett szófajok közti könnyű átjárhatóságnak.

Az arab tört többes számú alakok a klasszikus perzsában ritkán még az összetétel tagjaként is feltűnnek, melyre példa perzsa többes számú alakkal nincsen. A *ḥaqāyeq* ('igazságok') arab tört többes számú alak található a *ḥaqāyeq-šenâs* („igazságok ismerője”) és *ḥaqāyeq-šenow* („igazságok meghallgatója”) összetételekben, melyek Sa<sup>c</sup>di *Bustân* című művének következő soraiban olvashatók: „ḥaqāyeq-šenâs-i, ġhân-dide-i / honarmand-i, âfâq-gardide-i”<sup>40</sup> ('Igazságok ismerője vagy és világlátott / ügyes vagy és horizontokat megjárt.');

„čonin goft mard-e ḥaqāyeq-šenâs / ka-z in ham ke gofti na-dâram herâs”<sup>41</sup> ('Úgy szólt a bölcs ember / hogy attól, amit mondtál sem félek.');

„to manzel-šenâs-i va šah râh-row / to ḥaqq-gu va khosrow ḥaqāyeq-šenow”<sup>42</sup> ('Te állomásismerő vagy és a király csak úton menő / te igazságmondó vagy és a király igazságok hallgatója.').

Hâfez *ġazal*jaiban többször használja a *khoš-alhân* összetételt, melynek második tagja az *alhân* ('hangok') tört többes számú alak, pl.: „rownaq-e ‘ahd-e šabâb ast degar bostân-râ / mi-ras-ad moźde-ye gol bolbol-e khoš-alhân-râ.”<sup>43</sup> ('A fiatalságtól pompázik a kert újra / megérkezik a virág jó híre a széphangú fülemüléhez.')

Ezek a példák azt mutatják, hogy már a klasszikus perzsában is sok olyan arab többes számú alak lehetett, melyek „többes számúsága” a nyelvhasználó előtt elhomályosult, azokra mint önálló lexémákra tekintett. Ezt bizonyítja számos eredetileg többes számú alak egyes számú használata és továbbragozása is, pl.: *ġavâber* ('ékszer'), többes száma: *ġavâber-ât*, *lavâzem* ('tartozék'), többes száma: *lavâzem-ât* stb.<sup>44</sup>

Érdekes eset Nežâmi következő sora: „khoršid ke nilgun-ḥoruf-ast / ham češm-raside-ye kosuf-ast”<sup>45</sup> ('A nap, amely "kékszelű" / is a napfogyatkozás szemmel vertje.')

A kommentár hívja fel a figyelmet a *nilgun-ḥoruf* összetétel érdekességére. A *ḥoruf* egyértelműen 'szélek' jelentéssel szerepel benne. Bár a *ḥarf* szó valóban jelent szélet, annak azonban az arab grammatika szerinti helyes többes számú alakja a *ḥeraf*, míg a *ḥoruf* a *ḥarf* mint betű többes számú alakja. Vajon a 12. századi perzsa nyelv ebben a formában ismerte vagy Nežâmi, ahogy a kommentár írja, rosszul tudhatta, esetleg a metrum miatt döntött így? Nem tudhatjuk.

### 2.3. A többes szám a kollokvialis perzsában

A kollokvialis perzsában az általánosan használt toldalék a *-bâ*, melyből, ha a szó, amelyhez kapcsolódik mássalhangzóra végződik, a [h] hang kieshet: *mard-â* ('férfi-

<sup>40</sup> YUSEFI: 2008, 66.

<sup>41</sup> YUSEFI: 2008, 71.

<sup>42</sup> YUSEFI: 2008, 40.

<sup>43</sup> KHORAMŠÂHI: 2001, 148.

<sup>44</sup> ANVARI és AḥMAD-GIVI: 92.

<sup>45</sup> BARÂT ZANĠÂNI: *Leili va Maġnun-e Nežâmi Ganġavi*, Tehrân, Entesârât-e Dânešġâh-e Tehrân, 2015, 92.

ak'), *ketâb-â* ('könyvek'). A mássalhangzó kiesése a nyelvhasználó egyéni döntése: nem teszi igényesebbé vagy igénytelenebbé a beszélt nyelvi megnyilatkozást. A nyelvhasználó gyakran még egy mondaton belül is váltogatja a *-hâ* toldalékot és annak *-â* allomorfiát, pl.: „Mage miše ke ye dokhtar in viruna-ro bebine va duseš nadâšte bâše! Bâ un harf-hâ-yi ke mi-zane va kâr-â-yi ke mikone.”<sup>46</sup> ('Hogy eshetne már meg, hogy egy lány ezt a romlottat meglássa és ne szeresse. Azokkal a szavakkal, amelyeket használ és azokkal a tettekkel, amelyeket tesz.')

Anvari és Ahmad-Givi véleménye szerint bizonyos szavak esetében általában *-ân* toldalék vagy valamely arab többes szám<sup>47</sup> használatos: *âqâ-yân / âqâ-yun* ('férfiak'), *ettefâq-ât* ('történesek'), *ahvâl* ('állapotok'), *a'sâb* ('idegek'). A kollokvialis perzsában írt *Roksânâ* című regényben, melyet a 2000-es évektől publikáló M. Mo'adab Pur írt, tíz alkalommal kerül leírásra az *âqâ-yun* szó, pl.: „Befarmâyin âqâ-yun!”<sup>48</sup> ('Parancsoljanak az urak!') Ugyanígy a *qânun* ('szabály, törvény') szó szokásos többes számú alakja a *qavânin*, mely négy alkalommal szerepel az előbb idézett regényben, pl.: „khob qavânin-e unğâ-m bâ inğâ farq mi-kone”<sup>49</sup> ('oké, az ottani törvények is különböznek az itteniekkel'). Ugyanez derül ki az 1985-ben született iráni rapper, Hichkas *Čerâ azam badet miyâd* ('Miért nem tetszem neked?') című számának szövegéből is, melyben a következő többes számú alakok találhatóak: *lât-â* ('menő srácok'), *qavân-in* ('törvények'), *kas-â* ('valakik'), *harf-â* ('szavak'), *âdam-â* ('emberk'), *so'âl-â* ('kérdések'), *sarbâz-â* ('katonák'), *gofte-hâ* ('elmondottak'), *češ-â*<sup>50</sup> ('szemek'), *vaqt-â* ('idők'). A Teheránban született énekes-dalszerző °Ali °Azimi *Pišdarâmad* című dalában pedig a következő többes számú alakok szerepelnek: *ayyâm* ('napok'), *dast-â* ('kezek'), *mu-hâ* ('hajak', 'haj'), *guš-â* ('fülek'), *ğib-â* ('zsebek'), *češm-â* ('szemek'), *lab-hâ* ('ajkak'), *asrâr* ('titkok'), *ruž-â* ('napok').

E példák mind azt mutatják, hogy a kollokvialis nyelv túlnyomórészt a *-hâ* toldalékot (és annak *-â* allomorfiát) használja. Az *-ân* toldalék, valamint az arab többes számok használata „régiesnek”, „nevetségesnek” hangzik az anyanyelvi beszélő számára. A nyelvtanuló ezek használata közben könnyen megkaphatja az anyanyelvi beszélőtől a következő megjegyzéseket: „Úgy beszélsz, mint Ferdowsi!”, „Nagyon könyvesen (*ketâbi*) beszélsz!”, mely azt jelzi, hogy ezek használatát az anyanyelvi beszélő egyértelműen a klasszikus korhoz, a versek, könyvek nyelvéhez köti. Ugyanakkor láthatjuk, hogy vannak olyan szavak, melyeket az anyanyelvi beszélő szinte kizárólag az *-ân* toldalékkal vagy egy arab toldalékkal látnak el, és számtalan tört többes számú alak található még a „legkollokvialisabb” megszólalásokban is. Mi lehet ennek az oka? A beszélő akusztikai benyomása vagy az anyanyelvi „helyességérzet”? Jelen tanulmány szerzője erre a kérdésre nem ismeri a választ és az anya-

<sup>46</sup> MO'ADAB-PUR (é. n.), M; *Roksânâ*, forums.pichak.net, letöltés ideje: 2017.09.10., 128.

<sup>47</sup> ANVARI és AHMAD-GIVI: 91.

<sup>48</sup> MO'ADAB-PUR (é. n.): 23.

<sup>49</sup> MO'ADAB-PUR (é. n.): 123.

<sup>50</sup> A kollokvialis perzsában a szóvégi mássalhangzó gyakran lekopik, pl. *gušt* → *guš* ('hús'), *češm* → *češ* ('szem').

nyelvi nyelvtanírók is csak tapogatóznak. Ezt mutatja Faršidvard elhamarkodott megjegyzése is: „Ma néhány újító nyugatimádó és nyugatmániás a nyugati újvers hatása alatt, mely egyik sajátossága a nyelvtani szabályok megsértése, olyan szavakat és kifejezéseket használ, melyek ellenkeznek a perzsa nyelv szabályaival: ezek egyike, hogy szabálytalan többes számot használnak mint például: *rag-ân, dast-ân, barg-ân* és *vâže-gân, rag-hâ, dast-hâ, barg-hâ* és *vâže-hâ* helyett. Előbbi alakokat jobb lenne kerülni.”<sup>51</sup> Az általa említett „nyugatimádó, újító” ötletek viszont – ahogy azt korábban láthattuk – mind a klasszikus perzsában gyökereznek, és számos néhány évtizede megjelent nyelvtan tartja helyesnek, sőt javasoltnak ezeket.<sup>52</sup>

### 3. Összegzés

Ahogy az újperzsa két történeti változata, a klasszikus és modern perzsa nem határolható el élesen, egyetlen dátumhoz kötve, úgy a modern perzsa két „stílusváltozata”, a standard és kollokvialis perzsa sem. A különböző „műfajú” szövegek még a standard perzsán belül is nagy különbségeket mutatnak. Mást tapasztalunk a 20. század óta született irodalmi művek vizsgálatakor, az írott sajtó vagy egy egyetem weblapjának böngészésekor. A „tankönyvek nyelvében” például az *ostâd-ân* (tanárok)<sup>53</sup> az elterjedtebb, az „egyetemi weblapok nyelvében” az *asâtîd* (tanárok)<sup>54</sup> sokkal jellemzőbb. Míg bizonyos szerzők tudatosan törekednek a kollokvialis elemek használatára az irodalmi nyelvben, addig más szerzők erősen klasszicizálnak. Egyes szerzők arab tudásukat megcsillogtatva kifejezetten kedvelik az arab többes számok használatát, más szerzők viszont nemzeti érzésekre és a perzsa nyelv őrzésére hivatkozva kerülik ezeket. Azt is láthattuk, hogy míg bizonyos nyelvtanírók – jelen tanulmány szerzője szerint helytelenül – számos, a középperzsában és klasszikus perzsában gyökeredző sajátosságot tartanak „újítónak, helytelennek, elszomorítósnak”, addig más nyelvészek – a jelen tanulmány szerzője szerint helyesen – minden olyan jelenséget legitimként jellemeznek, mely az anyanyelvi nyelvhasználat során létrejön.

<sup>51</sup> FARŠIDVARD: 186. „Emruz ba’*z*i az *garbxâde-gân* va *garbgerâ-yân-e now-pardâz taht-e ta’sir-e še’r-e now-e garbi ke yeki az vižegi-hâ-ye ân be-ham zadân-e sâkhtemân-e dasturi-ye zabân ast, kalem-ât-o ‘ebârat-hâ’i be-kar mi-barand ke moğâyer ba qavâ’ed-e zabân-e fârsi ast; az ân ğomle ast ğâm’hâ-ye khalâf-e qâ’ede mânand: ragân-o dastân-o bargân-o vâžegân be-ğâ-ye rag-hâ va barg-hâ va vâže-hâ ke behtar çonin kar-hâ’i šurat na-girand.”*

<sup>52</sup> KHÂN LARI: 51–52; ŠARICAT: 199; RUBINČIK: 153.

<sup>53</sup> PL. ANVARI és AĤMAD-GIVI: 90.

<sup>54</sup> PL. sbu.ac.ir/sitepages/home.aspx

*Rezümé*

Jelen tanulmány célja a többes szám sajátosságainak bemutatása a perzsa különböző nyelvi változataiban, amelyhez egyrészt az elmúlt század perzsa és idegen nyelvű grammatikáit és szótárait tekintem át, másrészt az elmúlt évezred számos különböző műfajban íródott szövegeit vizsgálom: klasszikus költői és történeti műveket, a modern perzsa próza nagyjait, a mai iráni médiát és híres, perzsa nyelven született zeneszámok szövegeit. Ezeket áttekintve az derül ki, hogy a többes szám kifejezésére használt eljárások igen változatosak: más jellemzi a klasszikus perzsát, a modern standard perzsát és a modern kollokvialis perzsát; ugyanakkor azt is láthatjuk, hogy a többes szám kifejezésének eszköze sokszor nem a nyelvi változat függvénye, hanem a beszélő alkalmi döntése, melyet befolyásolhatnak akusztikai, antropológiai és egyéb tényezők is.

## Kulcsszavak

többes szám, klasszikus perzsa, modern perzsa, kollokvialis perzsa.

*Abstract**Characteristics of Plural Formation in the Variants of the New Persian Language*

*This study investigates the characteristics of plural formation in the variants of the New Persian language; to this end, on the one hand, I review the grammars and dictionaries written in Persian and foreign languages in the last century, and, on the other hand, I examine texts from the last millennium written in various genres, such as classical poetic and historical texts, modern Persian prose, today's Iranian media, and the lyrics of famous Persian songs. The research has shown that the methods used to express the plural form are very diverse. The characteristics of plural formation used in classical Persian, modern standard Persian, and modern colloquial Persian are very different from; however, we can conclude that the means of expressing the plural form often do not depend on the language version, but on the occasional decision of the speaker, which can be influenced by acoustic, anthropological, and other factors.*

## Keywords

plural formation, classical Persian, modern Persian, colloquial Persian.

## MŰHELY

SÁRKÖZY MIKLÓS

## Bevezetés a fordításhoz

Nāšir-i Ḥusraw a korai perzsa *ismāʿīlī* irodalom kiemelkedő személyisége, aki költészetében, filozófiai, történeti-földrajzi műveiben egyaránt meghatározó befolyást gyakorolt a későbbi iráni és közép-ázsiai *ismāʿīlī* közösségekre. 394/1004 körül született a Qubādiyānban, a mai Tadzsikisztán területén. A korabeli muszlim és az antikvitás örökségéből kiemelkedő filozófiai tudásra tett szert, jól ismerte al-Kindī, al-Fārābī és Ibn Sina műveit. Emellett a hagyományos Korán-tudományokban is elmélyült. Nāšir-i Ḥusraw nyelvismerete igen széles körű volt: jól tudott arabul, perzsául, görögül, több, beszélt indiai nyelvet és török dialektust ismert és a hébert is elsajátíthatta. Fiatalon beutazta a korabeli Ġaznavida Birodalom tartományait, megfordult Multánban, Lahore környékén és a Ġaznavida Birodalom fővárosában, Ġaznīban is járt. Később Khurāsān központjában, Marwban telepedett le.

A Ġaznavidák khurāsāni bukását követően a szeldzsukok szolgálatába állt, és adóügyi főhivatalnokként tevékenykedett a szeldzsuk Tuġril bég (429/1038–455/1063) környezetében. Nāšir-i Ḥusraw 437/1046 táján került közelebbi ismeretségbe az *ismāʿīlī* tanításokkal. Belső sugallatra elhatározta, hogy feladja addigi kényelmes életét, és a tudás és bölcsesség keresésére indul. Ezt követően zarándoklatra indult Mekkába, felkereste a legfontosabb korabeli kulturális és politikai központokat. Hét éven át (437/1045–444/1052) vándorolt Közép-Ázsián, Perzsián és a Közel-Keleten, négy alkalommal teljesítette a mekkai zarándoklatot [*hajj*]. Utazásai során eljutott Kairóba, a Fátimida Kalifátus fővárosába, és személyesen találkozott al-Mustanszir (427/1036–487/1094) imám-kalifával.

Kairóban kortársa, a szintén iráni származású fátimida misszionárius [*dāʿī*] Muʿayyad fiʿd-Dīn as-Šīrāzī a tanítványa lett, és részt vett az ő híres „bölcseleti öszszejevetelein” [*majālis*]. Az *ismāʿīlī* tanítások mélyebb filozófiai-szellemi hátterének megismerése döntő hatást gyakorolt Nāšir-i Ḥusraw szellemi fejlődésére, és maga is komoly tekintélyre tett szert Kairóban. Tanulmányai végeztével misszionárius [*dāʿī*] rangot kapott, a fátimida imám-kalifa, al-Mustanszir felruházta őt Ḥurāsān missziós „főmegbízottja” [*huġġat Ḥurāsān*] címmel is. Ez azt jelentette, hogy 441/1050 után ő lett a perzsi *ismāʿīlī* misszió [*daʿwa*] feje, vezető teológusa és ideológusa. 444/1052-ben, miután visszatért Ḥurāsānba, Nāšir-i Ḥusraw valóban megerősítette a korabeli iráni *ismāʿīlī* missziós tevékenységet is, mindezek miatt folyamatos megtorlást és üldöztetést kellett elszenvednie az őt és híveit ellenségüknek tekintő szeldzsuk szunnita hatóságok politikájától. Nāšir-i Ḥusraw végül a mai Tadzsikisztán és Afganisztán

nehezen megközelíthető hegyvidéki részébe, Badaḥšānba menekült, és 452/1060 táján Yamgānban telepedett le. A ma Afganisztánban található Yamgānban közel három évtizeden keresztül élt és tanított igen szerény körülmények között, itt is hunyt el (481/1089). Nāšir-i Ḥusraw számos műve is itt, Yamgānban született meg, ahol biztonságban volt az őt üldöző szunnita, szeldzsuk hivatalnokoktól. Halálát követően Yamgān a kelet-iráni ismāʿīlī misszió [*daʿwa*] jelentős hídfőállása lett. A yamgāni ismāʿīlīk máig híven ápolják egykori mesterük, „Nāšir fejedelem” [*Nōšir šō*] emlékét, miként őt tadzsikul napjainkban is említik.

Hosszú utazásait rögzítő *Útikönyve* [*Safarnāma*] egyik legfontosabb és legjelentősebb történeti értékkel bíró részlete, kairói tartózkodásának, és al-Mustansir fátimida imám-kalifa udvarának, szokásainak és szertartásainak leírása.

## NĀŠIR-I ḤUSRAW

### Útikönyv

#### Látogatás a fátimida Kairóban<sup>1</sup>

##### Ó-Kairó leírása

[...] Ó-Kairó egy hegyfoknál fekszik. A várostól keletre egy domb fekszik, mely nem túl magas, sziklás és köves jellegű. A város egyik oldalán az Ibn Ṭulūn mecset áll, amely egy magaslatra épült két megerősített fallal. Āmid<sup>2</sup> és Mayyāfāriqin<sup>3</sup> falainak kivételével soha nem láttam ehhez a mecsethez hasonlót. A mecsetet egy Egyiptomban kormányzó abbászida hadúr [*amīr*] építette. Al-Ḥākim [fátimida kalifa]<sup>4</sup>, a mostani uralkodó<sup>5</sup> nagyapja idején, Ibn Ṭulūn<sup>6</sup> leszármazottai eladták a mecsetet al-Ḥākim [kalifának] 30.000 dínárért. Később, amikor Ibn Ṭulūn leszármazottai már épp a mecset minaretjének lerontásán ügyködtek, al-Ḥākim üzenetet küldött a mecsetbe, megkérdezve, mit tesznek, hiszen a mecsetet eladták neki. Azt üzenték neki, hogy ők a minaretet nem adták el a kalifának, így al-Ḥākim újabb 5.000 dínárt

<sup>1</sup> A fordítás az alábbi kiadások szövegei alapján készült: Nāšir-i Ḥusraw Qubādiyāni Marwazī, *Safarnāma* ed. M. Dabīrsiyāqī, Teherán 1375/1997. 88–100. Nāšir-i Ḥusraw Qubādiyāni, *Safarnāma bi inžimām-i Rawšānāʾināma wa Saʿādatnāma*, ed. M. Ganizāda, Teherán, 1384/2006, 70–81. A fordítás során a szöveg alábbi francia kiadása lábjegyzeteit is figyelembe vettük: Nāšir-i Ḥusraw, *Safarnāma*. Ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, 49–56.

<sup>2</sup> A mai kelet-törökországi Diyarbakir városának ókori-középkori neve (azonos az antik forrásokban szereplő ókori Amidával).

<sup>3</sup> A mai kelet-törökországi Silvan városának régi arab és oszmán török neve.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Ḥākim bi Amr Allāh, fátimida kalifa (uralk. 996–1021).

<sup>5</sup> Nāšir-i Ḥusraw al-Mustansir bi-llāh fátimida kalifa uralkodása idején (1036–1094) járt Kairóban.

<sup>6</sup> Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn Egyiptom abbászida kori egyik kormányzója (838–884), egyben az első függetlennek tekinthető egyiptomi muszlim dinasztia alapítója.

fizetett nekik. *Ramaḍān* idején és péntekenként az uralkodó ebben a mecsetben imádkozik. Kairó városa egy dombra épült a Nílus áradásának elkerülése miatt. Egykor hatalmas sziklák borították területét, de az építők mindet széthasították, és egyenesre simították a területét. Az ilyen sziklás területet manapság *‘aqaba* néven említik.

Ha távolról tekintünk Kairóra, elhelyezkedése miatt azt hihetnénk, hogy a város inkább egy hegy. Ez azért van így, mert bizonyos helyein tizennégy emeletes épületek, máshol hét emeletes házak állnak. Megbízható forrásból azt hallottam, hogy valaki egyszer egy hétemeletes épület tetején kertet épített, amelyben borjút nevelt. Ez az ember az épület tetejére egy kereket is építtetett, melyet az ökör forgatott, hogy azzal vizet húzzon fel egy lenti kútból. Ez az ember a ház tetején levő kertben narancsfákat, banánpálmákat és más gyümölcsfákat, virágokat, növényeket is ültetett. Egy megbízható kereskedő azt is mondta nekem, hogy számos ház van Ó-Kairóban, ahol nagy csarnokokat építtetettek. Ezek a csarnokok 30 m<sup>3</sup> méretűek, és 350 ember befogadására is alkalmasak. Piacok és sikátorok vannak ott, ahol állandóan világítani kell fáklyákkal, mivel semmilyen külső fény nem világítja meg azokat a helyeket, ahol az emberek jönnek-mennek. Ó-Kairóban hét nagymecset épült egymás mellé, és ide nem számítjuk Új Kairót. A két városban összesen tizenöt nagymecset van, így péntekenként mindenhol prédikációt lehet hallani, és hívók tömegeit lehet látni. A bazár közepén a Bāb al-Jawāmi<sup>c</sup> mecset áll, melyet a Mu<sup>c</sup>āwiya<sup>7</sup> [omajjád kalifa] által kinevezett egyiptomi kormányzó, Amr ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Ās<sup>8</sup> emeltetett. A mecsetet négyszáz oszlop emeli a magasba, és mihrābot is magába foglaló falat fehér márvány borítja, amelyre az egész Korán rá van írva nagyon szép betűkkel. Kívül, mind a négy oldalon a mecset kapui bazárookra nyílnak. A mecseten belül mindenfelé tanítók és Korán-recitálók vannak, és a mecset [belső tere] egyben a város fő találkozó helye, hiszen itt soha sincs kevesebb mint 5.000 ember – főleg Korán-tanulmányozó diákok, valamint szegény írnokok, akik számlákat és más pénzügyi iratokat fogalmaznak, és mások tanyáznak itt.

Al-Ḥākim megvásárolta ezt a mecsetet Amr ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Ās leszármazottaitól. Amikor azok ínségbe kerültek, kérték az uralkodót, engedje meg a mecset lerombolását, hogy eladhassák az ősök által emeltetett mecset köveit és tégláit. Al-Ḥākim 100.000 dínárt adott a mecsetért, és a kifizetést egész Ó-Kairó népe tanúsította. Ezután rengeteg csodálatos dolgot épített itt, például egy ezüst gyertyatartót, amelynek tizenhat karja volt, és minden egyes kar másfél könyök hosszú volt. Ez a gyertyatartó kerülete 24 könyök volt, és hétszáznál is több gyertya égett benne ünnepi alkalmakkor. A gyertyatartó 25 *qintār* súlyú volt, egy *qintār* 100 *raṭl*, egy *raṭl* 144 ezüst dirham volt. Amikor ez a gyertyatartó elkészült, olyan nagy volt, hogy képtelenség volt bevinni az akkori kapukon. Így az egyik kaput lebontották, bevitték a gyertyatartót, aztán visszahelyezték a kaput oda, ahol korábban volt. Ebben a mecsetben

<sup>7</sup> Mu<sup>c</sup>āwiya az első omajjád kalifa volt (661–680)

<sup>8</sup> Amr ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Ās (585–664), jelentős arab katonai vezető, az Egyiptomot 640-ben meghódító muszlim hadsereg főparancsnoka és egyben Egyiptom egyik első muszlim kormányzója.

több mint tíz színpompás szőnyeget terítenek egymásra, és minden este több mint száz fáklya világít benne. A *főqāḍī* hivatala is ebben a mecsetben található. A mecset északi fala mellett van egy bazár, amelyet gyertyabazárnak [*sūq al-qanādīl*] neveznek, ilyen bazárt pedig senki sem láthatott még. Mindenféle ritka portéka található itt az egész világból.

Láttam például teknősbékapáncél-berakást dobozokon, fésűkön, késnyeleken és így tovább. Úgyszintén láttam egészen finom kristályt, melyet mesteremberek gyönyörűen le tudnak csiszolni. Ezt a kristályt a muszlim Nyugatról [Magrib] hozták, habár egyesek azt állítják, hogy a Vörös-tenger melletti kristály még jobb minőségű és áttetszőbb, mint a magribi. Láttam zanzibári elefántagyart, volt számos köztük, amely több volt mint 200 *maund*. Volt azután abesszíniai bőr, amelynek a mintázata hasonlított a leopárdéra, ezekből szandálokat készítettek. Ugyancsak innen származott egy nagy testű, háziasított madár, fehér foltokkal és pávaszerű koronával. Egész Egyiptom bővelkedik mézben és cukornádban.

A perzsa időszámítás 416. év 10. *day* havának harmadik napján [1046–7. december-január] a következő gyümölcsöket és zöldségeket láttam: vörös rózsza, lilium, nárcisz, narancs, lime és más citrusfélék, almafélék, jázmin, bazsalikom, birsalma, gránátalma, körte, különböző dinnyék, banán, olajbogyó, mirobalán, friss datolya, szőlő, cukornád, padlizsán, friss tök, fehérrépa, retek, káposzta, friss bab, uborka, zöldhagyma, friss fokhagyma, répa és cékla. Senki sem gondolná, hogy ez az összes gyümölcs és zöldség egyszerre megterem, van amelyik ősszel hoz termést, más tavasszal, egyesek nyáron vagy koraősszel. Nekem nincsen más [dolgom], csak ezt megírni, és azt jegyeztem fel, amit a saját szemeimmel láttam, de nem vagyok felelős bizonyos ott hallott dolgokért, mivel Egyiptom igen nagy területű ország, és többfajta klíma megtalálható benne a trópusitól a hidegig. A terményeket pedig mindenfelől szállítják e városba, és árulják a piacokon.

Ó-Kairóban mindenféle kerámiát is készítenek, olyan vékonyat és áttetszőt is, hogy a saját kezét láthatja az ember mögötte, amikor azt a fény felé fordítja. Ebből a porcelánból csészéket, tálakat, tányérokat és egyéb dolgokat készítenek, és úgy festik meg őket, hogy hasonlítsanak egy [bizonyos] bársonyfajtára [*būqalamūn*], és különböző színekben pompázzanak attól függően, hogyan tartják a tárgyat. Olyan tiszta és hibátlan üveget is gyártanak, hogy szinte olyan, mint a krizolit, és súlyra árulják ezt az üvegfajtát. Hallottam egy megbízható textilkereskedőtől, hogy egy kő dirhamnyi súlynyi fonalat három magribi dínárért vásárolnak meg, amely három és fél nisápúri dínárnak felel meg. Nisápúrban beáraztattam a legjobb minőségű elérhető fonalat, és ott azt mondták nekem, a legjobb minőségű, egy dirham súlyú fonalat öt dirhamért árulták.

Kairó városa a Nílus mentén terült el, és a folyó mentén számos kisebb üzlete és kilátója van, így az emberek közvetlenül tudnak vödreikbe vizet meríteni a folyóból, ha szeretnének. De a városba minden vizet vízhordók szállítanak, egyesek tevével, mások a saját hátukon. Láttam rézkancsókat, amellyel három kosárnyi vizet is elbírtak, és azt gondolná az ember, hogy ezek a kancsókat aranyból voltak. Azt

mondták nekem ott, hogy van egy asszony, aki nem kevesebb mint 50 000 ilyen rézkancsót kölcsönöz ki darabjéért egy dirhamért. Visszaadásakor a rézkancsóknak tökéletes állapotban kellett lenniük. Szemben Ó-Kairó városával van egy sziget a Níluson, melyet egy időben várossá alakítottak át. Ez nyugatra van Ó-Kairótól, nagymecsetje és kertjei vannak. A sziget maga egy szikladarab a folyó közepén, és a Nílus minden ága olyan széles nagyjából mint az Amú-Darja, de a víz lassan és nyugodtan folyik. A város és a sziget között van egy harminchat részes pontonhíd. A város egy része a folyó túlsó részén található, amelyet Gizának hívnak. Ott is van nagymecset, de híd nem köti össze az itteni oldallal, emiatt gályával vagy tutajjal kell átkelni ezen a részen. Ó-Kairóban több hajó és csónak van, mint Bagdadban és Baszrában<sup>9</sup>.

Ó-Kairó kereskedői becsületesek az üzleti ügyekben, ha valamelyiket a vásárló megkárosításán kapják, az illetőt tevehátra ültetik egy kolomppal a kezében, és végigviszik a városon, a kolompot rázva a kezében és azt kiabáltatva az illetővel: „Vétséget követtem el és bűnhődöm érte. Aki hazudik, azt nyilvánosan megszégyenítik!” A zöldségárúsok, a patikusok, a házalóügynökök mind adnak zsákokat a vásárláskor, még ha a megvásárolt portéka üveg, kerámia vagy papír is. Emiatt a vásárlóknak nincs szükségük magukkal hozott szatyrokra. A mécsesek olaja [*ḫāyt ḫārr*] a fehérrepa és retek magjából származik. A szezám-mag ritkaságnak számít, és az ebből préselt szezám-mag olaj emiatt drága, míg az olívaolaj olcsó. A pisztácia itt drágább, mint a mandula, tíz kosárnyi marcipán viszont nem több mint egy dirham. A kereskedők és a boltosok felnyergelt szamarakon lovagolnak, jövet-menet így közlekednek a bazárban. Mindenhol, a bazár sikátorainak végén a szamarakat felnyergelik és előkészítik, és bárki felülhet rájuk egészen kevés pénzért. Azt mondják, minden nap 50.000 állatot nyergelnek fel az ó-kairói bazárban.

Csak a katonáknak és a rendőröknek vannak lovai, míg a boltosok, parasztok és mesteremberek számarháton utaznak. Sok tarka szamarat láttam, melyek egészen olyanok voltak, mint a lovak, de azoknál ügyesebbek. Amikor Ó-Kairóban jártam, az ottani emberek rendkívül gazdagok voltak. 439 [1047]-ben az uralkodó elrendelte fia születésének megünneplését. A város és a bazárok annyira fel voltak díszítve, hogy ha le lehetne írni, aligha hinné el bárki is. A textilkereskedők és a pénzváltók üzleteit olyannyira feldíszítették arannyal, ékszerekkel, pénzürméssel, fényes kelméssel és lenvászonnal, hogy nem volt bennük leülésre [alkalmas] hely! Az emberek annyira biztonságban élnek az uralkodó uralma alatt, hogy senki sem fél az ő ügynökeiktől és besúgóitól, és mindannyian ráhagyatkoznak, hogy ne kövessenek el igazságtalanságot vagy ne vágyakozzanak senki vagyonára. Olyan hatalmas személyes vagyont láttam Ó-Kairóban, hogyha le tudnám azt írni, Perzsia lakossága sosem hinné el azt. Képtelen voltam felfedezni e kereskedők vagyonának határait, és sosem láttam ilyen jólétet és biztonságot máshol, mint itt.

Egyszer láttam egy férfit, egy keresztényt, aki Egyiptom egyik legtehetősebb személyisége volt, akiről azt mondták, hogy megszámlálhatatlan mennyiségű ha-

<sup>9</sup> Jelentős nagyváros Irak déli részén a korai muszlim periódustól kezdve.

jója, vagyona, gazdagsága van. Egyszer a Nílus áradása elmaradt, és a gabona ára olyan magasra felment, hogy az uralkodó nagyvezíre magához hívatta ezt a keresztényt, és azt mondta: „Az idei rossz év volt. Az uralkodó vállát nyomja az alattvalói iránti gondoskodás. Mennyi gabonát tudsz adni, akár eladásra, akár kölcsönbe?” A keresztény ezt válaszolta: „Az uralkodó és a nagyvezír boldogságáért elég gabonám van, hogy biztosítsam Egyiptom kenyerét [akár] hat évig.” Akkoriban Kairó lakossága ötször nagyobb volt, mint Nisápúr<sup>10</sup>, és ekként bárki ki tudja számolni, hogy mennyi gabonája lehetett ennek a kereszténynek. Mily boldog lakosság és mily igazságos uralkodó az ilyen, hogy ilyen viszonyokat volt képes teremteni a maga idejében! Micsoda gazdagság lehetett ez, hogy az uralkodónak nem kellett igazságtalanságra vetemednie, és az alattvalóknak nem kellett elrejtetniük semmit!

Láttam egy karavánszerájt, a „vezír házát” [*dār al-wazīr*], ahol semmi egyebet nem árultak, mint lent. Az alsó szinten csak szabók dolgoztak, míg felül ruhajavítással foglalkoztak. Megkérdeztem a karavánszeráj tulajdonosát, mennyibe került ez az épület. Azt válaszolta, hogy 25.000 dínár lett volna egy évre, ám később az egyik sarkát lebontották felújítás céljából, így havonta csak 1.000 dínár, éves szinten pedig 12.000 dínárt kértek tőle. Ott nekem azt mondták, hogy a városban volt még 200 másik karavánszeráj, amely ekkora vagy ennél nagyobb volt.

### *Az uralkodó ünnepélyének leírása*

Az a szokás, hogy az uralkodó évente kétszer tart ünnepséget, a két nagy [vallási] ünnepen, és erre meginvitálja mind az előkelőket és a köznépet is. Az előkelők az uralkodó jelenlétében ünnepeltek, a köznép viszont más termekben és tereken. Mivel már sokat hallottam ezekről az ünnepélyekről, nagyon kíváncsi voltam, hogy megnézzem ezek egyikét a saját szememmel, ezért elmondtam az uralkodó egyik írnokának, akivel korábban találkoztam és barátságot kötöttem, hogy egykor láttam a gáznavida Mahmūd<sup>11</sup> és Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd<sup>12</sup> szultánok ünnepélyeit, akik igen gazdag és vagyonos fejedelmek voltak. Most pedig szeretném az Igazhívók Fejedelmének ünnepségét is megtekinteni. Az írnok azután megvitatta ügyemet a kamarással [*sāhib as-sitr*].

440. [1049.] március 8-án, *ramadān* havának végén a csarnokot feldíszítették a következő napra, amikor a fesztivál zajlott, amikor az uralkodó imádkozni jött és az ünnepséget vezetni. Barátom bevezetett, és beléptem e csarnok ajtaján, ahol építményeket, galériákat, oszlopcsarnokokat láttam, melyeket hosszú lenne pontosan

<sup>10</sup> Egykor jelentős iráni nagyváros Hürāsānban, egy ideig Hürāsān központja is, az iráni mongol támadások alatt pusztult el 1220 körül, ma pár ezren lakják.

<sup>11</sup> Mahmūd a kelet-Íránban, Afganisztánban és Észak-Indiában uralkodó török eredetű gáznavida dinasztia legfontosabb uralkodója volt (998–1030)

<sup>12</sup> I. Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd gáznavida szultán (1030–1040), gáznavi Mahmūd fia és utóda.



Complex palace scene, 1539–1543, Mir Sayyid Ali

leírni. Tizenkét négyszög alakú épület egymás mellé felépítve, egyik ragyogóbb volt, mint a másik.

Mindegyik épület száz könyök területű volt, az egyik építmény pedig hatvan köbkönyök területű volt egy emelvényel kiegészítve, mely az épület egész hosszában húzódott négy rőf magasságban, ennek három oldalán arany borította, amelyeken vadász- és udvari játékok jeleneteit ábrázoltak, és volt rajta egy gyönyörű kalligráfiával ékesített felirat is. Az összes szőnyeg és párna bizánci brokátból és *būqalamūn* szövetből készült, mindegyik darabot az adott terület méretei szerint szótték. Volt aztán ott egy leírhatatlan, rácsozatos arany korlát mindegyik oldalon. Az emelvény mögött és a fal mellett ezüst lépcsők vezettek fel. Az emelvény pedig olyan pompás volt, hogy ha ez a könyv ez elejétől a végéig csak ezt írná le, az sem lenne elég rá.

Azt mondták, 50.000 kosár cukrot tettek félre az uralkodó ünnepélyének napjára. Az uralkodó ünnepi asztalának díszítésére láttam egy narancsfa alakú édességet, minden ága és levele cukorból volt, több ezernyi cukor szoborral és képpel kiegészítve. Az uralkodó konyhája a palotán kívül volt, és oda mindig ötven szolga van rendelve. Az épület és a konyha között pedig földalatti folyosó húzódik. Minden nap tizennégy teverakomány havat hoznak az uralkodói konyha [*šarbat*] használatára. A legtöbb főúr és az uralkodó kísérte külön pénzüsszegeket kap ezen ünnepélyek alkalmával, és ha a város lakossága valamiben hiányt szenvedne és kérvényezne valamit, akkor ebből az összegből kiutalnak nekik. Bármilyen orvosságra is volna szükség a városon belül, azt az uralkodó magánpalotájából ekkor megküldik, és az egyéb gyógyszereket, mint például balzsamok szétosztásánál.

### *Az uralkodó kormányzása*

Egyiptom biztonsága és jóléte olyan magas fokot ért el ekkoriban, hogy a textilereskedők, pénzváltók és ékszerészek le sem lakatolták üzleteiket, csak egy hálót hajtottak le a bejáratuk elé, és senki sem rongált ott meg semmit.

Volt egy zsidó ékszerész, aki igen közel állt az uralkodóhoz, minthogy nagyon gazdag volt, és megbízták az uralkodó ékszereinek megvételeivel. Egy nap katonák megtámadták és megölték ezt a zsidót. Miután elkövezték ezt a tettet, félve az uralkodó haragjától, 20.000 felszerelt lovas jelent meg egy nyilvános téren. Amikor a hadsereg megjelent ezen a területen, a lakosságon nagy félelem lett úrrá. Aznap délig a lovasság a téren maradt, míg végül az uralkodó egy szolgája kijött a palotából, megállt a kapunál, és az alábbi szavakat intézte hozzájuk: „Az uralkodó azt kérdezi, hogy engedelmeskedtek-e neki vagy sem?” Mindannyian egyszerre kiáltották neki: „Mi mind szolgák és engedelmesek vagyunk, de bünt követtünk el.” „Az uralkodó azt parancsolja, hogy azonnal oszoljatok!” – közölte a szolga, és a katonák távoztak. A meggyilkolt zsidót Abū Sa‘īdnak hívták, volt neki egy fia és egy fivére is. Ők azt mondták, hogy csak Isten a megmondhatója, hogy Abū Sa‘īdnak mennyi

pénze volt. Azt is mondták, hogy Abū Saʿīd háztetőjén háromszáz ezüst tál volt, mindegyikben egy fát ültetett el, és ezekből kertet alakított ki. Abū Saʿīd fivére akkor írt a szultánnak, hogy kész a kincstárnak azonnal 200.000 dínárt küldeni a védelemért cserébe. Az uralkodó a levelet kiküldte palotájából, hogy ott tépjék szét, és azt mondta Abū Saʿīd fivérének: „Biztonságban vagy és térj [csak] haza. Senki sem fog bántani téged, és senki pénzére sincsen szükségünk.” A zsidókat pedig kárpótolták Abū Saʿīd elvesztéséért. [...]

Perzsából fordította: Sárközy Miklós

**Hibaigazítás:**

Előző számunk két szerzőjének fokozata tévesen jelent meg, helyesen: Gelle Zsóka PhD és Szegedi Mónika PhD. Továbbá Körtvélyesi Tibor cikkének a címe a tartalomjegyzékben annak egy korábbi változatában szerepelt, itt a tanulmánynál szereplő cím a helyes.

KÖVETKEZŐ SZÁMUNK TARTALMÁBÓL

FÁBIÁN ZOLTÁN IMRE

*Figurális osztrakon áldozati- és bankettjelenet ábrázolásával Qen-Amon thébai sírjának (TT 412) körzetéből*

SCHILLER VERA

*Görög szentélyek, szakrális helyek védelmező funkciója*

HEGYI DOLORES

*Dura-Európos társadalma és a polis intézményei*

TURCSÁN-TÓTH ZSUZSANNA

*Artemisz és az oroszlánok*

FRAZER-IMREGH MONIKA

*Marsilio Ficino De vita coelitus comparanda-ja és a Picatrix*

## Műhely

FRAZER-IMREGH MONIKA

*A Picatrix fejezeteinek tartalmi összefoglalója és a IV. könyv I. fejezetének fordítása: Filozófiai traktátus a világ rendjéről, a sensus – ‘felfogóképesség’, ‘értelem’ kifejezés értelmezéseiről*

FRAZER-IMREGH MONIKA (ford.)

*A Picatrix IV. könyv I. fejezetének fordítása: Filozófiai jellegű traktátus a világ rendjéről, a sensus – ‘felfogóképesség’, ‘értelem’ kifejezés értelmezéseiről.*

ZSOLDOS ENDRE (ford.)

*Cyprianus Leovitius a Leonicia véleménye az Úr 1572. esztendejének november és december havában látható új csillagról, avagy üstökösről*

