

THE ECLIPSE OF THE 'ABBASID CALIPHATE

Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century

EDITED, TRANSLATED, AND ELUCIDATED

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THE CONCLUDING PORTION OF
THE EXPERIENCES OF THE
NATIONS

BY
MISKAWAIHI,

*Office-holder at the Courts of the Buwaihîd Sultans,
Mu'izz al-daulah, Rukn al-daulah, and 'Adud al-daulah.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC
BY
D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

VOL. I.

REIGNS OF MUQTADIR, QAHIR AND RADI.

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APPENDIX

THE SYSTEM OF IBN ABI'L-'AZAQIR.

From Yaqut's Dictionary of Learned Men, i. 301.

It was found that he claimed to be the Truth of Truth and the God of Gods ; the First, the Ancient ; the Outer, the Inner ; the Creator, the Sustainer ; the Perfect, to Whom all notions are entrusted ; he was called The Messiah, even as the Israelites used to call God Almighty the Messiah. He averred that God entered everything according to its capacity, and that He had created the contrary in order that thereby that of which it is the contrary may be indicated ; thus He was revealed in Adam when He created him and in Iblis (Satan), which are two contraries, indicating each other by virtue of their contrariety in notion. He asserted that the guide to the Truth is superior to the Truth, and that the contrary of a thing is nearer to it than its semblance. That when God enters into a human frame, He displays such miraculous power as proves that it is He ; and that when Adam disappeared the Divinity appeared in five humanities, of which as oft as one disappeared it was replaced by another, and in five Iblises their contraries. Then the Divinity was gathered in Idris (Enoch) and his Iblis, and was afterwards separated as it had been separated after Adam. It was then united in Noah and his Iblis, and separated when they disappeared as before. It re-united in Saliḥ and his Iblis, the Slayer of the Camel, and was separated after them ; it re-united in Abraham and his Iblis, Nimrod, and was separated after them. It re-united in Aaron and his Iblis Pharaoh, and was separated again as before. It was re-united in David and his Iblis Goliath, and was separated when they disappeared. It was re-united in Solomon and his Iblis, and was separated afterwards as usual. It was re-united in Jesus and His Iblis, and separated to be re-united in His Disciples and their Iblises. Then it was re-united in 'Ali son of Abu Talib and his Iblis, and separated afterwards. Finally it was re-united in Ibn Abi'l-Azaqir and his Iblis.

He declared that God appears in everything in every notion, that He is in each person in the thought that comes into his mind, so that what is at a distance from him takes shape with him as though he were in its presence, that *God* is a name for a certain notion, viz., He whom

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men need is their God ¹ ; and this is the principle whereon God should be named in every language. Further, each one of his associates claimed to be the Lord of the next in rank ; he would say I am the Lord of AB and AB of CD ; at the apex was Ibn Abi'l-Azaqir, who called himself Lord of Lords and God of Gods, above whom there was no lord.

They did not affiliate *Hasan* and *Husain* to 'Ali, holding that one in whom the Divinity was united had no parent nor child. They called Moses and Mohammed " the two Traitors," averring that Aaron had commissioned Moses and 'Ali Mohammed, and they had betrayed their trust. They maintain that 'Ali had respited Mohammed the same number of years as the days of the Seven Sleepers, viz., 350; and that at the end of that period there would be a religious revolution.

They hold that an Angel (*malak*) is one who controls (*malak*) himself, knows the Truth and sees it (or Him) ; that the Truth is their Truth, Paradise their knowledge and the embracing of their tenets, Hell ignorance of them, and aversion to their system. They condone omission of Prayer, fasting and ablution, asserting that it is one of God's favours to His servant to grant him both pleasures at once. Their sexual relations are not regulated by marriage, arrangement or licence, but are promiscuous ; they maintain that as Mohammed was sent to the Qorashite chieftains and Arab champions, whose hearts were hard and spirits proud, there was wisdom in the prostration which he prescribed for them ; whereas now there is similar wisdom in trying people by promiscuity for their womenfolk ; and that provided a man belong to their sect he may do as he likes in this matter. It is, they hold, desirable for the superior to associate with the inferior in order that the light may be communicated to the inferior. On this subject Ibn Abi'l-Azaqir wrote a book which he called *On the Sixth Sense*. If a man refuse to follow this principle, he would in the next creation be transformed into a woman. For transmigration was one of his doctrines. He and his followers repudiated the descendants of Abu Talib as they repudiated those of 'Abbas, they proclaimed themselves only, as the truth was with them and was manifested in them.

There follow specimens of letters addressed to Ibn Abi'l-'Azaqir and his chief associates by his followers wherein language is applied to the former which the orthodox use only of God.

¹ Apparently the theory was that *ilah* (God) was equivalent to *ilaih*, " To him."

CORRIGENDA.

35, 11 Baduriyya *read here and elsewhere* Baduraya.

153, 4 a.f. 312 *read* 924.

166, 6 QUDHAF — QADHAQ.

177, 21 Junddisabur — Jundaisabur.

236, 8 a.f. 922 — 322.

440, 9 Canal — River.

THE EXPERIENCES OF THE NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

(2) THE CALIPHATE OF AL-MUQTADIR BILLAH.

Account of the procedure at the proclamation of JA'FAR son of MU'TADID, whose kunyah¹ was ABU'L-FADL, and who was thirteen years of age at the time.

When MUKTAFI's illness grew serious, his vizier 'ABBAS B. HASAN began to consider whom he should appoint Caliph; and his choice wavered. On his way from his own palace to that of the Sultan he used to be accompanied by one of the four persons who had charge of the bureaux, viz., ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. DAWUD B. AL-JARRAH, ABU'L-HASAN MOHAMMED B. 'ABDUN, ABU'L-HASAN IBN AL-FURAT, and ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. 'ISA. When the first of these was his companion, and was consulted by him on the matter, he nominated ABU'L-'ABBAS 'ABDALLAH son of MU'TAZZ,² eulogizing his character. The next day his companion was the third of these (Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Mohammed b. al-Furat), who, when consulted, replied that this was a matter to which he was unaccustomed; (3) he begged

¹ A name of which the first element signifies "father of" or "mother of"; and is used as a respectful mode of address even to quite young people. Among modern travellers the Rev. C. T. Wilson (*Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, 1906, p. 91) notices the practice in Palestine; "sometimes a mere boy is called the 'father of So-and-so', the name being that of the son which it is hoped he will one day have; for when a child is born, the parents are known thenceforth not by their own names, but as the 'father of So-and-so' and the 'mother of so-and-so'".

² Caliph 251-255 (A.D. 866-869).

therefore to be excused ; he was accustomed to being consulted only about officials. 'Abbas displayed annoyance, and said : This is hedging ; you know well what is wise. When he insisted, Ibn al-Furat said : If the vizier's choice is fixed upon an individual, let him ask God's blessing and proceed with the execution of his plan. He understood (said Ibn al-Furat) that I referred to Ibn al-Mu'tazz, about whom rumour was rife. But he said to me : All I want of you is your candid advice. I replied : If that is what the vizier requires, then what I say is : *For God's sake do not appoint to the post a man who knows the house of one, the fortune of another, the gardens of a third, the slave-girl of a fourth, the estate of a fifth, and the horse of a sixth ; not one who has mixed with people, has had experience of affairs, has gone through his apprenticeship, and made calculations of people's fortunes.* The vizier requested me to repeat those words several times, and said at last : Then whom do you nominate ? I replied : Ja'far son of Mu'tadid !¹ What, he said, Ja'far is a child ! True, I said, only he is Mu'tadid's son. Why should you introduce a man who will govern, and knows our resources, who will administer affairs himself, and regard himself as independent ? Why not deliver the empire to a man who will leave *you* to administer it ?

On the third day 'Abbas asked the advice of Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa, and tried hard to make him nominate someone. He declined, saying : I shall nominate none ; only let God be feared, and religion be considered.

'Abbas b. Hasan inclined to Ibn al-Furat's view, and with this there coincided the testament of Muktafi, which assigned to his brother Ja'far the succession to the Caliphate. So when Muktafi died, late in the day on Saturday 12 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Aug. 13, 908), the vizier

¹ Caliph 279-289 (A.D. 892-902) ; he had restored the might and independence of the Caliphate.

'Abbas appointed Ja'far to the Caliphate, albeit unwillingly, owing to Ja'far's tender years. SAFI the *Hurami* (attendant of the women's apartments) went to bring him down the river from Ibn Tahir's palace¹; when the *harraqah*² in which he was brought came on its way to the palace of 'Abbas b. Hasan, the retainers of 'Abbas called out to the boatman to come inside. It occurred to Safi the *Hurami* that 'Abbas only desired Ja'far to enter his palace because he had changed his mind with regard to the prince; fearing then that the vizier might transfer his choice to some one else, Safi told (4) the boatman not to go in, and drawing his sword said to the boatman: If you go inside, I will slash off your head. So the boatman proceeded without stopping to the Sultan's Palace.

Ja'far's appointment was then effected, and he took the title AL-MUQTADIR BILLAH ("the powerful through God"). The new Sultan gave 'Abbas a free hand, and the latter gave out the accession money.³

The qadi ABUL'-HASAN MOHAMMED B. SALIH HASHIMI stated that he had been told by the qadi ABU 'UMAR MOHAMMED B. YUSUF how, after 'Abbas had carried through the appointment of Muqtadir, he felt that the prince was too young, and designed dethroning him and appointing ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED son of MU'TAMID,⁴ a prince who was well-conducted and of fine principles. The vizier employed the qadi Abu 'Umar as intermediary in the negotiations. The qadi demanded an oath of the prince, but the prince said: If a man's intentions be not honourable, an oath will be of no avail; whereas if they are honourable, it is

¹ See Le Strange's *Baghdad*, 1900, 119-121. The princes who were not actually of the reigning family were confined here at this time.

² Some form of rivercraft.

³ The gratuity given to the troops on the occasion of a sovereign's accession.

⁴ Caliph 256-279 (A.D. 870-892).

unnecessary. God is his protector and guarantee that I will not betray him or overthrow him.

'Abbas was waiting before proceeding further for the arrival of BARIS the Chamberlain, retainer of ISMA'IL B. AHMAD, ruler of Khorasan,¹ a despatch from whom had arrived, imagining that he would have all his support and that of his retainers against the retainers of Mu'tadid. His arrival however was long delayed; and meanwhile a dispute arose between the prince (Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed son of Mu'tamid) and IBN 'AMRAWAIHI, prefect of police in Baghdad. Meeting in the saloon of the vizier, 'Abbas b. Hasan, they interchanged words, and Ibn 'Amrawaihi used offensive expressions to the prince, not knowing to what the latter was aspiring. Owing to the position of his assailant the prince was unable to get satisfaction for the affront; the suppression of his furious indignation caused him to fall down in the vizier's saloon smitten with a paralytic stroke. 'Abbas called for (5) a litter, in which he ordered him to be conveyed to his home. He very shortly died.

'Abbas then designed to appoint as Caliph a son of Mutawakkil,² Abu'l-Husain; but he too died. So Muqtadir was safely installed.

YEAR 296.

In this year there was the rebellion of 'ABDALLAH IBN AL-MU'TAZZ.

Account of this affair.

Mohammed b. Dawud b. al-Jarrah and HUSAIN B. HAMDAN were conspiring to dethrone Muqtadir and install 'Abdallah son of Mu'tazz in his place. The conspiracy was joined by many commanders,³ clerks⁴ and judges. One day when 'Abbas b. Hasan was riding out

¹ Samanid prince 279-295 (A.D. 892-907).

² Caliph 232-247 (A.D. 847-861).

³ A commander had a hundred men under him (Tabari iii. 1799).

⁴ For this profession see the Introduction.

to his Gardens known as the Rose Gardens, his path was crossed by *Husain b. Hamdan*, who fell upon the vizier with his sword and killed him.¹ By his side was *FATĪK*, freedman of *Mu'taḏid*, accompanying him; he shouted at *Husain*, denouncing his act; *Husain* turned upon him and killed him too. There was great confusion, during which *Husain b. Hamdan* galloped off to the Race-course,² where he supposed he would find *Muqtadir* playing polo, meaning to kill him. But when *Muqtadir* heard the shouting, he hurriedly entered his Palace, and locked the doors against *Husain*.

Husain then went off to the palace in *Mukharrim* called after *Sulaiman b. Wahb*,³ and sent to 'Abdallah son of *Mu'tazz* to inform him of the success of his scheme. 'Abdallah came down from his house on the *Sarat* and crossed to *Mukharrim*.⁴ There were present the commanders and the army, the heads of bureaux, among them 'Ali b. 'Isa and Mohammed b. 'Abdun, the judges and notables, with the exception of *Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat* and the persons attached to *Muqtadir*. The persons assembled swore allegiance to 'Abdallah, son of *Mu'tazz*, who was addressed as Caliph, formally invested with the office,⁵ and took the title *AL-MURTADI BILLAH* ("the resigned to God"). As his vizier he appointed *ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. DAWUD B. (6) AL-JARRAH*; he made 'Ali b. 'Isa president of the bureaux and first estimates, Mohammed b. 'Abdun of the bureaux of control. Letters were despatched to all the great cities in the name of 'Abdallah b. al-Mu'tazz, who sent to *Muqtadir* bidding him retire with his mother to the palace of *Ibn Tahir*, in order that he, *Ibn al-Mu'tazz*, might move

¹ 'Arib, p. 26, assigns some personal motives for this act.

² See *Le Strange*, p. 292. This ground was still used for polo in 479 (A.D. 1086).

³ Used as the viziers' palace; see below, p. 258.

⁴ As appears from the map the Tigris had to be crossed.

⁵ The formalities are described at length below, p. 290.

to the Caliph's Palace himself. Muqtadir replied that he obeyed.

The next day *Husain b. Hamdan* came again to the Caliph's Palace ; where however he met with resistance from the eunuchs, retainers and attendants, and such infantry as were behind the walls ; they prevented his entry, and at the end of the day he carried off such of his property as he could, with his women and children, and departed by night for Mausil.

Of the chief officers none remained with Muqtadir except MU'NIS the Eunuch, MU'NIS the Treasurer, GHARIB the Queen-mother's brother and the court-attendants.¹ When Ibn al-Mu'tazz sent his order to Muqtadir to retire to Ibn Tahir's palace, these people said to each other : *Friends, are we going to surrender in this style ? Why should we not summon up courage to avert what threatens us ? Perhaps God will dispel it.* They agreed then to go up the river in *shadha'ahs*,² taking with them a company, whom they armed with cuirasses, helmets and weapons, and thus they proceeded to the Mukharrim palace. When they approached it, those who were there on the bank of the Tigris seeing them called out : Here are *shadha'ahs* coming up stream from the Palace. Terror seized their hearts, and they began to disperse in all directions before there was any engagement and before the *shadha'ahs* had even arrived at the Mukharrim palace.³ 'Abdallah son of Mu'tazz departed, accompanied by his vizier Mohammed b. Dawud and his chamberlain YUMN, who had drawn his sword, and was crying out : *People, pray to God for your Caliph !* They took the road into the country, supposing that they would be pursued by the army, and meaning to proceed to Samarra, where they

¹ The reference is probably to various freedmen who held confidential posts, and whose names will frequently meet us.

² See Index " Rivercraft."

³ 'Arib makes the party pass the palace and shoot the inmates with arrows.

hoped to maintain themselves. No one pursued them ; and when Mohammed b. Dawud saw this, he dismounted when he came in front of his own house, entered it and hid. 'Abdallah son of Mu'tazz dismounted at another spot, walked in the direction of the Tigris, descended to the house of (?) ABU 'ABDALLAH IBN AL-JASSAS, went inside and implored his protection. People fled in all directions, and there was rioting with pillaging, battery, and bloodshed in Baghdad. Mohammed b. 'Amrawaihi, who was prefect of police, mounted his horse, but was attacked by the mob, having been one of the chief abettors of 'Abdallah son of Mu'tazz, and routed. Muqtadir appointed in his place the same day Mu'nis the Treasurer.

At the same time when 'Abdallah son of Mu'tazz left his house Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa and Mohammed b. 'Abdun were among those who took their departure thence. The two went to hide in the dwelling of a greengrocer ; they were noticed by the mob, who surprised and dragged them out, and delivered them to a servant of Muqtadir, who was passing along the streets. He mounted them both on a baggage mule which was with him, and they were subjected to great annoyance from the mob till they reached the Palace, where they were placed under surveillance.

The following persons were arrested the same day : WASIF B. SURATAKIN, KHURTAMISH, YUMN, FATIK,¹ with a number of persons who were present in the house of Ibn al Mu'tazz ; among them were the qadi Abu 'Umar Mohammed b. Yusuf, and the qadi Mohammed b. Khalaf b. Waki'. They were all confined in the Palace, and delivered to Mu'nis the Treasurer. Presently he was ordered to put them all to death ; he carried out the order the same night on all except 'Ali b. 'Isa, Mohammed b. 'Abdun, the qadi Abu 'Umar, and the qadi Mohammed b. Khalaf. These escaped.

¹ Clearly a different person from the man murdered by Husain b. Hamdan:

Muqtadir despatched Mu'nis the Treasurer to the house of ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. MOHAMMED B. AL-FURAT in Suq al-'Atash, where he ordinarily resided ; having first given his ring to Mu'nis and informed him that it was the Caliph's intention to make Ibn al-Furat vizier. Ibn al-Furat was in hiding near his house, and did not show himself to Mu'nis. Mu'nis was again sent to him, and cajoled the neighbours, assuring them that Ibn al-Furat was to be appointed vizier ; the latter showed himself at the time of afternoon prayer (8) on that day. Mu'nis brought him to the Palace, where he was admitted to the presence of Muqtadir, who invested him with the vizierate and the presidency of the bureaux. He returned to his house in Suq al-'Atash and on the morrow morning (a Monday) visited the Caliph, who bestowed on him the robes of honour appropriate to the vizierate ; the officers in a body proceeded in front of him. On the same day a robe of honour was bestowed on Mu'nis the Treasurer on the occasion of his appointment to the prefecture of police. Ibn al-Furat paid out money for a second present to the army, and the oath of allegiance to Muqtadir was renewed.

Account of the capture of 'Abdallah son of Mu'tazz.

A serving man of ABU 'ABDALLAH IBN AL-JASSAS named SAUSAN went to Safi the Hurami to give information that 'Abdallah son of Mu'tazz was hiding in his master's house. Muqtadir thereupon sent Safi the Hurami with a company ; he raided the residence of Ibn al-Jassas, dragged thence 'Abdallah son of Mu'tazz, and conveyed both him and Ibn al-Jassas to the Palace. Ibn al-Jassas was presently fined a sum of money, which he offered to pay. He was allowed to return to his residence after the vizier Ibn al-Furat had guaranteed payment.

'Ali b. 'Isa and Mohammed b. 'Abdun were delivered to Ibn al-Furat ; he examined them through messengers

and inflicted fines upon them ; a light fine on the first, a heavy fine on the second, owing to previous hostility between them. He assured Muqtadir that neither of them had any part in the affair of Ibn al-Mu'tazz. Ibn al-Furat made himself responsible for them and for the qadi Mohammed b. Khalaf b. Waki', and obtained their release. He proceeded to banish Mohammed b. 'Abdun to Ahwaz, ordering him to be delivered to MOHAMMED B. JA'FAR 'ABARTAI. He banished 'Ali b. 'Isa to Wasit, after ransoming him with five thousand dinars paid out of his own stock to SAUSAN the chamberlain, whom he thereby restrained from persecuting him ; for Sausan used to rouse the Caliph's anger against 'Ali b. 'Isa, by declaring that he had been in league with his uncle.¹ It was announced that 'Abdallah son of Mu'tazz had died in the Palace, and the corpse was given to his family, wrapped in horse-cloths. That then was accomplished which God had foreknown and foreordained, that Muqtadir (9) should be established in the Caliphate. The efforts and schemes of created beings to remove him were unavailing.²

With regard to Mohammed b. Dawud the following story was told by ABU 'ALI MOHAMMED B. 'ALI B. MUQLAH : We were, he said, one day in the presence of the vizier Ibn al-Furat when he was disengaged. One of his retainers came and whispered into his ear. The vizier seemed deeply grieved ; it turned out that he had been told of Mohammed b. Dawud's execution. He said : He was, though my enemy, a man of intelligence and many virtues ; with his professional attainments³ he combined proficiency as clerk of the *kharaj* and of the army, rhetoric, law, literature and poetry ; he was also

¹ The vizier Mohammed b. Dawud.

² The author takes the view which is shared by Tanukhi, and which is in accordance with a prophecy attributed to Mu'tadid, that Muqtadir was personally responsible for the eclipse of the Caliphate.

³ As vizier.

generous and free-handed. He has now been put to death in a terrible manner. He proceeded to curse 'ALI B. HUSAIN QUNNA'I the Christian, saying : It was he who led this man astray, for the friendship between the two is well known. He secured his own life and put his friend to death.

Account of the proceedings of Qunna'i in the matter of Mohammed b. Dawud.

Sausan and Safi the Hurami were both enemies of Mohammed b. Dawud. They incited Muqtadir against him, telling him that 'Ali b. Husain Qunna'i knew his hiding place. Qunna'i was arrested, and threatened with death. He swore that he did not know Mohammed b. Dawud's hiding place, as his letters came through a woman who brought them to a Christian woman, who brought them to him. He undertook however to hunt him down, and so was released. He proceeded to write to Mohammed b. Dawud, informing him that he was negotiating with Sausan an arrangement which would lead to his rescue ; only the transaction could not be managed by correspondence, whence Mohammed must give him permission to come to him in his hiding place. If the master of the house would not give leave for this, (10) then he must come to Qunna'i in a disguise. Mohammed b. Dawud wrote that he would come to Qunna'i on a night which he named. 'Ali b. Husain took his letter to Sausan and Safi, and let them read it. They lay in wait on the night appointed and told the prefect of police to give orders to the heads of the districts and captains of police to be on the look out for him. When he came out on that night, he was caught, and delivered to Mu'nis the Treasurer, who put him to death, and flung his body into the road, whence his family took it and buried it.

It was stated by ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH and ABU 'ABDALLAH ZANJI the Clerk that Mohammed b. Dawud

wrote a letter to Ibn al-Furat, which reached him ; he could not send an autograph reply, so he bade the bringer of the missive whom he regarded as trustworthy, greet the sender and say to him : *Your offence is no light one ; it is fresh, and hiding is an art. You must put up with having to hide four months, till your story is forgotten, and then leave me to manage for you. By God's grace after that period I shall negotiate for your rescue, and obtain an autograph amnesty for you from the Caliph. I shall say : He entered into the same scheme as the officers and their clerks ; it has been found necessary to pardon them, and his case may be treated in the same way. Then I shall advise the Caliph in your interest.* Mohammed b. Dawud however would not wait, and what I narrated occurred.

IBN ZANJI further narrated how once when he was in the presence of Ibn al-Furat the latter received a missive from the secret service agent to the effect that an " adviser " had presented himself, who stated that he had information which he would only communicate to the vizier. Ibn al-Furat bade his chamberlain go out and ask the man about it. He did so : but the man declined to tell him, saying that he wished to tell it to the vizier personally. There were a party of us in the room, and at a signal from the vizier we rose, and left the two by themselves. Presently Ibn al-Furat summoned his chamberlain 'ABBAS of Farghanah, and said to him : Collect the men who are assigned to the service of this house. He then called ABU BISHR IBN FARAJAWAIHI and said to him privately : This person has brought me information about Mohammed b. Dawud, asserting that he is acquainted with his hiding place, and that (11) he spent yesterday night with him. He wants me to send some one with him to whom he may deliver Mohammed b. Dawud. I have offered to give him a thousand dinars reward if it be true, but to punish him if it prove false. Do you go accordingly and write to

Mohammed b. Dawud at once to move from that place, for I am sending people to raid it and search for him. The vizier kept urging his chamberlain to make haste with gathering the men, the chamberlain replying that he had sent the sergeants in various directions after them, as the men were quartered in different parts of the town, some of them in Qasr 'Isa, and some at the Shammasiyyah Gate. And he kept deferring operations till a reply had come to Abu Bishr thanking him and stating that its author had moved to another place. Ibn al-Furat then bade the informer go to the place which he knew with the soldiers, with orders to surround it and its immediate neighbourhood, and after that seize Mohammed b. Dawud and bring him. If he were not found, then he was to search the houses adjoining the place, taking the precaution of barring the outlets of the streets (so that he might not fail for lack of forethought), and he was also to take a supply of ladders. The chamberlain 'Abbas, the informer and the soldiers proceeded, and a guard was set on the outlets of the streets and the houses adjoining the place. He entered the house named by the informer, but did not find Mohammed b. Dawud. The informer swore by Almighty God that he had left him in that place, and that it was where he had spent the night. He went about from place to place, but found no trace of him ; then he searched the adjoining house for him, but again failed to find him. The chamberlain returned with the informer to the vizier's presence, and charged the informer with having given false information. The vizier ordered him to be conveyed to the Public Gate and there receive two hundred lashes, after which he was to be paraded on a camel, while a crier proclaimed *This is the reward of one who gives false information.* The vizier further wrote to Muqtadir giving an account of the affair, and how he had raided numerous houses in the search after Mohammed b. Dawud, but had failed to find him ; and had inflicted punishment upon the

informer in order that his fellows might not venture to give false information. When the informer returned home, the vizier ordered two hundred dinars to be transmitted to him, and that he should be conveyed to Basrah. Then he said to us: The man told the truth, and we punished him; had I not done what I did, I could not be sure but that he would go to the Sultan's (12) Palace. Abu Bishr was acquainted with the hiding place of Mohammed b. Dawud, and told the vizier; the vizier however kept the information to himself. This story may well be believed of Ibn al-Furat, a man of generous nature, high moral worth, and noble performance.

And in this year Mohammed b. 'Abdun and Sausan the Chamberlain were arrested and executed.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason for this was that Sausan the Chamberlain had been involved in the plot of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, supposing that the latter would confirm him in the office of Chamberlain. When Ibn al-Mu'tazz showed a preference for Yumn, Sausan took alarm and took refuge in the Sultan's Palace. Sausan had a share in the administration with 'Abbas b. Hasan at Muqtadir's court; but when Ibn al-Furat was appointed vizier, he monopolized the administration to the exclusion of Sausan; whence the relations between the two became strained. A rumour was circulated that Sausan had fully determined to make an assault on the person of Ibn al-Furat, having conspired thereto with a number of *Hujari* retainers¹; and he plotted to make Mohammed b. 'Abdun vizier, nominating him to Muqtadir for the post, and offering a large sum of money if the appointment were made. He despatched BUNAYY B. NAFIS to Ahwaz to fetch Mohammed b. 'Abdun without informing Ibn al-Furat, Bunayy alleging that he had been sent merely to collect

¹ A class of retainers originally purchased by Mu'tadid and instructed to remain within the Palace. Hilal, p. 12,

some money which had been deposited by 'Abbas b. Hasan in Basrah. Before Mohammed b. 'Abdun had reached Wasit, Ibn al-Furat got wind of the plot, and persuaded Muqtadir that it was Sausan's intention to assassinate him (the vizier) first, and then Muqtadir himself; that he had been one of the chief supporters of Ibn al-Mu'tazz and only deserted him ultimately when he learned that Ibn al-Mu'tazz had appointed some one else chamberlain. He obtained Muqtadir's permission to arrest Sausan, and had him arrested and executed the same day. The officer appointed to carry out this order was TAKIN the Favourite,¹ who was in training for the chamberlainship, and actually administering it.

(13) The vizier then sent an officer to waylay Mohammed b. 'Abdun, and had him imprisoned in the Palace; after imposing on him a fresh fine, he handed him over to Mu'nis the Treasurer, who had him executed. This alarmed Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa, who was in Wasit; writing to the vizier he assured him that his enmity towards Mohammed b. 'Abdun was unabated, but that truth compelled him to attest that Mohammed b. 'Abdun was not the man to risk his life by undertaking the office of vizier, being only too glad to be safe after the sedition of Ibn al-Mu'tazz. Sausan had therefore organized this affair without consulting him or obtaining his consent. For himself he begged that he might be removed to Meccah in order to be secure against suspicion and that his name might be forgotten by the Sultan. To this Ibn al-Furat assented; 'Ali b. 'Isa was transferred by his order from Wasit to Meccah in honourable style, making his way thither *via* Basrah. 'Ali b. 'Isa wrote this letter hoping that thereby Mohammed b. 'Abdun might escape execution, and the writer himself also be

¹ *I.e.* member of a special class of freedmen instituted by Muwaffaq. Hilal, p. 12,

saved. God requited him personally for the excellence of his intentions, but the appointed term of Mohammed b. 'Abdun having come, he was not helped by the endeavours of 'Ali b. 'Isa.

When Muqtadir had become firmly seated as Caliph, he handed the government over to Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat, who proceeded to administer it in the style of a Caliph. Muqtadir devoted all his time to his amusements, avoided male companions—even minstrels—and consorted with women, so that women and slaves became supreme in the empire. Abu'l-Hasan ceaselessly expended the money in the private Treasury and squandered it until he exhausted the whole. It is to the credit of Ibn al-Furat that he commenced his government by obtaining an order from Muqtadir to send a circular note to all the provincial governors, bidding them deal justly with the populations, and abolish illegal imposts; and ordered that a pension be paid to each member of the Hashim family, and presently that it should be increased. Further he produced an order that all members of the family who had rebelled and joined the party of Ibn al-Mu'tazz should be pardoned, and treated with the same liberality as those who had committed no offence. (14) Finally he interceded for HUSAIN B. HAMDAN and IBRAHIM B. KAIGHALAGH, till Muqtadir was willing to invest them with offices. For this he used the good offices of IBN 'AMRAWAIHI.

His wise conduct of this affair.

He pointed out to Muqtadir that, if he were to punish all who had joined the conspiracy of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, the result would be disloyalty, and the increase of rebels and persons in fear of their lives, who would endeavour to compass their own safety by endangering that of the kingdom. He advised the burning of the rolls containing the names of Ibn al-Mu'tazz's followers. Muqtadir agreed; Ibn al-Furat gave orders that the rolls should

be sunk in the Tigris, and when this was done, the result was tranquillity and gratitude.

Affair of the Qadi Abu 'Umar.

The qadi YUSUF B. YA'QUB was an aged man, attached to Ibn al-Furat; and constantly in his presence he begged with tears for the deliverance of his son ABU 'UMAR from execution. Ibn al-Furat told him that he could only compass this by holding out hopes to Muqtadir of a vast sum to be paid to him. The old man offered to beggar both himself and his son to obtain the latter's life. Ibn al-Furat requested his pardon, offering the wealth of the two in exchange. The Caliph put Abu 'Umar in the power of the vizier, who demanded a fine of 100,000 dinars, imprisoning him in the office of the Treasury till he should pay the money; he paid the greater part. Part of the payment was a sum of 45,000 dinars said to have been deposited with him by 'ABBAS B. HASAN. When he had paid 90,000 Ibn al-Furat permitted him to return to his residence, excusing him the remaining 10,000. He was ordered however to stay at home and never go outside.

(15) A case of treachery involving an unpleasant coincidence.

SULAIMAN B. HASAN B. MAKHLAD was an intimate associate of Ibn al-Furat, on whom he had a hold by virtue of certain affairs which had passed between his father and the vizier's father, ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. MUSA B. AL-FURAT. The vizier found certain documents in his handwriting bearing on the conspiracy in favour of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, due to his former association with MOHAMMED B. DAWUD B. AL-JARRAH, and their kinship. Ibn al-Furat did not reveal these documents or mention them to Muqtadir; and nominated this Sulaiman for the presidency of the public audience-chamber. Presently Sulaiman injured his own cause by backing ABU'L-HASAN AHMAD B. MOHAMMED B. 'ABD AL-HAMID for the vizierate; addressing a personal letter to Muqtadir,

wherein he attacked Ibn al-Furat, his accumulation of wealth, his estates, his secretarial staff, and his friends. This letter was in his sleeve ¹ when he paid a visit to Ibn al-Furat. Standing up to perform the evening prayer with a number of clerks he let the note drop out of his sleeve, when it was picked up by AL-SAQR B. MOHAMMED the clerk, who was praying at his side. He hastened to bring it to Ibn al-Furat, who had the man arrested and taken down stream in a covered boat to Wasit. There he was put into custody and fined; presently Ibn al-Furat, acting in accordance with his usual disposition, admitted him to favour and bestowed on him an office.

In this year ABU'L-HAIJA 'ABDALLAH b. *HAMDAN* was invited by letter to attack and fight against his brother *HUSAIN*, being reinforced with four thousand men under QASIM B. SIMA. The forces joined and met *HUSAIN*, who defeated them; IBRAHIM B. *HAMDAN* then came down to intercede in the interest of his brother *HUSAIN*; he succeeded; a pardon was drawn up for *HUSAIN*, who came to the capital, and took up his quarters in the fields on the Western bank, not entering the Palace. He was put in charge of the war in Qumm, invested with a robe of honour, and proceeded to Qumm, whence 'ABBAS B. 'AMR was withdrawn.

(16) In the same year there arrived in Baghdad BARIS, retainer of ISMA'IL B. AHMAD, governor of Khorasan, accompanied by 4,000 Turkish slaves and others seeking refuge; his master followed him as far as Rayy, displaying resentment at his retainer being harboured by the Sultan. Ibn al-Furat sent a letter which appeased him; he returned to Khorasan; the vizier put Baris in charge of Diyar Rabi'ah and despatched him thither.

The vizier also made YUSUF IBN ABI'L-SAJ governor of Armenia and Adharbaijan, giving him the revenues,

¹ For the use of the sleeve as a pocket see Wilson, l. c., p. 139.

for 120,000 dinars to be paid yearly into the public treasury of the metropolis. Yusuf proceeded from Dinawar to his province.¹

In this year TAHIR and YA'QUB sons of MOHAMMED B. 'AMR B. LAITH were brought as prisoners to Baghdad in a litter on a mule, with coverings removed, followed by ABU'L-FADL 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. JA'FAR SHIRAZI, secretary of SUBKARA governor of Fars. He was brought into the presence of Muqtadir and they with him after their fetters had been removed; a robe of honour was bestowed on 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ja'far, who was assigned rank in the first group; riding in his robe he was lodged in a house in the Square of al-Khurasī. Tahir and Ya'qub were imprisoned in the Palace.

Subkara had got control over Fars, and when his secretary 'Abd al-Rahman arrived in Baghdad, he arranged that his master should continue in his government on condition of his sending a fixed tribute for Fars. He then returned to his master. Presently news came that Laith b. 'Ali had left Sijistan, and invaded Fars, (17) which was evacuated by Subkara. The vizier called upon Mu'nis the Eunuch to march to Fars, and bestowed on him a robe of honour. On his march he united forces with Subkara at Ramhurmuz, and the two proceeded together. Laith marched to Arrajan to meet Mu'nis.

A hasty move and a disagreeable coincidence.

Laith, hearing that Husain b. Hamdan had marched from Qumm to Baida, was afraid Shiraz might be wrested from him; he therefore sent his brother with a detachment of his army to guard Shiraz. He himself took a guide who indicated a short cut close to Baida, hoping to attack Husain b. Hamdan. The guide took him by a

¹ For the administration of Yusuf Ibn Abi'l-Saj in Armenia, see the Armenian Chronicle by Stephanos of Taron, translated by Gelzer and Burckhardt, pp. 119-123. Also Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichten* iii. 356.

footpath, which was narrow and difficult, unfit for the passage of an army, wherein he encountered great hardship—so much so that both beasts and men perished. He executed the guide and left the path, coming out at Khuwabdan, whither Mu'nis had already arrived. Seeing the army of Mu'nis, Laith imagined it to be that of his brother whom he had despatched to Shiraz, and advanced towards it, when he was assailed and taken prisoner. When he had come into the power of Mu'nis, the officers of the latter advised him to arrest Subkara, which however Mu'nis declined to do ; still, when they insisted, he feigned assent, undertaking to arrest him when he visited him on the morrow. For it was the custom of Subkara to ride out from his camp to Mu'nis every day to salute. Mu'nis sent him a private message informing him of the officers' advice, and suggesting to him to hasten away to Shiraz ; which Subkara proceeded to do. When it was morning and the day proceeded, Mu'nis pointed out to his followers that Subkara had not come ; so they sent to enquire about him ; the messenger when he returned informed them that Subkara had gone off to Shiraz last evening ; Mu'nis thereupon began to rate his officers, declaring that Subkara must have been informed by some of them, and taken alarm. Mu'nis then, taking Laith with him, started back to Baghdad, while Husain went off to Qumm.

A wicked plot and its result.

(18) When Subkara reached Shiraz, he had with him an officer named Qattal, who set him against his secretary 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ja'far, informing Subkara that this person was on the side of the Sultan, and had even taken an oath of allegiance from all his officers to the Sultan ; whence at any time he might produce a letter from the Sultan, ordering his arrest. Subkara, alarmed at this, arrested 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ja'far, and appointed to the office of secretary in his stead one

ISMA'IL B. IBRAHIM TAIMI, who urged him to rebel, observing that the Sultan's army having departed, and being unable to return quickly, he had best retain the money which he had been in the habit of sending to the Sultan, set his own affairs in order, conciliate his army, and then see. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ja'far from his prison managed to write a letter to Ibn al-Furat informing him of the state of affairs, what had happened to himself, and Subkara's rebellion. Ibn al-Furat thereupon wrote to Mu'nis, who had reached Wasit, a letter wherein he said : *If you have opened, you have nevertheless closed ; and if you have bound, you have nevertheless loosed ; you had best return and fight Subkara.* Mu'nis thereupon returned to Ahwaz, and Subkara began to cajole him, requesting him to offer the Sultan on his part for the government of Fars and Kirman more than QASIM B. 'UBAIDALLAH had paid for the same fiefs in the time of Muktafi, that sum having been four million.¹ Mu'nis assented and offered seven million. Ibn al-Furat declined this offer ; Mu'nis raised the bid gradually to nine million without deduction for delivery, stating that Subkara required the rest of the money raised for the pay of the army in Fars and Kirman ; and pointing out that there were many expenses there. Ibn al-Furat would be satisfied with nothing less than thirteen millions ; Mu'nis advised Subkara to meet the wishes of the Sultan and the vizier, but (19) Subkara declined to raise his bid above ten millions. The vizier was annoyed by his obstinacy, and suspected Mu'nis of favouring Subkara unduly.

YEAR 298.

Account of Subkara's captivity.

He then adopted the plan of sending WASIF KAMAH with a number of officers from Baghdad, and with them MOHAMMED B. JA'FAR 'ABARTA'I, on whom he relied for

¹ i.e. Dirhems.

the re-conquest of Fars. He wrote to Mu'nis informing him that he placed confidence in no one but him for the safe custody of Laith, and that it was his best plan to bring him to Baghdad, leaving the greater number of his officers with Mohammed b. Ja'far in the neighbourhood of the districts of Fars, lest they should all be drawn to Baghdad before affairs were settled with Subkara with regard to the tribute, and Subkara endeavour to get at the Sultan.

So Mu'nis departed from Ahwaz, whereupon the vizier wrote to Mohammed b. Ja'far 'Abarta'i, and to the officers, bidding them hasten to Shiraz with a number of the officers in Ahwaz; with him was associated Wasif Kamah, and there were sent to aid besides SIMA KHAZARI, FĀTIK MU'TADIDI¹ and YUMN TULUNI. When Mohammed b. Ja'far's army was complete, he marched against Subkara, and gave him battle at the gate of Shiraz, when Subkara was defeated and fled to Bamm, where he entrenched himself; followed thither by his adversary, who again defeated him, he retreated to the desert of Khorasan, while Qattal was taken prisoner. When the news of the victory reached Baghdad, the Sultan bestowed a robe of honour on the vizier; Mohammed b. Ja'far appointed FUTAIH slave of AFSHIN to the ministry of war and public security in Fars and Kirman, being partial to Futaiḥ on account of his good looks.

This year too there came a despatch from AHMAD b. ISMA'IL, governor of Khorasan, announcing the conquest of Sijistan, and the capture of MOHAMMED b. 'ALI b. LAITH; this was followed by a despatch announcing that he had captured Subkara; and orders were sent to Ahmad b. Isma'il to bring them both to the capital. (20) In Shawwal of this year (June, 910 A.D.) the two were brought to the city exposed on a

¹ According to p. 5 he was killed in 296.

couple of elephants ; robes of honour were bestowed on the vizier Ibn al-Furat, then on MARZUBANI, the deputy of the governor of Khorasan, while the messengers who had brought the two prisoners were sent back with robes, scent and jewels for the governor of Khorasan.

In the same year came the news of the death of 'Abarta'i, and presently of FUTAIH ; 'ABDALLAH B. IBRAHIM AL-MISMA'I was then made minister of public security in Fars.

In it too FATIMAH the Stewardess was drowned in her boat under the Bridge on a windy day ; she had married her two daughters to BUNAYY B. NAFIS and QAISAR, and these persons attended the funeral, which was also attended by various officers and judges. The Queen-mother appointed UMM MUSA THE HASHIMITE Stewardess in her place, and the latter acted as intermediary between the Queen-mother with Muqtadir, and Ibn al-Furat.

YEAR 299.

In this year Ibn al-Furat was arrested and his palace placed under surveillance, where the privacy of the women's apartments was disgracefully violated ; his dwelling and those of his clerks and dependents were plundered, while civil war raged in Baghdad, and houses were pillaged. Now Mu'nis the Treasurer commanded the police of Baghdad, having under his orders in virtue of his office 9,000 mounted men ; when the civil war grew fierce and the pillaging increased, he would ride about, and out of respect for him the people would grow calm and stop plundering ; but when he had dismounted things would resume their former course. For three days and nights the disorder was very serious, then it was allayed.

The duration of this first vizierate of Ibn al-Furat was three years, eight months and thirteen days ; the appointment was now given to ABU 'ALI MOHAMMED B.

'UBAIDALLAH B. YAHYA B. (21) KHAQAN, in Dhu'l-Hijjah 299.¹ He appointed the heads of departments, and gave them their respective rank in their offices. He put the examination of Ibn al-Furat and his dependents and clerks in the hands of ABU'L-HASAN AHMAD B. YAHYA B. ABI'L-BAGHL. He also entrusted him with the bureau of the fined, that of the 'Abbasi estates, and that of the control of the estates of Ibn al-Furat. Of the associates of Ibn al-Furat there went into hiding ABU 'ALI MOHAMMED B. 'ALI B. MUQLAH, ABU'L-TAYYIB KALWADHI, ABU'L-QASIM HISHAM, and ABU BISHR B. FARAJAWAIHI; the remainder were arrested, their houses plundered and demolished, and themselves imprisoned. Their inquisitor was Ibn Abi'l-Baghl, who tortured them; he also was inquisitor in the case of Ibn al-Furat, only was not allowed to do him any personal injury, though permitted to maltreat all his dependents and clerks.

*Account of the schemes of Ibn Abi'l-Baghl and
their turning against him.*

Abu'l-Husain Ibn Abi'l-Baghl had been banished in the days of Ibn al-Furat to Ispahan; and when the civil war arose in Baghdad, and his brother² was appointed to examine Ibn al-Furat and his dependents, that brother intrigued to obtain the vizierate for him so soon as he was able to interview Umm Musa,³ offering a large sum which he was prepared to raise and increase. With this he sought to work on the covetousness of Muqtadir. He then circulated a rumour that the appointment had been made, and wrote to his brother bidding him hasten to Baghdad, the missive being conveyed by ABU BAKR brother of Umm Musa. On his way he was addressed as Vizier, and was met by the officers and others on his arrival at the metropolis.

¹ Began July 19, 912.

² More correctly his cousin.

³ The recently appointed Stewardess of the Palace.

On a certain evening ABU 'ALI KHAQANI rode to the Palace, and requested an audience of Muqtadir, which was granted ; he pointed out to the Caliph that affairs were in disorder, the tribute delayed, and the world rendered desolate by the number of rumours on this subject, Ibn Abi'l-Baghl stating that he had been summoned to assume the vizierate. Muqtadir returned a soft answer, and gave him permission to remove Ibn Abi'l-Baghl and his brother from the metropolis ; he accordingly arrested and banished them.

(22) Umm Musa the Stewardess withdrew her favour in consequence from the vizier Abu 'Ali Khaqani ; and he in alarm at this, and fearing she might ruin him, conciliated her by investing Abu'l-Husain of the pair with the control of the *kharaaj* and the Estates in Ispahan, and his brother Abu'l-Hasan with the government of Silh and Mabarik.

The vizier further wrote ordering the release of ABU'L-HAITHAM 'ABBAS B. THAWABAH who had been imprisoned in Mausil, whither he had been transferred by Ibn al-Furat during the reverse of Mohammed b. 'Abdun owing to their relationship.¹ This Ibn Thawabah used to act as secretary for MOHAMMED B. DEVADADH,² and had a bad character. Coming to Baghdad in the year 300 he was appointed by the vizier Abu 'Ali Khakani to the bureau of fines and of the 'Abbasi and Furati estates, and into his hands was put the inquisition on Ibn al-Furat, his dependents and clerks. He maltreated them excessively and tortured them in all sorts of ways, and repeatedly examined Ibn al-Furat ; insulting and reviling Ibn al-Furat on some of these occasions, in the presence of Umm Musa,³ when he was repaid by Ibn al-Furat with the like, who ascribed to him every evil

¹ See above, p. 12.

² Brother of Ibn Abi'l-Saj, called Afshin.

³ See below, p. 88.

uality. Ibn Thawabah wrote to Muqtadir, asserting that Ibn al-Furat had only ventured to do this owing to his extreme pride and his vast wealth, and asked leave to torture him. Muqtadir accordingly let Ibn Thawabah do what he liked with him; so he put him in chains and fetters, clothed him in a woollen *jubbah*, and exposed him in the sun for a period of four hours till he all but perished. An account of this was brought by BADR the HURAMI to Muqtadir, who expressed disapproval of Ibn Thawabah's action, and ordered Ibn al-Furat to be removed to one of the private apartments under the control of ZAIDAN the Stewardess, where he was well treated and comforted, but only after Ibn al-Furat had worn a solemn oath that there remained no treasure, property, or goods of value to which he had not confessed when questioned by Ibn Abi'l-Baghl.

(23) This oath was accepted by Muqtadir, who forbade Ibn Thawabah to examine him further. After this Muqtadir began to consult Ibn al-Furat about affairs of state, showing him the letters of the viziers to himself and answering them in accordance with his advice. When charges against Abu 'Ali Khaqani became frequent, and ABU'L-QASIM IBN AL-HAWARI became powerful.¹

*Account of the mismanagement of the vizierate by
Abu 'Ali Khaqani.*

This vizier found his time fully occupied with paying court to the Sultan and looking after his own enemies, so that he had not time to read the letters that came or were despatched; he relied on his son ABU'L-QASIM ABDALLAH, to whom he gave besides the charge of showing despatches to the Caliph, with that of acting as his deputy in general administration.

This son was given to drinking, and attended exclusively to the affairs of the officers and troops, and the

¹ In Hilal's work he is represented as an ally of Umm Musa.

appointments to governorships, neglecting all else. He had given the duty of reading incoming letters to ABU NASR MĀLIK B. AL-WALID, and that of reading outgoing documents to ABU 'ISA YAHYA B. IBRAHIM MALIKI. Abu 'Ali and his son had summaries made of what came in and went out, but neither of them read them until the affairs with which they dealt were past ; the memoranda of remittances and cheques remained unopened in their storehouse, their contents being unknown. Thus under the administration of Abu 'Ali Khaqani affairs went to wrack and ruin. In one week he would appoint a number of governors to the same district, as many as seven, it is said, to Mah al-Kufah in the course of twenty days ; these all met in a *Khan* in Hulwan. For the administration of Qurdi and Bazibdha he appointed five governors who met in a *Khan* at 'Ukbara on one day. The reason for this was the profits obtained by his sons and clerks from the governors whom they appointed. All sorts of stories were written and remembered about him. He also was very free in issuing orders, increases, gratuities and ratifications, both directly and through his sons, and BUNAN, Yahya b. Ibrahim (24) Maliki, and Ahmad and Mohammed sons of Sa'id. Khaqani endeavoured to endear himself to the hearts of the nobles and the commons by forbidding the servants of the Sultan and the chief officers of the army to head their letters with servile expressions, while he conciliated the common people by praying with them in the mosques which are in the streets. If he saw a company of sailors or others of humble rank praying in a mosque on the river-bank, he would order a boat, embark and join the worship. By his conduct the office of vizier became degraded and humiliated.

When any one asked him a favour he would beat his breast, and say " with all my heart." Hence he was called " He beat his breast." Money began to run short,

and he was unable to pay in full the stipendiaries and chief officers, &c. In consequence they rioted, made for the Oratory,¹ and abode there, taking with them most of the officers. The affair became serious, and they assailed him with violent language. He was ordered by Muqtadir to pay them their stipends, but excused himself on the ground of the deficiency of supplies, and the reduction of the revenue; observing further that the moneys extracted from Ibn al-Furat and his dependents had gone into the private Treasury, out of which the Treasurer declined to make any payment. Muqtadir accordingly ordered that half a million dinars should be paid out of that Treasury to be expended in satisfying the demands of the rioters. SHAFĪ' LU'LU'I was then appointed postmaster of Baghdad, and overseer of the vizier, the army, the officials, judges and police.

When Ibn Thawabah saw the weakness of the vizier he endeavoured to conciliate Muqtadir by letters, delivered by Umm Musa, wherein he asserted his ability to extract vast sums from the officials which had been overlooked by Khaqani; *e.g.*, 700,000 dinars from MOHAMMED B. 'ALI MADARA'I and his brother IBRAHIM alone. Khaqani was ordered to give full powers to Ibn Thawabah, who, receiving them, (25) began to extort moneys with violence, and got control of affairs, discharging the officers appointed by the vizier, and appointing whom he thought fit. Various knaves managed to write letters and convey them through Umm Musa to Muqtadir, requesting posts, and promising money; Khaqani was ordered to appoint them. His administration was thus weakened, and these knaves became associated with him in his duties, and extorted money by all means and every form of violence.

Now HAMID B. 'ABBAS had been farming the revenue of Wasit and the district for four years; the clerks had

¹ See Note on p. 56.

drawn up his account, making him owe 240,000 dinars for each year, and besides 24,000 *kurr* of barley, of normal size, for the horses of the troops, to be exacted from him in addition to the cash specified. In reality Hamid had contracted according to the register of the preceding year with a slight addition. The deficit, waste and confusion were due to Khaqani, who during the days of 'UBAIDALLAH B. SULAIMAN ¹ and down to the time of his concealing himself during the first vizierate of Ibn al-Furat had been in charge of the post, the appeals and the portfolios in Masabadhan. When he was invested with the vizierate, he was bewildered owing to want of experience. Mu'nis bethought him of appointing 'ALI B. 'ISA instead.

YEAR 300.

When Muqtadir perceived the disorder, mismanagement and anarchy, he consulted Mu'nis the Eunuch, informing him that the state of affairs suggested the restoration of Ibn al-Furat to the vizierate; Mu'nis was however offended with Ibn al-Furat owing to certain matters, some of which we have recorded in the account of the episode with Subkara, when he arranged the affairs of Fars, and that arrangement was cancelled by Ibn al-Furat. He told Muqtadir that it would cause a scandal if the provincial governors were to learn that the Sultan had dismissed a vizier and then been compelled to restore him to office after a few months of dismissal; (26) and that the Sultan's action would be attributed simply to the desire to seize the vizier's goods. He went on to say that the cosmic secretaries who had managed the empire and been at the head of the bureaux since the days of Mu'tadid were the two sons of Furat, of whom Abu'l-'Abbas was now dead, whereas the other had held the vizierate until dismissal; further MOHAMMED B. DAWUD and MOHAMMED B. 'ABDUN, both of whom had been killed in the sedition of Ibn al-Mu'tazz. Besides

¹ Vizier of Mu'tadid 278.

these there was 'ALI B. 'ISA, and with the exception of him there was no-one left capable of administering the empire. Mu'nis described him as trustworthy, faithful, pious, single-minded, safe and competent ; so he was ordered by Muqtadir to despatch YALBAQ¹ to him to summon him to the metropolis. To Khaqani he alleged that he was summoning him to act as deputy for Khaqani's son 'Abdallah in the bureaux. And indeed Khaqani used to say in his audience-chamber that he had written to have 'Ali b. 'Isa brought to the metropolis in order that he might be the deputy of 'Abdallah. On Monday 10 Muharram, 302,² when Khaqani rode to the palace of the Sultan, he, his sons 'Abdallah and 'Abd al-Wāhid, Abu'l-Haitham Ibn Thawabah, Yahya b. Ibrahim Maliki, Ahmad and Mohammed sons of Sa'id the chamberlains, Bunan and SA'ID B. 'UTHMAN AL-NAFFAT were arrested, and given in custody to NADHIR HURAMI ; Sa'id b. 'Uthman was one of those who had helped to procure the vizierate for Khaqani, and been rewarded by him with an important office. In this year 'Abdallah b. Ibrahim al-Misma'i was dismissed from the ministry of public security in Fars, and the office was given to BADR HAMMAMI, who had held the same office in Ispahan. After his transference to this office in Fars and Kirman, his former charge was given to 'ALI B. WAHSUDHAN the Dailemite.

YEAR 301.

In this year ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. 'ISA assumed the office of vizier at the time of his arrival from Meccah. Robes of honour were bestowed on him (27) and he rode from the Palace to his own house, accompanied by Mu'nis the Eunuch, Gharib the Queen-mother's brother and the other captains and retainers, also mounted. The day of his decoration he was given possession of the persons of Mohammed b. 'Ubaidallah Khaqani, his two sons

¹ Freedman of Mu'nis, who plays an important part later.

² Aug. 5, 914.

and the rest of the persons whom I have named above. He imposed upon them fines of moderate amount, which he exacted in full ; he then permitted Khaqani to return to his home, where he was to remain under custody, but great care was taken to guard his family from insult. He had Abu'l-Haitham Ibn Thawabah tortured.

He then commenced an investigation of the state of the departments, carrying this out in the vizier's palace in Mukharrim ; thither he betook himself every morning and there he worked till the latest time when the last evening prayer may be said, and then he returned home. He sent the usual notification to every provincial governor of the robes bestowed on him by the Caliph, and his being entrusted with the management of the bureaux and of the empire. While confirming them in their several appointments he bade them use their best efforts to secure the prosperity of their provinces, and ended as follows : This is the commencement of the year, the beginning of a new season, and the time when the land-tax is capable of being made to thrive. I know of nothing which I need demand of you or remind you of ; I will only bid you send a considerable portion of the money, and despatch advice thereof together with the answer to this letter so soon as you have seen it. You shall then write to me describing the state of your province with a report such as we can understand and will show us how you have conducted yourself therein and the nature of your methods for rendering the resources of your province copious and fruitful ; and you may delay the apportioning of revenues and the like to special purposes until letters and orders come from me for the purpose of sounding your judgment concerning the principles to be observed in your action. Make up your mind that I will have no laxity nor tampering with any of the rights of the Commander of the Faithful, nor will leave a single dirhem of his money unaccounted ; nor

will I put up with any negligence of the interests of the government whether the culprit be my kin or a stranger ; and you should not be more anxious to earn merit in such matters than to deal justly and equitably with your subjects and to remove from them unfair burdens small or great. For I shall hold you answerable for these things as I hold you answerable for the honest administration of the Sultar's revenues and the (28) proper guarding of his property. And do you write to me without fail from time to time about your dealings, that I may know them, if God will.

After this he installed various persons in the bureaux and dismissed others, and did the like with the provincial governors. He then tried to find out who were in the habit of appropriating the revenues of the Sultan, and living in grand style therewith, or neglecting the improvement of the provinces and devoting their energies elsewhere ; dismissing such officials, he put the frontiers into a state of defence, and repaired the hospitals, saw that the overseers of these institutions were properly paid, provided for the wants of the patients and their attendants, and repaired the public mosques. Orders on these subjects were issued by him to the governors in all the provinces, and he further issued an order about appeals, as follows :—In the name of God, &c. When any appeal is lodged with you before New Year's Day, the appellant asserting that portions of his fruits have been ruined by some disaster, in enquiring into the truth thereof you must rely on the most trustworthy and competent of your helpers, in order that you may ascertain the truth. Then when the injustice is made manifest, you shall remove it and substitute justice for it ; you shall reduce the assessment in accordance with the results of the investigation ; you shall then proceed to exact the land-tax without favour to the strong or injustice to the weak. And in all that has been committed

to you court publicity, and compass complete justice towards the subjects and general equity—if God will.

He further issued an order abolishing the supplementary tax in Fars, and a series of similar documents, which won fame and eulogy, on a variety of similar matters. In short Abu'l-*Hasan* 'Ali b. 'Isa administered the world admirably, giving his deputies excellent instructions, seeing that justice was done to the subjects, abolishing unfair usages, and displaying thorough competence in his management of the vizierate, the bureaux and the general business of the empire. He was honest, self-denying and pious. He devoted attention to appeals, abolished the duty in Meccah, the supplement in Fars, and the "Sea-market" in Ahwaz,¹ as well (29) as the wine-tax in Diyar Rabi'ah. Thus he proved a blessing to the world. He put the country into a prosperous condition, and thereby obtained increased revenues. He won the favour of the Sultan, whose dignity was restored, while the subjects prospered.

'Ali b. 'Isa proceeded to abolish the increases made by Khaqani during his vizierate in the bureaux of the army and their fiefs ; now this increase had been extended to all ranks in the army from generals downwards, to servants and attendants and further to all clerks and employés. It amounted therefore to a vast sum ; when it was withdrawn the vizier incurred general hostility, and was charged with parsimony, miserliness, and starving the army. He was however forced to adopt this course because he found the Sultan's expenses greatly in excess of his revenue, necessitating the demolition of treasuries and expending their contents on useless objects.

THABIT B. SINAN records the following statement made by 'Ali b. 'Isa : I had made, he said, a statement of the revenue of the empire and the expense which I had to

¹ Yaqut (in his geographical dictionary) knows nothing more about this than what this passage implies. The supplement in Fars was a tax on trees,

meet, and found the expenditure considerably larger than the revenue. Ibn al-Furat said to me one day after he had superseded me, when I had been brought out of prison in the Palace to be examined by him : You have abolished the customs and so put an end to the revenue.—What customs, I asked, have I abolished ?—He replied : The duty in Meccah and the Supplement in Fars.—I said : Are those the only duties which I have abolished ? On the contrary I have abolished a number, which I proceeded to enumerate, amounting to half a million dinars annually. But, I said, I do not consider this a large sum if compared with the burdens whereof I have eased the Commander of the Faithful, and the stains and blots which I have removed from his rule. At the same time as you consider my reductions and abolitions, consider also the sums which we respectively have raised and the sums which we each have spent.—Thabit said he asked 'Ali b. 'Isa what answer 'Ibn al-Furat gave him.—An attendant, he replied, came out and separated us before he could answer.

I was informed, he adds, by AHMAD B. MOHAMMED B. SAM'UN, who was inspector of the province Nahrawanat (30) as follows : We had, he said, been assessing the produce of the farmers, when one of them without our knowledge came to the door of the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa to complain that we had overestimated one of his fields. All of a sudden we received a visit from an officer named IBN AL-BADHDHAL, with a troop of surveyors from Baduriyya and an escort of cavalry and infantry. We felt sure that he had come to cashier us. My colleague asked me to meet him and find out the news. I did so and learned about the complainant. My colleague then asked me whether I knew how the complainant's land had been assessed, and when I answered in the negative, he told me to go and make an exact measurement. I accordingly took with me the local surveyors and by using

the utmost diligence obtained the exact measurement ; in the previous survey we had made it 22 *jaribs*, but this time it came to 21 *jaribs* and one *qafiz*. I argued in excuse that the previous measurement had been made when the corn was standing, whereas this time it was measured after reaping, and there was nothing surprising about this amount of difference being found between the two measurements in these two different states. Ibn al-Badhdhal went away ; and presently there arrived a terribly menacing letter from 'Ali b. 'Isa, threatening terrible things if he found that any one of the subjects had been unfairly treated in the survey or any other transaction. In consequence, he said, we did not venture to make our demands very strict ; and when the next year came, the revenue had gone up 30 per cent., the rumour having spread that justice was being practised, and that robbery and extortion were at an end. Hence people were encouraged to go in more for agriculture.

He acted similarly with appeals. IBN AL-MUSHARRIF records how one of the administrators of Baduriyya made a demand for land-tax with arrears, and imprisoned the persons concerned ; they put up with imprisonment, so he put them in irons ; they endured those too, but he did not venture to torture them, for fear of 'Ali b. 'Isa. So he wrote a letter in their presence (31) to 'Ali b. 'Isa wherein he strove to exasperate the vizier against them, declaring that they were people who were proud of their powers of endurance, and had been withholding moneys which they owed ; they showed themselves indifferent to imprisonment and fetters ; unless the vizier gave the writer full powers to chastise them and extort the money from them, they would permanently retain it, and the example would be followed by the inhabitants of the Sawad, and the revenue cease to come in in consequence. The vizier however would be able to judge best.—The prisoners said that they were in despair fearing that the

officer would be given full power to torture them to death, knowing what his feelings towards them were ; they thought of giving in, but finally decided to wait till the vizier's reply came. Presently there came a re-script in the vizier's own writing on the back of the letter : it was as follows : The land-tax, God preserve you, is a debt, for which the debtor may be arrested ; but beyond that you may not go. Greetings. Thus we were delivered, and we paid just what was due. When next year came, the revenue of Baduriyya increased 20 per cent., and we went so far as to sow on our rooves, such confidence had we in the justice of the government.

When Abu 'Ali Khaqani was cashiered, many documents were forged in his name ; a number of grants of this sort were brought to 'Ali b. 'Isa, who, suspecting their genuineness, collected them and sent them to Khaqani, asking him to examine them and to report to him which were genuine and which were spurious. It so happened that when the messenger arrived, Abu 'Ali Khaqani was saying his prayers ; the messenger in consequence placed the documents before his son Abu'l-Qasim, and delivered the message. Abu'l-Qasim began to separate the genuine from the spurious, but his father made a sign to him to stop. When he had finished his prayer, he took and glanced at them, then mixed them together and returned them to the messenger, saying : *Give my greetings to the vizier and inform him that all these deeds are genuine. I ordered these grants, and use your discretion about ratifying them.* When the messenger had retired, he said to his son : Did you want to make me incur people's hatred for no reason, and to be yourself the vizier's (32) catspaw ? We are out of office, so why should we not earn popularity by letting all these forged orders be ratified ? If they are ratified, we shall get the credit, whilst the loss will be sustained by him ; whereas if he nullify them, we shall

get the praise and he the blame.—People approved this action of Khaqani, and 'Ali b. 'Isa made himself disliked by the courtiers, the public and the retinue by withdrawing those additions which had come to be regarded by those who enjoyed them as their proper stipends, and by abolishing that expenditure which meant useless waste of money. His rule was thus found oppressive and was disliked and endeavours were made to vilify him, and set Muqtadir against him. Certain persons intrigued to restore the vizierate to Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat.

This year saw *HUSAIN B. MANSUR HALLAJ* arrested at Sūs, and brought to Baghdad exposed on a camel; he had first been brought to 'ALI B. AHMAD RASIBI, who brought him to the metropolis, where he was crucified alive,¹ with his follower, his wife's brother. The executions took place simultaneously on the two sides of the river. For a time Hallaj was imprisoned by himself in the Palace. It was ascertained both in Ahwaz and in Baghdad that he had claimed divinity, and asserted that the deity took up his abode in the nobles.²

In the same year the vizier restored Abu 'Ali Khaqani to his liberty, and took him out of custody. Also 'Ali b. Ahmad Rasibi died in the Dur al-Rasibi,³ and Mu'nis the Eunuch proceeded by the advice of 'Ali b. 'Isa to seize his property. He wrote to NU'MAN B. 'ABDALLAH to come and meet him for the purpose. He wrote that he had realized about a million dinars.⁴

¹ The author is here anticipating. The execution of Hallaj is narrated in 309.

² The family of 'Ali is meant.

³ Name of a region in Khuzistan between Tib and Jundisabur, according to Yaqut, *Geogr.* ii. 217, who gives this person's *kunya* as Abu'l-Husain. He states that this man farmed land which paid the government 1,400,000 dinars annually, and that he was allowed to rule his lands with little or no interference from headquarters.

⁴ In the account given by 'Arib it is Muqtadir who sends to seize the property. The right of the Caliph to seize the estates of deceased persons was at this time recognised.

The same year a robe of honour was bestowed upon the prince Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn Muqtadir, who was given conduct of the war in Egypt and the Maghrib; Mu'nis the Eunuch was made his deputy in Egypt. The prince 'Ali b. Muqtadir was put in charge of prayer, public security and war in the districts of Rayy, (33) Dinawand, Qazwin, Zanjan, Abhar and Tarm.

In the same year there arrived news of the assassination of AHMAD B. ISMA'IL B. AHMAD, ruler of Khorasan, on the bank of the river of Balkh at the hands of his retainers. He was succeeded by his son ABU'L-HASAN NASR, to whom a deed was sent by Muqtadir, investing him with the government of Khorasan in his father's stead.

In the same year news arrived of the assassination of ABU SA'ID JANNABI HASAN B. BAHRAM, who had made himself master of Hajr, at the hands of a eunuch; who, after assassinating his master had called one of his leading associates, telling him that he was summoned by the master; when this person presented himself, the eunuch proceeded to assassinate him, and continued the like procedure until he had slain four chieftains: when he called a fifth, this chief suspected treachery, and cried out; his cries aroused the women who also shouted for help, when the eunuch was arrested before he could murder the fifth. The eunuch was then executed; he was a Slav. Abu Sa'id had designated his son SA'ID as his successor; he was however unequal to the business, and was ousted by his younger brother ABU TAHIR SULAIMAN B. HASAN.

In the year 299 the Qarmatians had appeared at the gate of Basrah, where the chief of the garrison was MOHAMMED B. ISHAQ B. KUNDAJIQ. It was a Friday, and people were at prayer, when the cry was raised: The Qarmatians! The doorkeepers went out to them

and found two cavaliers, one of whom had dismounted and was seated leaning against the milestone with one leg over the other, where he was seen by the porters, while the other was in front of them. One of the *Khawal*¹ rushed at the second, thrust at him with his spear and killed him ; he then retired. The surviving Qarmatian burst into tears, (34) and was told to come back and drag away the corpse by the feet with the imprecation of God. They then asked him who he and his companion were ; he replied : Believers. He then crawled on the ground until he had got hold of his companion's body, whereupon the people entered the Mosque and locked the door. Ibn Kundajiq then rode at the head of his troops to the place, and his scouts, noticing a party at the Cisterns of *Hajjaj*, reported that they were about thirty horse. An attack was made upon this troop by 'UTARID B. SHIHAB ANBARI with his staff, some retainers belonging to the garrison of Basrah, with some volunteers ; most of these were killed, only those escaping who ran away before they came in sight of the enemy. The corpses were stripped by the Qarmatians, who left nothing upon them except their drawers whence they removed the tapes ; and further inflicted horrible scourging on them. Ibn Kundajiq retreated to Basrah whose gates he locked, and where he remained under cover of darkness. When morning broke, he saw no Qarmatians left. He wrote to Ibn al-Furat, who was vizier at the time, demanding help. The vizier despatched to his assistance MOHAMMED B. 'ABDALLAH FARIQI at the head of a vast force, with a general taken from the ranks named QURAWAIHI and JA'FAR of Zaranj with a company of infantry to help Ibn Kundajiq.

When 'Ali b. 'Isa assumed the vizierate he was consulted by Muqtadir on the subject of the Qarmatians and advised that correspondence should be started with

¹ Name for a class of the population in Basrah, which occurs later.

Abu Sa'id Hasan b. Bahram Jannabi ; the Caliph thereupon gave the vizier instructions to write a letter to this chief and despatch it by the messenger whom he deemed suitable. He wrote a long letter wherein he bade the Qarmatian remember Allah, and invited him to obey the Caliph. At the end he said : *The Commander of the Faithful makes this offer his advocate against thee and his plea against thee with God and his refutation of all thy excuses ; on the other hand it is a door to protect thee if thou accept the boons which he offers and the honourable investiture which he is prepared to vouchsafe unto thee.*

The envoys proceeded on their mission, but when they reached Basrah they learned of the murder of Abu Sa'id ; accordingly they went no further (35) until they had communicated the intelligence to the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa and requested his further instructions. He replied with an order to proceed to the children of Abu Sa'id or his successors. So they finished the journey, delivered the letter and communicated their message. The Qarmatians sent a reply, and released the captives whose cause the messengers had pleaded. The messengers returned with them to Baghdad.

YEAR 302.

This year saw the arrest of Abu 'Abdallah HUSAIN B. 'ABDALLAH known as IBN AL-JASSAS JAUHARI.¹ A band of men was sent to his residence to convey him to the Palace, where he was made to deliver money and jewels to the value of four million dinars. He claimed to possess far more than this, indeed he went far beyond twenty million dinars in his assessment of his wealth.

(36) There was a rising this year headed by HUSAIN B. 'ALI the 'Alid, who got possession of Tabaristan and took the title *al-Da'i* " the Summoner." The brother of Su'luk sent an army against the insurgents, who retired ;

¹ The source of this person's wealth is explained in the Table Talk.

but when the army went home, the 'Alid returned to Tabaristan.¹

YEAR 303.

In this year there came the news that *HUSAIN B. HAMDAN* had raised the standard of revolt ; *Mu'nis* the Eunuch was at this time absent from the capital, having been despatched to Egypt to oppose the 'Alid ruler of the Maghrib, who was invading Egypt with a force of over 40,000 men. The vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa accordingly commissioned the elder *RA'IQ* to deal with *HUSAIN B. HAMDAN*, and gave him a robe of honour ; at the same time he wrote to *Mu'nis* to acquaint him with the facts and order him to march to *Diyar Mudar* so soon as he could leave Egypt, and bring with him *AHMAD B. KAIGHALAGH*, 'ALI B. *AHMAD B. BISTAM*, and 'ABBAS B. 'AMR to put the affairs of the *Diyar* in order, stop the disintegration, and guard the frontiers, especially those of the *Jazirah*, where *Hisn Mansur* had suffered terribly from the invasion of the Byzantines,² who had made captives of all the population of the region ; the soldiers having been unable to execute the summer raid owing to their being occupied with *Husain b. Hamdan*. When *Ra'iq* went to attack *Husain b. Hamdan*, he was defeated by the rebel, and fled to *Mu'nis*, who was urged by the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa in a series of letters to hasten to repel *Husain*. *Mu'nis* proceeded by forced marches, but when he was near *Husain*, the latter sent his secretary *HARUN* to negotiate, and proceedings commenced of which an account was sent by *Mu'nis* to 'Ali b. 'Isa. In this he stated that *Harun* had brought him an epistle from *Husain* containing a lengthy discourse wherein at the commencement, at the close, and in various sections, he reiterated the assertion that what had driven him to abandon his loyalty was the vizier's alarming change

¹ In Browne's *Ibn Isfandiyar*, p. 199, a different account of this matter is given.

² Saint-Martin xiii. 407 thinks the invaders were Armenians.

of attitude towards him, and his failure (37) to carry out certain undertakings which he had made. He added that he had now a force of 30,000 men collected from the Arab tribes and the men of the *'Ashirah*. Mu'nis asked the envoy what proposals *Husain* had committed to him to deliver, and the reply was that *Husain* requested Mu'nis to remain in *Harran*, where there was room for his army, and write to the vizier to intercede for him, with the request that he be relieved of the offices which he was holding, and be allowed to remain in his own residence, while his brother was to be invested with the government of *Diyar Rabi'ah*. Mu'nis informed the envoy that these proposals were wholly inadmissible, since the vizier was constantly urging him to advance ; the vizier's orders could not be disobeyed, but he, Mu'nis, would not fail to communicate the requests of *Husain* to the vizier, while in no wise swerving from the line which the vizier had marked out for him. If *Husain* determined to give him battle, then he, Mu'nis, would rely on the help of God against all who rebelled against the Sultan, and were ungrateful for his benefits. If *Husain* yielded to the truth and walked in its path, by surrendering himself to Mu'nis, and abandoning his designs, that conduct would best become him ; but if he declined, and remained in his attitude of defiance and mock-heroism, then Mu'nis would meet him with the whole manhood of *Muḍar*, and would spare the Sultan's troops the indignity of exposing themselves, overwhelming as were their numbers, to *Husain's* riffraff, not out of reluctance to meet him on the battlefield, but out of contempt for him. He added that he had put the envoy, his secretary, in custody and would not give him leave to return until he had heard the decision of *Husain*.

Then there came tidings that Mu'nis had continued his march and encamped opposite the *Jazirat Ibn 'Umar*, while *Husain* had taken the direction of Armenia with

his baggage, his children and his goods. The army of *Husain* then began to fall away and desert in groups to *Mu'nis*. Presently a despatch came from *Mu'nis* stating that seven hundred horsemen, all either commanders, or retainers or counsellors or high officials in the army of *Husain*, had deserted to him; that he had bestowed robes of honour on most of them, and in the process exhausted his supplies of robes and of money; he was devising expedients for obtaining the rest of what he required. Then came a despatch from him announcing the capture of *Husain* b. *Hamdan* with all his family and most of his followers. The estates of all the *Hamdanids* were seized, and *Mu'nis* entered Baghdad with *Husain* and his son.

After two days *Husain* was conveyed from the *Shammasiyyah* Gate to the Palace (38) attached to a cross on an "ostrich"¹ erected on the top of the back of a camel with two humps; his son was exposed on another camel; and *burnooses* were on their heads. In front of him went the prince *Abu'l-'Abbas* son of *Muqtadir*, the vizier *'Ali* b. *'Isa*, the Commander-in-Chief *Mu'nis* the eunuch, *ABU'L-HAIJA 'ABDALLAH* b. *HAMDAN*, *IBRAHIM* b. *HAMDAN* and the other generals with the troops and the elephants. When they reached the Palace, *Husain* was made to stand in front of *Muqtadir*, who ordered him to be given to the charge of the Stewardess *Zaidan*, who kept him confined in the Palace.

After his arrival the *Hujari* infantry mutinied and burned the stables of the vizier from whom they demanded an increase of pay. This was accorded; three dinars a month for each pay-month to the retainers and three quarters of a dinar to the infantry. The mutiny then ceased.

¹Apparently the name for some erection of wood.

Further arrests were made of Abu'l-Haija 'Abdallah b. *Hamdan* and all his brothers, and they were imprisoned in the Palace. A son of *Husain b. Hamdan* had fled with a number of his followers and got as far as Amid where he was assailed by AL-JAZARI,¹ who slew him and a number of his followers. Their heads were then sent to the capital and some of the followers of *Husain b. Hamdan* were crucified.

YEAR 304.

In this year a retainer of 'ALI B. WAHSUDHAN the Dailemite (who was minister of public security in Ispahan) met there AHMAD B. SAYYAH administrator of the *kharaj* there, the retainer having been sent by his master to him on some errand. (39) It so happened that the retainer met the administrator when he was riding and addressed him about his business. This offended Ahmad b. Sayyah, who said to him: Do you, a hireling, talk to me about business on the highway?—The retainer was vexed at this and returning to his master told him what had happened. His master said the other was quite right; "If you were not a hireling you would have struck his head with your sword when he talked to you in that style."—The retainer went back, and, finding Ibn Sayyah on his way home, struck him with the sword and killed him. The Sultan was offended at this proceeding and dismissed 'Ali b. Wahsudhan from the government of Ispahan on account of it, replacing him by AHMAD B. MASRUR BALKHI. 'Ali b. Wahsudhan asked permission to return to the Dailemite country and obtained it. Presently Mu'nis the eunuch interceded on his account and the Sultan was reconciled. He then took up his abode in the region of the Jabal.

In the same year Mohammed b. 'Ali b. Su'luk cousin of the governor of Khorasan came to Baghdad demanding protection and received a robe of honour.

¹ Probably corrupt for al-Khazari, i.e., SIMA, mentioned above.

In the summer season the common people were alarmed by a creature which they call *zabzab*, and professed to see at night on the rooves of their houses, and which they said devoured their small children. Indeed it would bite off the hand of a sleeping man or the breast of a sleeping woman and devour it. They would keep guard against it the whole night and take care not to sleep; and they would beat mugs, cups or mortars to frighten it. Baghdad was in a state of terror in consequence, until the Sultan got hold of a strange white beast like a sea-hound, which he declared was the *zabzab* and had been caught. This was suspended on an "ostrich" upon the Upper Bridge, and left there till it died. This made little impression till the moon waxed and the people could see that there was no reality about what they had imagined. Then they were appeased; only meanwhile the thieves had found their chance, when the people were occupied with watching on their rooves, and there were many burglaries.

In this year 'Ali b. 'Isa ascertained beyond a doubt that there was an intrigue to restore Ibn al-Furat to the vizierate; so he offered to resign the post, only Muqtadir declined to accept his resignation. It was given out in the (40) Palace that Ibn al-Furat was seriously ill; and as it so happened that the rebel who was imprisoned in the Palace died¹—it being the practice to conceal the death of a captive rebel to whom his associates give the title *Imam* (Pontiff), since so long as he remains alive they do not appoint another, whereas when his death is ascertained they make a new appointment—it was given out in the Palace that Ibn al-Furat was dead; thereupon the rebel was laid out, and his obsequies performed under the name of Ibn al-Furat, the prayer being said by the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa, who then went home in great distress, declaring that the art of despatch-

¹ Harun, caught by Husain b Hamdan in 283.

writing had passed away that day. Then, as the days passed, 'Ali b. 'Isa learned from numerous sources of the success of the intrigue in favour of Ibn al-Furat and that he was still alive. He told his friends that a man ought not to talk about all that he hears.

At times he used to be disgusted by the misconduct of the courtiers and the outrageous character of their demands, and request permission from Muqtadir to quit his office ; Muqtadir used to chide him for making this request, until one day—at the end of Dhu'l-Qa'dah 304 (May 25, 917)—he received a visit from Umm Musa the Stewardess, who wished to arrange with him the sum to be distributed at the Feast of the Sacrifice among the hareem and the attendants of the court. 'Ali b. 'Isa was not receiving visitors and his chamberlain SALAMAH did not venture to announce her, so he dismissed her courteously instead. This made her very angry ; when 'Ali b. 'Isa learned of her arrival and dismissal, he ordered some one to find her and make his excuses, hoping that she might come back ; she declined, and going to Muqtadir and the Queen-mother set them against him with false tales. In consequence Muqtadir removed him from office and arrested him on Monday morning 8 Dhu'l-Hijjah, 304 (June 2, 917) when he was riding to the Palace. His property and estates and those of his dependents were not touched ; nor was anything done to any of his children. He was placed in the custody of Zaidan the Stewardess, (41) having held office this time for three years, ten months and twenty-eight days.

*Second vizierate of Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Mohammed b.
al-Furat.*

On 8 Dhu'l-Hijjah of this year Abu'l-Hasan was invested with the vizierate and the headship of the bureaux, and after receiving a robe of honour went to his palace in Mukharriim which had been given him in fief

during his first vizierate. He sent letters to the provinces and chief cities in the name of Muqtadir announcing his restoration to the vizierate, (42) the text being composed by ABU'L-HASAN MOHAMMED B. JA'FAR B. THAWABAH ; the following is a passage from it :

Inasmuch as the Commander of the Faithful found him indispensable and necessary to the empire, and the clerks of the bureaux in their different orders and ranks all acknowledged his mastery, admitted his competence, referred their differences to him, regarded him as the ideal of their aspirations, and were convinced that he is the astute statesman, the experienced man of affairs, who knows how the milk of revenue is to be drawn and its sources are to be tapped, the Commander of the Faithful drew him from his sheath, and the old sharpness of his blade returned, so that he began steering the state as though he had never been away from the helm, and managed its business as though he had never left it. And the Commander of the Faithful thought fit to omit to pay him no form of honour which had originally been his, and to bestow on him anew all kinds of recompenses and rewards which had been withdrawn from him ; he has therefore addressed him by his kunyah, &c., &c.

Ibn al-Furat proceeded to arrest the dependents of 'Ali b. 'Isa, his brothers, clerks, and all his deputies in the Sawad, the East and the West ; and he fined them all with the exception of ABU'L-HUSAIN and ABU'L-HASAN the two sons of ABU'L-BAGHL, whom he confirmed in their appointments in Ispahan and Basrah, owing to the interest displayed in them by Umm Musa. He arrested besides Abu 'Ali Khaqani and persecuted his dependents, imposing on all a second fine which they were made to pay. He inflicted fines on all the discharged officials, and made them reveal their secret profits and refund them. He even established a "Secret Profits' Bureau," having undertaken to pay

Muqtadir and his mother fifteen hundred dinars a day from this source. The sum was entered in the accounts under that head, and he was bound to furnish it without fail; of the amount a thousand dinars went daily to Muqtadir himself, three hundred and thirty-three and a third to the Queen-mother, and a hundred and sixty-six dinars and two thirds to the two princes Abu'l-'Abbas and Harun.

Ibn al-Furat found himself well supplied with funds owing to his predecessor's having collected some of the *kharaj* (43) in advance, *i.e.*, before the commencement of the new financial year, and having started doing this ten days before his discharge from office; this sum had been deposited by him in the Treasury, to be expended at the Feast on presents to the court-dependents, the cavalry and the Turks. This sum strengthened the hands of Ibn al-Furat, who had besides a vast amount which had been realized from the fines, guarantees,¹ and letters of credit, which had arrived from Fars, Ispahan and the Eastern provinces within letters announcing the despatch of goods, on the supposition that they would come into the hands of 'Ali b. 'Isa. Ibn al-Furat expended the whole on the cavalry, the court-attendants, the servants, and important purposes.

The person who had control over the bureaux and the administration in general during Ibn al-Furat's second vizierate from among all the clerks was ABU BISHR 'ABDALLAH B. FARAJAWAIHI. The reason of this was that at the time of Ibn al-Furat's first arrest he contrived to escape, and remained in hiding during the ministries of Khaqani and 'Ali b. 'Isa. When a year of the latter's ministry had passed, he began to correspond with Ibn al-Furat through the mediation of 'Isa the Physician, receiving replies from the ex-vizier, who

¹ The reference is probably to sums which individuals had undertaken to extort from deposed officials and the like, if the latter were given into their power.

gave him drafts of letters which he was to address as his own to Muqtadir, containing criticisms of 'Ali b. 'Isa, his clerks and his deputies, and pointing out how the vizier never fined any official whom he had employed, on the principle that having once trusted a man, he was not going to treat him as unfaithful. Further he was to call attention to delays in the payment of salaries to the royal children, the members of the hareem and the court-attendants, he having reduced the pay-year of the princes and the hareem to eight months and that of the dependents and servants to six months; and having diminished the 150,000 dinars paid every month to the cavalry by two-thirds. Muqtadir would show these letters to Ibn al-Furat, who assured the Caliph that Ibn Farajawaihi was an expert in these affairs, and that all his assertions were veracious. Muqtadir in consequence began to think of dismissing 'Ali b. 'Isa, only when he consulted Mu'nis on the subject, the latter would dissuade him from this step, assuring him that 'Ali b. 'Isa was honest and trustworthy. (44) But when Mu'nis departed for Egypt on his expedition against the 'Alid of N. Africa, Ibn Farajawaihi found the opportunity for a more strenuous campaign against 'Ali b. 'Isa, whose interests were defended during the absence of Mu'nis by GHARIB, the Queen-mother's brother, and NASR the Chamberlain. When Ibn Farajawaihi learned how these two persons were championing 'Ali b. 'Isa, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Muqtadir, promising that if 'Ali b. 'Isa were dismissed and 'Ali b. Mohammed b. al-Furat installed in his place, he would restore the allowances of the princes, the hareem, the attendants and the disbanded cavalry resident in the metropolis to what they had been during his former vizierate; these should be regularly paid in full. Further he would undertake to provide out of the fines levied on discharged officials, from secret profits refunded, and from fees for continuance in office in the different provinces, 45,000 dinars every lunar month,

Muqtadir communicated this letter to Ibn al-Furat, who declared it to be absolutely accurate, and signed a document guaranteeing all this. These letters were one of the chief causes of the favour shown by Ibn al-Furat to Ibn Farajawaihi in his second vizierate.

It further happened that Ibn al-Furat had deposited through him vast sums with various traders and clerks, and did not reveal the existence of these in the statement of his assets, since he did not know the names of the depositories. When Ibn al-Furat again became vizier, Ibn Farajawaihi recovered all these deposits without any loss.

ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH had been without employment during the ministries of Khaqani and 'Ali b. 'Isa, not leaving his residence. In the former ministry he was in hiding, and though he received a free pardon from the latter, still he did not leave his residence. Ibn al-Furat was grateful for his fidelity and favoured him on this account.

Account of the proceedings of Ibn Abi'l-Saj during these frequent changes in the ministry.

When YUSUF IBN ABI'L-SAJ learned of the dismissal of 'Ali b. 'Isa, (45) he was still in Adharbaijan, where during the first vizierate of Ibn al-Furat he was minister of prayer, war, public security, *kharaj* and the public Estates as well as for Armenia; these provinces he held in fief in consideration of a sum of money to be paid by him annually into the treasury of Baghdad. During the first vizierate of Ibn al-Furat he paid it in regularly; but when the office was successively held by Abu 'Ali Khaqani and 'Ali b. Isa, his ambition was aroused and he delayed payment of most of what was due for his fief; thus he amassed a sum which made him powerful and encouraged him to revolt.

The plans of Ibn Abi'l-Saj.

He declared that 'Ali b. 'Isa just before his dismissal had sent out to him a standard with investiture by the Caliph with the ministry of war in Rayy and Qazwin, Abhar and Zanzan, and departed in haste for his new province. When he approached it, it was quitted by MOHAMMED B. 'ALI SU'LUK,¹ who fled to the region of Khorasan. This Mohammed b. 'Ali had originally conquered the province, and afterwards obtained the right to farm the *kharaj* and the public Estates on easy terms, though even these he did not keep. When Ibn al-Furat learned of the proceedings of Ibn Abi'l-Saj, he communicated them to Muqtadir; after some days there arrived a despatch from Ibn Abi'l-Saj demanding gratitude for the expulsion of Mohammed b. 'Ali Su'luk from Rayy and the neighbourhood, and congratulating the Sultan on their reconquest. He stated further that so soon as he had received the standard and the deed of investiture from 'Ali b. 'Isa he had marched thither and God had vouchsafed him victory. This angered Muqtadir, who instructed Ibn al-Furat to communicate the despatch of Ibn Abi'l-Saj to 'Ali b. 'Isa; the latter was therefore brought out of the place where he was confined, and treated with consideration by the vizier who said to him gently: This may have been a plan devised by you against Su'luk, and to this there would be no objection. The ex-vizier however swore that he had given no such appointment to Ibn Abi'l-Saj, and had sent him no standard and no deed of investiture. He then observed that a standard (46) and a deed of investiture can only be despatched with one of the Sultan's ministers or generals; the ministers and generals were all present and had best be asked. Further the correspondence bureau had a special official charged with the composition of deeds of appointment and investiture; he too should be asked whether he had ever written such a deed.

¹ Cf. above p. 39. The statements seem irreconcilable.

—Ibn al-Furat made his predecessor set his signature to this statement, which he laid before Muqtadir, whose resentment against Ibn Abi'l-Saj was increased.

Ibn al-Furat in consequence wrote both in the Caliph's name and his own a severely worded and menacing letter to Ibn Abi'l-Saj ; and sent an expedition from the capital to fight him, under the leadership of KHAQAN MUFLIH, afterwards reinforced by various commanders, considerable sums being spent on their equipment. Among them were such generals as AHMAD B. MASRUR of Balkh, Sima the Khazari, NIHRIR the younger, and others of their rank. This force was attacked by Ibn Abi'l-Saj, who defeated Khaqan, and made many of his followers prisoners, whom he then led in triumph into Rayy.

Mu'nis at this time arriving from the frontier, was commissioned with the war against Ibn Abi'l-Saj ; he departed at once for this purpose and wrote to all the generals on his line of march to join him ; his protection was sought by AHMAD B. 'ALI SU'LUK,¹ who was well received ; he deprived Khaqan of the government of the Jabal, giving his place to Nihirir the Younger.

A series of letters now came from Ibn Abi'l-Saj, desiring reconciliation with the government, and offering 700,000 dinars for the control of the *kharaj* and the Estates in the district of Rayy and the neighbourhood, *net, i.e.*, undertaking himself to defray the charges of the officials in those regions and other permanent expenditure. Muqtadir would not assent to this proposal ; so he next wrote asking to be allowed to remain in Rayy in charge of public security and the war-office only, while the ministries of prayer, of *kharaj*, of the Estates, of justice, of the post, of intelligence, of the despatch-bags² and of alms should be held over for officials to be

¹ This person is sometimes called Ahmad, sometimes Mohammed : and often "the brother of Su'luk."

² Probably the letters and parcels intended for the Caliph.

sent by the Sultan to those regions. Muqtadir however persisted in his refusal, informing him that however much he might offer he should not be allowed to retain the government of Rayy for a single day owing to his having ventured to enter the province without orders. So when Ibn Abi'l-Saj realized this, he departed from Rayy and its territory, (47) after having ravaged it, and collected within a short space the tax for the year 304. Mu'nis then appointed as governor WASIF BEK-TIMURI.

Ibn Abi'l-Saj would now have been satisfied to be freshly invested with his former government¹; and Ibn al-Furat recommended that this proposal be accepted, even guaranteeing that he would compel him to furnish in return a respectable sum to the treasury; but it was opposed by Nasr the Chamberlain and Ibn al-Hawari, who held that he ought not to be confirmed in the government of Armenia and Adharbaijan until he had come to the metropolis and "trodden the Sultan's carpet." They charged Ibn al-Furat with being in league with him. Muqtadir in consequence insisted that the war against him must proceed unless he came to the metropolis, and ordered Mu'nis to march against him with all speed.

When Ibn Abi'l-Saj found himself in danger of his life, he proceeded to engage Mu'nis in Sarat in Adharbaijan; the latter was defeated and retreated to Zanzan. Of the generals of the government Sima was killed in this battle, and many of Mu'nis's officers were taken prisoners by Ibn Abi'l-Saj, among them HILAL B. BADR; these were led by him in triumph into ARDABIL. Mu'nis stayed in Zanzan collecting forces to lead against Yusuf (Ibn Abi'l-Saj), who continued to send him letters with proposals; Ibn Abi'l-Saj desired terms of peace, whereas

¹ *i.e.* Adharbairjan and Armenia.

Mu'nis declined all conditions except the appearance of the other at the metropolis. Ibn Abi'l-Saj had spared the defeated Mu'nis, allowing him to escape with three hundred retainers; he might have taken him prisoner had he wished, and Mu'nis was grateful for this service.¹ (48) In Muharram of the following year during the vizierate of HAMID B. L'ABBAS Mu'nis fought a second battle with Yusuf b. Abi'l-Saj in ARDABIL, when the latter was wounded (49) and taken prisoner. Mu'nis brought him back to Baghdad; and in the year 307² Ibn (50) Abi'l-Saj was brought into the city in triumph from the Shammasiyyah Gate mounted on a camel with a *burnouse* on his head, the army marching in front of him, until they reached the Palace. There he was made to stand before Muqtadir and he was presently imprisoned in the Palace in the custody of the Stewardess Zaidan, who treated him kindly. Mu'nis was decorated with a robe of honour, a necklace and a bracelet. Robes of honour were bestowed on many of his officers also, and the infantry received an addition to their pay of half a dinar a month per head.

¹ *Account of the same affair from the 'Uyun.*

And in the year 806 Mu'nis marched from Hamadhan to Abhar to fight Ibn Abi'l-Saj; the news which reached Mu'nis described the insurgent as in a disorganized state, and about to evacuate his quarters, having been deserted by his brothers. While Mu'nis made Abhar his objective, Ibn Abi'l-Saj made Ardabil his. He was pursued by Mu'nis who presently came up with him. A pitched battle was then fought, resulting in the defeat of Mu'nis; the place where his treasure was secreted was discovered and it was seized before his eyes. Yusuf pursued but without vigour, and Mu'nis retreated before him till he had ascended the hill; his extreme rear was overtaken by Sabuk, retainer of Ibn Abi'l-Saj, who slaughtered great numbers and took some captives. Those who had climbed the hill escaped; but the camp of Mu'nis was plundered and innumerable mules and camels seized. Mu'nis got to Zanjan where his troops joined him, and after staying there five days he proceeded to Qazwin, where he remained two months. Here news reached him of the arrest of Ibn al-Furat, who was suspected of encouraging Ibn Abi'l-Saj, and also supplies from Baghdad of money, war material, bedding and camels, while reinforcements led by the local governors continued to arrive. Then he was joined by IBN HAMDAN, who delivered himself up, to the gratification of Mu'nis, who gave him a robe of honour. The troops collected in Zanjan presently became too numerous for the place, and when a severe winter accompanied by snow set in, Mu'nis distributed his forces in various places, himself remaining in Zanjan, where he was joined by MAHIR the eunuch bringing 100,000 dinars in coin from Baghdad, which was welcome to Mu'nis.

² Began June 3, 919.

When Mu'nis had departed from Adharbaijan and returned to Baghdad taking Yusuf b. Dewadadh (Ibn Abi'l-Saj) with him, the province was seized by SABUK,¹ retainer of the latter. Against him Mu'nis despatched MOHAMMED B. 'ABDALLAH FARIQI, on whom he bestowed the governorship; he was at the time on the frontier of Armenia, and at once marched against Sabuk, who however defeated him, and remained in control of the province, while Fariqi retreated to Baghdad. Sabuk then wrote to the Sultan requesting to be allowed to retain the province as a fief, and these proposals were accepted; the condition being that he should pay annually 220,000 dinars. Accordingly the robes of honour and the deed of investiture were sent out to him; but he did not pay the money to which he had agreed.

When Mu'nis had overcome Yusuf b. Abi'l-Saj and prior to his quitting Adharbaijan, he had made 'ALI B. WAHSUDHAN minister of war in RAYY, DINAWAND, QAZWIN, ZANJAN and ABHAR, assigning the proceeds of the taxes there to him and his troops; to AHMAD B. 'ALI SU'LUK he gave (51) the ministry of public security in ISPAHAN and QUMM, assigning to him and his troops the *kharaj* and Estates in QUMM and SAWAH, amounting to more than 200,000 dinars a year.

Shortly after this AHMAD B. MUSAFIR, prince of TARM, assassinated his brother's son 'Ali b. Wahsudhan, with whom he was staying in the neighbourhood of Qazwin; the victim was in his bed at the time. The assassin then fled to his own country. Ahmad b. 'Ali brother of Su'luk was at the time resident in Qumm; after the murder he went and established himself in Rayy. This act displeased the Sultan, who proceeded to invest WASIF BEKTIMURI with the offices formerly held by 'Ali b. Wahsudhan, while giving the commander of the army MOHAMMED B. SULAIMAN control of the *kharaj* and the

¹ Called Spkhi in the Armenian chronicle of Stephanos of Taron, p. 124.

Estates. Ahmad b. 'Ali Su'luk was ordered to return to Qumm, and obeyed ; but presently relations between him and Mohammed b. Sulaiman became strained, and throwing off his allegiance he dismissed the officials of the *kharaj* and the Estates in Qumm and made preparations for the invasion of Rayy. NIHRIR the younger, governor of HAMADHAN, received orders to march to Rayy and unite with Wasif Bektimuri and Mohammed b. Sulaiman to resist Ahmad b. 'Ali (52) Su'luk. The last advanced to the gate of Rayy, and defeated Wasif and Mohammed b. Sulaiman ; the former retreated to Hamadhan, and the latter was killed in the battle ; Rayy came into the possession of Ahmad b. 'Ali Su'luk, who now endeavoured to make his peace with the Sultan, wherein he was aided by Nasr the Chamberlain ; he was to farm the *kharaj* of Rayy, Dinawand, Qazwin, Zanjan and Abhar for 166,000 dinars to be sent annually to the metropolis ; the Estates in these regions were put under the control of MOHAMMED B. KHALAF NIRMANI, who drove Ahmad b. 'Ali Su'luk out of Qumm and installed his own agents there.

We now return to the story of Ibn al-Furat.

When the vizier Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat became aware of the enmity of Nasr the Chamberlain and ABU'L-QASIM IBN AL-HAWARI, and SHAFI' LU'LU'I, and how they charged him with encouraging Ibn Abi'l-Saj to rebel, he resolved on retaliation, and refused most of their demands ; he further deprived Nasr and Shafi' of most of their offices. Ibn al-Furat had appointed ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH secretary to Nasr the Chamberlain ; presently Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah felt aggrieved by Ibn al-Furat taking into his employ SA'ID B. IBRAHIM TUSTARI ; so he communicated to Nasr the fact that Ibn al-Furat had recovered from deposits which had remained intact the sum of 500,000 dinars, and *that* after he had sworn at the time of his fall that there re-

mained among his assets no deposit which he had not acknowledged. Nasr mentioned this to Muqtadir with the view of incensing him against Ibn al-Furat ; and he with Ibn al-Hawari held out to Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah the hope of the vizierate in order to make him reveal secrets of Ibn al-Furat's, calculated to arouse the ire of Muqtadir. After a time this fact came out and was even a matter of public notoriety ; the nephew of Ibn al-Furat, ABU'L-KHATTAB IBN ABI'L-'ABBAS IBN AL-FURAT, went to the vizier and told him what people were saying : but Ibn al-Furat replied that he might as well doubt his own children or his nephew (who brought the information) as doubt Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah, whom he had brought up and protected. Afterwards Ibn al-Furat became convinced of the truth of what was alleged (53) concerning Ibn Muqlah, whom he proceeded to inform of some things that had reached his ears about Ibn Muqlah's discussions of his affairs ; Ibn al-Furat professed surprise at such rumours, hoping to divert Ibn Muqlah from the course which he was pursuing ; but he only succeeded in alarming Ibn Muqlah, who, fearing lest Ibn al-Furat might speedily ruin him, increased his efforts to ruin Ibn al-Furat, and made Nasr the Chamberlain his protector.

YEAR 305.

This year Baghdad was visited by two envoys¹ from the Byzantine Emperor, who had come by the Euphrates route, bringing splendid presents and numerous marks of friendship, and soliciting a truce. Their entry was on Muharram 2 (June 25, 917), and they were housed in the palace of SA'ID B. MAKHLAD.² Ibn al-Furat gave orders that this residence should be specially furnished and provided with all utensils, &c., which they could require, and that they and their retinue

¹ See Lebeau—Saint-Martin xii. 409 ; their names were Joannes Radecnos and Michael Toxaras.

² Vizier of Mu'tadid ; his palace is mentioned by Tabari iii. 2146.

should be liberally provided with supplies, including animals for food and sweets. They solicited an audience of Muqtadir for the purpose of delivering the letter which they had brought ; they were told that this was a matter of great difficulty, only possible after an interview with his vizier, informing him of their design, arranging the matter with him, and requesting him to facilitate the granting of the audience and to advise the Caliph to accord their petition. ABU 'UMAR 'ADI B. 'ABD AL-BAQI, who had escorted them from the frontier requested Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat to permit them to visit him and he promised them an interview on a day which he named.¹

The vizier gave orders that the soldiers should line the streets the whole way from the palace of Sa'id to the palace which he (the vizier) occupied in Mukharrim, and that his own retainers and troops with the vice-chamberlains posted in his palace should form a line from the doorway of the palace to the reception-room. A vast saloon with gilt roof in the wing of the palace called the Garden Wing was splendidly furnished and hung with curtains resembling carpets ; on fresh furniture, carpets and curtains a sum of (54) 30,000 dinars was expended. No mode of beautifying the palace or increasing the magnificence of the occasion was neglected. The vizier himself sat on a splendid praying-carpet, with a lofty throne behind him, with serving-men in front and behind, to the right and to the left, while the saloon was filled with military and civil officials ; the two envoys were then introduced having witnessed on their way such troops and crowds as might well fill them with awe.

When they had entered the public apartments, they were told to sit down in the veranda, the apartment

¹ The scene is also described by Khaṭīb Baghdādī after Hilāl. See the *Manār* 1335, pp. 633-637.

being filled with troops ; they were then taken down a long passage behind this veranda, which brought them to the quadrangle of the Garden, whence they took a turning which led them to the room in which the vizier was seated. The magnificence of the room and of its furniture and the crowd of attendants formed an impressive spectacle. They were accompanied by Abu 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Baqi as interpreter, and there was present NIZAR B. MOHAMMED, prefect of police, with his whole force. They were made to stand before the vizier Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat, whom they saluted, their words being interpreted by the person mentioned ; and the vizier made a reply which was also interpreted by him. They preferred a request for the redemption of the captives, and solicited the vizier's services in obtaining the assent of Muqtadir to this. He informed them that he would have to interview the Caliph on the subject, and would then have to act according to the instructions which he received. They solicited from him an introduction to the Caliph, and he promised that he would procure one. They were then discharged, and, led out by the same route as that whereby they had entered, returned to the Palace of Sa'id, the soldiers still lining the road in full dress and perfect equipment. The uniform consisted of royal satin tunics, with close-fitting caps over which were satin hoods pointed at the top.

Ibn al-Furat then applied to Muqtadir for leave to introduce the envoys and instructed him in the answer which he was to give them ; he then commanded all the officials, civil and military, and all ranks of the army to ride in the direction of the imperial Palace, and to line the streets on horseback from the palace of Sa'id thither. These orders were carried out and the cavalry stationed themselves as directed in full dress and complete armour. The vizier further ordered that the open courts, the vestibules and the passages of the Palace

should be filled with armed men, and that (55) the whole castle should be furnished magnificently. After finishing these preparations and seeing that every detail was carried out he bade the envoys present themselves. They rode to the Palace and were greatly impressed by the spectacle through which they passed ; the numbers of soldiers, their splendid uniforms and their perfect equipment. When they reached the Palace they were taken into a corridor which led into one of the quadrangles, thence they turned into another corridor which led to a quadrangle wider than the first, and the chamberlains kept conducting them through corridors and quadrangles until they were weary with tramping and bewildered. These corridors and quadrangles were all crowded with retainers and servants. Finally they approached the saloon in which Muqtadir was to be found, where the officers of state were standing according to their different ranks, while Muqtadir was seated on his imperial throne, with Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat standing near him, and Mu'nis the eunuch with the officers next in order to him stationed on his right and left. When they entered the saloon they kissed the ground and stationed themselves where they were told by Nasr the Chamberlain to stand ; they then delivered their master's missive, proposing a redemption of captives, and preferred a request for its favourable acceptance. The vizier replied for the Caliph that he accepted the proposal out of compassion for the Moslems and the desire to set them free, and out of his zeal to obey God and deliver them. He would, he added, send Mu'nis to be present when the exchange took place. When the envoys left the imperial presence they were presented with poplin cloaks adorned with gold and turbans of the same material, and similar honours were bestowed on the interpreter Abu 'Umar, who rode home with them, while the troops remained drawn up as before for the ransoming to take place. Mu'nis at once made

arrangements for this ; the Byzantine captives, on whose account the envoys had come, were purchased when the envoys desired to purchase them, while Mu'nis and the officers who were to travel with him received 170,000 dinars from the Baghdad treasury for their undertaking. Mu'nis wrote to the governors of the lands through which he was to pass, bidding them furnish what he should require. To each of the envoys a private present of 20,000 dirhems was given ; they then left Baghdad with Mu'nis accompanied by Abu 'Umar. The redemption was carried through this same year under the supervision of Mu'nis.

This year Abu'l-Haija 'Abdallah b. *Hamdan* and his brothers were released from confinement in the (56) Palace, and received robes of honour indicating that the Sultan was now reconciled.

This year died 'ABBAS B. 'UMAR GHANAWI, minister of war and public security in Diyar Mudar. He was replaced by WASIF BEKTIMURI. He proved incompetent and was replaced by JINNI SAFWANI, who proved highly competent.

YEAR 306.

In this year the vizier Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat was arrested, his second term of office having lasted a year, five months and nineteen days.

Reason for his arrest.

The ostensible cause for the dismissal of the vizier Ibn al-Furat on this second occasion was that he had delayed payment of the stipends due to the cavalry who were with the captains.¹ He alleged in excuse the financial difficulty due to the expenditure on the campaign against Ibn Abi'l-Saj, and to the reduction in the revenue owing to the seizure by this rebel of the money due from Rayy. At the commencement of 306 the cavalry

¹ Probably the reference is to the officers on duty at the palace,

mutinied, and went out to the Oratory.¹ Ibn al-Furat requested of Muqtadir an advance of 200,000 dinars from the Private Treasury to which he would add 200,000 himself to be expended on the cavalry. Muqtadir was incensed by this demand, and wrote to him reminding him that he (Ibn al-Furat) had undertaken to meet all public expenses as he had done in his first ministry, and in addition to pay a definite sum to the Caliph personally; so he never imagined that Ibn al-Furat would make so audacious a demand. The vizier alleged the excuses which I have recorded, but they were not accepted.

(57) When 'ABDALLAH B. JUBAIR had resided in Wasit during the ministry of 'Ali b. 'Isa, he learned the amount of the revenue collected from its districts, and the surplus which remained with HAMID B. 'ABBAS after paying what he had guaranteed to the state;² after he had returned to Baghdad and resumed his place as chairman of the Primary Committee in the Bureau of the Sawad,³ he communicated this information to Ibn al-Furat, enumerating the various sources of this surplus. This impressed Ibn al-Furat; and after a time Ibn Jubair solicited the permission of Ibn al-Furat to write to Hamid in reference to some of the facts which he had communicated concerning Hamid's guarantee; and leave was accorded, though hesitatingly. Ibn Jubair then wrote from his Committee (the Primary Committee in the Bureau of the *Kharaj*) to Hamid, who replied. Correspondence on the subject continued, and presently letters came from Hamid's deputy BISHR B. 'ALI remonstrating with Ibn Jubair for having discussed this

¹ Le Strange, Baghdad, p. 204: Outside the Baradan Gate stretched the Malikiyyah Cemetery; it was also known as the Baradan Cemetery, and near this was the Chapel especially set apart for the prayers of the Festival at the close of the Ramadan Fast.

² Compare above, p. 25.

³ This committee is mentioned by Hilal, see Glossary. Its duties were apparently to determine the taxation in gross.

matter in his committee. *Hamid* took alarm, fearing that the attitude assumed by Ibn Jubair was by arrangement with Ibn al-Furat, and with knowledge of the latter's intentions. So he despatched an agent who should compass his being appointed vizier, and obtain the good offices of Nasr for that purpose. The agent intrigued for this object, dilated to Nasr on the high-mindedness of *Hamid*, and undertook to extort vast sums from Ibn al-Furat and his dependents. *Hamid* also sent messages of the same purport to the Queen-mother.

His intrigues and his offers were helped by Nasr's distrust of Ibn al-Furat coupled with fear of him, and the financial stress which had compelled Ibn al-Furat to apply to the Caliph for the advance. These various circumstances combined to bring about what *Hamid* designed. A message was sent to *Hamid* bidding him quit Wasit and proceed to the metropolis, giving notice of his departure by carrier-pigeon. When Muqtadir received the news thus brought, he sent his freedman SHAFI' and NASR the Chamberlain to arrest Ibn al-Furat, his son MUHASSIN, MUSA B. KHALAF, 'ISA B. JUBAIR,¹ (58) SA'ID B. IBRAHIM TUSTARI, and an *umm* *wuld* of the vizier with a son whom she had borne him.² They were all brought to the Palace, where Ibn al-Furat by himself was put in the custody of ZAIDAN the Stewardess, while the rest were put in charge of Nasr. *Hamid* reached Baghdad, and remained for the night in the Chamberlain's apartments in the Palace. There ABU'L-QASIM IBN AL-HAWARI ingratiated himself with him.

Hamid sat talking, and displayed to the captains and all the courtiers of Muqtadir his irascibility and

¹ Perhaps Abu 'Isa. He is likely to be the same person as was mentioned above.

² The woman's name was Daulah and her son's Hasan. The italicized words mean a slave-girl who has acquired rights resembling those of a free woman by maternity.

ignorance of a vizier's duties. Muqtadir, being told of this, summoned Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-Hawari and remonstrated with him for nominating Hamid to the office; Ibn al-Hawari urged in reply Hamid's vast wealth, his undertaking to extract fines, the respect felt for him by his officials, his personal character, and the number of his armed retainers. In the course of his conversation he suggested to Muqtadir to give 'Ali b. 'Isa his liberty, and make him president of all the bureaux, where he might act as Hamid's deputy. Muqtadir declined to do this save at Hamid's own request; so Ibn al-Hawari had recourse to Hamid, advising him to make this request of Muqtadir when he had his audience of the Caliph; and set out before him the quantity of the business transacted in the bureaux, and the claims of the attendants, against whose roughness he warned him. He further let Hamid see that, if he did not himself take this course, it would be done in spite of his opposition, and assured Hamid that his advice was given in all sincerity. So when Hamid had his audience of Muqtadir and was invested with the vizierate, after kissing the ground before the Caliph, he requested that 'Ali b. 'Isa be set at liberty, and that permission be accorded the vizier to appoint him as his deputy over the bureaux and the provinces. Muqtadir replied that he did not expect 'Ali b. 'Isa would assent to this proposal, or be satisfied with the second place after he had held the first. Hamid answered before the company: Why should he not accept? A state-secretary is like a tailor; at one time he stitches a coat worth a thousand dinars, at another time (59) one that is worth ten dirhems;—a sally which provoked mirth.

When Hamid had received his robe of honour as vizier, he proceeded to the vizier's palace in Mukharrim, where he took up his abode, and prepared to receive

visits of congratulation ; that day he settled nothing in the bureaux, which he left sealed. ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH endeavoured with success to ingratiate himself with the new vizier, who sent for ABU 'ABDALLAH ZANJI the clerk, and made him reside in the vizier's palace to conduct his correspondence with the provincial governors, as he had done for Ibn al-Furat. IBN AL-HAWARI made himself familiar with all the business and became intermediary between *Hamid* and Muqtadir. Letters were written in the name of Muqtadir to all the provincial governors and ministers of public security announcing the elevation of *Hamid* to the vizierate, these being the composition of ABU'L-HASAN MOHAMMED B. JA'FAR B. THAWABAH.

Hamid and 'Ali b. 'Isa then arranged the constitution of the bureaux by friendly agreement ; after which the latter began to make such alterations as he thought fit. For two months from the commencement of the ministry of *Hamid* b. 'Abbas 'Ali b. 'Isa used to come to *Hamid*'s house twice each day ; then once a week only ; then, at the commencement of 307,¹ *Hamid* lost credit with Muqtadir, who came to the conclusion shared by the officers of his court that it was useless to rely on *Hamid* in any matter whatever. So Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa monopolized the control of the empire, and extinguished *Hamid*, who could give no orders on any subject ; so there was a current rhyme

Here is a vizier without a black robe
And there a black robe without a vizier.

When *Hamid* found himself deprived of control and that his functions were confined to wearing a black robe and riding to the Palace on reception days, and that when he presented himself Muqtadir allowed him no share in the administration, addressing his whole conversation to 'Ali b. 'Isa, he bethought him of undertaking the business of the *kharaj*, the public, private and new

¹ Began June 3, 919.

Estates,¹ and the estates originally belonging to the viziers 'Abbas (60) and Ibn al-Furat which had been confiscated, in the Sawad, Ahwaz and Ispahan. The matter was discussed by him with 'Ali b. 'Isa in the presence of Muqtadir, and ultimately he undertook this business. He assigned the farming of Ispahan to AHMAD B. MOHAMMED B. RUSTAM for an annual increase of 100,000 dinars upon its produce under him and under IBN ABI'L-BAGHL and AHMAD B. SAYYAH. When the concession given by Hamid lapsed, 'Ali b. 'Isa assigned it to Abu 'Ali Ibn Rustam for this increased sum. Presently Abu'l-Husain Ibn Abi'l-Baghl exposed the oppression to which Abu 'Ali Ibn Rustam was subjecting the people of Ispahan, and 'Ali b. 'Isa on investigation found his statements to be correct. 'Ali b. 'Isa on consultation with Ibn Abi'l-Baghl assigned the farming to two friends of the latter who had served under him when he was governor of Ispahan, named ABU MUSLIM MOHAMMED B. BAHR and ABU'L-HUSAIN AHMAD B. SA'D. The sum which they were to supply was 80,000 additional in lieu of 100,000, the diminution being made for the purpose of giving relief to the subjects, to whom Ibn Rustam was delivered.

When Hamid perceived how low he had sunk in the eyes of Muqtadir and that he had no say at all in the affairs of the empire, he asked permission to retire to Wasit and look after his original tax-farming operations. Permission being granted, he took up his abode in Wasit, retaining only the title of vizier.

*Account of the treatment by Hamid of Ibn al-Furat
and his dependents.*

The third day of Hamid's investiture he with 'Ali b. 'Isa sailed to the Palace of Muqtadir, and when the

¹ i.e., lands owned by the Moslem community : and by the Caliph in virtue of his office : these being all conquered territory. The " new " were such as were acquired in some other way.

Caliph had given permission they presented themselves. *Hamid* then requested leave to produce a certain soldier whom he had discovered before his appointment to office, and who had confessed to him that he was Ibn al-Furat's intermediary with the rebel Yusuf Ibn Abi'l-Saj, and handed him a letter to Ibn Abi'l-Saj purporting to be from Ibn al-Furat. This provoked the wrath of Muqtadir against Ibn al-Furat, (61) and the Caliph, turning to the qadi ABU 'UMAR, asked him what he thought of this action of Ibn al-Furat. The qadi replied that if Ibn al-Furat had really perpetrated such an act, he must have been bent on undermining the empire. The Caliph then turned to the qadi ABU JA'FAR IBN AL-BAHLUL, and asked him what he thought. He replied : My notion is that God has commanded us to be circumspect and not to accept the word of an evil-doer. Ibn al-Bahlul then proceeded to cross-examine the informer in such a manner that his mendacity was apparent, and the man was made to confess that his claim was fictitious. He was handed over to the Chief of Police, who ordered him to be punished with a hundred lashes, after which he was imprisoned in the Dungeon, and presently banished to Egypt.

Hamid and 'Ali b. 'Isa then produced ABU 'ALI HUSAIN B. AHMAD MADARA'I to be confronted with Ibn al-Furat in the Palace. This person declared in Ibn al-Furat's presence that he had himself transmitted to Ibn al-Furat in his first vizierate 400,000 dinars as secret profits from the Syrian Armies,¹ and that ABU'L-'ABBAS IBN BISTAM and his son ABU'L-QASIM after him had transmitted 800,000 dinars as commission and secret profit from the districts of Egypt ; at the rate of 200,000 dinars a year. The judges and clerks were present at the trial, and Muqtadir was seated where he could hear the proceedings without being seen. Ibn al-Furat's method of rebutting the charge was the following :

¹ Name for the province.

This official, he said, was in charge of Egypt and Syria during the vizierate of 'Ali b. 'Isa ; he has just confessed that these sums were such as it was his duty to levy, and he asserts that in his capacity of administrator of the Armies of Syria he transmitted some of them to me, and that the two sons of Bistam transmitted to me the amount which he states. Now 'Ali b. 'Isa (62) was vizier during four years : either then similar sums were transmitted to 'Ali b. 'Isa, in which case he is liable for them ; or they were not transmitted, in which case this official is himself liable for them. Then he acknowledges that in the time of my first vizierate he collected the sum which he names, viz. 400,000 dinars, and asserts that he transmitted it to me. He confesses then his own guilt while bringing a charge against me ; I declare that his charge against me is false, and every one knows the ruling of God, his Prophet and the Jurists in such cases.

Hamid here gave vent to violent abuse and insulted Ibn al-Furat coarsely ; Ibn al-Furat told him that he was on the Sultan's carpet and within the imperial Palace, not in the kind of place with which he was familiar, such as a barn to be divided, nor was he himself a farmer whom he might abuse or an agent whom he might cuff ; then turning to SHAFI' LU'LU'I he requested him to write what he was about to say to their lord the Sultan : viz. that *Hamid* had only been induced to aspire to the vizierate for which he was unfit by the fact that he, Ibn al-Furat, had made him liable for more than a million dinars excess due upon the districts of Wasit which he farmed. I, he continued, strenuously demanded this sum, and he supposed that by becoming vizier he would secure possession of this excess, and obtain fresh profits besides. He, being vizier of the Commander of the Faithful, ought now to abandon his farming of the districts of Wasit, so that it might be seen whether he was the loser or the gainer ; this should

now be administered by Abu'l-*Hasan* 'Ali b. 'Isa, since no-one was in any doubt as to the distance between him and *Hamid* in technical knowledge of finance and economy. The fact that he while vizier retained the farming was a beginning of treachery and embezzlement. At this *Hamid* ordered that his beard should be plucked, and as no-one ventured to obey this order, he himself sprang on the ex-vizier and commenced pulling at his beard.

The trial had reached a point at which *HUSAIN B. AHMAD MADARA'I* was ready to sign his bond for half a million dinars if Ibn al-Furat were placed in his power. This was before *Hamid's* abuse of the ex-vizier and plucking at his beard. Now *Hamid* had summoned *ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH*, and instructed him to confront Ibn al-Furat with the statement that he had recalled deposits to the value of (63) half a million dinars which he had concealed during his vizierate.¹ Abu 'Ali however declined to show his face to Ibn al-Furat, and when *Hamid* sent to him during the trial, requesting him to perform his promise, and confront Ibn al-Furat, replied that he was willing to sign an affidavit to that effect, but declined to be confronted with Ibn al-Furat. This incensed *Hamid*, who was alienated from Ibn Muqlah from that day.

'Ali b. 'Isa went no further than addressing some courteous observations to Ibn al-Furat at certain points of his defence, while *Hamid* was engaged in abuse and insult ; Ibn al-*Hawari* pretended to Ibn al-Furat that he was acting as mediator between the latter and *Hamid*, but his language showed that he was endeavouring to damage Ibn al-Furat. When Muqtadir heard the insults of *Hamid* and saw him stretch out his hand to the other's beard, he sent a servant to withdraw Ibn al-Furat from the court and take him back to his place of imprison-

¹ i.e., concealed them when called upon to make a complete statement of his assets,

ment. 'Ali b. 'Isa and Ibn al-*Hawari* both told *Hamid* that he had injured them by his treatment of Ibn al-Furat. *HUSAIN B. AHMAD MADARA'I* after his exhibition of hostility to Ibn al-Furat said to him: If the trial results in your being fined, I will contribute fifty thousand dinars. When he left the court *Nasr the Chamberlain*, 'Ali b. 'Isa and Ibn al-*Hawari* said to him: You came here to cross-examine the man, and before you have finished you take to bribing him and currying favour with him. He replied: The man whom you brought me to see was one of whom, as soon as I came before him, one of you said to me: Consider whom you will be addressing! Another said: Mind what you are about! A third: Remember that your life is at stake! So after hearing his pleading I thought the course which I took the wisest.

Among the noble acts done by Ibn al-Furat was the following: when at a late date he became vizier for the third time, he had to arrest the eldest son of *Husain b. Ahmad Madara'i*, and obtain his bond for 25,000 dinars due from him to the Sultan's treasury. Ibn al-Furat did not demand the money of him, but kept him in arrest until (64) his father returned from Syria; he then reminded the father of the 50,000 dinars which he had offered to advance on his behalf, and said to him: You made a promise on that occasion and it was left to your choice whether to carry it out or not; here is a bond in the hand of your son for 25,000 dinars, which he actually received and which he is bound to pay. Neither he nor you have any claim to them. And here I return you the bond to recompense you for your offer on that occasion.

ABU AHMAD IBN HAMMAD also was summoned to cross-examine Ibn al-Furat in the presence of *Shafi' Lu'lu'i*. He commenced his address by saying to Ibn al-Furat: The vizier and the President both warn you

to be faithful to your own interests. From your estates and crops you have had a yearly income of twelve hundred thousand dinars, and a similar sum from secret profits. This is an enormous sum, so give your bond for a million dinars to be paid at once and before your case is considered, so that your life may be safe ; otherwise you will be delivered over to those who will treat you as those traitors should be treated who conspire against the empire. For the Sultan has ascertained that you have been in correspondence with Ibn Abi'l-Saj, urging him to rebel.—Ibn al-Furat replied : You should have enough to do in looking after your own self and your own dangers without carrying such messages. You were in the employ of 'Ali b. 'Isa for four years during which time you embezzled a vast amount of property. When I undertook the administration, you went into hiding, and the person who replaced you wrote to me to notify various misstatements in your accounts and secret profits which you had enjoyed. These letters are still preserved in the imperial archives.—Shafi' then turned to Ibn *Hammad* and said to him : You are no match for Ibn al-Furat, so go to his son *Muḥassin* and cross-examine him. So he rose and obtained *Muḥassin's* bond for 300,000 dinars.

Then he cross-examined MUSA B. KHALAF, asking him about Ibn al-Furat's deposits and wealth. Musa replied (65) that he had no deposit entrusted to him by Ibn al-Furat, that he knew nothing about his deposits, that no money of the ex-vizier's had ever passed through his hands, and that he had not held any government appointment under him ; he had only looked after his household expenses. This Musa b. Khalaf was nearly ninety years old, and in addition afflicted with an incurable complaint ; he could not have survived torture, so Ibn *Hammad* merely abused him. After this Ibn *Hammad* continued to cross-examine one after another of the friends of Ibn al-Furat, but no money was produced.

He had *Muhassin* suspended by one arm from a curtain rope, but got nothing from him either. When he saw this, he begged to be excused from dealing with the rest and was allowed to cease. Then *Hamid* summoned *Musa b. Khalaf* and commanded him to reveal the treasures of *Ibn al-Furat* ; for, he said, you know where they are ; do not compel us to resort to torture which will be fatal to you. The man replied that he was ready to take any oath that he knew nothing about the ex-vizier's deposits. *Hamid* thereupon ordered him to be cuffed, and this process was continued until 'Ali b. 'Isa interceded for him and the slaves were told to stop. *Hamid* however repeated the torture various times, and finally one night summoned him and had him beaten in his presence until he died of the strokes. He was told that the man was dead, but ordered the slaves to go on beating and seventeen blows were inflicted on the corpse. When *Hamid* was convinced that *Musa b. Khalaf* was dead, he ordered him to be dragged out by the foot ; this was done, and the ear of the corpse caught in the hinge of the door and was wrenched off. He was carried to his house dead. The fidelity of *Musa b. Khalaf* won great admiration ; for he knew of various treasures deposited by his master with different people and let himself be killed rather than divulge them.

Hamid then summoned *Muhassin*, and demanded money of him ; but *Muhassin* replied that he could not furnish more than 20,000 dinars. *Hamid* ordered him to be cuffed, and after some blows observed that he had thick hair on his head ; so, thinking that this deadened the pain of the blows, he ordered a barber to be fetched ; he was removed from his presence, to have his hair shaved ; he was then brought back, and cuffed in the presence of a multitude until he nearly died of the blows. 'Ali b. 'Isa interceded requesting that the vizier should reduce his demand to fifty thousand dinars. *Hamid* however swore that he would be satisfied with no less

than seventy thousand. *Muhassin* then gave his bond for that amount ; but *Hamid* had him clothed in a woollen *jubbah* (66) and after inflicting on him various torments delivered him to *ABU'L-HASAN THU'BANI*. *Muhassin* paid sixty thousand after soliciting people's aid, and being assisted by 'Ali b. 'Isa with ten thousand dirhems. He had to solicit help for some time before he produced the sum for which he had given his bond, but many people interceded for him and ultimately *Hamid* permitted him to return home.

Hamid was very anxious that *Ibn al-Furat* should be delivered into his hands ; *Muqtadir* was willing to do this, only he said that he must put him in the charge of a servant who would see that his life was preserved. *Hamid* observed that if *Ibn al-Furat* was sure that he would be saved from torture, he would hold out. *Muqtadir* then offered to deliver him into the hands of 'Ali b. 'Isa or *Shafi' Lu'lu'i*, in whom he had confidence. *Muqtadir* deliberated much about *Ibn al-Furat*, at times craving after the money, at others disliking the thought of his dying in *Hamid's* hands. *Zaidan the Stewardess*, having ascertained this state of *Muqtadir's* mind, told *Ibn al-Furat*, who professed to have seen his brother *Abu'l-'Abbas* in a dream. His brother, he asserted, had charged him to pay the money, as the people did not want his life, and only wanted his wealth.—I replied, he said, that I had already paid away all I possessed.—His brother rejoined : You have not paid away a certain sum.—Most of that, was the surrejoinder, belongs to *your* heirs.—Pay it away, replied his brother ; we got it together from their ancestors and have only hoarded it for such an emergency as this.—He then wrote to two traders, bidding them transmit the sums in their hands, viz. 700,000 dinars, to the Palace of *Muqtadir* ; to *ABU BAKR IBN QARABAH* to deliver another sum, and to *IBN IDRIS the Carrier* to deliver another. *Muqtadir* sent these notes to *Hamid* and 'Ali b. 'Isa, who were

annoyed and despaired of obtaining possession of Ibn al-Furat's person. 'Ali b. 'Isa and Ibn al-Hawari asked Hamid what he thought of Ibn al-Furat's action. He replied that it was like the Caliph's luck. 'Ali b. 'Isa replied : Doubtless the vizier is right, only I am sure that Ibn (67) al-Furat would not have taken this step unless he had first had his life guaranteed him ; nor would he have parted with this immense sum for nothing and without some deep design. Part of the sum would have sufficed him, were it not that he means to get our lives and fortunes in his power. Hamid and Ibn al-Hawari both agreed that this must be so.

Hamid and 'Ali b. 'Isa then went about summoning the drawees, to whom they presented the bills of Ibn al-Furat. Their correctness was admitted by all save IBN QARABAH, who admitted that the ex-vizier had deposited with him 10,000 dinars, but at the beginning of the year 306 had purchased of him a quantity of ambergris and musk, most of which he had presented to Muqtadir, keeping only a little for himself. He produced orders signed by Ibn al-Furat with the proper dates, and requested to be confronted with Ibn al-Furat. He was despatched by Hamid to the Palace, where he was introduced by Mufliḥ into Ibn al-Furat's presence. When he told his story, the ex-vizier admitted its truth, and begged the pardon of Ibn Qarabah for what he had written ; asserting that the transaction had escaped his memory, whereas he well knew that he had set the perfumes against the deposit. Ibn al-Furat gave a written statement that Ibn Qarabah's account of the matter was correct ; and so Ibn al-Furat's money was secured to him. This act of Ibn Qarabah was one of the strongest reasons for his intimate association afterwards with the ex-vizier.

Another sum had been deposited by Ibn al-Furat with the qadī ABU 'UMAR on account of his son Hasan

b. Daulah (*umm wuld* of Ibn al-Furat). Abu 'Umar was greatly alarmed when he saw Hamid dealing ruthlessly with judges and witnesses ; so when asked by Hamid whether he had any deposit belonging to Ibn al-Furat, he admitted that he had ; he was ordered to produce the money, which he did, paying it over. Ibn al-Furat hearing of this was offended with Abu 'Umar. There is a story that Abu Bakr Ibn Qarabah narrated as follows : When Ibn al-Furat received his robe of honour for his third vizierate, I was the first person who met him in the vestibule of the chamberlain's apartments, which abuts on the door of the private apartments. Abu Bakr, he said, did Abu 'Umar save himself with my deposit and expose me to vengeance ? I replied : The vizier, God help him, (68) says truly ; who told him ? Ibn al-Furat pointed in the direction of Zaidan the Stewardess. The qadī Abu 'Umar got to know of the resentment harboured against him by Ibn al-Furat, and when the latter reached his palace at the time of the latter evening prayer, he found Abu 'Umar and his son sitting in a mosque that was by the entrance. The vizier was surprised at this, dismounted and approached them. They adjured him to go into his house, whither they entered with him ; they then said : We know all about the sitting,¹ and what do you design ?—He said : That you should neither excuse yourselves nor argue, but refund the money.—They agreed, the amount being three thousand dinars ; only they asked for easy terms that they might not be hurried.—Next morning Ibn al-Furat received a visit from Ibn Qarabah, who told him that he had been visited by Abu 'Umar and his son, who were in a state of alarm, and had informed him that the money was intact. Two days later Abu Bakr brought the three thousand dinars in the very jar which had held the original deposit. When Ibn al-Furat saw it he was surprised and ordered it to be taken in.

¹ Probably the interview between Ibn al-Furat and Ibn Qarabah.

We now return to the story of *Hamid* and his vizierate.—When *Hamid* and 'Ali b. 'Isa perceived the power which Ibn al-*Hawari* had acquired over Muqtadir, an order was issued by *Hamid* in the writing of 'Ali b. 'Isa, giving Ibn al-*Hawari* control of the whole pay department of the troops in all the Western provinces, from Hit to the furthest extremity of Egypt. His stipend was fixed at the same amount as had been received by all the persons who had discharged these duties in the last days of Ibn al-Furat's second vizierate. His son, who was then about ten years of age, was also to have a public appointment with a stipend of 150 dinars per month. He did in fact appoint this son primary¹ head of the pay-office in the metropolis, at a stipend of 180 dinars per month, nominating as his deputy a man called Qatirmiz the Clerk. After this the association of Ibn al-*Hawari* with *Hamid* became yet closer, and his private attendance on *Hamid* yet more frequent, *Hamid* consulting him about all his affairs; and yet other offices were conferred by the latter on the former, with stipends attached, the duties being performed by deputies. He thus amassed enormous wealth, but did not himself take any active part in affairs, or know (69) what was going on in his departments. He further dismissed NIZAR from the headship of police in Baghdad, and replaced him by NUJH TULUNI, who employed a deputy; and established jurists in each Quarter, whose interpretation of the law was to be followed by the police magistrates in the punishment of criminals. This weakened the authority of the police, and Nujh was little feared by the thieves and highwaymen, whence crime and rioting became frequent, and robbery reached alarming proportions; the highwaymen had a rhyme—

Go out and don't be timid
So long as Nujh is chief!

¹ This probably is in antithesis to the deputy.

YEAR 307.

The object of *Hamid* in the revenue-farming of the provinces which have been mentioned was this : 'Ali b. 'Isa having monopolized the administration of imperial affairs, and extinguished *Hamid*, *Hamid* undertook these provinces in order to have some say in some matters in the metropolis, and exhibit on these undertakings a sufficient surplus to eclipse the reputation which 'Ali b. 'Isa had acquired with Muqtadir for competence and honesty. He did not include the districts of Fars in the territory which he farmed, because it was farmed by ABU'L-QASIM IBN BISTAM, and he was advised by NU'MAN¹ not to undertake revenue-farming at all, as he held that it would lessen his dignity in men's eyes, and enable 'Ali b. 'Isa to address demands for money to him, and get power over him. ABU 'Isa brother of ABU SAKHRAH on the other hand encouraged him to undertake the revenue-farming, in order to make his (70) mark ; and to contract according to the assessments of the years when 'Ali b. 'Isa had been vizier, in order that the sums which he produced, being vast, should count as corrections to 'Ali b. 'Isa's estimates. *Hamid* inclined to this latter counsel, and thus addressed 'Ali b. 'Isa in the presence of Muqtadir : You have monopolized the administration of affairs so as to exclude me, and do not see fit to ask my advice on any step that you take. The truth however must be told to the Commander of the Faithful ; you have wasted in the Sawad, Ahwaz, and Ispahan 400,000 dinars, each year. I am prepared to farm the revenue of these provinces for four years on the assessment of sums to be transmitted to the metropolis and sums to be assigned to specified objects which was authorized in the years of your vizierate, and add 400,000 dinars to the sum every year.—'Ali b. 'Isa replied that he could not approve of *Hamid* farming the revenue

¹ Ibn 'Abdallah Mundhiri, who had retired from office and was a friend of this vizier.

of these provinces, because he was well known to be in the habit of grinding down the inhabitants, introducing new customs, and anticipating the collection of the revenue. A person who acted on these principles might doubtless obtain a surplus for a year or two, but would introduce ruin which it might take many years to recover. Meanwhile he would dry up the source of revenue and leave a bad name. After a long debate between the two Muqtadir observed: This is a proposal on *Hamid's* part to increase the revenue, and it may not be rejected: if *you* are prepared to farm these provinces on the terms offered by *Hamid*, I will let you have them. —'Ali b. 'Isa replied: I am a clerk, not a revenue officer; *Hamid* is much better suited to be revenue-farmer of those provinces, especially as he has offered these terms willingly. And his being able to do so, O Commander of the Faithful, is due to my having rendered these territories prosperous by my tenderness with the inhabitants and my having appointed such revenue officials as have relieved them of undue burdens. The cultivation for year 307 is now at an end, and he cannot profess to be undertaking the revenue-farming in order to increase the cultivation of the soil; the time for that has ended long ago.—Muqtadir thereupon ordered the right to farm this revenue to be assigned to *Hamid*, and took his bond for the sum mentioned; and the two left the Palace.

'Ali b. 'Isa ordered the heads of the bureaux to issue the assessments from their offices in accordance with the assessments made in recent years, since these had been more productive; so the assessment of moneys transmitted and moneys specially assigned and moneys allotted to permanent expenses in the districts of the Sawad and Ahwaz, was issued for one of the three years (71) 303-305, at 33,000,000 dirhems; that of the Estates, private, new, confiscated from 'Abbas and confiscated

from Ibn al-Furat, consisting of moneys to be transmitted and moneys specially assigned, at 8,800,000 dirhems ; and the assessment of the revenue of Ispahan with moneys allotted to permanent expenses, being one year's share out of three, at 6,300,000 dirhems. Total : 48,100,000 dirhems. The extra amount promised by *Hamid*, 400,000 dinars, was valued at 5,800,000 dirhems. The whole sum then came to : 53,900,000 dirhems.

Hamid b. 'Abbas requested Muqtadir to order a number of clerks to be placed at his disposal, whom he might employ in the clerical work of the office of his revenue-farming. He specially nominated 'UBAIDALLAH B. MOHAMMED KALWADHI and AHMAD B. ZURAIQ with others. This request was granted after 'Ali b. 'Isa had made out the contract for him in the name of his friend MOHAMMED B. MANSUR, and obtained the signature of *Hamid* to an undertaking to render himself responsible for the contract made out in the name of this person. *Hamid* b. 'Abbas placed reliance on 'Ubaidallah b. Mohammed Kalwadhi, who used to revise the documents presented by *Hamid*'s clerks, and interviewed persons on trial in the Palace as *Hamid*'s agent, where he conducted his cross-examination with civility and went no further than argument. 'Ali b. 'Isa relied on SAQR B. MOHAMMED in cross-questioning the clerks in *Hamid*'s employ ; when *Hamid* was present he did little more than shower abuse on 'Ali b. 'Isa, reviling both himself and his ancestors. His conduct on these occasions disgraced the empire, and became the talk of nobles and commons. Presently Muqtadir reconciled the two at an audience.

'Ali b. 'Isa insisted on *Hamid*'s transmitting the money for which he had rendered himself responsible, and the latter had to request permission to take a journey to Ahwaz. This was granted ; but as Abu'l-Qasim (72) Kalwadhi told him that he (Kalwadhi) was not

strong enough to resist 'Ali b. 'Isa during *Hamid's* absence, *Hamid* appointed his son-in-law ABU'L-HUSAIN MOHAMMED B. AHMAD B. BISTAM, to represent him in the Palace when there was cross-questioning and to strengthen the hands of Kalwadhi and enable him to enforce his pleading. Kalwadhi displayed during this period great technical knowledge, competence and correctness in detail, which led more than anything to his advancement.

There was much dissension between the clerks of *Hamid* and those of 'Ali b. 'Isa ; it would be too long a task to record it all. *Hamid* agreed to the arbitration of NU'MAN, who accepted the proposal that he should act, and fixed the whole amount involved in all the discussions at 100,000 dinars upon the share of a single year.¹ Ibn Bistam and Kalwadhi wrote to *Hamid* who was in Ahwaz to inform him of the sum which had been fixed by arbitration ; whereupon *Hamid* adopted a line worthy of a master of the craft. He wrote a letter to Muqtadir, which he despatched by a slave, and which Nasr delivered sealed to the Caliph, who found therein the statement that *Hamid* had not undertaken this revenue-farming for the sake of personal gain or to make a profit out of the Sultan, but only to exhibit his skill in management of such affairs, and his strict economy, while he also exposed the evil results of the operations of 'Ali b. 'Isa both of old and recently. After having offered an excess of 400,000 dinars yearly, he, when he had come to Ahwaz, had seen the way to add a further 200,000 dinars for the year 7 ; this sum he had realized and had written the present letter with his own hand that it might be used as evidence against him of his having undertaken to increase by that sum his original addition, and that it might be registered in the archives.

¹ This seems to mean that the amount claimed by 'Ali b. 'Isa from *Hamid* for *kharaḡ* differed in a number of details from that which the latter was transmitting ; and that the arbitrator fixed the total of these claims at the sum mentioned in the text.

This delighted Muqtadir, who commanded that the hands of *Hamid* should be strengthened, and that 'Ali b. 'Isa should restrict himself to looking after the needs of the officers of the court, and watching what was expended under various heads, as he understood this better than *Hamid*; while *Hamid* was to monopolize the collection of the revenue and the administration of provinces.—'Ali b. 'Isa was afraid lest the hands of *Hamid* should be strengthened to such an extent that he himself would be delivered into them.

It happened after this that first the common people and then the court became agitated in consequence of the rise in prices, and a series of riots (73) occurred in the course of which the empire came near disintegration and Baghdad being devastated. The clerks and dependents of *Hamid* and his partisans charged 'Ali b. 'Isa with encouraging the populace and most of the court to riot, as prices had not risen to an extent which would account for such outrages; the highest price for wheaten bread being a dirhem for eight *ratls*.

Account of the causes which brought such disorder into the affairs of Hamid b. 'Abbas that his contract for farming the revenue was cancelled.

There was a public gathering attended by some leading commoners, at which complaints were made of the rise in prices; 'Ali b. 'Isa was hooted when he rode in the streets, and presently the mob plundered the shops of a number of cornchandlers in Baghdad. They then assembled at the gate of the Palace, and made an uproar. Muqtadir ordered Ibn al-Hawari to write to *Hamid* bidding him hasten to the capital and attend to the prices, and put a stop to the practice of delaying the sale of the crops, so that prices might fall. This letter was despatched, and *Hamid* started from Ahwaz; Muqtadir further sent MAHIR the eunuch to hurry him; the

heads of the bureaux and military commanders left the city to meet him, and the same was done by Nasr, Ibn al-Hawari, and 'Ali b. 'Isa. He was received by Muqtadir, who addressed him civilly and expressed his commendation for the economy which he had effected, and ordered a robe of honour to be put upon him. When this was done he was mounted upon a *shihri*¹ and departed for his residence.

The day after there was an excitement among the troops in the Palace, and they clamoured at the rise in prices ; the populace too rioted in the public mosques of Baghdad, broke the pulpits, stopped public worship after the first "inclination," stripped people of their clothes, and flung brickbats about. Many persons were wounded. A great crowd collected in the public mosque of the Palace, and attacked Nasr the Chamberlain, whom they pelted with brickbats. They marched the same day to the house of Hamid b. 'Abbas, who sent out against them his retainers, who attacked them with missiles of clay and with arrows ; many of the mob were killed, and were carried away on biers ; the mob violently abused Hamid's retainers, some of whom he sent (74) with DEWADADH B. MOHAMMED, brother's son to Yusuf Ibn Abi'l-Saj, to enter the Public mosque on the Western bank, which they did on horseback. There they killed a number of people, some of the soldiers also being killed. The people spent the Friday night in great alarm for their lives, their property, and their families ; and the chief of police was unable to resist the rioters owing to the number that were gathered together. On Saturday morning a number of people belonging to the mob went and set fire to the bridges, opened the prisons and plundered the houses of the chief of police and other persons. Muqtadir sent a number of the *Hujari*

¹ A horse used on state occasions. Tabari iii. 586 gives the price of one as 4,000 dirhems.

retainers in boats to attack the mob, and HARUN, son of GHARIB "the uncle,"¹ rode with a great host to the Taq Gate, where he set fire to various places. The mob fled before him to the public mosque at the Taq Gate; Harun stationed a guard at the door of the mosque, and arrested all whom he found inside it, making no distinction between devotee and highwayman. He had them all conveyed to the police court, where some were scourged, others caned, and the hands of certain notorious malefactors were cut off. Then on the Sunday YA'NIS MUWAFFAQI rode about the city and endeavoured to quiet the people, and made a proclamation which appeased the rioters. Presently Hamid sailed in his launch meaning to visit the Sultan, but he was pelted by the mob with brickbats, so that Muqtadir ordered Shafi' his freedman to ride and pacify the mob. He did so, proceeding on the Western bank, where the rioting was going on; after pacifying the people, he arrested a number of the mob, scourged some and amputated the hands of certain who were known to have used brickbats.

Meanwhile there was an outcry raised by the Regular Infantry in the Palace at the rise in prices, so Muqtadir ordered the shops and the storehouses belonging to Hamid, the Queen-mother, the royal princes and the chief officers of the empire to be opened and the wheat to be sold at a reduction of five dinars on the *kurr*, and barley at a proportionate reduction; and orders were issued to the merchants and retailers to sell at the same figure. Then Harun b. Gharib rode out accompanied by IBRAHIM B. BATHA (75) the Censor, and grain was priced at fifty dinars the *kurr* of average size; orders to that effect were issued to the dealers. The mob was satisfied and became quiet, and the price fell.

A rescript was then issued by Muqtadir cancelling the contract of Hamid b. 'Abbas owing to the riots and

¹ Mother's brother of Muqtadir,

the clamour of the mob over the rise in prices ; a further rescript charged 'Ali b. 'Isa himself to administer the finance of the Sawad, Ahwaz and Ispahan, where he was to appoint his own agents. He was also commanded to write a letter to the people in the Caliph's name, to be read in the bazaars and highways, and from the pulpits, declaring the contract of *Hamid* for the farming of these revenues void, and forbidding all ministers of state, captains and retainers to undertake the farming of any of the provinces. *Hamid* also wrote dismissing his agents, and bidding them hand over their functions to those of 'Ali b. 'Isa. *Hamid* was greatly chagrined by this.

YEAR 308.

In this year news came from Egypt of the movement of the *Fatimid* ruler of the Maghrib in its direction ; Mu'nis the Eunuch was despatched thither in consequence.

In this year a robe of honour was bestowed on ABU'L-HAIJA 'ABDALLAH B. *HAMDAN*, who was put in charge of the Khorasan and Dinawar Road. Robes were also bestowed on his brothers ABUL'-'ALA and ABU'L-SARAYA.

There also arrived a messenger from the brother of Su'luk¹ bringing money and gifts, and this messenger received a robe of honour.

YEAR 309.

In this year despatches were received and read from the pulpits announcing the rout of the Maghribi and the pillaging (76) of his camp. Mu'nis the same year received the title MUZAFFAR (the Victorious), letters being sent in Muqtadir's name to the provinces to announce this. He was also given the government of Egypt and Syria.

¹ His seizure of Rayy and subsequent legitimation as its governor were recorded in the year 304.

In the same year there entered Baghdad the envoy of the Ruler of Khorasan bringing the head of LAILA B. NU'MAN the Dailemite, who had rebelled in Tabaristan.¹

In it too HALLAJ (whose name was HUSAIN B. MANSUR) became notorious and was ultimately executed and burned.

Account of Husain b. Mansur Hallaj, and his final execution with mutilation.

Hamid b. 'Abbas during his vizierate was informed that this person had been duping a number of the court attendants and door-keepers with various retainers and dependents of Nasr, the Chamberlain, pretending that he raised the dead and was served by *jinn*, who brought him whatever he desired, and that he could perform any miracle that he wished of the sort ascribed to the Prophets. Some persons averred that Nasr was disposed to favour his claims. One SAMARRI, certain clerks, and a member of the Hashimite family,² were charged with acting as Hallaj's prophets, declaring that Hallaj was God (Oh, what blasphemy !). They were arrested and cross-questioned by Hamid, and they confessed that they were his missionaries, being fully convinced that he was a god, who raised the dead. They made these assertions in the presence of Hallaj, who repudiated them and declared that they lied ; God forbid, he said, that I should pretend to divinity or prophecy ! I am merely a man who worships God and practises prayer, fasting and good works—nothing more ! Hamid summoned the qadi Abu 'Umar, the qadi Abu Ja'far Ibn al-Bahlul, and a number of eminent jurists and witnesses, and asked their opinion on the case. They stated that they would on no account sanction his execution until they

¹ See Browne's History of Tabaristan, 303-307. In the year 315 below this personage is said to have been the first Dailemite who got possession of Rayy after the departure of Ibn Abi'l-Saj.

² *i.e.*, the clan to which both the Prophet and 'Ali belonged.

were convinced that he had done what deserved that penalty ; and that they could not accept the evidence of the persons who had made such charges against him without proof and admission on his part.

(77) The first person who revealed the secrets of *Hallaj* was a man of Basrah who made a clear statement of the case. He was, he said, acquainted with his adherents, who were scattered about the countries acting as his missionaries. He himself was one of those who had accepted his claims, then discovered his fraud and in consequence parted from him and quitted his society ; he was now hoping to win the favour of Almighty God by exposing him. This person found a supporter in *ABU 'ALI HARUN B. 'ABD AL-'AZIZ* the Book-keeper, a clerk from Anbar, who had written a book exposing the tricks and deceits of *Hallaj*, which is still in people's hands. *Hallaj* was at this time lodged in the Palace where he was well treated, and allowed to receive visitors, being in charge of *Nasr* the Chamberlain. *Hallaj* had two names, *HUSAIN B. MANSUR* and *MOHAMMED B. AHMAD FARISI*. He had duped *Nasr* who had been deceived by his frauds, and had won a great name among the court attendants.

Muqtadir sent him to *'Ali b. 'Isa*, to be examined by him ; he was introduced into his saloon, and used rough language to him. There is a story that when *'Ali b. 'Isa* advanced towards him, *Hallaj* said to him privately : Stop where you are and advance no nearer, else I will overturn the earth upon you—with matter of this style. *'Ali b. 'Isa* shrank from examining him, and begged to be excused. So he was taken to *Hamid b. 'Abbas*. The daughter of *Samarri*, *Hallaj's* adherent, had been admitted to *Hallaj* and remained with him in the Palace for a time ; she was sent to *Hamid* in order that he might question her about what she knew of the affairs of *Hallaj* or had herself witnessed. *ABU'L-QASIM ZANJI*

states that he was present when this woman was brought before *Hamid b. 'Abbas*, and that her examination was also attended by *ABU 'ALI AHMAD B. NASR BAZIYAR* on behalf of *Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-Hawari*, for the purpose of hearing her statements.

Hamid asked her what she knew about *Hallaj* ; and she narrated how her father *Samarri* had brought her to him, and how on this occasion he had given her presents of different sorts which she enumerated (she was, said *Abu'l-Qasim Zanjī*, (78) a woman who expressed herself well, had an agreeable utterance, and made a favourable impression). Among the things which she recounted was that *Hallaj* said to her : I marry you to my son *Sulaiman*, the dearest to me of my children, who is resident in *Nisabur*. Now a man and his wife are likely to " have words " or she may disapprove of something which he has done. You are going to him, and I have commended you to him ; if he does anything which you dislike, fast the whole day, and at the end of the daytime mount the roof, stand upon ashes and coarse salt, and take your breakfast on them ; then turn your face in my direction and inform me of what you disapprove in his conduct ; for I will hear and see.—Now one morning I was descending from the roof into the house accompanied by his daughter : he too had come down, and when we had got to the stair where he could see us and we him, his daughter said to me : Prostrate yourself to him ! I said to her : Ought one then to prostrate oneself to any but God ?—Now he heard what I said to her and said : Yes, there is a God in heaven and also a god on earth.—Then he called me to him, and introduced his hand into his sleeve, and brought it out filled with musk, which he gave me ; this he did again and then several times more, and then said : Put this with your perfumes ; for a woman has need of perfume when she presents herself before her husband.—Then he called me once when he was in a room, seated

on some matting,¹ and told me to lift the side of the mat in a certain place and take what I wanted from underneath, pointing to the corner of the room. So I went thither and when I raised the mat I found a flooring of dinars over the whole room, a thing that amazed me.—The woman was then told to rise and was kept in the house of *Hamid* until the execution of *Hallaj*.

Hamid exerted himself to find the adherents of *Hallaj* and set spies to hunt them down ; he succeeded (79) in arresting *HAIDARAH*, *SAMARRI*, *MOHAMMED B. 'ALI QUNNA'I*, and the person known as *ABU'L-MUGHITH HASHIMI*. *IBN HAMMAD* went into concealment and his house was entered, and many documents taken thence ; many too were taken from the house of *Mohammed b. 'Ali Qunna'i* ; they were written on Chinese paper, some of them in gold paint ; the paper was lined with satin or silk, and they were bound in leather of good quality. Among the names of his adherents were found those of *IBN BISHR* and *SHAKIR*. *Hamid* asked the adherents whom he had arrested about these two, and they stated that they were a couple of his missionaries in *Khorasan*. So (said *Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Zanj*) we wrote more than twenty letters ordering them to be despatched to the metropolis, most of which remained unanswered, whereas in such answers as came it was stated that they were being sought and when found would be despatched. Up to the present date (he adds) they have not been sent.

Among the documents discovered in his possession were wonderful sets of letters from agents despatched by him to the provinces and instructions issued by him concerning the doctrines which they should propagate, and how they should lead the people from one state to another and from one stage to another till they reached the final goal : ² and how they should address each class

¹ In the Table-Talk something of the same sort is done in the mosque of *Basrah*.

² *Maqrizi* ascribes this method to the *Isma'ilis* ; see his *Khitat*.

according to the level of their intelligence, and the degree to which they showed themselves amenable. There were also replies from him to correspondents in enigmatic phraseology only intelligible to the writer and to the recipient of the communication.

Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Zanjī continues : One day my father and I had been in the presence of *Hamid*, when he left the room, and we went out to the public saloon, and sat down in its peristyle. Presently HARUN B. 'IMRAN, the Collector, presented himself before my father and was talking with him when there appeared the slave of *Hamid* who was in charge of *Hallaj*, and signalled to Harun b. 'Imran to come out to him. (80) He rose hastily, without our knowing the reason, and after a short absence returned, looking very pale. My father was alarmed by his appearance and asked him what had happened. He replied as follows :—I was summoned, he said, by the slave in charge of *Hallaj*, and when I went out to him he told me that he had been taking in to *Hallaj* the tray which it was his daily custom to bring him, when he found that *Hallaj* was filling the room with his person, stretching from roof to floor and from side to side, so that there was no space left ; this spectacle frightened him so much that he dropped the tray and fled. He added that the slave was in a fever, shaking and trembling.¹—While we were marvelling at the tale, a messenger came to us from *Hamid*, permitting us to enter his apartment. We entered and began to talk about the slave. *Hamid* summoned him, and he proved to be really feverish ; being asked by his master what had occurred he told the same story as he had told us. *Hamid* told him that he was lying, and abused him, saying : You were frightened by *Hallaj*'s conjuring-tricks (or something of the sort), plague on you, get out !—The slave departed, but remained in his feverish condition for a long time.

¹ In the autobiography of the medium D. D. Home there are cases of elongation, but not on *Hallaj*'s scale.

Presently Hamid found a letter by Hallaj containing the following : *If a man desire to go on pilgrimage, but be unable to do so, he should set apart in his house a square building which should be touched by no unclean thing, and to which no-one should have access. When the days of the pilgrimage arrive, he should make the circuit round it, and perform the same ceremonies as he would perform in Meccah. Then he should collect thirty orphans and prepare for them the daintiest food that he can provide, after which he should bring them to the house and set that food before them ; after serving them himself and washing their hands, he should present each of them with a shirt, and hand to each of them seven dirhems (Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Zanjī was not sure whether it was this or three) ; this would serve instead of the pilgrimage.*

My father, he continued, was reading this letter, and when he had finished this section, the qadī ABU 'UMAR turning to Hallaj asked him the source of this doctrine. Hallaj replied : *The Book of Devotion* by HASAN BASRI. Abu 'Umar retorted : That is false ; Outlaw, we heard the book of Devotion by Hasan Basri in Meccah, and it contained none of these statements. Each time Abu 'Umar used the phrase *Outlaw*, Hamid (81) bade him commit his statement to writing. Abu 'Umar tried to attend to Hallaj, but Hamid would not let him do so, and insisted, in such a way as to prevent opposition, that he should write down that Hallaj was outlawed ; and the other persons present at the trial followed suit. When Hallaj perceived how things were going he cried out : My person is sacrosanct and my blood may not be shed ; you have no right to outlaw me by a quibble. My religion is Islam and my sect the *Sunnah* ; there are books of mine at the booksellers in defence of the *sunnah*. I adjure you by God not to shed my blood.—He kept on repeating this while the assessors were writing their names, and when the signatures of those present were all on the paper, Hamid forwarded it to Muqtadir.

The imperial rescript was as follows : Inasmuch as the sentence of the judge is what you have presented to us, have him taken to the police court, and scourged with a thousand stripes ; if he is not dead at the end, then order his hands and feet to be amputated, decapitate him, place his head on a pole and burn his body.—Hamid summoned the Chief of police, bade him read the rescript, and ordered him to take away *Hallaj* and carry out the orders. This the Chief of police declined to do, alleging that he was afraid the culprit would be forcibly rescued. So it was agreed that the Chief of police should come after dark with a number of his slaves and men on mules in the capacity of *sais'es*, so that he might be set on one of the mules and stowed in the middle of the crowd. Hamid urged the Chief of police not to listen to any appeal of *Hallaj* ; if he were to offer to transform the Tigris and Euphrates into gold and silver for his benefit, he must still not cease scourging him till he was killed according to orders. MOHAMMED B. 'ABD AL-SAMAD, the Chief of police,¹ carried these instructions out. He conveyed *Hallaj* that night in the style described, the retainers of Hamid riding with him till they brought him to the Bridge. Mohammed b. 'Abd al-Samad with his men passed the night round the Majlis.²

When the morning of Tuesday—6 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (March 26, 922) dawned, *Hallaj* was led out to the area of the Majlis, where an innumerable crowd of the populace assembled. The executioner was ordered to administer a thousand strokes of the scourge ; this was done and *Hallaj* uttered no cry nor did he plead for pardon. Only (my authority says) when he had got to the six hundredth blow (82) *Hallaj* called out to Mohammed b. 'Abd al-Samad : Summon me to your side and I will tell you something which in the eyes of the Caliph will be equal to the storming of Constantinople. The Chief of police replied :

¹ The date of his appointment in lieu of Nujh Tuluni is not mentioned.

² Here apparently the name of some police station or place of execution.

I have been told that you were likely to offer this, or even more, but there is no way whereby you can be relieved of the scourge. *Hallaj* then maintained silence till the thousandth stroke had been delivered, then his hand was amputated, then his foot, then he was decapitated; his trunk was then burned, and his head erected on the Bridge. Afterwards the head was removed to Khorasan.

Hallaj's adherents asserted that the victim of the blows was an enemy of his on whom his likeness had been cast,¹ some of them pretending to have seen *Hallaj* and heard from him something of the sort, with follies not worth transcribing. The booksellers were summoned and made to swear that they would neither sell nor buy any of *Hallaj's* works.

YEAR 310.

In this year by *Mu'nis's* request and intercession *YUSUF IBN ABI'L-SAJ* was released from confinement, and presently received a gift of money and clothing; then he had an audience of *Muqtadir*, to whom he rode in black; he kissed first the carpet, then the Caliph's hand; a robe of reconciliation was then thrown over him, and he was mounted on a horse (82) with a gilt saddle. After some days *Muqtadir* held a court in the Public Saloon, at which he appointed him minister of prayer, public security, *kharaj* and Estates in Rayy, Qazwin, Abhar, Zanzan and Adharbaijan.² When he left the Palace there rode with him *Mu'nis* the *Muzaffar*, *Nasr* the Chamberlain, *Shafi'*, *Muflih*, and indeed all the officers and retainers in the metropolis; his house was filled with soldiers and arms, and there was a great gathering. *Yusuf Ibn Abi'l-Saj* appointed as his secretary *MOHAMMED B. KHALAF NIRMANI*; the provinces of

¹ The same is said in the *Qur'an* (iv. 156) to have happened in the case of Jesus.

² When we last heard of these provinces, the "brother of *Su'luk*" was in possession of them.

which he was given charge were made his fief on condition that he should transmit to the metropolis every year 500,000 dinars, while himself defraying the permanent expenditure and paying the army maintained in these provinces. Robes of honour were also bestowed on WASIF BEKTIMURI, and upon TAHIR and YA'QUB sons of MOHAMMED B. 'AMR B. AL-LAITH.

In this year NAZUK was made Chief of police in Baghdad, and received a robe of honour, Mohammed b. 'Abd al-Samad being dismissed. A second robe of honour was bestowed on Wasif Bektimuri, who was attached to the service of Yusuf Ibn Abi'l-Saj, who departed to his province *via* Mausil. When he reached Ardabil he found that his retainer SABUK was already dead.¹

This year there arrived in Baghdad a present from ABU ZUNBUR HUSAIN B. AHMAD MADARA'I sent by him from Egypt; it contained a female mule with a foal which followed her and which she suckled, and a lad with a tongue so long that it could reach the tip of his nose.

In this year there were arrested UMM MUSA the Stewardess, her sister and her brother.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason was that Umm Musa had married the daughter of her brother ABU BAKR AHMAD B. 'ABBAS to ABU'L-'ABBAS IBN MOHAMMED B. ISHAQ son of MUTAWAKKIL, who was a prince of imperial blood, and a man of wealth, sumptuous in his living and attire, (84) his horses and his conveyances, and a friend of 'Ali b. 'Isa; so much so that the ex-vizier was supposed to be training him for the Caliphate. When the alliance between him and Umm Musa became a fact, the stewardess spent extravagantly on distribution of largesses, and entertainments to which she invited the

¹ In 304 he had seized Adharbaijan.

officers of the empire both great and small for a period of more than ten days. Her enemies got the opportunity of throwing suspicion upon her, and put it into the minds of both Muqtadir and the Queen-mother that her purpose in allying herself with the descendant of Mutawakkil was to depose Muqtadir and instal this prince in his place. Thus her fall was brought about, and she with her sister and her brother was handed over to the Stewardess THUMAL, a woman who had a reputation for cruelty, having been stewardess to AHMAD B. 'ABD AL-'AZIZ B. DULAF,¹ who used to deliver to her such of his slave-girls and slaves as had incurred his displeasure; she became notorious for her harshness and the severity of her punishments. This Thumal forced Umm Musa, her sister and her brother to surrender vast sums of money, and a marvellous amount of jewellery, wearing apparel, furniture and perfume; a special bureau was established by 'Ali b. 'Isa, to deal with all this, called Bureau of the property confiscated from Umm Musa and her dependents: in this their estates and other property were dealt with, and he made chief of it ABU SHUJA' known as sister's son to Abu Ayyub, father of the vizier, controlled by the clerk ABU 'ABDALLAH YUSUFI. It is said that about a million dinars were obtained from these people.

When Umm Musa had been arrested, 'Ali b. 'Isa dismissed IBN ABI'L-BAGHL from his offices in Fars,² and appointed to them ABU 'ABDALLAH JA'FAR B. QASIM KARKHI; he also fined the former. When Ibn al-Furat was made vizier for the third time, he wrote to Karkhi bidding him renew Ibn Abi'l-Baghl's fine and imprison him.

In this year died MOHAMMED B. JARIR TABARI, about ninety years old; he was buried at night, for the populace

¹ A general of Mu'tadid, repeatedly mentioned by Tabari.

² He had only been retained in his office (finance minister of Ispahan) out of fear of Umm Musa.

assembled and prevented his being buried in the day, as they charged him with rejecting the claims of the Abbasids and further with heresy.

(85) In the same year Muqtadir invited Mu'nis the Muzaffar to drink in his presence and put on him the robes of a Messmate (*munadim*) of the Caliph ; these were heavily adorned with gold.

YEAR 311.

In this year Hamid b. 'Abbas was dismissed from the vizierate and 'Ali b. 'Isa from the bureaux.

Account of the dismissal of these ministers and the restoration of Ibn al-Furat to the vizierate.

For this there were numerous causes. One of them was that Hamid planned guaranteeing the exaction of a certain sum from 'Ali b. 'Isa if the latter were surrendered to him, when the Caliph had cancelled his contract for farming the revenue of the provinces which we have enumerated. He further professed his readiness to finance the government and carry on the administration himself.¹ He was led to take this course by rumours having reached him of Muqtadir's design to reappoint Ibn al-Furat owing to the clamour raised by the court dependents against 'Ali b. 'Isa, who delayed their pay and that of the Hareem and the princes, cut down the earnings of the court attendants, servants and cavalry, and took two months' pay off the stipends of the ministers, and four months off those of the paymasters, secret service men, postmasters and judges. The general feeling against him grew strong, and Hamid b. 'Abbas was in dread of Ibn al-Furat owing to his former treatment of him and to his conduct towards his son Muhassin and all his secretaries and dependents. He was ordered by Muqtadir to write out himself a

¹ This seems to be the first mention of the system which afterwards was introduced by Ibn Ra'iq, the first Amir al-Umara.

memoir stating what he guaranteed and what he offered, and naming the persons whom he proposed to make heads of bureaux. Hamid did this, and his memoir was shown by Muqtadir to Ibn al-Furat in prison, and the proposal explained to him.

Ibn al-Furat replied that were Hamid b. 'Abbas to be supported by HASAN B. MAKHLAD,¹ AHMAD B. ISRA'IL,² and all other masters of administration, he would still be unequal to the government of the empire and even to the control of the bureaux; and that if he were appointed to these offices the dignity of the empire would be impaired and all respect for it cease. 'Ali b. 'Isa, whatever his vicissitudes, was more competent than Hamid and more skilled in affairs and administration. (86) He then added: "I guarantee five times what is guaranteed by Hamid"—meaning, if he were restored to office and given plenary powers. Muqtadir then promised that he would give him the chance.

Hamid was at this time resident in Baghdad, not interfering with any of the state business, and merely presenting himself on days of state ceremonials and then returning home. He grew weary of his stay in the metropolis, owing to his painful humiliation, and the contemptuous treatment which he received from 'Ali b. 'Isa in his orders: who used to issue them to the clerks of the vizier (Hamid) and to those of the bureaux, mentioning his name in a manner which he found intolerable: thus he used to issue an order *Let the Collector of the vizier (whom God help) be required to pay what is due from Wasit*; or: *Let the vizier be notified that he must at once transmit the barley required for the horses*. If any complaint were brought to him against the proceedings of Hamid or his agents, he would write on the back of the note: *This is a matter into which the vizier*

¹ A figure of the first period of anarchy.

² Another figure of the same period.

(*God help him*) *must look*. 'Ali b. 'Isa said that he could defend his style by the old practice of the viziers. Hamid asked the permission of Muqtadir to quit the capital for Wasit in order to oversee the revenue farming which he carried on in its neighbourhood. Obtaining this permission he departed.

Another cause was the proceedings of Umm Musa and the story that has been told about her, with the current rumours about the descendant of Mutawakkil, and the supposition that the matter had been contrived by Ibn al-Hawari, whom Umm Musa favoured and to whom she revealed imperial secrets.

One of the partisans of Ibn al-Furat had thrown into the dwelling of Muqtadir a paper containing a verse

This is to greet thee, to greet thee
O cock of the Caliph's Palace

The paper contained no more than this one verse which comes from an obscene set, of which this is the least offensive. The man took care that it should be placed on the route of the Caliph to one of his private apartments. Muqtadir read the paper, and was greatly disgusted with IBN AL-HAWARI; he made up his mind to outlaw him and shed his blood, and ruin Umm Musa. It is indeed supposed that this verse was (87) one of the chief causes of her fall and his.

Another reason for the reappointment of Ibn al-Furat was that MUFLIH THE NEGRO was high in Muqtadir's favour, and constantly in attendance; in time he became a great man, on whom fiefs were conferred, and the owner of vast estates. A dispute arose between him and Hamid, in which the former grossly insulted the vizier; Hamid retorted: *I have an idea of buying a hundred black slaves, naming them all Muflih and presenting them to my retainers*. Muflih did not forget this jibe. MUHASSIN got to know of it and of some similar matters and got into communication with Muflih's

secretary, to whom he guaranteed office and fortune and honours so that at last he made an arrangement between *Muhassin* and his master.

Muhassin then addressed a note to *Muqtadir* through *Muflih*, wherein he undertook to extract seven million dinars from *HAMID*, 'ALI B. 'ISA, *NASR* the Chamberlain, *SHAFI' LU'LU'I*, *IBN AL-HAWARI*, and *UMM MUSA*, her brother and the *MADARA'IS*, if they were put into his power. *Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat* too from his prison kept stirring up *Muqtadir* against these persons, and exciting his cupidity.

One of his most ingenious and remarkable devices was the following. One day he sent through the Stewardess *Zaidan* a request to *Muqtadir* for twelve thousand dinars or their value in gold, saying he required this amount for a certain purpose. *Muqtadir*, having taken so much of the property of *Ibn al-Furat*, felt unable to refuse this request ; so he sent the sum to him. Presently *Ibn al-Furat* requested the Caliph, when he was passing by his place of confinement, to look in, as he wished to communicate something which could not form the subject of either a letter or a message. *Muqtadir* used frequently to visit him and ask his advice. So *Muqtadir* visited him and when *Ibn al-Furat* saw the Caliph, he rose, and taking the sack which contained the dinars, opened it and poured the coins out before him. Then he said : Commander of the Faithful, I have told you how your money is plundered and wasted, and employed as (88) hush-money ; what do you say of a single individual who every lunar month earns this this sum out of your wealth, viz., twelve thousand dinars ?—*Muqtadir* was amazed and astounded and asked who the individual was. *Ibn al-Furat* replied : 'ALI B. MOHAMMED B. AL-*HAWARI*, and this in addition to the perquisites which he obtains owing to his position as a court-favourite, and the secret profits which he

receives from the offices which he holds, &c. &c.—He then returned the dinars to Muqtadir, adding : I only wished you to *see* how you are being victimized, for seeing is believing.—Muqtadir left him, indignant at what went on, and fully bent on 'doing mischief to Ibn al-Hawari.

These causes coming together decided Muqtadir to restore the vizierate to Ibn al-Furat ; so when Thursday—9 Rabi' ii (Aug. 7, 923) arrived, on his descending the river to the Palace 'Ali b. 'Isa was arrested and given in charge of the Stewardess Zaidan, who confined him in the chamber wherein Ibn al-Furat had been lodged. The latter was removed thence to be appointed vizier.

The following is the narration of ABU MOHAMMED 'ALI B. HISHAM :

I was present with my father at a gathering in the house of Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat during his second vizierate, and heard him tell the following story : I was visited (he said) by ABU'L-HAITHAM 'ABBAS B. MOHAMMED of Anbar in my place of confinement in Muqtadir's Palace, and he demanded that I should write a bond for thirteen million dinars. I told him that such an amount of the Sultan's money had not passed through my hands during my whole period of office ; how then could I be fined for such an amount ? He told me that he had been made to swear that he would divorce his wives unless I wrote out a bond for that sum. So I wrote out a bond for thirteen millions, without stating *what* and without giving any guarantee. He bade me write *dinars* so that he might be quit of his oath. I wrote the word but immediately (90) snatched the paper and swallowed it,¹ saying : *You are now free of your oath and you shall get no more.* He tried hard to move me,

¹ Compare Sir J. Hall, *General Pichegru's Treason*, 1915, p. 57 : Courant showed that he was a man of resource ;—he contrived at the first sign of danger not only to swallow unperceived Conde's letter, &c.

but I would assent to nothing. Next day he came to my prison bringing with him Umm Musa. He made the same demand as before, using the most violent language and charging me with adultery. I swore the most solemn oaths, offering to divorce my wives and free my slaves if I foreswore, that I had never committed any crime of that sort for more than thirty years. I bade him swear a similar oath, charging him with an unnatural offence. Umm Musa was shocked by the turn which things had taken and covered her face out of shame.¹ Ibn Thawabah said to her: His swagger is due to the money that is behind him, and he is like the barber in the story of Kisra or the cupper in the story of Hajjaj b. Yusuf.² Please obtain their Highnesses' permission for the application of the torture, to make him agree to pay the money. (By *their Highnesses* he meant, said Ibn al-Furat, Muqtadir, the Queen-mother, and her sister Khatif and Dastanbuyah, *umm wuld* of Mu'tadid, as they at this time owing to the youth of Muqtadir were in control of affairs).—So (said Ibn al-Furat) Umm Musa departed and presently returned, and said to Ibn Thawabah: They tell you that you are right and you are free to treat him as you please.—Now I was confined in a narrow apartment and it was

¹ It is not clear how she came to have it uncovered.

² These allusions are explained in the work of Hilal. A barber was shaving the Persian king, and in the process asked the king to give him his daughter in marriage. The attendants were told to take him away from the king's chair, and he was asked to repeat what he had said; he declared that he had said nothing. This was done three times. The king inferred that the barber must have a treasure buried in the particular spot where he stood when he made the proposal, and a vast treasure was unearthed. (This story seems to be an improvement on one in Kalilah wa-Dimnah, where a similar inference is drawn from the jumping of a rat.) The story of Hajjaj (governor of 'Iraq for 'Abd al-Malik and notorious for his ruthlessness) is that a cupper who was bleeding him requested the governor to tell him about his experiences with Ibn al-Ash'ath ('Abd al-Rahman b. Mohammed, a general who revolted against this governor in 81 A.H.), and only when he had obtained a promise that the governor would do so consented to complete the operation. Hajjaj, when it was finished, performed his promise, but ordered five hundred stripes to be administered to the cupper while he was telling the story.—Ibn Thawabah = Ibu 'l Haitham.

very hot. Orders were given that the roof of matting should be removed so that I was exposed to the sun, and the rush-carpet was withdrawn from under me, while the doors of the adjoining offices were locked so that I could not get out of the sunshine. Then I was fettered with a heavy chain and clothed in a *jubbah* of wool that had been steeped in urine ; an iron collar was put upon my neck, and the door of my apartment locked behind him by Ibn Thawabah. I thought my end had come.

After about four hours I heard the sound of retainers passing in the corridor in which the place of my confinement was, and the slaves who were in charge of me said : This is BADR the Eunuch of the private apartments, who is a creature of yours.—I shouted out to him imploring his help : For God's sake, Abu'l-Khair, I said, (91) you have influence with their Highnesses, and are under obligations to me ; you see the condition in which I am, to which death is preferable. Speak to their Highnesses and remind them of my claims and of my services in securing their throne when they were deserted by the people, and how I reconquered for them territories that had been seized, and recovered revenues that had been withheld. If my offence deserves death, then execution is easier than this.—He went and talked to them and mollified them, so that all the iron was removed from me, I was allowed to be bathed and shaved, and have my clothes changed ; and orders were given that I was to be put in charge of ZAIDAN, who was to see to my comfort.—Badr brought me the good news and did not rest until it had all been accomplished. Then he said : Their Highnesses wish me to inform you that in future you shall suffer no harm.¹

¹ This story seems out of its place here. If the author placed it here intentionally, probably his design was to account for the vindictiveness displayed by Ibn al-Furat during his third term of power,

Account of the third vizierate of Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat.

So ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. MOHAMMED B. AL-FURAT entered upon his third vizierate on the day that has been mentioned ; a robe of honour was bestowed upon him, and his son MUHASSIN was summoned by Muqtadir from his house in Suq al-'Atash and given a robe simultaneously with his father. On that day no audience was given to Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-Hawari. Ibn al-Furat's sons and dependents showed themselves, whereas some of Hamid's dependents went into hiding, others being arrested by Muhassin on his route.

During the whole vizierate of Hamid ABU 'Ali IBN MUQLAH served 'Ali b. 'Isa as controller of the Sawad,¹ and when Ibn al-Furat entered upon his third vizierate, he took courage, and instead of going into hiding visited the new vizier ; who manifested his displeasure in a way which humiliated Ibn Muqlah, but did not arrest him owing to the friendship that existed between him and Ibn al-Hawari ; but when the latter was arrested, Ibn Muqlah was arrested also. Ibn al-Furat removed to his former dwelling in Mukharrim. Thither Ibn al-Hawari rode to congratulate him, paying a lengthy visit wherein he was cordially received by Ibn al-Furat, who asked his counsel, giving him a private interview, while Ibn al-Hawari endeavoured to ingratiate himself, expressing his pleasure at Ibn al-Furat's appointment, though in fact terribly afraid of him. Now the dependents of this Abu'l-Qasim (92) Ibn al-Hawari had urged him to go into hiding, telling him that Muqtadir would not have admitted him² on the day of Ibn al-Furat's investiture, being aware of the hostility between you, except with some mischievous design. Ibn al-Hawari replied that were that so, Muqtadir would have had him

¹ *i.e.*, supervisor of the finance.

² This seems to be in contradiction to what preceded, p. 91. Perhaps however there is a distinction between admission to the Palace and to the Caliph's presence.

arrested before the investiture. On the Monday (Aug. 11, 923) both Ibn al-Furat and Ibn al-Hawari sailed to the Palace, when audience was granted to the first but not to the second. This alarmed Ibn al-Hawari, who afterwards explained the circumstance by the supposition that Ibn al-Furat had stipulated with Muqtadir that he should treat him as he had done during his second vizierate, when Ibn al-Hawari did not accompany him on his public visits to the Palace, but only on his private visits. So when Ibn al-Furat had left the Caliph's presence and was by himself, he was visited by Ibn al-Hawari, who was favourably received and consulted by the vizier about all the business. I, he said, have been out of touch with affairs for five years, whereas you are familiar with them. I hope therefore that I shall have your help, and that you will act as our friendship demands.—Ibn al-Hawari expressed his gratitude for this language, and made a show of cordiality. Ibn al-Furat then started a long conversation, but rose before he had finished; he then descended to his barge, taking with him Ibn al-Hawari, his sister's son AHMAD B. NASR BAZIYAR, his son-in-law MOHAMMED B. 'ISA, 'ALI B. MA'MUN ISKAFI his secretary, and 'ALI B. KHALAF, whose brother MOHAMMED B. KHALAF¹ was related to him (Ibn al-Hawari) by marriage. He pretended to treat them all with respect and cordiality, and kept on cracking jokes with them until he reached his own palace, where he whispered an order to 'ABBAS FARGHANI his chamberlain to arrest Ibn al-Hawari and all his dependents. They were arrested and imprisoned by him in an inner apartment of the palace. Ibn al-Furat at once sent for Shafi' Lu'lu'i, and despatched him to the house of Ibn al-Hawari to preserve it from being plundered; giving him a number of horse and foot-soldiers as escort. (93) He further ordered that Ibn al-Hawari should be liberally treated in the matter of

¹ At this time secretary to Ibn Abi'l-Saj.

food and drink, and assigned him a spacious apartment, cleanly furnished, where however he was not allowed to communicate with his clerks and confidential friends. Ibn al-Furat then sent to negotiate with him on the subject of his fine, and the negotiations were conducted by IBN QARABAH, who was endeavouring to ingratiate himself with Ibn al-Furat, and was on intimate terms with Ibn al-Hawari. After long discussion the fine was fixed at 700,000 dinars, for himself exclusive of his clerks and dependents. He stipulated that AHMAD B. NASR BAZIYAR should be liberated, to be employed in paying the advance instalment, 250,000 dinars. He was accordingly released and the guards were withdrawn from the apartments of Ibn al-Hawari and his dependents, who were all delivered to Ahmad b. Nasr.

Ibn al-Furat further ordered raids on various places where dependents or clerks of Hamid were to be found, and ferreted them out; MUHASSIN exceeded all limit in the tortures which he inflicted on those who fell into his hands. Thus he summoned IBN HAMMAD of Mausil, and obtained his bond for 200,000 dinars, after which he handed him over to his exactor, who cuffed him violently, but not so as to satisfy Muhassin, who had him brought into his own presence, and cuffed him on the head so that the blood spurted out of his nose and mouth and he died. Muqtadir made no objection, though Muhassin had been in great alarm lest he should disapprove; after a few days the Caliph sent him the robes of a "messmate" and increased his salary by two thousand dinars a month over and above his allowance as President of the Bureaux. This whetted the appetite of Muhassin for torture, and immoderate praise was bestowed by Muqtadir on his conduct, to such an extent that the slave-girls sang in the royal presence

Muhassin ¹ has done well, done well !

¹ The name is derived from the adjective "good."

Hamid b. 'Abbas's son-in-law MOHAMMED B. AHMAD B. BISTAM had gone into hiding, but was discovered by Muhassin, who extorted from him 60,000 dinars and obtained his bond for 200,000 after severe torture, and depriving him of a eunuch named Marj to whom he was well known to be attached. (94) In this style he arrested many persons, seized handsome slaves and eunuchs belonging to them, and inflicted torture on themselves.

Arrest of Hamid b. 'Abbas by the vizier Ibn al-Furat.

Muqtadir had stipulated with Ibn al-Furat that Hamid should not be ruined, but that the former should examine him with reference to the surplus of the revenue which he farmed, and that if anything was due from him, in the opinion of the clerks and judges, Ibn al-Furat should be satisfied with part of it ; for, he said, Hamid has served me and accepted a stipend for one year only, stipulating that I should not hand him over to be tortured and that I should urge no claims against him.—So Ibn al-Furat was compelled to retain him as farmer of the revenue of Wasit, and addressed him in complimentary phrase. Presently however he had accounts made up against him, subjected his reports to the severest scrutiny, and made him responsible for vast sums ; he also wrote to his agents bidding them demand payment from him with insistence, and ordering them, if he made any delay, to place him in charge of men who would importune him for the money necessary for repairs and for seeds, purposes which admitted of no delay ; for the Commander of the Faithful, he stated, would not consent to a fresh contract being made with him.—The agent of the vizier Ibn al-Furat showed this letter in his committee-room ; and the news reaching Hamid at once, the latter announced in Wasit that orders had come to him from Muqtadir to come to Baghdad. So he left Wasit accompanied by all his clerks and dependents, and his foot-

soldiers, taking with him all the furniture, utensils, and wearing apparel which he habitually used, after carefully depositing his treasures and valuable goods with trustworthy inhabitants of Wasit. He signalled his departure by trumpet-blast. He then made all his retainers and dependents embark in launches and barges, and sent word by quick runners and carrier-pigeons to Ibn al-Furat. (95) His horses and those of his attendants and followers were being led on the bank. When the news reached Ibn al-Furat, he consulted his son *Muhassin* and his confidential friends about the course which he had best take. They advised him to hasten to *Muqtadir* and read him *Hamid's* letter. *Muqtadir* declared that he had no knowledge of *Hamid's* proceedings and had written him no letter of the sort which he asserted he had received.—Ibn al-Furat said that if this were so, the best plan would be to send *NAZUK*¹ with a company of *Hujari* retainers and regular horse and foot, some by water and some on land, to arrest *Hamid* and his party.—Ibn al-Furat, having obtained the Caliph's leave for this, returned to his house, and despatched *Nazuk*, urging him to use haste, so as to arrest the whole party and let none of them escape. *Nazuk* started, but made the mistake of arresting the first of the party that he met, consisting of slaves with the horses; *Hamid*, getting intelligence of this, left the route and went into hiding. *Nazuk's* party plundered some of the baggage that was with the company, and *Nazuk* obtained possession of his papers, accounts and deeds, all of which he brought to Baghdad.

Muqtadir ordered all these papers and deeds to be delivered to Ibn al-Furat, while he distributed the baggage over his own stores and the horses among his stables. Among the papers brought to him Ibn al-Furat found extraordinary letters of persons whose favour

¹ At this time Chief of police.

Hamid had been anxious to secure ; these persons were arrested by his order. When Ibn al-Furat received *Hamid's* message announcing his journey to Baghdad, the former took the precaution of placing under guard his collector IBRAHIM who happened to be in the metropolis. When Nazuk had succeeded in arresting the dependents of *Hamid*, Ibn al-Furat instructed HISHAM¹ to treat this collector now with leniency, now with harshness, and to question him concerning *Hamid's* deposits. Hisham carried out these instructions and the collector confessed of his own accord that he himself had in his keeping 100,000 dinars in gold belonging to *Hamid*, and swore that he had no other deposit belonging to either *Hamid* or any of his dependents. Ibn al-Furat guaranteed him his life and that he would not deliver him to *Muhassin*, but did not communicate the discovery of this hundred thousand dinars to Muqtadir (96) until he had got *Hamid* into his power.

A report got about in Rajab (15 Oct.-13 Nov., 923) that *Hamid* had gone into hiding because Muqtadir had written to him complaining of his leaving Wasit in the manner described, and ordering him to approach Baghdad by a secret route, that he, the Caliph, might make sure of him and obtain his bond for the sum which he offered to guarantee upon Ibn al-Furat, *Muhassin* and their clerks and dependents, if they were put into his power. Ibn al-Furat's sons *Muhassin*, al-Fadl, *Husain* and *Hasan* with their wives and most of their clerks went into hiding ; and of the clerks who attended meetings in Ibn al-Furat's palace none remained except ABU'L-QASIM IBN ZANJI only. However *Hamid's* lucky days were over. He came to the Palace in the garb of a monk, attended by his slave Mu'nis, and mounted to the Chamberlain's apartments, where the Chamberlain Nasr lived. FARIS B. RUNDAG announced him, saying : *Hamid* b. 'Abbas

¹ Hisham b. 'Abdallah, Treasurer.

is at the door and requests to be admitted to the *ustadh*.¹ Nasr replied : Bid him enter. When he entered and before he had taken a seat, Nasr said to him : Where are you coming to ? He replied : I have come in accordance with your letter. Nasr retorted : What, did I write to you to come *here* ?—Nasr declined to rise to greet him, excusing himself on the ground that *Hamid* was under the frown of the Caliph. Nasr then sent to *Muflih*, requesting that he would come round, *Muflih* being the official who demanded admissions to Muqtadir when the latter was in his private apartments. *Muflih* came round, and Nasr pleaded *Hamid*'s cause with him ; He is now, he said, an object of pity, and it would be like you to be merciful to him and not punish him for what he did on those occasions.² *Hamid* then said to *Muflih* : Tell our lord the Commander of the Faithful that I am prepared to be confined in the Palace as 'Ali b. 'Isa is confined, and to be examined by the vizier, *Muhassin*, and the clerks in the presence of the jurists, judges, and chief captains ; if I be found to have incurred a fine, I am prepared to pay it after I have had (97) full opportunity to set out my defence, and provided my life be secured, and *Muhassin* be not given power over my blood, so as to avenge himself for the tortures which I inflicted on him³ by the will of our lord the Commander of the Faithful when he was a lad, whereas I am an old man, at whose advanced age a little torture will prove fatal.—*Muflih* promised to take his message ; he then went to Muqtadir and spoke to him on the subject of *Hamid*, but in a style that was the contrary of that which he had promised to adopt. The QUEEN-MOTHER however pleaded *Hamid*'s cause, saying that there would be no harm in his being confined in the Palace and being examined provided his life were spared.—*Muflih* how-

¹ A term indicating high office at this period.

² His quarrel with *Muflih* was described above, p. 87.

³ Above, p. 65.

ever objected that, if this course were taken, Ibn al-Furat would be able to execute none of his measures ; for rumour was rife (about his impending fall), the world would be devastated, and the sources of revenue fail.—Muqtadir agreed that Muflih was right, and bade him go back to Nasr and order him to despatch *Hamid* to Ibn al-Furat.

Muflih brought this order to Nasr, who endeavoured to allay the terror of *Hamid* by saying to him : You must proceed with one of my trusty agents to interview the vizier, but after that I will bring you back to the Caliph's Palace.—*Hamid* then begged Nasr for some clothes into which he might change from his monk's costume, but Muflih refused to give permission for this, declaring that he had been ordered by their master to despatch him in the clothes in which he had presented himself. Nasr however pleaded so earnestly that he conceded this point. *Hamid* was then sent off in the company of IBN RUNDAQ the door-keeper, and Muflih sent his clerk in haste to Ibn al-Furat to tell him the good news of the arrival of *Hamid*, and Muqtadir's order that he should be delivered to the vizier.

Ibn al-Furat had been in a state of great alarm and anxiety when he heard of the arrival of *Hamid* at the Palace, and when his clerks and his sons had all gone into hiding. When he received Muflih's message he became somewhat calmer, performed the afternoon prayer, and took his seat in the council-room where there was no-one before him except IBN ZANJI. He was examining state papers with very moderate attention till one of the slaves mentioned that one of the Court barges was approaching. Presently it came up to the steps of his palace, when the porters hurried to announce it. In came Ibn al-Rundaq accompanied by *Hamid* b. 'Abbas !

When Ibn al-Furat saw him, he asked him why he had left his province and come.—He replied : I have come in obedience to your letter.—If so, said Ibn al-Furat, why did you not (98) come directly to my house ? —God's guidance failed me, was his reply.—Throughout this dialogue *Hamid* addressed Ibn al-Furat with a simple *thou*, instead of in the third person as the vizier. Ibn al-Rundaq then produced the letter of Nasr the Chamberlain to the vizier stating that he was sending *Hamid* to him, and it was tossed by Ibn al-Furat to Ibn Zanjī with the order to report his arrival. Ibn Zanjī wrote to that effect and handed the answer to Ibn al-Rundaq, who then left the chamber. When he had departed, *Hamid's* heart began to fail him, and he showed signs of weakness ; he assumed a milder tone, and addressed Ibn al-Furat as vizier. The latter bade YAHYA B. 'ABDALLAH, his house-steward, allot a spacious apartment in his palace to the use of *Hamid* ; it was to be well furnished, and the steward was to see that the guest was supplied with food, drink, and perfume of the sort with which he was served when he was vizier. He was also to have splendid apparel made for *Hamid*, and appoint two black slaves, ignorant of Arabic, to wait upon him when he was alone ; the steward himself was to take his meals with him, at which time they were to be attended by confidential servants and waiters.

*Account of the treatment which Hamid received and
of his own conduct.*

On the afternoon of that day visits were paid *Hamid* by 'ABDALLAH B. FARAJAWAIHI and AHMAD B. HAJJAJ B. MAKHLAD son-in-law of MUSA B. KHALAF, on whom *Hamid* in the days of his vizierate had inflicted unheard-of tortures.¹ They reproached him for his ill-treatment of them.—He at first denied that he had ever seen them or noticed them in his life ; but when they dilated on the

¹ Above, p. 66.

subject, he said to them: You have both been prolix in your charges, and I will give you a concise answer: If my methods which you have been describing and my treatment of people have brought me any good, I advise you to do the like and more; but if they are reprehensible, and have ultimately put me into your power, I advise you to avoid them. "Happy is he who takes warning by others."¹ They left him and repeated what he had said to Ibn al-Furat. He thought *Hamid* had scored, (99) and said: I do not deny his ability and quick-wittedness; still he is doomed to Hell-fire, as he has not recoiled from bloodshed and torture.

THABIT writes as follows in his history: It is most extraordinary that Ibn al-Furat should say this, should approve and affirm the doctrine of *Hamid*, and assert that he had earned Hell-fire by his foul deeds: and that he at the same time, with all his generosity, his magnanimity, his personal integrity and general philanthropy, should express no disapproval of the atrocious methods employed by his son *Muhassin*,² the very methods which Ibn al-Furat thought so disgraceful in *Hamid*; no, though *Muhassin* was twice as barbarous as *Hamid*, his father neither forbade him nor bade him take warning from *Hamid*'s fate, and be "the happy man who takes warning by others." And yet a man who defies God with his eyes open and after warning and remonstrance is very different from one who does so thoughtlessly and without his conscience being roused.

After this Ibn al-Furat sent to *Hamid* to demand a statement of his assets; and he admitted the possession of 200,000 dinars, 100,000 being the sum which he had lodged with his Collector IBRAHIM, he having learned that it had got into Ibn al-Furat's hands from this collector, and that *Muhassin* had obtained another sum from his eunuch MU'NIS and transmitted it to Muqtadir

¹An Arabic proverb. Freytag l. 628. ²This is not borne out by the sequel.

Muhassin had written to the Caliph that he had obtained this sum of the man's own initiative without examination or torture, and held out hopes to the Caliph that further vast sums might be extorted from *Hamid*; and indeed he presently by applying severe torture extorted a further 40,000 dinars from the same Mu'nis, while various of *Hamid's* dependents were fined other sums.

Ibn al-Furat summoned *Hamid b. 'Abbas* to appear before the jurists, judges and secretaries of state, and submitted him to a lengthy (100) examination. *Hamid* made a good case until Ibn al-Furat produced a document which he had found in the boxes of GHARIB, a retainer of *Hamid*, employed in the sale of his crops at al-Furdah.¹ The vizier confronted *Hamid* with this and produced *Gharib*, who admitted the genuineness of the paper, which he had carried off by mistake, it being *Hamid's* custom every year to collect his bills and fling them into the Tigris; but when fate was bringing about his downfall, he forgot to ask his assistant for this document, which was written like any other on the back of a leaf, and was with a collection of such leaves. The price of the crops of one year according to this document was 540,000 odd dinars, exclusive of the barley for the horses which was transmitted to Baghdad. So it appeared that the surplus obtained by the revenue-farmer was more than double, and, besides that, the prices of that year, the second of the contract, were low, those which held in all the subsequent years being higher. So Ibn al-Furat damaged *Hamid's* case, (101) and he obtained the written declarations of the judges and state-secretaries and of Shafi' Lu'lu'i that so far the case had gone against *Hamid*.

Ibn al-Furat had conducted his examination with civility, using no harsh or offensive expressions, merely

¹ This word means "the Dock," and figures as a place-name in *Yaqut's Geographical Dictionary*, though the places which he mentions are not apparently either of them identical with that mentioned here.

arguing against him, and giving him full opportunity to defend himself. MUHASSIN on the other hand publicly insulted him in the vilest manner, and told him that the money would be extracted from him only by use of the same tortures as he had himself inflicted on others. Muhassin undertook to obtain from him, if he were delivered into his power, a million dinars without delay ; and was prepared to forfeit his life if he failed to do so. His father tried to repress him and stop his abuse, but he declined to stop.

Hamid finally addressed himself to the vizier, saying : Your son has been most insulting, and I have put up with it, not for his sake, but out of respect for the vizier's court. Over and above my present plight I have nothing to fear but execution ; and, had I not felt obliged to treat the vizier's court with respect, I should have retaliated.—Ibn al-Furat then swore that if Muhassin insulted Hamid any more he would request the Caliph to excuse him from continuing the examination.—This threat was effective in stopping Muhassin's abuse. The examination was repeatedly resumed, but Hamid's final statement was always the same : that he had no money, and having already sold his estates and sources of income, his furniture and his house, he had no means of raising any.

When Ibn al-Furat found that his expedients for dealing with him failed, he interviewed him by himself in one of his private apartments, where no-one could overhear. Using civil language, he swore to Hamid that if he would tell the truth about his goods and treasures, he should not be delivered to Muhassin nor removed from the vizier's palace ; his life would be safe, and either he might remain in the palace an honoured guest, or he might be sent to Fars as governor, or to any place he chose, accompanied by one of the Sultan's servants as bodyguard. After giving the most solemn assurances to this effect, he proceeded ; You are aware that you

guaranteed the Commander of the Faithful to obtain a certain sum from me if I were put into your power, when I redeemed myself by a payment of 700,000 (102) dinars¹ which I declared without compulsion, thereby saving myself from you. You pretend to have forgotten all the benefits conferred upon you by me and by my brother.² Now the Caliph is bent on putting you into the power of Muhassin, who is a young man, who has a reckoning against you for tortures inflicted by your order on him, the like of which had never before been used upon a vizier or one of his family. My advice is that you ransom yourself with your wealth and so save yourself from being delivered into his hands.

When Ibn al-Furat had bound himself by solemn oaths, Hamid inclined to his advice, thus backed, and revealed certain hoards buried by him in pits which he had dug, and wherein he had personally deposited the treasure, amounting to half a million dinars. He also confessed to having deposited with various persons of eminence and "witnesses" sums to the amount of some 300,000 dinars. He further admitted the possession of wearing apparel and perfume deposited in Wasit. Ibn al-Furat received a bond for all this, and hastened to ride to Muqtadir without letting Muhassin accompany him or telling him anything of the matter. Muqtadir was delighted and promised to put in his power any one on whom he guaranteed a payment, such as NASR the Chamberlain, SHAFI' LU'LU'I, and others. Ibn al-Furat advised that the second of these be sent to secure the money in Wasit. He went thither, unearthed the buried treasure, drew out the deposits, and brought all to Muqtadir.

¹ Above, p. 66.

² The story is told in Tanukhi's *Faraj ba'd al-shiddah* i. 114. When Hamid was imprisoned by the vizier Isma'il b. Bulbul, Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn al-Furat, who was employed in the bureau, was charged with favouring him and actually did so according to his account.

Hamid remained secure in Ibn al-Furat's palace until *Muhassin*, using *Muflih* as intermediary, requested *Muqtadir* to send an order to his father, to make him, *Muhassin*, his deputy over all the bureaux and the administration of the empire in general. A series of letters followed from *Muqtadir* to Ibn al-Furat, conveyed by *Muflih*; Ibn al-Furat was vexed with his son, and various debates succeeded, till *Muhassin* received a robe of honour,¹ and his father with the Captains rode with him,² after which he and his father returned to their respective dwellings. Presently *Muhassin* rode³ with his father to the Palace, where in his father's presence he addressed (103) the Caliph, stating that a vast sum still stood against *Hamid*, being part of his fine, and that if *Hamid* were put into his power, he would extract from him half a million dinars. *Muqtadir* thereupon ordered Ibn al-Furat to deliver *Hamid* to *Muhassin*. Ibn al-Furat objected that he had given *Hamid* his word that he should not be delivered to *Muhassin*. *Muhassin* however returned to the charge until at last *Muqtadir* gave an order which Ibn al-Furat could not resist,⁴ and surrendered *Hamid* to *Muhassin*, who had him conveyed to his own residence. There he demanded the sum mentioned, and started torturing him, while *Hamid* maintained that he possessed no wealth of any sort or kind. *Muhassin* ordered him to be cuffed, and this was done fifty times, when he fell in an unconscious state; the blows however were continued until at last *Hamid* asked what *Muhassin* wanted of him.—The money, he replied.—Nothing remains, he said, but my estate.—Then, said *Muhassin*, make out a power of attorney to IBN MUKRAM for the sale of the property;—AHMAD B. KAMIL the *qadī* being present. He wrote as he was bidden, and the

¹ As a sign that his appointment had been made.

² From the Palace.

³ Or "sailed."

⁴ A minister similarly placed in Akbar's time, committed suicide. Vincent Smith, *Akbar*, p. 239.

deed was attested. After this Muhassin proceeded to treat him with humiliating mockery, and then put him in charge of one of his eunuchs who with five horsemen and ten foot-soldiers was to take him down the river to Wasit and there sell his lands and goods.

A story was circulated in Baghdad that on the night of his departure Hamid asked for some eggs, which were brought him ; ten of these he sucked for his breakfast, but the servant of Muhassin in whose charge he was had poisoned them, and shortly after he had swallowed them he began to cry out, being seized with violent diarrhoea. When he entered Wasit he was prostrate, and was delivered by the servant to MOHAMMED B. 'ALI BAZAUFARI, who let him remain in his house, while the servant hastily went home. Hamid's diarrhoea attacked him more than a hundred times, though he took no food but barley-porridge. BAZAUFARI in order to secure himself against suspicion summoned the qadi and the Witnesses of Wasit, and wrote out an affidavit as follows : *Hamid reached Wasit suffering from diarrhoea, which had attacked him on the road between Baghdad and Wasit, and was received by Bazaufari in that condition ; if then he should die (104) of this complaint, his death will be a natural one, wherein Bazaufari will have had no hand.* He sent this affidavit to Hamid, who made a show of readiness to set his name to the contents. When the judge and the Witnesses appeared, he said to them : The infidel, miscreant, Ibn al-Furat, who makes no secret that he rejects the claims of 'Abbasids, gave me his word of honour, and swore to me by the oath of allegiance and with the forfeit of divorce that if I made a true statement of all my possessions he would not deliver me to his son Muhassin, and would secure me from all forms of torture, and let me to go my home and appoint me to some honourable office. I in consequence made a true statement of all I possessed ; and now he *has* delivered me into the hands of his son Muhassin, who has tortured me in exquisite

ways, and despatched me with his servant (whom he named), and treacherously made me suck poisoned eggs, in consequence of which I have been attacked by diarrhoea ; Bazaufari has no hand in my murder this time, but he has done other things, among them he has taken money and goods of mine and stuffed them into torn cushions of brocade, which are being sold at five dirhems a piece, while they contain goods worth three thousand dinars ; these he buys himself. Do you attest what I have set forth to you.

Bazaufari then perceived that he had blundered ; and the secret service agent in Wasit sent to Ibn al-Furat a complete report of Hamid's statement.

Hamid died on the night of the 13th of Ramadan, 311 (Dec. 25, 923).

*The Proceedings in the case of 'Ali b. 'Isa and his
delivery to Ibn al-Furat.*

When Muqtadir arrested 'Ali b. 'Isa and placed him in charge of the Stewardess ZAIDAN, he sent a message telling him to make a true statement of his wealth. The ex-vizier wrote a note wherein he asserted that he could produce no more than three thousand dinars. It so happened that news arrived of the entry of ABU TAHIR SULAIMAN B. HASAN JANNABI into Basrah on the morning of Monday —5 Rabi'ii (Aug. 11, 923) at the head of 1700 (105) foot-soldiers, having effected his entry by ladders which he had planted during the night against the wall ; having thus scaled the wall, he had descended into the town, slain the keepers of the town gates, and opened them ; he had then thrown between each pair of leaves sand and pebbles which he had brought with him on camels, so that the doors could not be closed against him. It was further reported that SABUK, freedman of Muflih, the governor of Basrah, had not learned of this till the Monday morning, and was then unaware

that the invader was the son of ABU SA'ID JANNABI, and supposed the people to be Bedouins ; he had therefore ridden incautiously to meet the invader ; a fierce battle had ensued, wherein Sabuk had been killed, after which ABU TAHIR had instituted a massacre of the people of Basrah, burned the Mirbad quarter, and in part the public mosque ; and had burned besides the mosque of the Tomb of *Talhah* without injuring the Tomb itself. The people fled to Kalla,¹ whence they fought for some days, but after many had been slain, the survivors flung themselves into the water and most of them were drowned. Abu Tahir remained in Basrah seventeen days, and then having loaded his camels with all the goods, women and children that they could carry, went home. So soon as Ibn al-Furat heard the news of the Qarmatian raid, he despatched to Basrah BUNAYY B. NAFIS and JA'FAR of Zaranj, made MOHAMMED B. 'ABDALLAH FARIQI ² minister of public security in Basrah, and gave him a robe of honour. He proceeded down the river in a fleet of barges and launches. The news of his arrival came after the departure of Abu Tahir Jannabi. He appointed his own officers in the place, and Bunayy with Ja'far departed.

Bunayy b. Nafis before leaving despatched to Baghdad a number of Qarmatians who, he said, had surrendered, and averred that 'Ali b. 'Isa had written requesting them to go to Basrah ; and that on a variety of occasions he had sent them presents and arms. They reached Baghdad, and Ibn al-Furat communicated this affair to Muqtadir.

*Account of 'Ali b. 'Isa's examination by
Ibn al-Furat.*

Ibn al-Furat, having exhibited to Muqtadir the actual letter of Bunayy, was ordered to fetch 'Ali b. 'Isa out of

¹ Name of a quarter of Basrah.

² In the year 304 this person had been defeated in Armenia.

his place of confinement (106) to examine him and confront him with the Qarmatians, who could then charge him to his face. Ibn al-Furat carried out this order. 'Ali b. 'Isa objected that when a man was in his situation, *i.e.*, under the Sultan's frown, men would falsely charge him to his face, especially if the vizier himself was alienated and had a grievance against him. Ibn al-Furat then began to talk to him about the provincial administration; among the matters on which he questioned him was the affair of the two Madara'i, about which he said: In the days of my second vizierate IBN BISTAM obtained their bond for 2,300,000 dinars as a compromise for what was due from them for the *kharaj* of their estates in Egypt and Syria, and the secret profits which they had enjoyed during their tenure of office in your first vizierate. Of this sum they paid in my time half a million dinars; you, so soon as you became chief of the bureaux, dismissed Ibn Bistam, and reappointed these two officials, who so openly embezzled the Sultan's property, composing a letter in the name of the Commander of the Faithful (whose life God prolong!) addressed to them, wherein they were excused the whole of the residue. You pretend that the Commander of the Faithful ordered this; but when I brought the matter to his notice, he declared that he had issued no such order, and could not believe that any one would venture to do such a thing.—'Ali b. 'Isa replied that at the time he was clerk and deputy to Hamid b. 'Abbas, whom the Commander of the Faithful had bidden him obey Hamid had asserted that the Commander of the Faithful had ordered the sum to be remitted to these two officials, and had given a written order to that effect; he, 'Ali b. 'Isa, had merely subscribed to Hamid's order, bidding it be carried out, as was the custom for the vizier's deputy to do when ordered by his chief.—Ibn al-Furat retorted that 'Ali b. 'Isa had been in the habit of opposing and disputing with Hamid about every trifle,

and scrutinizing his assessments in the lands which he farmed ; how then, he asked, could you have failed to solicit the permission of the Commander of the Faithful in the case of so immense a sum ? 'Ali b. 'Isa replied that he had at first and (107) for the space of seven months been clerk to *Hamid* ; then (he said) the Commander of the Faithful saw reasons for relying upon me, and this affair of the two *Madara'i* took place in the early days of *Hamid's* administration.—Ibn al-Furat said to him : Then when the Commander of the Faithful placed his reliance on you, why did you not tell him the truth about *Hamid's* error in this matter and set it right ?—'Ali b. 'Isa replied : I passed this over because in the year 6, month *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*¹ I had presented *Husain b. Ahmad Madara'i* to the Caliph and obtained his bond at the same audience for a million dinars annually, to be transmitted to the Treasury net without deduction of a single dirhem, in return for the contract assigned him whereby he was to farm the *kharaaj* and the Estates in Egypt and Syria, and to pay all permanent expenses and the stipend of the army in those regions. For the sums to be paid under these heads in each district a contract was also made out ; and I made him responsible to the amount of 130,000 dinars for moneys delayed or withheld in these transactions. That was the utmost that I could do. His bond is in the bureau of the West.—Ibn al-Furat said : You have been employed in the bureaux since you were a child, were president for many years of the bureau of the West, have been a vizier, and have managed the empire for a long space of time : do you know any case of an official remitting a debt which should be paid at once and taking as a set-off a sum to be paid in the future and dependent on the proceeds of revenue-farming ? But grant that, as you say, you "passed this over," as a measure of prudence, still did you obtain the money guaranteed by this revenue-farmer

¹ Began April 5, 919.

during the five years of your administration?—‘Ali b. ‘Isa’s reply to this was that a certain amount of the money had been transmitted in the first year, then there had come the invasion of the ‘Alid from Africa, who had occupied most of the districts of Egypt; Mu’nis the Muzaffar had been despatched to fight with the invader, and most of the money had been diverted to the pay of the troops and the expenses of the armies. What remained had to be deducted owing to the contributions levied by the invader (108) on the regions neighbouring Egypt.¹—Ibn al-Furat then said: The ‘Alid has been routed since Safar of the year 9,² so that the revenue-farmer is liable for two whole years since his defeat; have you obtained the two million dinars from him?—‘Ali b. ‘Isa’s reply to this is not recorded.—In conclusion Ibn al-Furat said to him: The Commander of the Faithful has now ordered me to make you refund the moneys which you have amassed by dishonesty to him; you will do well to reveal them of your own accord, and so save yourself from torture.—‘Ali b. ‘Isa replied that he was not a rich man and the utmost which he could produce was three thousand dinars.

Then Ibn al-Furat proceeded to examine him with reference to the allowances of the court; You, he said, in the five years of your administration, reduced the allowances of the hareem, the princes, the attendants and the horsemen, which were regularly paid by me during my first and second vizierate, by 45,000 dinars a month (including the proceeds of the private estates), making a yearly total of 540,000 dinars, and for the whole period six millions.³ Either then you must have embezzled this sum or have wasted it.—‘Ali b. ‘Isa replied:

¹ The import of this is not quite clear. Hilal, p. 290, seems not to have understood it.

² Began June 11, 921.

³ Hilal is apparently staggered by this arithmetic, and substitutes "a vast sum." Perhaps for "six" we should read "three."

The revenue which I obtained from these estates and saved out of the allowances of persons who did not require it was used by me to cover the deficit so that a balance was restored. I did not touch the private treasury of the Caliph at all. As for the 45,000 dinars which you used to assign to the court after obtaining them from secret profits, I do not approve of your method of obtaining the money, nor do I permit officials to make secret profits; I forbade and abolished such practices and did not put myself in the way of them, because they lead to waste of the Sultan's property, the vexation of his subjects, and the devastation of his land. Your plan for meeting expenditure was to transfer sums from the private to the public treasury, thereby pleasing the court, but emptying the treasury.—The discussion (109) continued for some time on these lines.

Then Ibn al-Furat proceeded to examine 'Ali b. 'Isa on the subject of the presents and the arms transmitted by him to the Qarmatians, and the correspondence and amenities which had passed between him and them.—'Ali b. 'Isa said: My purpose was by conciliation to bring them back to their allegiance. Twice during my vizierate I restrained them from attacking the pilgrims and from raiding the districts of Kufah and Basrah. They also released a number of Moslem prisoners who were in their hands.—Ibn al-Furat said: And what could be worse than your attesting that Abu Sa'id and his followers, who deny the Qur'an and the mission of the Prophet, plundered Oman and either slew or made captive its inhabitants, are Moslems? Than your corresponding with them, and delaying payment of the guardians of the wall of Basrah so that they left their places, and enabled the Qarmatian to enter and slaughter the inhabitants?—The reply which he gave would take too long to set forth.

NASR the Chamberlain and MUHASSIN asked Ibn al-Furat to let them have a private interview with 'Ali b. 'Isa;

this was permitted and the two advised him to submit to a fine. He assented, and they fixed it at 300,000 dinars of which 100,000 should be paid within a month to commence when he left the Palace for some place where he could be sure of his life and could receive visits. Ibn al-Furat obtained his bond for this, and sent it to Muqtadir who countersigned it. Ibn al-Furat then wrote letters to the heads of the bureaux in his own name, wherein he recounted 'Ali b. 'Isa's dishonesty, and breach of trust, the charges with which he had confronted him and the fine which he had agreed to pay.

ABU'L-FARAJ IBN HISHAM narrates after IBN AL-MUTAWWAQ that 'Ali b. 'Isa requested Ibn al-Furat to leave him the revenue of his estate for the year 311 that he might pay it as part of his fine. Ibn al-Furat said to him : It is 50,000 dinars. 'Ali b. 'Isa replied that he would be satisfied with 20,000, but asserted (110) that it was less than that sum. When he was banished to Meccah his estate was found to produce about 50,000 dinars.

Abu'l-Faraj continues : I heard HUMANI of Wasit say : I heard 'Ali b. 'Isa once upbraiding ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI¹ and asking him whether he was not afraid of God's vengeance when he swore before an assembly in the Palace that the revenue obtained by him and his brothers from their estate in Wasit was but 10,000 dinars, when it had been shown by the accounts handed in by him (Humani) to be 30,000 dinars. BARIDI replied : I have only followed the example of your excellence, whom God support, when being asked by Ibn al-Furat the amount of revenue brought in by his estate, he did not state the facts, but concealed them. So pious a man would not, I was sure, have so forsworn himself, had he not known that " suppression " ² was permissible before

¹ A personage of importance in the period of anarchy which followed on the death of Muqtadir.

² A technical term ordinarily used of the concealment of one's religious opinions when there is danger of persecution.

one from whom injury was to be feared.—It was as though he had made 'Ali b. 'Isa swallow a stone.

Let us resume the report of the dealings between 'Ali b. 'Isa and Ibn al-Furat. Muqtadir declined to deliver 'Ali b. 'Isa to Ibn al-Furat, while 'Ali b. 'Isa maintained that he would be unable to pay his fine until he had left the Palace. Twice he was summoned by Muhassin, who demanded payment of him, at first gently ; but the ex-vizier paid no more than the price of a house which he sold. He was then put in fetters by Muhassin, on seeing which Nasr left the room. Muhassin repeated his demands, when 'Ali b. 'Isa replied : If I could pay the money here, I should have escaped the fetters.—Muhassin had a woollen *jubbah* put upon him, but he held his ground ; thereupon Muhassin cuffed him ten times, at which NAZUK rose to leave, and when asked by Muhassin whither he was going, replied that he could not endure to be present at the torture of this *shaikh*. 'Ali b. 'Isa was then sent back to his prison ; but when Ibn al-Furat heard how Muhassin had treated him, he was alarmed and told his son that he had seriously compromised them by his action ; he ought not to have gone beyond (111) the fetters. He proceeded to write to Muqtadir, interceding for 'Ali b. 'Isa, stating that when he heard of what had happened to him it had grieved him more than anything which he could remember, and that he had touched no food since he learned of it ; for 'Ali b. 'Isa was one of the most distinguished of the clerks, had served the Commander of the Faithful, and was an inmate of his Palace, which fact should have rendered his person sacred ; such a man could indeed make mistakes, but it would be worthy of the Commander of the Faithful to forgive. Finally he begged that the fetters and the woollen *jubbah* might be removed.—Muqtadir replied that 'Ali b. 'Isa deserved many times what he had got, and that Muhassin's treatment of him was quite right ; still, he accepted the intercession of Ibn al-Furat, was

giving orders that the fetters should be loosed and the woollen *jubbah* removed, and had commanded that after this had been done he should be delivered to Ibn al-Furat, that he might pay the advance instalment of his fine.—When 'Ali b. 'Isa was brought to Ibn al-Furat's palace, the latter said he was unwilling to have him in his house, as he was an old man, whom a malady might befall, which would then be ascribed to *him* ; he therefore requested the Caliph's permission to deliver him to SHAFI'.¹ When this was told Muqtadir, he answered : I am delivering him to you, because you are vizier, and you are to preserve his life and not to deliver him to Muhassin ; but about all else consult yourself. So Ibn al-Furat sent and summoned Shafi'.

Ibn al-Furat then began to upbraid 'Ali b. 'Isa and complain of his conduct with regard to certain trusts founded by him, which the Caliph had ordered to be restored to him, whereof the money was in part devoted to religious uses, in part to his children and retainers ; what 'Ali b. 'Isa had done in the matter, was, he asserted, illicit whether from the point of view of religion or of good behaviour.²—'Ali b. 'Isa began to confess that in this matter he had been negligent and requested that his excuse might be accepted. Muhassin, who was present, reviled him at great length, on the same subject ; 'Ali gave him the same reply as he had given his father with some additions, but said in the course of his statement, *Truly, (112) I find you pleasant !* Muhassin was highly indignant at this expression, and his father also was annoyed by it ; Muhassin proceeded to retort with coarseness, when his father endeavoured to appease and mollify

¹ Shafi' Lu'lu'i, as appears from p. 112.

² The charge is explained in Hilal's account, p. 303. Assigning property to pious uses was a regular mode of endeavouring to save it in case of disaster to the original owner. The Caliph could frustrate this by revoking the trust. 'Ali b. 'Isa was charged with delaying so long when he had to deal with Ibn al-Furat's trusts, that little remained ; probably because the proceeds for some years had already been allotted.

him, and then said to 'Ali b. 'Isa : Abu Ahmad (*i.e.*, Muhassin) is the clerk of the Caliph and the recipient of his favour ;—and began to describe the relation wherein Muhassin stood to the Caliph and how the latter had committed affairs to him.—'Ali b. 'Isa began to excuse himself for having used that phrase. After that he rose in company with Shafi', who gave him the seat of honour in his launch and conveyed him home with him.

ABU'L-HASAN IBN ABI HISHAM¹ stated that he was present on that occasion, and how when HASAN, son of Ibn al-Furat and Daulah, came out at the time he saw 'Ali b. 'Isa rise and kiss him on the head and eyes. Ibn al-Furat thought that was going too far, and said to him : You must not do that, Abu'l-Hasan ; he is your own son ! Then, opening his ink-holder, he wrote an order upon his collector HARUN B. 'IMRAN to pay Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa without any demand two thousand dinars as a help towards his fine. He then told his son Muhassin to give an order of the same sort himself. He made one out for a thousand dinars. They then summoned BISHR B. HARUN, who made out a receipt in favour of 'Ali b. 'Isa of three thousand dinars of his fine. 'Ali b. 'Isa then departed expressing his gratitude.

'Ali b. 'Isa declined to accept the aid of any of his clerks towards his fine, though all offered and indeed transmitted contributions according to their means ; except from IBN FARAJAWAIHI, and from Fadl and Husain, the sons of Ibn al-Furat ; from each of these he accepted five hundred dinars. ABU'L-HAIJA IBN HAMDAN sent ten thousand dinars, but they were declined by 'Ali b. 'Isa, who replied that if the donor were governor of Fars,² they would have been accepted ; but that, knowing they represented his whole fortune, he was unwilling to ruin him.—Abu'l-Haija vowed that the

¹ Probably a brother of the person mentioned p. 109.

² He was in charge of the Khorasan Road, *supra*, p. 75, probably a less lucrative appointment.

money should not come back to his purse, so it was distributed among the descendants of Abu Talib, and in charity to the disabled.—SHAFI' LU'LU'I offered two thousand dinars, but 'Ali b. 'Isa declined to accept them, saying: I cannot impose upon you the double burden of entertaining me and helping me with my fine. He accepted (113) contributions from HARUN B. GHARIB and SHAFI', freedman of Muqtadir.

When 'Ali b. 'Isa had paid the greater part of his fine, Ibn al-Furat pointed out to Muqtadir that it was undesirable that he should remain in Shafi's house for his own sake, since rumour was already rife¹; and if he were sent back to the Palace, rumour would be yet more busy. He therefore requested permission to remove him to Meccah. This was granted by Muqtadir, and Ibn al-Furat assigned seven thousand dirhems to him for journey-money and other needs. 'Ali b. 'Isa started for Meccah; but the vizier presently wrote ordering him to be removed to San'a in Yemen, and this was done.

Ibn al-Furat then proceeded to exact huge sums from 'Ali b. 'Isa's dependents, clerks and agents, by the use of torture; he gave a free hand to his son Muḥassin, and people failed to recognize in the character which he displayed the generosity for which he had been famous. ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH indeed wrote a letter to ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. ISMA'IL B. ZANJI, with whom he was on friendly terms, enclosing some verses of his own which I have not reproduced because I do not admire them, and further enclosing a letter to Ibn al-Furat, reminding him of his claims and his former services, which he asked Zanjī to convey to Ibn al-Furat; when the vizier read it, he ordered that his fetters should be loosed, and that his fine should be fixed at a sum which he could bear. Afterwards he reduced even this and released him.

¹ Probably that he was to be made vizier again.

IBN AL-HAWARI was delivered by Ibn al-Furat to his son Muhassin, who repeatedly cuffed and scourged him, and finally dismissed him to Ahwaz accompanied by an agent who was to exact his fine ; when they reached Ahwaz, this agent put him to death.

(114) The two MADARA'I were ordered to be despatched to the metropolis, and HUSAINB. AHMAD (ABU ZUNBUR) was conveyed thither, and confined by Ibn al-Furat in his palace ; thither the judges and heads of bureaux were summoned, and Muhassin too was present. They produced assessments that they had drawn up for Abu Zunbur, who was examined by Ibn al-Furat about them, and on the ground of certain matters which had formed the subject of his questions, was made to give a bond for 2,400,000 dinars. Presently Ibn al-Furat thought this sum too large, and fixed his fine at 1,700,000. He showed Muqtadir Abu Zunbur's bond for the amount, and the Caliph approved his action. Ibn al-Furat proceeded to treat him with the utmost kindness, expressing admiration for his ability and eulogizing his intellect. He had never spoken, he said, to any official who was more intelligent or courageous. He desired Abu Zunbur to state in the presence of 'Ali b. 'Isa that the latter had received secret profits from him during his presidency of the Bureau of the West and during his vizierate. He begged to be excused. Ibn al-Furat asked why he refused in the case of 'Ali b. 'Isa what he had done in his own (Ibn al-Furat's).¹ He replied that he was not proud of what he had then done, and that it had won no-one's approval, in spite of the evident unfriendliness of the vizier in delivering him to Ibn Bistam, and giving that official power over him in his second vizierate ; how then would they approve of his doing the same in the case of 'Ali b. 'Isa, who had befriended him both of old and recently ? So Ibn al-Furat did not insist.

¹ Above, p. 61.

Then MOHAMMED B. 'ALI MADARA'I was brought. He had held no office during the vizierate of *Hamid* (115) b. 'Abbas, so he was questioned by Ibn al-Furat with reference to the arrears due from him and *Husain* b. *Ahmad* (his cousin) on the revenues of the Armies of Syria and Egypt, and the claims of the treasury on him as revenue-farmer, he having been at the time partner of his brother *Husain* b. *Ahmad* in the contract.—He defended himself on certain points, when Ibn al-Furat told him that he was not a cleverer man than his brother *Husain*, who had attempted a more elaborate defence and had been unable to maintain it. So without torture or threats he obtained his bond for 1,700,000 dinars, and then handed him over to the care of *Muhassin*, in whose house he was absolutely secure, but he remained there only one day; *Muhassin* treated him disdainfully at their interview, but proceeded to release him. The reason for this was that he brought *Muhassin* a great amount of money, handsome raiment, precious jewels and beautiful slaves.

Account of Ibn al-Furat's plot to remove Mu'nis from the capital.

After a brilliant victory over the Byzantines MU'NIS had returned from his expedition, and had been met by MUHASSIN, NASR the Chamberlain, SHAFI', MUFLIH, and the other captains, and had been received by Muqtadir. It was the common talk that Mu'nis expressed disapproval of the tortures inflicted upon the clerks and officials by Ibn al-Furat and *Muhassin*, and of the death of *Hamid* which had been made public; and that the disbanded cavalry¹ in the capital were intriguing to join the army of Mu'nis the Muzaffar in order that they might earn pay. This annoyed Ibn al-Furat, so a week after the arrival of Mu'nis he had a private interview with Muqtadir, wherein he informed him of the design of Mu'nis to attach the troops to himself, and that if he succeeded

¹ The guards of the Palace.

in this design he would become PRINCE OF PRINCES,¹ having control of the whole empire ; especially as the captains and the retainers were prepared to obey his orders. Ibn al-Furat insisted on the danger involved, and endeavoured to exasperate Muqtadir against Mu'nis ; so when Mu'nis rode to the Palace, Muqtadir said to him in the presence of Ibn al-Furat : There is nothing I should like better than that you should remain here, for besides (116) the pleasure which I find in your society and the good luck which the sight of you brings, I feel the advantage of your presence in all the business of the empire. Only the pay demanded by the cavalry as disbanded troops is immense, and it is impossible to pay it or indeed half their earnings regularly ; they would not obey orders to go to the districts of Syria or Egypt, alleging that they cannot afford to do it. You are aware that Rayy, Abhar and Zanzan are closed against us by the brother of Su'luk,² while Armenia and Adharbaijan are also closed by Yusuf Ibn Abi'l-Saj. If you remain in Baghdad, these men will require permission to be attached to you ; if I decline, they will mutiny and cause disorder ; whereas if I assent, none of the revenue of Diyar Rabi'ah and Diyar Mudar, or of Syria will be available, whereas that of the Sawad, Ahwaz and Fars will not cover the expenses of the metropolis and of your army. The best course then is that you should proceed to Raqqah, where you will be in the centre of your province, and can despatch your agents to collect the revenue, and exact payment of the vast sums for which the two Madara'i have given their bonds. Further you will be respected by the ministers of public security and of *kharaaj* in Egypt and Syria, and the prosperity of the empire will be secured.—Muqtadir therefore ordered him

¹ This seems to be the first occurrence of this title, which was first actually adopted by Ibn Ra'iq. We have seen that Hamid contemplated taking the position.

² In 310 these provinces had been given to Ibn Abi'l-Saj. Apparently "Su'luk's" rebellion must have begun in 309,

to proceed to Raqqah with all the *Hujari* and the Saji retainers under his orders.

Mu'nis understood that this was a plot of Ibn al-Furat, whose hostility to himself he thus perceived. He requested and obtained permission to remain in Baghdad for the remainder of *Ramadan*, and keep the feast¹ there ; after the feast he went to pay a farewell visit to Ibn al-Furat, who rose from his seat to his full height to receive him ; Mu'nis remonstrated. Ibn al-Furat adjured him to seat himself on the same carpet, but he refused. Mu'nis preferred a number of requests, all of which were granted. When Mu'nis was about to leave his presence he wished to rise again, only Mu'nis adjured him by the Caliph's head not to do so. Then he went to bid farewell to the Caliph and proceeded to his camp, the day being rainy.²

(117) *Plans of Ibn al-Furat for dealing with the courtiers.*

When Ibn al-Furat had finished fining the clerks, and banished Mu'nis, he proceeded to attempt the arrest of NASR the Chamberlain, and SHAFI' freedman of Muqtadir. He gave Muqtadir an account of the wealth and estates in the possession of Nasr in particular, of the vast revenue which he obtained from the offices which he held, and of his various sources of secret profit. Muqtadir agreed to put Nasr in the vizier's power, but when Nasr heard of this, he implored the protection of the Queen-mother, who spoke to her son as follows. Ibn al-Furat, she said, has removed from your neighbourhood MU'NIS, your sword and stay ; he now wants to ruin your Chamberlain in order to get you into his power and requite you for your treatment of him, your confiscation of his goods and dishonouring his women. On whom, I should like to know, will you call for aid if he mean mischief, and plot your dethronement ? Especially as he has displayed

¹ The first day of the following month, Jan. 12, 924

² Mu'nis afterwards mentioned this in his complaint against the vizier.

such malice and let his son *Muhassin* commit every atrocity.—*Nasr* had already gone home, had prepared for emergencies by distributing his wealth in deposits, and then gone into hiding, when he received a message from the Queen-mother bidding him return home. He trusted this sufficiently to obey it ; and he humbled himself to the ground before *Ibn al-Furat* and his son. *Ibn al-Furat* continued to instruct *Muqtadir* about his affairs, stating that he had tampered with the allegiance of *Ibn Abi'l-Saj* and thereby lost to the empire five million dinars of revenue from his provinces. He hoped thereby to make *Muqtadir* think seriously of delivering *Nasr* into the vizier's power.

In *Dhu'l-Hijjah* of this year ¹ news reached *Ibn al-Furat* that *Ibn Abi'l-Saj* had defeated and killed *AHMAD B. 'ALI* brother of *SU'LUK*, and having decapitated him proposed sending the head to *Baghdad*. *Muhassin* rode to the Palace, and having requested *MUFLIH* to bring him to the Caliph where *Nasr* was not present, and obtained this request, told *Muqtadir* the good news of the victory, informing him at the same time that *Nasr* was displeased thereat, being an enemy of *Ibn Abi'l-Saj*, and the person who had induced him to rebel. That, he said, was why he kept the news from him.

YEAR 312.

(118) Some days later in an apartment belonging to the Queen-mother, but frequently used by the Caliph when he sat with her, there appeared on the roof of one of the rooms a Persian in fine apparel with a woollen shirt under it and next his skin, and having in his possession an ink-horn, firesteel, knife, set of reed-pens, paper, porridge, and rope ; he was said to have come in with the workmen and so got into that place, where having remained some days he had suffered thirst, so that he came out in quest of water ; being caught and asked his business, he said

¹ Began March 11, 924,

he could not speak to any one but the master of the house. He was brought before the vizier, Ibn al-Furat, who said to him : I represent the master of the house, so say what you wish.—The man said : No, I must see him in person, and ask him about what I want.—The vizier was at first gentle with him, but it was useless, and when other means had failed, the attendants tried to make him confess by blows and violence ; he then changed from Arabic into Persian, saying *nadanam* (I know not), and merely repeating this phrase in reply to all that was said to him. He was then removed from the apartment and tortured to death, still confining himself to *nadanam*. He was then impaled, wrapped in hempen cords and flock, smeared with naphtha, and set on fire.

Ibn al-Furat addressed Nasr the Chamberlain on the subject of this person in Muqtadir's presence. I fancy, he said, you would not approve of such a thing happening in your own house as has happened to the Commander of the Faithful, while you are his chamberlain and the guardian of his residence. Such a thing as this has never befallen a Caliph, in either ancient or modern times. Without doubt this man was an adherent of AHMAD B. 'ALI brother of SU'LUK. This is proved by his being a Persian. Either then Aḥmad b. 'Ali before he was killed arranged with you that you should introduce him into this place, (119) or you yourself suborned him to assassinate the Commander of the Faithful owing to your apprehension of danger to yourself from that quarter, to your enmity against Ibn Abi'l-Saj, your friendship towards Aḥmad b. 'Ali and the vast sums which have come to you from him.—NASR the Chamberlain replied : I wonder whether I am plotting against the Sultan because he confiscated my property, dishonoured my women, or seized my estates or imprisoned me for ten years ?—Muqtadir said : If this had happened to one of the common people it would have been an outrage.—Ibn al-Furat had got Nasr into his power, but the danger

was averted from him by the news which arrived of the sufferings of the Pilgrims at the hands of the Qarmatian, to be narrated presently, which occupied Ibn al-Furat with his own affairs. Nasr's cause was strengthened thereby, and he was saved from Ibn al-Furat.

This year came the despatch concerning Ibn Abi'l-Saj's expedition from Adharbaijan to Rayy, his war against Ahmad b. 'Ali, and his sending the latter's head and trunk to Baghdad.

In this year too Ibn al-Furat assigned moneys to students of literature, and writers of the Tradition. The reason for this was that they formed the subject of a conversation in his reception-room, and some one said : Very likely one of these students stints himself a silver *danaq*¹ or less to spend it on paper and ink.—Ibn al-Furat was a man of wide sympathies and amiable character, and had made a distribution of money to the poets ; so when he heard about these persons, he said : I am the man to assist them in their pursuits, and assigned them twenty thousand dirhems for this expense.

It has been stated that Ibn al-Furat had no precedent in this matter save what is recorded by DABA'I² after his authorities, how MASLAMAH B. 'ABD AL-MALIK³ at his death bequeathed one third of the third at his disposal⁴ to students (120) of literature, on the ground that they were hardly treated.

Every day there was used in the kitchen of Ibn al-Furat a quantity of meat and in his apartments an amount of ice never used in one man's establishment before or since ; and the same is to be said of the drinks which were offered to all comers, and of the wax and of the paper.⁵ When he became vizier the prices of wax,

¹ The sixth part of a dirhem, about 1½d.

² Many traditionalists are mentioned having this relative-name.

³ Son of the Umayyad Caliph, often mentioned by Tabari and in the Aghani.

⁴ A Moslem may not bequeath more. The other two-thirds go to various relations in fixed fractions.

⁵ Hilal gives statistics.

ice and especially paper rose, and they fell when he was cashiered. Similarly he had given to MU'NIS the Muzaffar, on the occasion of his home-coming from the West, and to BUSHRA, YALBAQ, NAZUK, and other freedmen and attendants of the court when the Persian New Year's Day came presents of a size to which no man's liberality had risen before. His hope was thereby to mitigate their hostility ; but they had not the desired effect.

Reasons for the decline of Ibn al-Furat's power after it had reached its zenith.

News were brought to Ibn al-Furat in Baghdad that ABU TAHIR IBN ABI SA'ID JANNABI had come to Habir to meet the pilgrims of the year 311 on their return ; and had attacked a caravan containing numerous pilgrims from Baghdad and other places. News of Abu Tahir's arrival had reached the pilgrims when they were at Faid ; so they waited there until the stores of the people there were exhausted and the place could no longer hold them ; when they continued their march. They were advised by ABU'L-HAIJA 'ABDALLAH B. HAMDAN, guardian of the Kufah and Meccah roads and protector of the pilgrims, when the news of the raider from Hajar reached them, to let him take them by a side road from Faid to Wadi'l-Qura that they might not pass by Habir. They however made an outcry at this proposal and refused. So they marched and he of necessity with them (121) to Habir. When they approached this place they were met and attacked by ABU TAHIR IBN ABI SA'ID JANNABI, who defeated them, slew a great number of them, and took prisoner ABU'L-HAIJA 'ABDALLAH B. HAMDAN, AHMAD B. KASHMARD, NIHRIR 'UMARI, AHMAD B. BADR, paternal uncle of the Queen-mother (Muqtadir's mother), and a number of men and women belonging to the Sultan's household. Abu Tahir seized the pilgrims' camels from all the caravans, and took captive such men, women and children as he chose, conveying them to Hajar. He left the rest of the pilgrims

where they were, without food or camels, so that most of them died of thirst, sore feet and over-walking. Abu Tahir's age was at the time seventeen.

On both sides of the river Baghdad and its streets were in a ferment. Women came out barefoot, with dishevelled hair, beating their faces till they were black, and shrieking in the roads. They were joined by the women of the ruined officials—ruined by Ibn al-Furat. This was Saturday 7 Safar (May 15, 924). The spectacle was of unexampled hideousness. Ibn al-Furat ordered NAZUK to ride to the public mosques on both sides of the river on account of the public commotion. He did this taking with him all his troops, cavalry, infantry and naphtha-shooters, and succeeded in quieting the mob. Then there arrived the first detachment of pilgrims, who explained the situation to Ibn al-Furat, and he at the end of the same day rode to Muqtadir, though feeling his courage fail him, and recounted the tale; the Caliph summoned Nasr the Chamberlain to take part in the consultation, and he, getting the opportunity of addressing Ibn al-Furat in the Caliph's presence, attacked him fiercely, saying: *Now* you are asking What is to be done? after having shaken the columns of the empire and exposed it to destruction by removing Mu'nis, its champion, the man who combated its foes. Who will now rescue (122) the throne from this person? Who but you has betrayed the Sultan's troops, captains, and the men and women of his household to the Qarmatians? The affair of the Persian who was found in the Sultan's apartment is now cleared up; he must have been an adherent of the Qarmatian.—Nasr advised Muqtadir to write at once and summon Mu'nis to the capital. The Caliph ordered a letter to be written to that effect. The mob assaulted Ibn al-Furat, throwing brickbats at his barge. Muhassin, riding from his dwelling to his barge, was also stoned. The mob shouted in the streets that Ibn al-Furat was the Great Qarmatian, and that nothing would satisfy

him but the annihilation of the people of Mohammed. The populace was violently agitated, and kept away from public prayer in the mosques that day ; the disorder spread over all Baghdad on both sides of the river.

Ibn al-Furat advised that YAQUT be sent to guard Kufah in case the raiders from Hajar should return, and take with him the *Hujari* retainers, with the chief captains. If the raider from Hajar declined to move, Yaqut should take the offensive against him. Muqtadir gave Yaqut the necessary order, bidding Ibn al-Furat see to his equipment. The vizier undertook to furnish enormous sums to him and his two sons, MUZAFFAR and MOHAMMED, increasing their fiefs and table-allowances, as well as to those who were attached to them. Yaqut encamped at the Kunasah Gate, but news reaching Ibn al-Furat that the raider from Hajar had returned to his own country, the vizier ordered Yaqut back, and his proposed expedition to Kufah was abandoned.

Muqtadir effected a reconciliation between Ibn al-Furat and Nasr, bidding every one unite in support of the empire and in resisting the raider from Hajar. MU'NIS entered Baghdad and was met by the inhabitants ; no-one missing the occasion. Ibn al-Furat sailed to greet him, contrary to his custom and that of his predecessors. When Mu'nis knew of his arrival, he came to the gate of his house, to meet him, and begged him to withdraw ; he declined to do so, and came up out of his barge to congratulate Mu'nis on his return. When Ibn al-Furat left the house to depart, Mu'nis accompanied him (123) until he stepped down to his barge.

Muhassin's treatment of the discharged officials when adversity befell him and his father.

After the attack on the pilgrims by the raider from Hajar Muhassin became anxious about the discharged officials, fearing the revelation of the secret profits which he had accepted, and the deductions which he had made

from their fines and pocketed himself. He therefore took into his employ ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. 'ALI SHALMAGHANI, known by the name IBN ABI'L-'AZAQIR, a man who claimed that the deity abode in him as had been claimed by *Hallaj*. He had previously favoured this person and made him deputy in Baghdad to various officials. He had a friend from Basrah, known to be his associate and ready to shed blood. To this Basran friend of Ibn Abi'l-'Azaqir Muhassin delivered a number of persons, including NU'MAN B. 'ABDALLAH,¹ 'ABD AL-WAHHAB B. MA SHA ALLAH, and MU'NIS eunuch of *Hamid*, ostensibly to exact from them the arrears of their fines. When they were in his hands he slaughtered them like so many sheep. A number of persons who were in hiding received kindly letters from Ibn al-Furat, which induced them to show themselves ; they were then fined and made to pay vast sums.

Account of the arrest of Ibn al-Furat and the flight of his son Muhassin.

Rumour became rife about the impending fall of Ibn al-Furat, so that his sons and clerks went into hiding, and Muqtadir sent him a message through NASIM. ABU'L-QASIM IBN ZANJI states that he was present when Nasim came, and was brought into his apartment, and delivered the message with which he had been charged. I heard Ibn al-Furat say in reply (he says) : (124) Tell him : You know, O Commander of the Faithful, how I in the process of securing your rights have incurred the enmity of the small and the great, and have exacted money for you from humble and noble ; I have done my utmost to secure your dynasty ; I have considered no-one so long as I retained your confidence, and so long as the course followed secured me your goodwill and good opinion. Do not accept the statements about me of those who wish to remove me from your service, and would provoke you to unprofitable measures and such as

¹ Above, p. 32.

will be detrimental in their results. Further our horoscopes are identical, so whatever befalls me, the like will befall you. Pay no attention to what is said; for the court and the public are aware that I made greater outlay on the troops despatched to the Meccah Road than any of my predecessors, that I selected commanders and officers for the army and brave men to be the troops, and that I provided all that was asked of me for their equipment. God decreed that the same disaster should happen to the pilgrims as happened in the days of Muktafi.¹ He did not blame his vizier for it nor make him endure the consequences or even think the worse of him on account of it.—He said some more to the same effect, and Nasim retired, accompanied by the retainers.

Rumour became yet more persistent about the impending fate of Ibn al-Furat and his son Muhassin, until Muqtadir, wishing to silence it, wrote a letter wherein he swore to the continuance of his sentiments towards them and his confidence in them, and told them they might rely on his determination to befriend them. He further commanded them to show his letter to them publicly in Baghdad, and have copies sent to all ministers of war and finance in the provinces.

After this in the month Rabi'i² of the year 312, when Ibn al-Furat and Muhassin had sailed to the Palace and had an audience of Muqtadir, as they were leaving, Nasr the Chamberlain requested them to sit down, (125) for the *Hujari* retainers had been petitioning Muqtadir for their arrest, and their petition had been delivered by MUFLIH, who however advised delay, pointing out to the Caliph that to dismiss a vizier owing to the statements of his enemies was dangerous and bad policy, and an encouragement to the retainers to interfere in affairs of state. Muqtadir therefore bade him order Nasr to release them, yet to inform the retainers that the wishes

¹ A.H. 294 a Qarmatian force inflicted a similar blow on the pilgrim caravan.

² Began June 7, 924.

expressed in their communication should be respected. *Muflih* came to bid the vizier depart, and Nasr gave him and his son permission to do so. So Ibn al-Furat rose and began to race through the passages, until he reached his barge, as also did his son *Muhassin*, and when they had had come to the vizier's palace *Muhassin* had a long private interview with his father ; after which he left and went to his own residence whence, after staying a little time and giving some orders, he departed and went into hiding. His father took his place in his office with an untroubled air, and attended to business, being attended by the chief secretaries, who left at the end of the day, feeling some doubt as to the accuracy of the reports which had reached them, owing to the gaiety and nonchalance displayed by the vizier, who had talked and joked as usual, and given or refused orders in his customary style. One of his personal friends afterwards stated that late in the night he had heard Ibn al-Furat repeating in his bed the verse

Prudent as he was, that morning he knew not whether it was better to advance or to retire.

—a proof that he kept awake that night thinking about his fortunes. Next day (says *ABU'L-QASIM IBN ZANJI*) he went to the office to attend to business, and presently there arrived a thin note sealed ; which he read. I did not at the time know from whom it was, but learned afterwards that it was from *MUFLIH*. Then there arrived another letter from a sort of soldier attached to the Palace ; when he read it, he hesitated for a moment and then summoned his steward *YAHYA*, and whispered something into his ear ; the steward then departed. The vizier proceeded to dismiss the clerks, promising to come early the next day. He then rose from his seat and went in the direction of his private apartments, whilst the clerks separated. When I had got to the doorway, I recollected a task (126) which he had assigned me, so I went back and sat down to perform it. Suddenly I saw that *NAZUK* had entered armed with his

sword, and with a stiletto in his hand, followed by YALBAQ. The demeanour of the two was unlike their usual cheerfulness, and each of them was accompanied by some fifteen armed retainers. Not finding the vizier in his office, they went into his private apartments, whence they brought him out uncovered ; he was forced into a barge and conveyed to the house of Nazuk ; at the same time his two sons Fadl and Husain, and such clerks of his as were found, were arrested.

Nazuk and Yalbaq proceeded to inform MU'NIS the MUZAFFAR of what had happened ; he had come out to the Shammasiyyah Gate, ostensibly for an excursion, accompanied by HILAL B. BADR and a number of his officers. Yalbaq then proceeded to the residence of Nazuk and brought out thence Ibn al-Furat with his two sons and his dependents, Nazuk having taken from his house a spangled silk cloak to throw over the head of the vizier, who was uncovered when seized. When Ibn al-Furat saw Mu'nis, he made show of gratification at finding himself in the latter's power. Mu'nis made Ibn al-Furat sit beside him in his barge, and addressed him with civility, though remonstrating with him for his behaviour. Ibn al-Furat humiliated himself, and gave him the title *Ustadh*. Mu'nis retorted : You call me *Ustadh* now, but only yesterday you sent me into exile at Raqqah, with the rain pouring on my head, and told our lord the Commander of the Faithful that I was plotting to ruin the empire !—The barge descended the river to the Palace, whither Mu'nis ordered Ibn al-Furat's two sons and his dependents also to be conveyed, to be put in the custody of NASR.

The populace were furious against Ibn al-Furat, and were joined by the dependents of the cashiered officials, who cursed him with loud cries. Mu'nis tried hard to restrain them, but was unable to do so ; they pelted his barge owing to Ibn al-Furat being there, and called out : The great Qarmaṭian has been arrested, there only

remains the little Qarmañian.¹ When they reached the Private Gate of the Palace, a number of people came up out of the boats, intending to pelt Ibn al-Furat, his two sons, and his clerks with brickbats. Force had to be used against them, and it was necessary to shoot them with arrows, whereby some of them were wounded. The assailants then retired, and Nasr took charge of the prisoners.

(127) The duration of this third vizierate of Ibn al-Furat was ten months and eighteen days. The chief captains then assembled in the Palace, and insisted that if Ibn al-Furat were to be confined in the Palace, they would go in a body to the Oratory.² They used violent threats; so Muqtadir summoned Mu'nis and Nasr to a consultation, and they advised him to mollify the officers by removing Ibn al-Furat from the Palace, and delivering him to SHAF'I LU'LU'I, who was to imprison him in his house. So Shafi' was summoned and given custody of the prisoner.

Account of the process whereby 'Abdallah b. Mohammed b. 'Ubaidallah Khaqani attained the vizierate.

ABU'L-QASIM 'ABDALLAH B. MOHAMMED KHAQANI had gone into hiding during the third vizierate of Ibn al-Furat. His father, ABU 'ALI, was very old, ill, and imbecile; when owing to the disaster which had befallen the pilgrims Ibn al-Furat's position was weakened, ABU'L-QASIM KHAQANI plotted against him and his son Muḥassin, offering an estimate of what he could make them disgorge³; and his efforts were aided by Nasr the Chamberlain and THUMAL the Stewardess, with others. Mu'nis had previously suggested his name for the vizierate, but had been told by Muqtadir that this man's father had ruined the world, and that the son was worse than the father; HUSAIN B. AHMAD MADARA'I

¹ Doubtless meaning Muḥassin. ² This, as has been seen, meant mutiny.

³ This appears to be the sense,

was the Caliph's own nominee, but Mu'nis objected that he had departed for Egypt and it would take too long to bring him to the capital. The younger Khaqani was further supported by NASR and HARUN B. GHARIB ; so Muqtadir summoned him, and in a personal audience offered him the vizierate and the presidency of the bureaux. A robe of honour was then conferred upon him and Mu'nis the Muzaffar with Harun b. Gharib accompanied him to his residence.

Account of what happened to Ibn al-Furat and his dependents after the assumption of the vizierate by Abu'l-Qasim Khaqani.

Abu'l-Hasan (Ibn Abi Hisham) narrates how after Ibn al-Furat had been delivered to Shafi' in the manner described, the latter sent his clerk known as AL-JAMAL (The Camel) to negotiate with him about the amount of the fine which he was prepared to pay in order to be secured against his enemies, (128) and escape delivery into the hands of Khaqani and ABU'L 'ABBAS IBN BA'UD SHARR his secretary.—Ibn al-Furat replied that before making an offer he must receive a guarantee from Muqtadir that his person should not be delivered to any individual of that class. Then he said to the clerk known as "The Camel" : Tell your master that I have left in the hands of Harun the Collector and his son 160,000 dinars odd which have come into their possession from the fines.—His purpose was that this might be known to the Caliph, who would order the money to be conveyed to his private Treasury forthwith, and lest the new vizier might lead the Caliph to suppose that he had himself obtained the sum, and proceed to expend it on objects of which the cost was ordinarily defrayed from the public Treasury. Shafi' embarked at once and communicated this to Muqtadir, who sent to the two collectors ; these were found in the residence of Khaqani who had been too much occupied in receiving congratulations to speak to them ; being summoned they admitted

possession of the money, which they transmitted to the private Treasury, where it was duly certified.

Muqtadir then ordered NASR to deliver Ibn al-Furat's sons, clerks and dependents to Khaqani ; he did so, receiving a receipt from the vizier, who delivered them to Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn Ba'ud Sharr ; this person put them in fetters and made them sit on the ground in the intense heat ; he then received the bond of each of Ibn al-Furat's two sons for 100,000 dinars, and that of SA'ID B. IBRAHIM for 200,000 dinars ; and that of Muhassin's clerk ABU GHANIM for 200,000 dinars. Criers were ordered to demand the appearance of Muhassin, HISHAM, and the two sons of FARAJAWAIHI, and to threaten all in whose houses they were found after the proclamation with the plunder and burning of their dwellings and a thousand stripes. Ibn al-Furat arranged (129) with Shafi' that the latter should guarantee a sum to be paid by him on condition that he be sent back to the Palace and be not put into any one's power. Shafi' communicated this proposal to Muqtadir, who told him that Mu'nis, Nasr and Harun b. Gharib were agreed that Khaqani could not proceed unless Ibn al-Furat were put in his power ; and that he had undertaken to obtain from him, his son, and his dependents two millions of dinars. Shafi' withdrew from the imperial presence and sent his clerk to Ibn al-Furat to explain the case. This clerk (whose sobriquet was " the Camel ") afterwards made the following statement :—I was in the habit (he said) of visiting Ibn al-Furat daily to enquire into his condition, and I found him the stoutest-hearted of mankind, and the most resigned to misfortune. He asked me who had assumed the vizierate ; when I replied that Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Abi 'Ali Khaqani had done so, he exclaimed : It is the Sultan who has had a fall, not I.—Then he asked who was president of the Bureau (*i.e.* that of the Sawad) ; when I replied : MOHAMMED B. JA'FAR B. HAFS, he said : The man's hit with his own stone.—Then he asked who

had become presidents of the remaining bureaux ; when I replied : YAHYA B. NU'AIM MALIKI, MOHAMMED B. YA'QUB MISRI, and ISHAQ B. 'ALI QUNNA'I, he said : Certainly God is helping this vizier with competent men.

Ibn al-Furat's examiner was Ibn Ba'ud Sharr, who dealt gently with him and held out hopes in order to make him recollect and reveal his deposits. After a course of this treatment Ibn al-Furat admitted that he had lodged with certain traders 150,000 dinars. Now Muqtadir had arranged that the proceeds of the fine of Ibn al-Furat only should be transmitted to the private Treasury, whereas those of his dependents should be transmitted to the public Treasury. When the sum mentioned by Ibn al-Furat had been recovered from the traders, Ibn Ba'ud Sharr made a fresh demand on Ibn al-Furat ; the ex-vizier replied that he had no money left. The examiner began to apply mild torture, but Ibn (130) al-Furat was not the man to yield to torture, so he firmly refused to pay anything. HARUN B. GHARIB then went to Muqtadir and told him that Khaqani had damaged the Sultan's cause by delivering Ibn al-Furat to Ibn Ba'ud Sharr ; he ought to have dealt gently with the ex-vizier and coaxed him, since he was not the man to yield to violence. Muqtadir then ordered Khaqani to have the examination of Ibn al-Furat conducted in Harun b. Gharib's presence, and to deal gently with him. Ibn Ba'ud Sharr had been stinting Ibn al-Furat in the matter of food and drink, sending in to him bread mixed with bran, cucumbers and rain-water. Khaqani now sent him ample food and drink, with plenty of ice and fruit, apologizing for what had been done and declaring that he had not been aware of the treatment which he had received.

Khaqani then sent by KHAQAN B. AHMAD B. YAHYA a courteously worded and coaxing message, requesting him to make a true statement of his assets, and not defy

the Sultan ; for such conduct could not be commended. —His reply was : Tell the vizier from me that I am not an inexperienced novice, who can be cajoled in his examination. I do not say I cannot provide the money ; only when my life is secure, shall I pay ransom for it ; and I shall only feel secure when the Commander of the Faithful himself writes me an amnesty, and it is attested by the signatures of the vizier and the judges, and a similar amnesty is written for me by the vizier. Further he must put me in charge of one of two persons, either MU'NIS the MUZAFFAR, notwithstanding that he is my enemy, or SHAFI' LU'LU'I. If this be not done, then I am resigned to suffer death.—Khaqani sent the following answer : If it were in my power to obtain such a guarantee for you, I would do it ; but if I were even to suggest it, I should incur the hostility of the leading men in the empire on your account ; further you would not gain anything thereby, as the Caliph has already referred your case to Harun b. Gharib.—A meeting was arranged in the house of Khaqani, when Ibn al-Furat was summoned, and examined by Ibn Ba'ud Sharr in his presence. Ibn al-Furat was immovable, and when Ibn Ba'ud Sharr began to use insulting language, he was reproved by Harun, who asked him whether he hoped by those methods to extract money from Ibn al-Furat. He then proceeded to address the ex-vizier himself, (131) using the most courteous terms. You, he said, know more about affairs than all who are addressing you, among them that the vizier must not defy the Caliph, when the latter is incensed against him.—Ibn al-Furat replied : Prince, advise me ; for when a man is in my plight his wits desert him.—Harun continued his examination until he had obtained his bond for a fine of two million dinars, of which the quarter was to be paid at once, that quarter to include what he had already paid, and any sums that might since have been obtained from deposits which he had not revealed. He stipulated

further that he should be allowed to sell his properties and such of his estates and chattels as found purchasers. He was himself to be transferred to the house of Shafi' or some other person in the confidence of the Sultan, while KALWADHANI should be left in control of his entire property. He was further to be allowed the use of ink to correspond with whom he chose. HARUN B. GHARIB made him put his name to all this and conveyed the document to Muqtadir.

Account of a piece of ill luck which befell Muhassin, and resulted in his being caught, fined and killed.

MUHASSIN had gone into hiding in the house of his mother-in-law, HINZABAH, mother of AL-FADL B. JA'FAR B. AL-FURAT,¹ who used to escort him every morning to the cemetery in women's attire, and bring him back at night to some safe dwelling. One day she had taken him (dressed as usual in female attire) to the Quraish Cemetery,² but when evening came it seemed a long way to Karkh; one of the women in her company told her of a house belonging to a trustworthy woman, where there was no man, as the woman's husband had been dead for a year³; thither then Hinzabah went with her female attendants and Muhassin, and told the mistress of the house that she had with her an unmarried woman who had just returned from a mourners' gathering, which had greatly depressed her; would she let this woman have a private apartment?—The mistress of the house provided a room leading out of a corridor, into which she took Muhassin; she then closed the door after her, and the women sat with Muhassin in the room. Presently a black slave-girl brought a lamp (132) which she placed

¹ A distinguished minister who will meet us later; he is ordinarily known as Ibn Hinzabah.

² Le Strange, p. 160. This Cemetery was "to the north of the Cemetery of the Martyrs at the Harb Gate," and towards the river bank, whereas Karkh was south of the city.

³ A slight exaggeration as appears from what follows.

in the corridor, while *Hinzabah* came bringing *Muhassin* some porridge with sugar. *Muhassin* had by this time removed some of his clothes, and the girl peeping into the room whence neither *Muhassin* nor *Hinzabah* could see her noticed that it was a man. She went and informed her mistress; who after nightfall came and examined the room and saw *Muhassin*. It was his ill-luck, and evidence that God had forsaken him, that the woman happened to be the wife of MOHAMMED B. NASR, a bailiff of 'Ali b. 'Isa; this man had been summoned by *Muhassin* and brought to his office, where he died suddenly of fright at the tortures which he saw administered in *Muhassin's* presence before *Muhassin* had said a word to him. The woman immediately proceeded to the Palace, and, being admitted to see Nasr the Chamberlain, told him the story. He communicated it to Muqtadir, who gave orders that a message should be sent to Nazuk bidding him ride to the place and arrest *Muhassin*. This order was immediately carried out by him. The arrest was notified by the beating of drums in Baghdad at midnight, which alarmed the inhabitants, who supposed that the Qarmatians had seized the capital.

Muhassin was conveyed to the vizier's palace in Mukharrim, and taken in charge by Ibn Ba'ud Sharr, who immediately had him violently tortured, and obtained his bond for three million dinars. Harun b. Gharib came to this palace and examined *Muhassin*, holding out hopes in order to make him recollect his deposits and reveal them. For two consecutive days the torture was applied, but *Muhassin* would not yield a single dirhem, declaring that he was not going to lose both his life and his money. After this Harun b. Gharib brought Shafi' Lu'lu'i and summoning *Muhassin*, he, the clerks and Ibn Ba'ud Sharr, examined him. After administering severe torture he said to him: ^{Graces.} "You cannot pay the whole sum for which your bond ^{to illustrate} has been taken, can you not produce 100,000 ^{to illustrate} ~~shars~~ ^{shars}?—He replied: (133)

I can, provided that you give me time, and that the torture stops.—Harun said: We will give you time, now write your bond for a hundred thousand.—He signed a bond for this amount wherein he agreed to pay it within thirty days.—When Harun b. Gharib read the paper, he exclaimed: Do you suppose you are going to live thirty days!—*Muhassin* humbly replied that he would do whatever the prince commanded.—Harun bade him write that he would pay it within seven days.—*Muhassin* asked to have the paper returned to him that he might write another instead, and when he got it, chewed and swallowed it, declining to write another. He was fettered and collared, a woollen *jubbah* was put upon him, and his head was belaboured with clubs, to induce him to write what he had written before, but he declined. He was sent back to his prison and there exquisitely tortured, but he declined to yield a dirhem.

After this the *Ustadh* Mu'nis, Nasr the Chamberlain, the judges and clerks presented themselves in the office of the vizier Khaqani, whither Ibn al-Furat was brought, and where he was examined by the vizier Khaqani himself. Khaqani was however no match for Ibn al-Furat who came near "making mince meat of him." Thus Khaqani said to Ibn al-Furat: During eleven months you have obtained from your estates a revenue of a million dinars.—Ibn al-Furat replied: These same estates were for ten years in the hands of 'Ali b. 'Isa, during his vizierate and during that of Hamid b. 'Abbas, and he raised from them no more than 400,000 dinars. You are claiming that I work miracles.—Khaqani said: You attached the ^{from} ~~comes~~ on the Sultan's lands to those on your own.—Ibn al-Furat replied: The accounts in the bureaux cannot be concealed; inspect the record for the revenue of the ~~Imperial lands~~ ^{this Cemetery} during the time of my control and in the ~~Gate,~~ ^{Gate,} and ~~in the~~ ^{in the} vizierate of Hamid b. 'Abbas, and the vizierate of your father, which you administered yourself; you will see whether

during my ministry the revenue of the Imperial lands increased or diminished.

He was then examined with reference to the persons whom he had executed,¹ and reproached on their account. He replied : One of (134) two things must be the case. Either it is asserted that I killed them myself ;—now I have not been away from the capital, so that their death cannot be ascribed to me, as the persons with whose death I am charged were at a distance from it. Or it is asserted that I wrote to order their execution. In that case I put myself in the hands of the officials, ministers of public security, trusted counsellors of the Sultan, officers of the *kharaḡ*, chief governors of provinces.²—The reply to this was : Your son killed them.—He answered : I am not the same as my son, and you are examining *me*.—Ibn Ba'ud Sharr³ retorted : If your son slew these people, then you slew them.—Ibn al-Furat replied : That is contrary to the ruling of God and of His Apostle. God says : *No bearer shall bear the burden of another*,⁴ and the Prophet said to one of his Companions : Is this your son ? The answer was in the affirmative. The Prophet then said : You will not be responsible for him nor he for you.⁵ And besides this he is in your hands, so you can ask him. If he is liable to retaliation for a charge of murder committed in a place whence he was at a distance, but where some one else is said to have acted for him, the law on this matter is well known.⁶

The people were bewildered by this reply ; however 'UTHMAN B. SA'ID, president of the Bureau of the Army, said to Nasr the Chamberlain : If the Chamberlain

¹ The reference is to the persons killed by Shalmaghani's friend, above, p. 123.

² *i.e.*, to say whether I sent any such order.

³ One would rather expect Khaqani's *na* *Q.*

⁴ Surah vi. 164, and in four other places.

⁵ Apparently this tradition was invented to illustrate the text.

⁶ *Viz.*, that retaliation is required in such cases.

think fit, let him ask Ibn al-Furat the following question : When you used to say to those from whom you demanded money *Either you pay, or I shall hand you over to Muhassin*, did you mean that Muhassin was to feed them on porridge and sugar, or that he was to torture them ? Now he who permits torture permits slaughter, for a man will sometimes die of a single stroke of the lash, not to speak of severer punishments.—Nasr addressed this question to Ibn al-Furat, who replied : The Caliph, whose life God prolong, was Muhassin's patron and I at that time was confined whereas he was at large. Muhassin guaranteed what he thought fit, and his proposals passed through the hands of Muflih, and various of the Sultan's counsellors acted as intermediaries. Afterwards when I became minister, I wanted to deal gently with people, only when I examined them and tried gentle methods, they declined to pay what was due from them ; when they were obstinate I handed them over to the official appointed by the Sultan, and to whom I had been ordered to deliver them. Mu'nis said : You would throw the responsibility for these people's deaths on the Caliph. The Caliph declares that he ordered the death of no-one save only (135) Ibn al-Hawari.

Nasr then addressed him as follows : I have, he said, a message to you from the Sultan to which you are to listen and reply.—Ibn al-Furat asked what it was.—Nasr said : This. *I put certain persons into your power because you had guaranteed certain moneys. I desire of you one of two things : either pay me the moneys, or return me the persons.*—Ibn al-Furat said : As for the money, it has been duly paid into the Treasury. With regard to the people I never guaranteed their lives nor their continuance ; they have died natural deaths.—Mu'nis the Muzaffar then said to him : Suppose that you have a reply and an excuse for everything else ; what excuse have you for exiling me to Raqqah, as though I were an official who had incurred a fine, or an enemy of the

Caliph's house ?—Ibn al-Furat replied : *I* exiled you ?—Then who did ? he asked.—Our master, he said, ordered you to be sent away.—Our master did not order that, he retorted.—Ibn al-Furat replied : I have a statement in his handwriting. He wrote me a letter, which, being in his own writing I have preserved, wherein he complains of your conduct at various times, of the enormous expenditure with which you conquer countries which you proceed to un-conquer by your mismanagement and misconduct.—Where is this document ? asked Mu'nis.—In your hands, he replied ; it is among a number of documents which I ordered to be kept in the bamboo case, whereupon there is a statement in my writing that important papers are to be kept there. Among them is the order that you are to be sent away to Raqqah and to be under surveillance until you start.—Khaqani ordered the case to be brought, which was found to bear the seal of Ibn al-Furat, and to contain the actual paper, as well as the other autographs of Muqtadir to which Ibn al-Furat had referred. Of these Khaqani took possession. Mu'nis immediately demanded an audience of Muqtadir, and requested him to read the letter. Muqtadir was furious and ordered Harun to scourge Ibn al-Furat. The latter was placed in the pillory and received five strokes only. Harun then said to him : Now, my friend, pay up your money.—Ibn al-Furat gave him a bond for 20,000 dinars saying : This is my money.

Immediately afterwards he had Muḥassin brought out of his prison and scourged almost to death ; he however refused (136) to pay anything at all. Harun then went to Muqtadir and requested to be excused from further examination of Ibn al-Furat and his son ; for, he said, these are people who have no intention of paying anything and have made up their minds to be killed.—Muqtadir ordered them to be delivered to NAZUK, who tortured them mercilessly. On Muḥassin he inflicted a variety of torments, till his body putrefied and nothing

remained to torture. He whipped Ibn al-Furat three times with stout ropes, but the ex-vizier would not yield a dirhem. Muqtadir lost patience with Abu'l-Qasim Khaqani, the vizier, and complained that he had seen none of the money which the vizier had promised to extract from Ibn al-Furat and his son.—Khaqani answered that it was because the case had not been left to diplomacy ; when Ibn al-Furat had been withdrawn from examination by men of his own profession and handed over to the swordsmen, he had despaired of his life, and so resolved to save his money. His son, seeing his conduct, had followed his example.

Nazuk told Muqtadir that he had gone to the utmost length in administering torture to the two, so much so that the body of the fastidious Muhassin was putrefying, but even so he had endured unheard-of tortures. Now, he said, for many days he has not tasted food, and only drinks water, being unconscious most of the time.—Muqtadir said : If that be so, the two must be conveyed to my Palace.—Mu'nis and the rest declared that this was the right course, and Khaqani told the Caliph that God was guiding him. After this they left the imperial presence.

While they were still in the Palace and before they had parted, Khaqani whispered to them : If Ibn al-Furat be conveyed to the Palace, his dependents will offer money for his life and that of his son ; and if thereby he makes sure of the Caliph and is installed in the Palace, he will reveal his own wealth and obtain security for himself and his son. Once sure of his life he will guarantee us all,¹ and induce the Caliph to put us in his power, alluring him with the idea that he will save our stipends, fiefs and estates, and amass an enormous sum for the Caliph's benefit. The right course is (137) that the officers should swear a common oath that if they

¹ i.e., guarantee the Caliph a vast sum which he undertakes to extract from us.

learn of Ibn al-Furat and his son having been conveyed to the Palace, they will throw off their allegiance.—Mu'nis said : Life will not be worth living if this be not done.—Harun b. Gharib and Nazuk undertook the execution of the scheme ; they assembled the officers and commanders of the *Hujari* retainers, and YALBAQ administered the oath to them.

The deaths of Ibn al-Furat and his son Muhassin.

They then presented themselves in a body before Mu'nis and Nasr, and revealed what was in their minds. Mu'nis suggested that the officers should demand the removal of Ibn al-Furat and his son to Mu'nis's palace ; and that if Muhassin were to die, his father should be spared.—Harun b. Gharib however remarked that if Muhassin were to die, it would not be safe to spare his father ; how after the slaughter of his son could he be trusted to be loyal ?—They then in a body openly told Muqtadir that if Ibn al-Furat and his son were not put to death, all the officials would rebel. Harun b. Gharib further importuned Muqtadir to put them both to death declaring that he would not answer for the officials not joining together to proclaim some other member of the Hashimite family Caliph, and then the mischief would be incurable.—The party wanted Khaqani to urge this course, but he declared that he would have no part in the shedding of blood ; he had only advised that the two be not conveyed to the Palace : he regarded their execution as a blunder, for execution should in no case be made easy for or recommended to a king ; if this is done, the king thinks lightly of executing his ministers, and will put them to death for the slightest error or peccadillo.

On Sunday 12 Rabi'ii (July 18, 312) when Ibn al-Furat's food was brought to him, he bade them remove it on the ground that he was keeping fast ; when the time for breaking fast arrived he declared that he would not

break it that night. Urged by some one to change his mind he said: To-morrow I am to be put to death without a doubt. God forbid! (138) was the rejoinder.—No, he replied, yesterday I saw my brother Abu'l-'Abbas in a dream, and he said to me: *The Monday after to-morrow you shall breakfast with us.* He has never told me anything in my sleep but it has come true. To-morrow is a Monday, and that is the day whereon the blessed Husain son of 'Ali was slain.—¹

When the morrow came—a Monday—the people descended to the Palace, but were not admitted. These officials then wrote demanding that Ibn al-Furat and his son be put to death. Muqtadir replied by requesting time for consideration. They wrote back that if the execution were delayed beyond that day, something irreparable would happen to the empire.

Muqtadir then wrote to Nazuk, ordering him to decapitate the two, and bring their heads to the Palace. Nazuk sent back word that this was a very serious matter, in which he could not act upon a mere rescript. Muqtadir then ordered the *Ustadhs* and the Eunuchs to convey to him the Caliph's order to carry out what he had written. Nazuk replied that he would not act upon a message, but required an oral order. Ibn al-Furat was watching the proceedings, and when told that the officials had departed and that Nazuk had gone home, he was somewhat relieved; but learning presently that Nazuk had returned to the Palace, he was gravely alarmed. In the afternoon Nazuk came to the vizier's palace, and took his seat in the apartment where Ibn al-Furat was confined; he then sent his eunuch 'AJIB with some negroes to decapitate Muhassin, and presently brought his head and laid it before his father. Ibn al-Furat was terrified at the sight, and finding himself threatened with the

¹ This was disputed. According to Ya'qubi ii. 291 some said Saturday, some Monday, and some Friday. According to Wüstenfeld's tables 10 Muharram 61 (Oct. 10, 680 A.D.) would be Wednesday.

sword, said to Nazuk : O Abu Mansur, must it be the sword ? Plead for me with the Commander of the Faithful, telling him that I have vast wealth, numerous deposits and valuable gems.—Nazuk replied : The affair has gone beyond that.—So he ordered him to be beheaded and then conveyed the heads of both to Muqtadir, who ordered them to be thrown into the water. The heads were thrown into the Euphrates, the trunks from the Tabbanin bridge in Baghdad. (139) Ibn al-Furat's age on the day of his execution was seventy-one years and some months (God have mercy upon him !). His son was thirty-three years old. The astrologer 'AZIMI had declared that in that year he apprehended disaster and death by the sword for Ibn al-Furat, and mentioned this in the horoscope which Ibn al-Furat had before him¹ ; he also inferred from the horoscope of Muḥassin that his life would last thirty-three years. His forecasts came true.

This year there came a despatch from FARIQI in Basrah² stating that he had received a communication from ABU'L-HAIJA IBN HAMDAN³ at Hajar to the effect that he had spoken with ABU TAHIR the Qarmatian about the pilgrims whom he had captured, soliciting their release ; this had, he said, been promised. He had ascertained the number of the men whom Abu Tahir held in captivity to be 2,229, and that of the women about 500. News presently came of their arrival in a series of groups, the last to arrive being Abu'l-Haija and AHMAD B. BADR, brother of the Queen-mother's father. Together with Abu'l-Haija there arrived an envoy from Abu Tahir the Qarmatian requesting the evacuation of Basrah, Ahwaz and certain other regions. He was hospitably entertained and furnished lavishly

¹ Ibn al-Furat's horoscope is given in Hilal's work, p. 8. The same author ascribes the prophecy about him to the famous Abu Ma'shar, of whom Tanukhi tells some stories.

² See above, p. 105.

³ He had been taken prisoner by the Qarmatians at Habir.

with supplies ; he was then dismissed without having obtained any of his demands.

The same year a robe of honour was bestowed on NUJH TULUNI, who was then sent back to Ispahan as a minister of public security.

There also arrived an envoy from the Byzantine Emperor, accompanied by 'UMAIR B. 'ABD AL-BAQI¹ he had an audience of the Sultan to whom he brought presents, and from whom he requested a truce and the ransoming of the captives. These were accorded after the summer raid. Both received robes of honour and the envoy returned to the Byzantine country.

The same year a robe of honour was bestowed on JINNI SAFWANI who arrived from Diyar Mudar, having been summoned (140) for the purpose of warring against Abu Tahir the Qarmatian.

SULAIMAN B. HASAN B. MAKHLAD and ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH² had been in banishment in Shiraz, in the custody of ABU 'ABDALLAH JA'FAR B. QASIM KARKHI according to Ibn Muqlah they were in one apartment and well treated and protected. The news of Ibn al-Furat's arrest were brought to the governor, who also had in his custody ABU'L-HUSAIN IBN ABI'L-BAGHL whom he had succeeded in office. Ibn Muqlah records how the news were communicated to them all, and Ibn Abi'l-Baghl, who had got possession of the instruction sent by Ibn al-Furat and Muhassin for his case, when he heard the tidings, wrote on the margin of the document *This day was born Mohammed b. Ahmad b. Yahya being eighty-one years old.*³ When Karkhi received the news he proceeded to release Ibn Muqlah and Sulaiman b. Hasan, congratulating them on their deliverance, before the order to release them reached him. Presently ther

¹ His brother had acted as interpreter on the former occasion.

² This has to be reconciled with the statement on p. 113 ; Karkhi's appointment was in 310, p. 84.

³ The name is his own.

arrived the order from Khaqani to MISMA'I¹ and Karkhi that the two should be released but kept under surveillance so that they should not leave Shiraz. Sulaiman remained a week till he had completed his plans. Meanwhile Misma'i summoned Karkhi to a magnificent feast, and kept up the merriment two consecutive days, in ignorance of the fact that Sulaiman had escaped in the guise of a runner-messenger. When they wrote to Khaqani announcing Sulaiman's flight, the vizier was troubled, and rumours began to circulate that Sulaiman had been appointed vizier. The latter entered Baghdad secretly. Ibn Muqlah remained in Shiraz until his wife had brought influence to bear on Khaqani's dependents and obtained the interest of SHAFI', freedman of Muqtadir. Khaqani then permitted him to be set free to go to Ahwaz, where two hundred dinars were to be allowed him every month, but whence he was not to move. He remained there for a time, after which owing to the intercession of some persons leave was given him to come to Baghdad.

(141) This year Mu'nis the Muzaffar spoke to the vizier Khaqani on the subject of 'Ali b. 'Isa, asking him to write to ABU JA'FAR governor of Yaman bidding him permit 'Ali b. 'Isa to return to Meccah. He wrote as requested, and Abu Ja'far gave the leave, sending him besides perfume, clothing and furniture to the value of 50,000 dinars. 'Ali b. 'Isa returned to Meccah with the Yamanite pilgrims. After his arrival he was by the request of Mu'nis invested by Khaqani with the office of Overseer of Egypt and Syria. When he reached Meccah, and before he had received that appointment, he wrote to Khaqani to congratulate him on his vizierate and condole with him on the death of his father Abu 'Ali; further to request him to protect his wife and children, and see that they remained in possession of his

¹ 'Abdallah b. Ibrahim, minister of public security of Fars above p. 20, but dismissed 26; probably restored later.

estate and his pension. Khaqani returned a courteous reply, stating that he had attended to the interests of his wife, his children and his dependents, but that he claimed no merit nor gratitude for so doing.

Account of the circumstances which resulted in the dismissal of Khaqani from his vizierate.

ABU'L-'ABBAS IBN AL-KHASIBI having discovered the refuge of Muhassin's wife, daughter of HINZABAH, had requested to be employed in enquiring into her affairs and obtaining money from her. Having received the commission he compelled her to pay 700,000 dinars, which he lodged in the Private Treasury ; thereby preparing the road for his promotion to high office by Muqtadir, who began to think of him as a future vizier. When Khaqani heard of this, he suggested to IBN BA'UD SHARR to offer to make Khasibi disgorge 100,000 dinars at once, being money that he had obtained from the estate of Muhassin and his wife over and above what he had paid into the Treasury from that source. Khaqani put this offer before the Caliph, but it was not favourably received ; the story reached Khasibi, who wrote a letter to Muqtadir, exposing the vices of Khaqani, his son, and his clerks, their waste (142) of the revenue, and mismanagement of affairs. This letter he delivered to an agent who communicated it to Muqtadir and the Queen-mother. Khaqani heard of this, and rumour became rife on the subject ; he lost courage and an illness of which he was suffering became so serious that for months he could eat neither lamb nor fowl, but only forty drachms of bread in the day, afterwards reduced to twenty ; tumours appeared on his body, his feet and his face ; for all that, he held up, and continued to sail once or twice a month to the Palace, while his son represented him on ceremonial days. Presently there was a mutiny of the cavalry, who demanded their pay and went out to the Oratory¹ ; they were promised it, but payment

¹ See above, p. 127.

was delayed, so they mutinied again, and were inclined to pillage ; Baghdad was on the verge of a serious civil war. YAQUT appeared, bearing an order of Muqtadir to Khaqani to pay them a complete four months' stipend,¹ which Yaqut himself guaranteed. Muqtadir also sent to Khaqani ordering him to pay up what was due to them. Khaqani replied that he could not do it, and that he was ill. Muqtadir then sent a second message, bidding him get together somehow a hundred thousand dinars, to which the Caliph himself would add twice that amount, to be spent upon them. Khaqani insisted that he could not raise a hundred thousand dirhems and that he had quite enough to do in providing the money for the foot-guards, for the *Hujari* retainers, the court attendants, and the deputy chamberlains. Muqtadir then ordered three hundred thousand dinars to be drawn from the Private Treasury, and trusted Yaqut with the distribution of that sum.

MU'NIS the MUZAFFAR was in Wasit at the time of the mutiny of the cavalry, but being summoned by Muqtadir came to the capital, where he was met by Prince Abu'l-'Abbas, the vizier Khaqani, and the other *Ustadhs* and officers of high rank. He had an audience of Muqtadir, who informed him of the financial straits, and the collapse of Khaqani, and consulted him about dismissing the vizier. Mu'nis suggested delaying this measure until he had interviewed and questioned him himself. Meeting Khaqani he was told by the latter that he could raise no money to spend on state requirements, pleading that his illness left him no superfluous energy for work. When Mu'nis realized Khaqani's collapse, he advised that 'Ali b. 'Isa be summoned and be appointed (143) vizier. Muqtadir regarded this proposal as absurd, and then the Queen-mother and her sister suggested Abu'l-'Abbas Khasibi. Muqtadir proceeded to arrest Khaqani, whereupon his son 'ABD AL-WAHHAB

¹ This is the explanation of the *razqah* of the text given in the *Mafatih*, p. 59.

went into hiding. The like was done by ISHAQ B. 'ALI QUNNA'I, and his brother, IBN BA'UD SHARR, and KHAQAN B. AHMAD B. YAHYA B. KHAQAN. The rest¹ showed themselves. The duration of Khaqani's vizierate was a year and six months.

*Reason for the appointment of Abu'l-'Abbas
Khasibi.*

On Thursday 11 Ramadan 313 (Nov. 30, 925) Muqtadir sent for ABU'L-'ABBAS KHASIBI AHMAD B. 'UBAI-DALLAH, invested him with the vizierate and the presidency of the Bureaux, and bestowed on him a robe of honour; there rode with him Harun b. Gharib, Yaqut, Nazuk, and most of the commanders. Thumal the Stewardess appointed in his place as secretary of the bureau of the Queen-mother's estates ABU YUSUF 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. MOHAMMED; this man had "repented" of the imperial service,² so when he was put in charge of this important office people called him *The Apostate*. He recovered large sums which his predecessor Khasibi had neglected, whence Thumal harboured a secret grievance against the latter.

Throughout his tenure of office Khasibi drank wine all night and slept during the day; when he woke he was fuddled, and had no energy left for work.³ So he committed to MALIK B. WALID the opening and reading of letters which came from the ministers of public security and of *kharaj*, who also had to make notes on them and forward them to the bureaux, and likewise to read the letters which were to be despatched, and mark them. He used in the case of important documents either arriving or leaving to make brief summaries, which he showed to the vizier when he woke, and the vizier sometimes

¹ Of Khaqani's party.

² i.e., abandoned it out of conscientious motives. A story of Tanukhi's illustrates this phrase.

³ The later history of this vizier suggests that this is grossly overstated,

read them and sometimes did not ; in the latter case they would be read by ABU'L-FARAJ ISRA'IL, who would make such notes upon them as he chose. The summaries were written out by ABU SA'ID WAHB B. IBRAHIM B. TAZAD, and at times would remain for days in the vizier's presence ; when they accumulated, the vizier would order them to be read out, and have such comments as he thought proper entered under each paragraph. The summary would then be handed out to Malik b. Walid, with whom it would remain (144) a day or two. It would then be delivered to the chief of the bureau which it concerned, who would read it and enter such comments as he thought fit. Then an answer would be composed in the bureau which would go first to the chief of the bureau, who would read it and mark it. Before the reply could be despatched dykes would have burst, breaches have widened, the Bedouins have carried off the crops, or some other catastrophe have happened which rendered the reply nugatory.

When KALWADHANI saw this, and perceived that loss was increasing and the error becoming irremediable, he wrote to the provincial officials, requesting them to send copies to him of all the letters which they addressed to the vizier. He then wrote on the back of these copies the answer which should be given, and after a week or more the letters supposed to be dictated by the vizier were handed to him.

The vizier Khasibi instructed ABU'L-HASAN IBN THAWABAH to read the appeals, and enter the decisions for him on some other than Appeal day ; when that day came, he was to collect them, summarize them, and the vizier would, after reading the statement, decide in accordance with what he had suggested. For revenue he chiefly relied on the goods of the officials whom he fined, the first of whom was ABU'L-QASIM KHAQANI ; Mu'nis however espoused his cause, informing Muqtadir that the man had no strength to move, and that he had

assessed his own fine with those of his son and his clerks at a quarter of a million dinars. Muqtadir ratified that arrangement, and sent an autograph on the subject to Khasibi; the latter then proceeded to lay his hands on the holders of office and clerks, fining them at haphazard. Thus he fined JA'FAR B. QASIM KARKHI 150,000 dinars, and arrested MALIKI, HISHAM, 'ALI B. HUSAIN B. HINDI, and the heirs of ABU AHMAD KARKHI; further HASAN son of IBN AL-FURAT, YAHYA B. 'AMRAWAIHI, ABU'L-HASAN B. MABANDADH, ISHAQ B. ISMA'IL NUBAKHTI, MOHAMMED B. YA'QUB MISRI, (145) and the heirs of NASR B. FATH, chief of the Treasury; further IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHAB and 'ABDALLAH B. JUBAIR. Rumour became rife that Khasibi was to be dismissed from the vizierate, on the ground that he was an ass, skilful at nothing but inflicting fines, and devoted to drink and play. Everything was going to ruin, and business at a standstill. The names of various successors were mentioned.

This year ABU TAHIR SULAIMAN B. HASAN the Qarmatian fought in the neighbourhood of Kufah a battle with the Sultan's commanders wherein he took them captive.

JA'FAR B. WARQA was in charge of the districts of Kufah and of the Kufah Road. When the Pilgrims departed from Baghdad, he went in front for fear of Abu Tahir the Qarmatian; and he had under his command a thousand men of his cousins, the Banu Shaiban. The first caravan was accompanied by THUMAL, admiral, and "in the caravan of the umbrella" ¹ were JINNI SAFWANI, TARIF SUBKARI, and SIYASHIR the Dailemite. The escort of the caravans provided by the Sultan numbered six thousand men. They were met by Abu Tahir Jannabi, the first commander who came in his way being Ja'far b. Warqa; there ensued a skirmish, after which Ja'far found himself attacked by a party of Abu Tahir's followers who were mounted on swift camels,

¹ The umbrella was, as often, a symbol of royalty.

leading horses ; descending from their camels, they mounted the horses and proceeded to join battle with Ja'far b. Warqa ; the latter did not hold his ground, but turned to flight with his followers of the Banu Shaiban. Meeting the caravan, which had descended from the hill, he bade them go back, explaining what had happened. Accordingly they hurried back and entered Kufah. Abu Tahir pursued the imperial troops and the caravans up to the gate of Kufah ; the commanders of the imperial forces who have been named went out and were defeated by him, Jinni Safwani being taken captive. For six days Abu Tahir remained outside Kufah, (146) entering the town in the day and leaving it at night, to pass the night in his camp ; and removing everything which could be carried off, including four thousand embroidered robes and three hundred skins containing oil. When he had removed everything which could be conveyed away, he went home to his own city.

Ja'far b. Warqa brought his defeated troops back to Baghdad, where Muqtadir proceeded to order Mu'nis to march to Kufah to fight the Qarmatian. The people of Baghdad were seriously alarmed, and most of those who lived on the Western bank migrated to the Eastern. By the time Mu'nis reached Kufah Abu Tahir had evacuated it. So Mu'nis left Yaqut there as his deputy, and himself proceeded to Wasit. No-one could complete his pilgrimage.

YEAR 313.¹

This year news arrived that 'Ali b. 'Isa had gone on pilgrimage to Meccah from Egypt, and his chamberlain Salamah came to Baghdad bringing cheques for 147,000 dinars, with an account of various improvements and reforms that he had effected. He had been confirmed by Khasibi in his inspectorship of Egypt and Syria.

¹ It is evident that many events of this year have already been narrated.

IBRAHIM MISMA'1¹ in this year conquered the district of QUFS², taking five thousand prisoners whom he brought to Fars.

Fresh dates were exceedingly abundant in Baghdad this year ; indeed preserved dates were made of them and these were exported to Basrah, which was regarded as a highly improper proceeding.³

The Byzantine Emperor this year sent a proclamation to the people on the frontiers commanding them to pay him tribute (*kharaġ*). Unless, he wrote, you do this unresistingly, I shall attack you ; for I have ascertained your weakness.

(147) YEAR 314.

This year the Byzantines entered MALATIA,⁴ where they remained sixteen days, laying the place waste and taking the inhabitants into captivity.

In it ABU'L-QASIM 'ABDALLAH B. MOHAMMED KHAQANI died, having been released and sent to his house. When the cry announcing his death was raised, his house was seized in search of his son 'Abd al-Wahhab, who however could not be found.

In it the people of Malatġa entered Baghdad to implore help against the Byzantines' attacks.

In it Meccah was deserted by its inhabitants, who removed their families and goods, hearing that the Qarmatian was in their neighbourhood and fearing for their lives and possessions.

Kalwadhani wrote to Khasibi informing him that ABU TALIB ZAID B. 'ALI of Nubandajan had assumed the attitude of a local potentate, having seized imperial

¹ He had been assigned the revenue-farming of Fars and Kirman.

² A mountainous district in Kirman, of whose inhabitants Yaqut gives a lengthy description in his Geographical Dictionary. According to one of his authorities they bore no resemblance to human beings.

³ Basrah itself being the place where dates ordinarily were cheapest.

⁴ See Lebeau-Saint Martin xiii. 444.

estates, and that three million dirhems were due from him for the revenue which he had obtained from them. In the memoir which he drew up about this he referred to what had been written by ABU'L-QASIM 'ALI B. AHMAD B. BISTAM at the time when he was appointed to Fars. The vizier wrote to HASAN B. ISMA'IL, who had gone to settle a dispute between Misma'i and Karkhi, to fine the delinquent a hundred thousand dinars; Hasan b. Isma'il sent for Zaid b. 'Ali, and took his bond for that sum.¹

Account of an unfortunate scheme of Khasibi, whereby he lost control of most of the retainers, which could not afterwards be recovered.

The vizier Abu'l-'Abbas Khasibi arranged that YUSUF B. DEWADADH² should be put in charge of all the Eastern provinces, the whole of whose revenue should be paid to him, to be devoted with the revenues of the provinces which he farmed, Armenia and Adharbaijan, to paying his officers, troops and retainers. The vizier wrote to Yusuf bidding him come to Wasit, to be sent to Hajar to fight against Abu Tahir Jannabi. He advised that he should be addressed by his *kunyah*, and that Mu'nis the Muzaffar (148) should remain in Baghdad, to strengthen the imperial government by his presence and inspire its enemies with fear. When Ibn Abi'l-Saj approached Wasit, Mu'nis the Muzaffar, who was there, departed to Baghdad, and Wasit was entered by Ibn Abi'l-Saj. Before entering the place the latter despatched ABU 'ALI HASAN B. HARUN—a clerk of his, who used to serve him in private business as deputy to ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. KHALAF NIRMANI, and had won his confidence and affection—to negotiate with Khasibi respecting the sums to be paid to his troops, the revenue of the provinces for which he had obtained a contract, and the provinces whose revenues had been

¹ The consequences of this will appear at the time of the rise of the Buwaihids.

² Better known as Ibn Abi'l-Saj.

assigned to his forces in addition to the moneys already mentioned. Now Khasibi had assigned the revenues coming from the *kharaj* and the Estates in the regions of HAMADHAN, SAWAH, RUZAH, QUMM, MAH AL-BASRAH, MAH AL-KUFAH, the two IGHAR,¹ MASABADHAN and MIHRIJAN-QUDHAF, to Ibn Abi'l-Saj for his table during his campaign against Jannabi. Muqtadir ratified this, and ordered that he should be appointed to the ministries of prayer, public security, *kharaj* and Estates in all the districts of the Jabal. He sent him a standard, and called him by his *kunyah*. Prior to this Yusuf used to employ his *kunyah* in dealing with all persons except the vizier and Mu'nis the Muzaffar. His agent Hasan b. Harun requested that the amount allotted to his table should be five thousand dinars per month ; alleging that he was not inferior to Ahmad b. Su'luk, for whose table there had been assigned during the vizierate of Hamid b. 'Abbas three thousand dinars a month, with ten thousand every two months of the pay-months of the retainers for the maintenance of retainers who did not appear. The clerks demanded that Hasan b. Harun should accept a stipulation that the Sultan should send a paymaster to expend the revenues of those regions upon the troops and retainers of Ibn Abi'l-Saj. Hasan b. Harun accepted all their demands and signed the documents containing them except this of the paymaster ; thinking that his master would not wish to represent himself before the provincial officials in the light of a man who could not be trusted to be honest with his own men.

When Ibn Abi'l-Saj was invested with the government of the Jabal, and sent to fight the Qarmatian, (149) the governor of Khorasan was given charge of Rayy, whither he proceeded, and an official was despatched to speak with him about the revenue which he

¹ The two Ighar were Karaj and Burj, districts assigned to 'Isa and Ma'qil sons of Abu Dulaf (ob. 225). The name applies to lands of which the tax is fixed at the time of assignment, and which are not subject to alterations in the assessment.

had arranged to transmit from Rayy. Meanwhile Ibn Abi'l-Saj came to Wasit,¹ whither Muqtadir sent him imperial robes, a sword and belt of gold, horses with gold and silver trappings, perfume and armour.

Account of the arrest of Khasibi and appointment of 'Ali b. 'Isa to the vizierate.

Khasibi's financial difficulties became serious, and his position untenable. Mu'nis recommended the appointment of 'Ali b. 'Isa. The hour after sunrise on Thursday 11 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Jan. 18, 927) officers were sent to arrest Khasibi, his son, and his clerks, who were conveyed to the Palace and confined under the charge of the Stewardess ZAIDAN. Khasibi and his son were separated, and the rest of the prisoners were transferred to the vizier's palace at Mukharrim. At the time of Khasibi's arrest NAZUK sent to protect his former residence from pillage. Muqtadir summoned ABU'L-QASIM 'UBAI-DALLAH B. MOHAMMED KALWADHANI to an audience at which he informed him that 'Ali b. 'Isa had been appointed vizier, and that he (Kalwadhani) was to undertake the duties of his deputy. SALAMAH TULUNI was also summoned and ordered to proceed by the desert route to Damascus and fetch 'Ali b. 'Isa. Kalwadhani proceeded in the barge wherein Khasibi had been arrested from the Palace to the palace of the vizier in Mukharrim, attended to the business, and wrote letters to the officials in the provinces and to all princes, postmasters, secret service agents and judges, to the effect that 'Ali b. 'Isa had been appointed vizier and he himself deputy. He proceeded to discharge the functions of vizier, issuing orders and prohibitions, and appointing and cashiering officials.

That day ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH and ABU'L-FATH AL-FADL B. JA'FAR IBN HINZABAH issued from concealment and went to salute Kalwadhani.

¹ The text has Rayy, clearly an oversight.

(150) *The vice-vizierate of Kalwadhani for 'Ali b. 'Isa, and his conduct of affairs.*

Khasibi had got together all the bonds of the persons who had incurred fines, the guarantees of those who had given security for them, and the contracts of the revenue-farmers in the Sawad, Ahwaz, Fars, and the West. He had in his possession besides the bond of the secretary of MISMA'I for a million dirhems to be paid at once on account of the increase in the amount due from him as farmer of the revenue of Fars,¹ and that of Sulaiman b. Hasan for 400,000 dinars and a fraction, as rectification of the accounts of the two sons of 'Abd al-Wahhab ; further the bond of the same for 500,000 dinars guaranteed by him from the provinces of Syria ; further those of the revenue-farmers of Wasit, Basrah, the Khorasan Road, the Nahrawanat, Nahr Buq, the Lower Dhi'b, Jazar and "the Ancient City,"² and of others. Kalwadhani secured all these for 'Ali b. 'Isa to whom he delivered them on his arrival.

NUSAIR B. 'ALI paid him 200,000 dirhems and AHMAD B. ISHAQ B. ZURAIQ 10,000 dinars ; and a week after the dismissal of Khasibi there arrived a despatch-rider from Sulaiman b. Hasan with letters containing cheques to the value of 80,000 dinars. There also arrived the revenue sent by land from Egypt by 'Ali b. 'Isa,³ and ten thousand dinars from BURJUMALI in Qumm, and cheques for 400,000 dirhems from ABU 'ALI IBN RUSTAM on account of the revenue which he farmed. This enabled Kalwadhani to keep things going. He paid stipends to all the pay-earners and to the cavalry before the Feast. The awe of 'Ali b. 'Isa which filled men's minds helped Kalwadhani to administer affairs, which he continued to do. 'Ali b. 'Isa proceeded from Damascus to the

¹ Hitherto he has appeared as minister of public security there.

² According to Yaqut the part of Baghdad which had been inhabited before Mansur's foundation.

³ See above, p. 146.

Bridge of Manbij, whence he went down the Euphrates towards Baghdad. People went out to meet him : some of them as far as Raqqah.

(151) YEAR 315.

Account of the administration of 'Ali b. 'Isa in this vizierate and what happened in his days.

Reaching Baghdad he first presented himself at the Palace, which he reached after the latter evening prayer, accompanied by Mu'nis ; he was courteously addressed by Muqtadir, and proceeded to his residence ; the same night Muqtadir sent him splendid raiment, furniture and cash, it is said, to the value of 20,000 dinars. On the morrow he presented him with a robe of honour ; Mu'nis on this occasion accompanied him to his home in spite of the protestations of 'Ali b. 'Isa. After establishing himself in his official residence he went, preceded by HARUN B. GHARIB, SHAFI', MUFLIH, NASIM, YAQUT, NAZUK, and all the commanders, to his house at the Bustan Gate.

Attempts had been made to irritate the new vizier against HISHAM, who kept away in alarm ; the vizier wrote to reassure him, and when in consequence Hisham visited him, the vizier said to him : It is not my practice to remember injuries, and when God delivered me from San'a and I returned to Meccah, I made a vow that I would do no harm to any of those who intrigued to ruin me when I was in office. I leave them all to God. You in old times rendered services which give you a claim upon me and me a still greater claim upon you. You may not observe your duty in the matter, but I shall continue to observe mine.

'Ali b. 'Isa gave Kalwadhani charge of the bureau of the Sawad, telling him that it was the most important of the bureaux ; if, he said, you were to be distracted by the vice-vizierate, it would suffer, and there is no-one

who can manage it as you can.—He proceeded to arrange the offices and appoint officials, and put the bureaux in order. He relied on IBRAHIM B. AYYUB to present him financial reports, and to instruct the Treasurer what to disburse each day, demanding of him weekly budgets, in order that he might know as quickly as possible (152) how much had been spent, how much received and what balance there was. Previously the practice had been that when the accounts for a month had been closed, no report was brought to the bureau until the middle of the next month.

He appointed ABU'L-FATH AL-FADL B. JA'FAR IBN HINZABAH to the bureau of the East, and ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. JINNI to that of the West ; ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH to that of the private and of the New estates ; ABU MOHAMMED HUSAIN B. AHMAD MADARA'I to that of the Confiscated estates of Ibn al-Furat ; ABU MOHAMMED B. RAUH to that of the Control of the *kharaj* and public estates in the Sawad, Ahwaz, Fars, Kirman, and other places belonging to the same bureau ; ABU'L-QASIM IBN AL-NAFFAT to that of the Control of expenditure and of the Treasury ; ABU JA'FAR QUMMI to that of the Palace ; ABU AHMAD 'ABD AL-WAHHAB B. HASAN to that of the Charities and that of Alms : ABU'L-FATH MOHAMMED B. AHMAD KALANSUWAH to that of the Control of the Army ; MOHAMMED B. 'ISA to that of the *HARAM*¹ and ABU YUSUF to that of the signet and the seal.

He further appointed competent men in the provinces and reduced their pay to ten months in the year, and that of the postmasters and paymasters to eight months. He made reductions in the pay of the infantry on guard and the cavalry, and all the clerks and tradesmen who earned pay from these two institutions ; and from all those who did not bear arms. He removed from the pay-list the infants of the paid soldiery, &c. ; he reduced the allowances of the eunuchs and court attendants, courtiers,

¹ Probably the Sultan's domestic expenditure.

table-companions, minstrels, purveyors, and intercessors ; and those of the retainers and dependents of the heads of bureaux. He attended to business personally night and day, and held meetings with the heads of the bureaux at night, sitting up most of the night until things had been brought into order and a balance between revenue and expenditure been established. At the time ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI farmed the private estates and the fief of the viziers, while his brother ABU YUSUF BARIDI managed for the vizier the *kharaj* (153) in Ramhurmuz, both plain and mountain.

Report of the discussion between the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa and his predecessor Ahmad b. 'Ubaidallah Khasibi.

Muqtadir ordered 'Ali b. 'Isa to examine Abu'l-'Abbas Khasibi, who was brought out of his prison and examined in the Palace in the presence of the *Ustadhs*, the commanders, and the judges, but gently. He was asked how much he had realized from the *kharaj*, the Estates and the provinces ; he did not know. He was asked how much he had disbursed from the Treasury in the capital ; he could not remember. He was asked how much he had realized from the assets of persons who had been fined, from their bonds for fines, from money guaranteed on their behalf, and what he had himself guaranteed to obtain from such persons.—He replied that during the fourteen months wherein he had held office he had realized in fines about a million dinars.—He was asked how much of this had been got from the Khaqani set ; for (said the vizier) the Commander of the Faithful has told me that you undertook to obtain half a million dinars from them.—He replied that Khaqani had been protected by Mu'nis the Muzaffar.—This was denied by the company, who said to him : He was put in your power, until you were charged with poisoning him, when you released him.—Then 'Ali b. 'Isa asked him : Why did you summon Yusuf Ibn Abi'l-Saj to

Wasit, and put into his power all the Eastern provinces except Ispahan? And how could you suppose that he could march with people accustomed to the mountains and to the life there by the main land in the direction of the coast among the regions round Hajar?—He replied that he had supposed that measure to be right.—Then the vizier asked: When you took that step, why did not you content yourself with making him muster his troops and his retainers, letting them be paid on the same principle as the army of Mu'nis, to which certain revenues are assigned, paid through paymasters appointed by the Sultan, who have to render their accounts to the bureaux of the Army, and not to one bureau only but to all; so that there is no increase of pay (154) and no transference from rate to rate except by recognized promotion, and the paymasters save every month a considerable sum through fines and falling out? Why did you not leave the provinces in the hands of the Sultan's agents, assigning to them the duty of providing the pay of his troops as is done in the case of the troops of Abu'l-Hasan Mu'nis the Muzaffar?—He said: I did not follow that course because Yusuf had undertaken a tremendous task which necessitated extra liberality in his treatment.—The vizier asked: Why did you grant IBRAHIM B. 'ABDALLAH MISMA'I the revenue-farming of Fars and Kirman?—He replied: Because of the increase which he offered.—The vizier rejoined: Do you not know that it is more important to protect the principal than to seek extra profit? Grant that you were anxious to obtain this increase, why did you not summon him to the capital, and if after his arrival you wished to grant him the contract, why not make him remain there and put deputies in charge of his business, and only let him go after he had given good security for the payment?—He replied: His desire to obtain the contract was conditional on his working it himself.—The vizier replied: I hope that God will let no harm result.—Then he went on: Why did

you pocket two thousand dinars a month as the stipend of your son, who never read a letter nor attended at the office nor is good for any business whatever?—He replied : I asked the Commander of the Faithful if he might have the same salary as was given to Muhassin and 'Abd al-Wahhab son of Khaqani, and he assented.—The vizier replied : Muhassin was bred in the public offices and did administer ; wicked, unscrupulous and impious as he was, he was a clerk. Khaqani's son did act as his father's deputy, issuing orders and prohibitions, and doing intelligent service ; whereas your son behaved unlike either of these. Give your bond that you will refund what he received.—He retorted : How am I to refund money which he has received and spent?—The vizier asked : On what did he spend it?—He replied : On what young men ordinarily spend such sums.

Then the vizier questioned him about the goods of the fined officials, and the amount that had been realized from this source. He said : I do not remember the figure, but it is entered in the bureau of the fined officials.—The vizier : It is about that I am asking you.—Khasibi : It is in the possession of HISHAM, (155) and if he be asked he will give you the information. He is in possession of the papers of the fined officials, the guarantees, and the estimates.—The vizier : You are the first person who has handed the bonds of the fined officials to the chief of the bureau of fines ; it has been the practice to retain the bonds in the archives of the viziers, one vizier handing them on to the next. If your idea was to increase the importance of the bureau, you should have taken the bonds in duplicate, one copy for the bureau, and the other to remain in your possession. Suppose the head of the bureau were to sell the bonds of the fined officials, the securities and the guarantees of the revenue-farmers, could there have been a greater disaster to the Sultan in connexion with all this property than yourself ? If this be your management of the only

subject which you understand, what can have been your method with regard to the other business of the bureaux? Either you have been betraying your trust, or you have been mismanaging *every* branch of the business.—‘Ali b. ‘Isa addressed him the whole time without using any offensive expression or raising his voice.

Then he said to him : You have brought dishonour on the empire, by scourging women, and have violated decorum by putting them in the power of men ; for what purpose did you deliver the daughter¹ of JA‘FAR B. AL-FURAT to AFLAH, a handsome young man, who contrived to marry her when in your custody? For what purpose did you have DAULAH and her son beaten in your presence, and not content with this keep the whole party in the custody of your retainers and chamberlains a number of months?—He went on to say : You have taken as your stipend five thousand dinars a month in fourteen months that amounts to seventy thousand dinars, in addition to the stipend which your son has been receiving. From your fief you have obtained in a year and two months as appears from the stamps of your collector found in your office 180,000 dinars. This makes a total of 250,000 dinars.—Thereupon he produced a document in the writing of ‘ALI B. MOHAMMED B. RAUH² showing this sum, and showing that he had disbursed each month in permanent expenses 2,500 dinars ; total for fourteen months 35,000 dinars. For (156) occasional expenses, presents, maintenance of establishment, with cost of perfume and wearing apparel 20,000 dinars. Cost of ground added to his dwelling and of building thereon 40,000 dinars. Presents for the Persian New Year’s Day and the Autumn to the Caliph, the two Princes (his sons) Abu’l-‘Abbas and Harun, the Queen-mother, her sister, Zaidan and Muflih, 35,000 dinars. Cost of mules, horses, camels, eunuchs and

¹ Mu‘assin’s wife.

² His father was controller of the Bureau of the Sawad, &c.

slaves, 10,000 dinars. Money spent on officers of the vizier's palace, such as deputy-chamberlains, door-keepers, messengers, and presents to mounted men and infantry, 20,000 dinars.

In reply Khasibi said : This is a correct account, only I have not made notes of all my expenses ; thus I have had ornaments made for my women and children, and spent other sums which I have concealed from my secretary ; but for all that I have neither stolen nor embezzled.—The vizier : No-one asserts that you did either, only you have been wasteful and a bad manager, and have meddled with what you did not understand. Had you taken many times the amount with which we have debited you, the Commander of the Faithful would have asked you no questions about it, especially as these sums are charged against your salary and your fief, and the provision made for expenses which you necessarily incurred. How shall *we* challenge them, when we like all the clerks of the Commander of the Faithful have to live by his bounty ? I myself possess estates which I earned in his service and that of his ancestors, on whom God have mercy.

'Ali b. 'Isa continued in this courteous style and ultimately obtained his bond for 40,000 dinars to be paid within forty days, after he had sworn that he had no means of raising more. 'Ali b. 'Isa handed the paper to Muflih, bidding him present it to the Commander of the Faithful, and say to him : Though this man over-estimated his own abilities, and was wasteful and negligent, still respect is due to him as a servant of the Commander of the Faithful, and he has sworn by his oath of allegiance that this sum is the utmost which he can raise. He is not to be blamed ; the fault lies with those who deceived you about him, and gave you bad advice in respect to his appointment.—He further wrote a letter to Muqtadir stating that he had accepted (157)

Khasibi's offer and had put him in the custody of the Stewardess Thumal until he should have paid the amount on which they had ultimately agreed.

Account of 'Ali b. 'Isa's policy in this vizierate.

When 'Ali b. 'Isa examined the state of affairs, he found the most serious matter to be financing the *Masaffi* infantry, whose pay in his time amounted to eighty thousand dinars, and that of the troops of Mu'nis the Muzaffar, which came to six hundred thousand dinars a year, exclusive of the infantry in attendance on him and the *Hujaris* who were under his orders ; for that had to be furnished together with the pay of similar troops ; the payment of Mu'nis's troops was assigned to certain provinces selected by Mu'nis himself. After making provision for the purposes mentioned, he proceeded to deal with the pay of the deputy-chamberlains, court-attendants, physicians, mounted men of disbanded regiments, astrologers, bedmakers, cooks, grooms, and other paid attendants. One day when he left the presence of Muqtadir to embark in his barge, the eunuchs and court-attendants used violent language towards him.

News having reached 'Ali b. 'Isa that IBRAHIM B. AL-MISMA'I¹ had been taken violently ill, and had died in Nubandajan, he recommended the appointment of YAQUT to the ministry of war and public security in Fars, and that of ABU TAHIR MOHAMMED B. 'ABD AL-SAMAD to the ministry of public security in Kirman ; robes of honour were bestowed on both and standards conferred on them. The vizier further wrote to QASIM B. DINAR, bidding him proceed with all haste to Fars as minister of *kharaj* and Estates there. The similar offices which he had held in Ahwaz were assigned to ABU'L-HASAN AHMAD B. MOHAMMED B. MABANDADH and IBN ABI'L-SALASIL.

¹ See index s.v. Misma'i.

(158) ABU'L-FARAJ IBN ABI HISHAM narrates : When ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI learned of the investiture of these persons with the financial administration of Ahwaz and its neighbourhood, he said : These provinces are assigned to these people, while my brother ABU YUSUF has to content himself with Surraq, and I myself with farming the revenue of the Private Estates ! Take, ABU HISHAM, this document (meaning the letter which had arrived assigning him this office), and give it to your son to model his writing upon. My drum is going to make a noise which you shall presently hear.—Abu 'Abdallah Baridi had sent his brother ABU'L-HUSAIN to the capital, when he heard that 'Ali b. 'Isa was getting into difficulties, with instructions to endeavour to secure for him the financial administration of Ahwaz should the new vizier be a man who accepted secret profits ; for 'Ali b. 'Isa was too honest to do so.

When ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH became vizier, Abu'l-Husain Baridi went to ABU AYYUB the broker, offering twenty thousand dinars ; in consequence his brother Abu 'Abdallah was given charge of the districts of Ahwaz with exception of Sus and Junddisabur. Abu'l-Husain himself was given charge of the Ibn al-Furat estates, and the other brother Abu Yusuf of the Private Estates and the low grounds ; it was stipulated that the money offered should remain in the broker's possession until the promises were carried out. When they were carried out Ibn Muqlah received the money. He then gave an order that IBN ABI'L-SALASIL should be arrested, and ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI went personally to Tustar and seized him with his dependents. In his coffers and in the hands of his collector ten thousand dinars were found. These were taken by Baridi, who instructed Ibn Abi'l-Salasil to give a cheque for the sums held by the collector in payment of fictitious expenditure. From his clerk Baridi took two thousand dinars, from his deputy three thousand, and from his

door-keeper two thousand.—ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI was one of the champion scoundrels of mankind. Strong representations were presently made to Ibn Muqlah that he had appointed Baridi to a post of which he was not worthy, so that the vizier dismissed him, making ABU MOHAMMED HUSAIN B. AHMAD MADARA'I controller, and various persons managers of the preliminary business. Abu Mohammed did nothing at all, (159) being accompanied from the metropolis by his secretary and deputy 'ALI B. YUSUF, who made a display of stupidity and incompetence which rendered him a bye-word.

To begin with Abu 'Abdallah Baridi blocked the roads, and intercepted all his correspondence, so that from the time he entered Ahwaz until the time he was cashiered not a letter of his was read. Presently therefore he was dismissed by Ibn Muqlah, who gave Abu 'Abdallah Baridi his place, saying that he had been deceived by the physique of the *sheikh*, and that not every one who made a good clerk was also a successful administrator.

We return to the story of 'Ali b. 'Isa and his imperial policy. When the budget of receipts was brought to him, he found a surplus on the viziers' fief, after payment of permanent expenses, amounting to 170,000 dinars. He wrote to Muqtadir to state that he could dispense with this fief, having saved money, while his own estate was prosperous, as also his trust,¹ owing to his being again employed by the Caliph ; he also could spare the salary allotted to the vizier, which with the amount given to Khasibi's son came to seven thousand dinars a month.—Muqtadir wrote to thank him, but told him that he must on no account decline the customary stipend. 'Ali b. 'Isa however vowed that he would accept no stipend for his service, as his practice was to avoid luxury.

¹ Land nominally devoted to religious purposes : see above, p. 112.

This year there was a rising of the disbanded cavalry, who went out to the Oratory, plundered the castle called Thurayya, and slaughtered the game in the *Ha'ir*, and the cattle belonging to the villagers round about ; Mu'nis went out to them, and promised the payment of their allowances, whereupon they returned to their homes.

In this year too a robe of honour was bestowed on Mu'nis in connexion with his being despatched to the frontier, the Byzantine Emperor having entered Sumaisat, where the *naqus*¹ was beaten in the public mosque, and the Byzantines held a religious service of their own.

In the same year the loyalty of Mu'nis the Muzaffar showed signs of failing.

Account of the reason for this.

(160) One of the eunuchs of Muqtadir informed Mu'nis that the Caliph had ordered certain of his confidential servants to dig a pit in the apartment of the Palace known as the Tree-house, with the following design. When Mu'nis came thither to bid the Caliph farewell, before his departure for the frontier, other people were to be excluded, and Mu'nis received by himself in that court. Then on his way he should fall into that covered pit, upon which the eunuchs should go down and strangle him ; it should be publicly stated that he had died of a fall into a cellar. So Mu'nis kept away from the Palace, and was visited by all the commanders, retainers and courtiers, with 'ABDALLAH B. HAMDAN and his brothers, and most of the Arabs ; and the Palace was cleared of troops. 'Abdallah b. Hamdan said to Mu'nis : We shall fight before thee, O *Ustadh* until thy beard grow.²—Muqtadir sent NASIM the cup-bearer to him with an autograph wherein the Caliph

¹ The wooden hammer still used in some Christian communities in lieu of a bell.

² Mu'nis was a eunuch.

swore that the story which had been told him was false. Mu'nis then dismissed the soldiers who were gathered in his house and replied to the autograph in suitable style, adding that, as he had not summoned any one, it was not his fault that the soldiers had gathered in his house.—Ibn Hamdan declined to leave, and vowed that he would not quit Mu'nis's dwelling night or day until they had paid a joint visit to the Palace and he was satisfied that Mu'nis was safe. So he remained with Mu'nis many days. There was added to this the fact that the payment of Mu'nis and his troops had been charged on ISHAQ B. ISMA'IL, and this person was unable to meet it. 'Ali b. 'Isa was estranged from him owing to certain things recorded as done by him during 'Ali's absence; as the cavalry mutinied owing to the delay in the receipt of their pay, 'Ali b. 'Isa pressed Ishaq b. Isma'il for it, and put him into custody, making him give a bond for 50,000 dinars out of the revenue which he farmed; he also put in custody AHMAD B. YAHYA AL-JALAKHT his clerk, and a number of his associates, until he had made up the sum. He then dismissed him from his offices. He also pressed the finance officials in the Sawad so that he realized within the three days the amount spent on the comrades of Mu'nis. Muqtadir wrote to the chief commanders to the effect that he granted a pardon for (161) their pillaging and burning Thurayya. The letter was read out to them and they expressed their gratitude; they also requested that certain of their number who had been suspected of these acts might be attached to Mu'nis the Muzaffar and accompany him to the imperial presence. So he went down with them and was received by Muqtadir, before whom he kissed the ground, while Muqtadir swore to the excellence of his intentions towards Mu'nis, who bade him farewell.

'Ali b. 'Isa then read to the Caliph a letter which he had received from WASIF BEKTIMURI to the effect that the Moslems had counterattacked the Byzantines and

defeated them, and all the troops who were with them, and had slain many and made large captures. Mu'nis proceeded from his residence to his camp at the Shamsiyyah Gate, escorted by the prince Abu'l-'Abbas, the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa, the Chamberlain Nasr, and Harun b. Gharib.

Then there arrived an envoy from the Byzantine emperor bearing a letter from the emperor's vizier (the *logothete*), to the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa, requesting a truce.

First appearance of the Dailemites.

This year saw the first appearance of the DAILEMITES ; the first of them who obtained possession of Rayy after the departure of IBN ABI'L-SAJ¹ being LAILA B. NU'MAN ; then MAKAN B. KAKI, who entered the service of the governor of Khorasan,² who had sent him a written invitation, which he accepted. Rayy was then seized by ASFAR B. SHIRAWAIHI,³ one of whose captains was MARDAWIJ B. ZIYAR. Now when Asfar b. Shirawaihi got possession of Qazwin, he imposed on the inhabitants a vast contribution of money, and treated them with violence and cruelty ; he gave his Lailemites control over their lives and goods, deprived them of all rights, and tortured their officials to an extent which astonished him, not to speak of other people. The inhabitants lost heart and nerve, and " their souls mounted their wind-pipes." ⁴ They despaired of life and longed for (162) death. Men, women and children made a joint procession to the Oratory to implore the help of God and his aid in relief of their distress, passing a whole day in this manner.

¹ The reference is to the first departure of Ibn Abi'l-Saj, since the defeat and death of Laila is recorded above in the year 309. In 314 Rayy was handed over to the governor of Khorasan. Tanukhi records the warning against the Dailemites sent in the latter year by Ibn Abi'l-Saj.

² Mas'udi says Makan was in the service of Hasan b. Qasim.

³ According to Mas'udi sent by Nasr the Samanid to recover Rayy from Hasan b. Qasim.

⁴ Surah xxxiii. 10.

The news of this were brought to ASFAR, who made light of their prayers ; but the following day MARDAWIJ rebelled, attacked and put him to flight ; he fled precipitately and for a whole day though pursued was not caught. The day after, being hungry, he took refuge at a mill in a village, and asked the miller for food ; the miller produced bread and milk ; while Asfar was eating, Mardawij came in sight of the place, and finding that the marks of the horse's hoof went no further, he paused to look about. Seeing a labourer, he caught hold of him and asked him about Asfar ; the man declared he did not know him, but when intimidated, said that though he was not acquainted with Asfar, he had seen a mounted man entering the mill. Mardawij broke into the place, and finding Asfar eating bread, decapitated him. He then returned to Qazwin, quieted the people, remedied their grievances, put a stop to the extortion, and after making fair promises departed. So their prayer was answered. ¹

Mardawij proceeded next to conquer Rayy and Isfahan ; he ill-treated the people in the latter, seizing goods and violating women, and playing the tyrant. He seated himself on a throne of gold, below which was one of silver, whereon the person whom he chose to favour took his seat. In days when he received official visits he arranged his army in lines at a distance from him. Mardawij laid heavy burdens on his men, who were in great awe of him. He used to say that he was Solomon the son of David, and his men the demons. He humiliated the Turks, who became disaffected towards him, and sought an opportunity of doing him a mischief. Hatred of him took possession of the hearts of both

¹ The account of this matter given here differs somewhat from that which is given in the year 321, where it is stated that Makan and Mardawij agreed to attack Asfar. The account given in Ibn Isfandiyar's chronicle is again different. He makes Makan kill "Mohammed b. Su'luk," governor of Rayy. Above this was done by Ibn Abi'l-Saj. Mas'udi connects the incident of the mill with Hasan b. Qasim.

high and low, who were tired of him. The people of his realm were downhearted in his days.

One day (my authority says) he was riding in a great cavalcade, and had gone into the desert. He used on such occasions to go between the files at a distance from them, and no-one would venture to approach him. The crowd was wondering at his fierceness and his pride, when the ranks (163) were penetrated by an unknown *sheikh* on horseback who cried out : *This miscreant has gone too far, and before this day comes to an end you shall wrap him in his grave-clothes, and God shall take him.* The people were amazed and bewildered. I (says ABU MAKHLAD 'ABDALLAH B. YAHYA) was in the cavalcade ; the people gazed at each other, and no-one uttered a syllable. The *sheikh* passed like the wind. The people then said : Why do we not follow him and make him repeat what he said, and ask him whence he knows this ; or capture him and bring him before Mardawij, who, if he hears the story, may blame us for letting him go ?— They galloped after him right and left down every road and path, but he was not found ; it was as if the earth had swallowed him.

Mardawij then returned, attended to nobody, entered his house, and undressed ; he then entered his bath and lingered long. One KURTAKIN was his privileged attendant who guarded and looked after him in his privacy and at his bath ; but on this occasion he was told not to follow and so lagged behind in a bad humour. The Turks getting the opportunity attacked Mardawij in his bath and murdered him after he had defended himself with a silver basin which he held in his hand. One of the Turks slit open his belly, and when the entrails fell out, supposed that he had killed him. When he came out to his associates, they asked where his head was. He informed them that he had slit open the belly, but that did not satisfy them, so they went back to cut

off the head. They found him standing on two chairs in the bath, having put back the entrails and holding his belly with his hand ; he had also with the assistance of the man who looked after the bath broken the skylight and was about to climb out on the roof. When they saw him in this condition they beheaded him. The affair became known between noon and the afternoon prayer, as the Turks who had been with him went out and told their comrades and rode to the stables to plunder them. ¹

This year too ABU JA'FAR IBN SHIRZAD became famous, and was favoured by 'Ali b. 'Isa. Account of this matter.

The reason for this was that Ibn Shirzad used to act as secretary to HARUN B. GHARIB, (164) and look after all his affairs. Harun's cupidity was aroused with regard to his possessions, and he was charged with serious offences. Harun arrested him on Wednesday 8 Jumada i, 315 (July 11, 927), and handed him over to his eunuch MU'NIS, with orders to confine him strictly and let him have no ink. As no letter arrived from him to his brother ABU'L-HASAN ZAKARIYYA, who was in the employ of the Queen-mother's sister as head of the office of her estates, he informed his mistress of his brother's case, and she complained to the Queen-mother ; the latter sent one of her eunuchs to Harun, and rescued Ibn Shirzad from him, bringing him to the Palace. The Queen-mother ordered his release ; but Harun b. Gharib put the case before 'Ali b. 'Isa, stating that he had borrowed large sums from him for Khaqani, for which he had got allocations, which he had appropriated. My secretary MU'AMMAL (he said) has drawn up an account showing that he owes a vast sum. I shall be satisfied if some one in whom the vizier has confidence

¹ A much more elaborate account of this affair is given later on. Some of the details appear to be quite inconsistent.

examines that statement.—'Ali b. 'Isa ordered ABU YUSUF, secretary to the Queen-mother, to go to Harun's house, where Mu'ammal and his clerks were present, and they examined the statement.

The first charge in this statement was that in one of the sets of papers in his office there was found a report of his receipts on allocations¹ assigned to Ibn Shirzad by Khaqani for the loans which he had received from the property of Harun b. Gharib, wherein he stated that he had received fifteen thousand dinars; but that he (Mu'ammal) had not found this sum among the receipts of the collector which were entered in the bureau. Ibn Shirzad's clerk in this bureau was IBN ABI MAIMUN, who made the following statement: The sum, he said, was entered in the receipt-book of the collector, and my chief has an autograph of the prince, acknowledging the receipt of it, and he brought the money into the presence of the prince, who expended it on the purchase of the house of Muḥassin, which was bought of the Caliph's agent during the vizierate of Abu'l-Qasim Khaqani. The identical receipt-book was produced and the receipt found there. Only the writer of the receipt-book had entered the sum as though it were an item in the preceding account, whereas it should have been written distinct and separate from the preceding item. Abu Yusuf (165) and Mohammed b. Jinni found that the matter was as the clerk of Ibn Shirzad had stated; and Ibn Shirzad produced the autograph of Harun b. Gharib acknowledging the receipt of the sum from the aforesaid source, and stating that it had been paid to the Treasury as the price of the house; and the receipt of the Treasurer was also produced.

Under the second head it was noticed that one fourth of the sum paid to the cavalry in Harun's army was paid

¹ The word here used is ordinarily applied to revenue allocated to special payments. The charge then was that certain funds having been assigned for the payment of what Harun had lent, his secretary had appropriated them.

in dirhems, at the rate of sixteen dirhems for a dinar ; and that he had not put down the change as paid to the men. More than twenty thousand dinars were due from him on this account for the period of time wherein he had been Harun's secretary. They produced the receipt-books and found that the collector had reckoned what went to the men's pay in silver only without putting down anything for the change. Ibn Shirzad's clerk defended him on the ground that the change was put down in a part of the book which dealt with the sources of the moneys and in the last paragraph of that chapter, containing what had been saved from this and other sources on the payments made by Harun b. Gharib. And this part of the book was produced.

When these two charges had been refuted, and they constituted the most important parts of the statement, Abu Yusuf and Mohammed b. Jinni rose, and Ibn Shirzad with them ; Harun however turned to him and said : This foolish and incompetent clerk of mine has made a fool of me, plague on him ! I have injured myself by dismissing you ; however, if you enter the employ of any one else, I shall do all sorts of things ;—threatening him. Ibn Shirzad went and recounted this to 'Ali b. 'Isa, and this led to the vizier interesting himself in Ibn Shirzad, whose trial became the talk of the society of clerks.

In this year there came a rumour as also a despatch from FARIQI from Basrah to the effect that a numerous Qarmatian army, making in the direction of Kufah, had passed by the gate of Basrah nearest the desert. Muqtadir in consequence wrote to Mu'nis the Muzaffar, bidding him return to Baghdad,¹ and he returned from Takrit, reaching Baghdad after the afternoon prayer, having sent a detachment of his army to the frontier.

¹ We last heard of him as encamping at the Shammasiyyah Gate, being about to start for the frontier,

(166) Yaqut went out to his camp at Za'faraniyyah¹ on his way to his appointment in Fars.

In this year Yusuf Ibn Abi'l-Saj arrested his secretary ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. KHALAF NIRMANI and gave his place to ABU 'ALI HASAN B. HARUN. He put the other into heavy fetters and took from him on the day of his arrest money, furniture, clothing, and slaves to the value of 100,000 dinars. He also took his bond for half a million dinars, being the fine which he assessed himself.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason for this was the luxury, extravagance and pomp which he had practised in Wasit ; so lavish was he with his expenditure that in his house at Wasit he had thirty slaves to dispense drink in the public apartment and twenty in the private. When he was about to leave his house to go to that of his chief Yusuf, an early call would be paid him by all his chief's commanders, the captains of his retainers and the chief officials, as was done by the people of Baghdad to the viziers on days of state ceremonies. Before this on the journey of Ibn Abi'l-Saj from Rayy to Wasit he had assumed the *qaba'*,² the belt and the sword, only he did not ride to his chief's in the black robe, in order to distinguish himself from the Sultan's vizier. All this Ibn Abi'l-Saj endured. During his stay in Wasit however he aspired to the vizierate of the Sultan, and learning that Nasr the Chamberlain was ill-disposed towards Ibn Abi'l-Saj, he wrote to him and sent a confidential agent to request Nasr to nominate him to Muqtadir for the vizierate in lieu of 'Ali b. 'Isa, guaranteeing to extract from 'Ali b. 'Isa, his brother, SULAIMAN B. HASAN, ABU ZUNBUR MADARA'I, KALWADHANI, and their dependents a million dinars. He would

¹ Village near Baghdad under Kalwadha (Yaqut).

² See Dozy's Dictionary of names of garments. It seems to have been a sort of silken tunic or shirt.

also defray the expenses of the Sultan and the pay of the officials.

He also brought accusations against his chief, asserting that the latter had previously concealed from him his religious beliefs, but when he had come (167) to Wasit had become more communicative; and had revealed to him that according to his system he owed Muqtadir no allegiance, and the world in general owed the 'Abbasids none; the "Expected Sovereign" being the 'Alid who was in Qairawan, of whom Abu Tahir (the Qarmatian) was an adherent. He (NIRMANI) had ascertained that his chief was a Qarmatian at heart, and that this was the reason why he had made the 'Alid¹ prince his friend and acquainted him with all his secrets. That Yusuf had no intention of moving in the direction of Hajar, his promise of doing so being only a device for securing money. He asserted that he had asked Yusuf in Rabi' ii² what justification they could allege for disobeying the Caliph and the vizier, and when he intended starting for Hajar? The reply had been: Why do not you understand facts? Who intends starting for Hajar?—He had then asked Yusuf why he had deceived the Sultan with regard to his intentions, and by promising that he would do this secured the delivery into his hands of all the Eastern provinces?—Yusuf had replied that he regarded it as his duty towards God Almighty to overthrow the Caliph and all the 'Abbasids who had robbed the rightful claimants, and that it would be more righteous to obey the Byzantine tyrant than to obey the Caliph.—He had then objected: Suppose you do this, what assurance have you that the Qarmatian will not come to Wasit and Kufah, when you will be compelled to meet him and give him battle?—Yusuf's reply had been: Fool, how can I fight a man who is an adherent of the Sovereign and one of his instruments?—His rejoinder

¹ i.e., the 'Ubaidid. ² Began June 5, 927.

had been : But suppose he wishes to fight you, what will you do then ?—Yusuf replied : There is no ground for such a supposition, for he has received a letter from the Sovereign at Qairawan forbidding him to tread the soil whereon I am to be found or to fight with me under any circumstances.—Yusuf had finished by saying : I am only waiting till all my men have received their pay for the year 314, and when they are thus fortified, I will first withhold the revenue from Wasit, Kufah and the Irrigation of the Euphrates, sending my own agents thither ; the Sultan will certainly object to my action, and thereupon I will reveal my intentions, pray publicly for the Sovereign, and invite people to his allegiance, and then march to Baghdad, where the soldiers are like women, (168) accustomed to houses overlooking the Tigris, with their drinks and their ice and their pankas, and their singing-women. I shall take possession of their goods and chattels, and not let the man of Hajar get all the glory, but myself be the man to restore the empire to the Sovereign. Abu Muslim the cobbler¹ was a man of no family, yet he achieved what we know, though when he rose he had not half the numbers that are with me. He merely made his proclamation, and a hundred thousand swordsmen gathered to him.—Mohammed b. Khalaf added : I have told his Majesty the truth about this affair, and if he appoint me vizier, Ibn Abi'l-Saj will be suppressed and his scheme frustrated. I will tamper with his troops and retainers, who will either make him prisoner, or else he will fly off to Adhar-baijan. If I am made vizier, I will renew the command to him to start for Hajar, and if he show his hand, I will counterplot him.

Nasr communicated all this to Muqtadir, assuring the Caliph that Mohammed b. Khalaf had sworn that his only motives for the step which he had taken were in

¹ Tabari ii. 1727 records an opinion that he was a saddler.

the first place religious zeal, in the second shame at the thought of this Qarmatian being able to carry out his plot against the Caliph, the court and the people.—Now Hasan b. Harun served as deputy to Mohammed b. Khalaf, before whom he regularly stood, and on whom he waited as the latter waited on Ibn Abi'l-Saj. When he saw the intimacy of Mohammed b. Khalaf with Ibn Abi'l-Saj, he became ill-disposed towards Mohammed b. Khalaf, and determined to get him arrested and ruined. He communicated his intentions to ABU BAKR IBN AL-MUNTAB, whom he had attached to himself and over whom he had acquired influence. It so happened that Ibn al-Muntab was drinking at Wasit with some of his friends, among whom was 'ABDALLAH B. 'ALI JARJARA'I, revenue-farmer of Silh and Mabarik. This person asked him to express his gratitude to Hasan b. Harun for favours conferred. Then he went on to say: And please put a letter of mine before our master Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed b. Khalaf, wherein I ask him to let Hasan b. Harun know my gratitude, and to bid him increase the cause of it.—(169) Ibn al-Muntab said to him: For God's sake do not do that, for Mohammed b. Khalaf is highly displeased with Hasan b. Harun, and is very likely to have him arrested and ruined.—Jarjara'i remembered this and used it as a means of currying favour with Hasan b. Harun. Presently a dispute arose between Mohammed b. Khalaf and Jarjara'i on the subject of some moneys demanded of the latter and allocated to persons in whom Mohammed b. Khalaf was interested. Mohammed b. Khalaf began to use violent and menacing language and ordered Jarjara'i to be turned out of the room in a most humiliating fashion. Jarjara'i and Hasan b. Harun then conspired against Mohammed b. Khalaf, and employed secret service men till they learned about his intrigues for obtaining the vizierate from Muqtadir, and his accusation of his chief. Jarjara'i proceeded to inform Ibn Abi'l-Saj of this, winning

his favour thereby ; and Ibn Abi'l-Saj set detectives to spy on Mohammed b. Khalaf till he ascertained that he had repeatedly sent a confidential eunuch to Baghdad, ostensibly for the purchase of clothes, furniture, horses and slaves, but really to negotiate with Nasr in his plot against Ibn Abi'l-Saj. Ibn Abi'l-Saj ordered Jarjara'i to guard the roads through which the eunuch would travel, and Hasan b. Harun to note the time at which the eunuch was despatched. When he started from Wasit, Hasan b. Harun informed Ibn Abi'l-Saj, who sent trusty agents to waylay the eunuch, arrest him on his return from Baghdad, and hand him over to Jarjara'i's agent at Jarjaraya, Jarjara'i having been ordered to send some one to await him there. The letters found on the eunuch were sent to Ibn Abi'l-Saj, and they turned out to be in the writing of Nasr's secretary, and replies to communications from Mohammed b. Khalaf, evidently referring to hints, suggestions and innuendoes, containing designs against the life and position of Ibn Abi'l-Saj and proposals for the appropriation of his goods and chattels, with a warning not to put off the arrest of 'Ali b. 'Isa.—Ibn Abi'l-Saj immediately despatched Hasan b. Harun to the capital (170) with the usual letters and despatches to 'Ali b. 'Isa, together with the actual documents that had been seized ; bidding him add orally : This man has been plotting against my life and yours and the lives of your friends ; I wish to arrest him. His chief offence in my eyes is his plot against you.—When 'Ali b. 'Isa had read all the correspondence, he was amazed, and said to Hasan b. Harun : Tell my brother Abu'l-Qasim¹ : If you wish to do this in order to rid yourself of this unscrupulous traitor, may you have God's help and favour ; but if you want to do it on my account, I assure you I feel gratitude to no-one so much as I do to anyone who plots to get me dismissed from the

¹ i.e., Ibn Abi'l-Saj.

vizierate. For prison or banishment would be light compared with what I have to endure as vizier.

Jarjara'i proceeded to forge letters in the name of the eunuch, ostensibly coming from Baghdad, to Mohammed b. Khalaf, to the effect that most of what Mohammed b. Khalaf required was settled and that the eunuch would speedily return to Wasit. This quieted the apprehensions of Mohammed b. Khalaf, who presently received a visit from Jarjara'i, who endeavoured to conciliate him, and offered a present of 100,000 dirhems of his own money if he would banish all ill-feeling against him from his mind. Mohammed b. Khalaf supposed this to be sincerely meant, and invited Jarjara'i to eat and drink with him.

Hasan b. Harun immediately returned from Baghdad, and proceeded at once to the house of Mohammed b. Khalaf, before whom he stood ; Mohammed b. Khalaf said to him using a violent epithet : I have heard how you have been defaming me before 'Ali b. 'Isa, telling him that I am seeking to be made vizier in his place, and how you have besides been setting the circle of the prince¹ and his retainers against me. You hound, I shall have you beaten five hundred lashes and I shall take away from you thirty thousand dinars which have puffed you up.—All Hasan b. Harun said in reply was : God be between me and the person who has provoked my master, whose slave and nursling I am.—Mohammed b. Khalaf continued his abuse, then presently said : Have you interviewed the prince ?—(171) Not yet, he replied.—Then go to God's curse, interview him, and come back.—Hasan b. Harun went to Ibn Abi'l-Saj and told him all he had ascertained about Mohammed b. Khalaf's plot against him, and the reception which he had from him on his return from Baghdad.

¹ Ibn Abi'l-Saj.

Ibn Abi'l-Saj then said to the Treasurer who received from Mohammed b. Khalaf the moneys transmitted to him to be spent on his master's troops, retainers, and requirements generally : A short time ago you brought me some money, half of which was out of circulation, or spurious, or coinage of Khorasan,¹ stating that Mohammed b. Khalaf had brought it to you to spend on the officials and other purposes, and adding that the exchange was ruinously high. Tell me how it is now with what he brings you.—The Treasurer replied : What he brings now is worse than ever. Out of a hundred thousand dirhems which he brought to-day I have picked out fifteen hundred that are new, two thousand that are good, though not first-rate, and forty thousand that are bad and out of circulation.—The treasurer proceeded to show how enormous was the exchange on all these coins.—Ibn Abi'l-Saj said to him : When Mohammed b. Khalaf comes this evening, do you present yourself, bringing the money just as it is, and inform me that all my retainers and troops are becoming disaffected on account of this.—The Treasurer carried out these instructions, and Ibn Abi'l-Saj, addressing Mohammed b. Khalaf, said : You know, Abu 'Abdallah, that no-one may take money of this sort, and it would be better to make my men miss a month and then give them money that was good or approximately so.—Mohammed b. Khalaf flew into a passion and exclaimed : This hound would never have had the courage to talk to me in your presence on this matter, had he not ascertained your ill-feeling towards me ; and that ill-feeling has been fostered by the person who calculates that he will be appointed your secretary, I mean this barbarian Hasan b. Harun. And little do I care for him, your treasurer, and the whole lot of your

¹ In 195 Amin forbade the circulation of coins struck by his brother Ma'mun in Khorasan. Tabari iii. 795. Apparently the coinage of Khorasan got a bad name thence.

retainers and your troops ! I got you your post, and by Allah from now I will attend to your affairs no longer, so do what you please.—Shaking his fist in the face of Ibn Abi'l-Saj, he left the room.—Ibn Abi'l-Saj adjured him (172) to come back, but he vowed that he would not.—After a lengthy scene, when Mohammed b. Khalaf had nearly reached a vestibule, where he would have got out of sight, Ibn Abi'l-Saj called out to his slaves : Put your hands on the nape of this hound, this miscreant, this swine, and let me hear the sound of a cuff upon it !—So he was cuffed some hundred times, and his sword and belt removed. Ibn Abi'l-Saj then summoned Jarjara'i (who instantly presented himself), and despatched him to the house of Mohammed b. Khalaf to secure it and arrest all his slaves and dependents and seize his treasures. Jarjara'i had a reputation for honesty and trustworthiness. Yusuf ordered Hasan b. Harun to undertake the secretaryship in place of Mohammed b. Khalaf, and made him swear that he would enter the chamber where the latter was confined and load him with fifty *ratls'* weight of fetters, and clothe him in a shirt such as weavers wear.—Hasan b. Harun carried out these orders, saying to the prisoner : Tell me, Mohammed b. Khalaf, were you deceived by my addressing you as *Master* ? I was mocking you. Which of us two was the deeper and the craftier, you or I ?—After insulting him, cuffing him and scourging him, Hasan b. Harun obtained his bond for 600,000 dinars, of which he had paid about fifty thousand by the time when Ibn Abi'l-Saj started from Wasit for Kufah to fight against the man of Hajar. Ibn Abi'l-Saj took Mohammed b. Khalaf with him in fetters ; the war prevented his thinking about him, and he himself was made prisoner whereas Mohammed b. Khalaf escaped.

Account of the battle fought between Ibn Abi'l-Saj and the Qarmatian, the imprudence displayed by the former, in making light of the enemy, resulting in his being made prisoner, and his further experiences until his execution.

Yusuf b. Dewadadh (Ibn Abi'l-Saj) wrote from Wasit to the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa, asking that money should be transmitted to him to be spent on the necessary preparation of provisions and forage between Wasit and Kufah, pleading that the revenue of the Eastern provinces was delayed, and that the speedy approach of the man of Hajar did not permit him to wait for the arrival of the revenue from (173) the Jabal; and he added that nothing less than 100,000 dinars would be sufficient for his purpose. 'Ali b. 'Isa showed his letter to Muqtadir, who ordered 70,000 dinars to be taken from the Private Treasury and transmitted to him.

News came of the departure of Abu Tahir himself from Hajar on Wednesday—13 Ramadan (Nov. 14, 927); he encamped at a place called AL-HASS, two days' journey from al-Ahsa, where he remained till Saturday, on the morning of which he started again. The Sultan wrote to Ibn Abi'l-Saj giving news of Abu Tahir's movements and ordering him (Ibn Abi'l-Saj) to hurry to Kufah. 'Ali b. 'Isa wrote to the authorities at Kufah, bidding them provide supplies and forage for Yusuf. The latter left Wasit on Wednesday—1 Ramadan (Nov. 28, 927),¹ in the direction of Kufah. SALAMAH TULUNI, who had brought him the money, left him and went home.

When Abu Tahir of Hajar approached Kufah, he released all the captive pilgrims whom he had with him, while the authorities of the Sultan fled from Kufah, so that Abu Tahir was able to seize all the food and fodder got ready for Yusuf, to the amount of a hundred *kurr*

¹ One of these dates must be wrong, since if the last night but one was a Wednesday, the last night but thirteen could not also be Wednesday.

of meal and a thousand *kurr* of barley. His own stores had by this time run low, and he with his followers had been suffering in consequence. These acquisitions gave them strength. Yusuf reached the outside of Kufah on Friday 8 Shawwal (Dec. 7, 927), to find that Abu Tahir had got there one day earlier and intercepted him.

ABU TAHIR is reported to have stated that on the road between Wasit and Kufah his army had come near that of Yusuf, but owing to the fog neither army saw the other. He was himself aware of the enemy's proximity, and had he wished could have attacked.—Yusuf sent to invite Abu Tahir to return to his allegiance ; if he refused, then he summoned him to battle on the Sunday.—The messenger narrated how (174) when he reached Abu Tahir's camp, he was taken into a place where there were a number of people dressed alike, and told to speak, as the *Sayyid* was listening ; he did not know which of them it was. He delivered his message and received the reply that the Sayyid did not accept the proposal, nor agree to delay the battle. So it commenced on Saturday 9 Shawwal (Dec. 8), at the gate of Kufah. It is said that when Ibn Abi'l-Saj saw the army of Abu Tahir and ascertained its numbers he utterly despised it, saying : Who are these dogs ? After an hour they will be in my hands.—So contemptuous was he that he ordered the bulletin of victory to be written before the engagement. The two armies then advanced.

When the Hajarites heard the sound of the trumpets and drums with the shouting of the army of Ibn Abi'l-Saj, and these were very loud, one of them turning to his companion, asked *What's this row ?*—He replied : *Funk*.—The other said : *Aye*.—He said no more. It was the practice of Abu Tahir to have no trumpets, drums or shouting in his army. Ibn Abi'l-Saj arrayed his forces, remaining at a distance himself with his retainers according to a custom of his in battle. The engagement

began after sunrise on the Saturday and lasted till sunset. Ibn Abi'l-Saj displayed no lack of determination, harassing the troops of Abu Tahir with arrows, and wounding many. When this was seen by Abu Tahir, who was standing in a chariot with some two hundred trusted horsemen near the walls of al-Haiz (the Outhouse), he descended from his chariot, mounted a horse, and charged with his friends. Yusuf also charged with his retainers; a fierce combat ensued between the two parties, and by the end of the day Ibn Abi'l-Saj was taken prisoner with a wound in his forehead. His retainers had urged him to retire, but he had declined, so he with a number of retainers fell into the hands of Abu Tahir after many (175) of his followers had been killed and the rest taken to flight.

Yusuf after being taken prisoner at sunset was brought to the camp of Abu Tahir; a tent was pitched and furnished for him, and he was guarded. They fetched a medical man named IBN AL-SUBAI'I, who narrates as follows: When, he said, I came into the tent where he was kept prisoner I found him seated having on him a vest of silver-coloured satin, of which the collar and chest were of red satin, stained by the blood which was flowing from the wound on his forehead. Finding that the blood on his face was congealed, I asked for some hot water, but was told by one of Abu Tahir's people that they had none, and no instrument for heating it; having left their baggage near Qadisiyyah, and with it everything that was not required for the battle. So I washed his face and wound with cold water and treated the latter. He asked my name and what I was called, and when I told him, I found that he had known my family when he was at Kufah as a lad with his brother AFSHIN,¹ who was governor of the place. I was surprised at his memory and his acuteness, and his indifference to his condition.

¹ He is mentioned by Stephanos of Taron as "vostikan" of the Persians before Yusuf, 118, 119. See above p. 19.

The report of the battle and the capture of Ibn Abi'l-Saj reaching 'Ali b. 'Isa, he hastened to the Palace, and together with Nasr the Chamberlain and Mu'nis the Muzaffar proceeded to communicate the intelligence to Muqtadir. It spread fast, and high and low became terribly afraid of Abu Tahir. The whole population bethought them of migrating to Wasit and then to Ahwaz. Mu'nis pitched his camp on the Ushnan¹ parade-ground, with the intention of marching to Kufah. There came however a despatch from the governor of Qasr Ibn Hubairah to 'Ali b. 'Isa, informing him that Abu Tahir and his followers had left Kufah on Tuesday 12 Shawwal, (Dec. 11, 927) in the direction of 'AIN TAMR. 'Ali b. 'Isa hastened to hire five hundred boats (176) wherein he embarked a thousand men, and a number of barges and launches, which he made cross from the Tigris to the Euphrates, wherein he embarked a company of the *Hujari* retainers, who were to prevent the Hajarites from crossing the latter river; he also ordered various commanders to go by land from Baghdad to Anbar to guard the latter.

On the Friday the people of Anbar and the commanders there saw the cavalry of Abu Tahir advancing from the Western side, and they hastened to break down the Anbar bridge. Abu Tahir waited until he was able to cross by boats, and on the following Tuesday a hundred of his men crossed that way, unperceived by the Sultan's followers, until they had reached Anbar. An engagement then commenced between them and some of the commanders. When the place was cleared of the Sultan's troops, Abu Tahir restored the bridge of Anbar, and crossed leaving his baggage on the Western bank, and with it Ibn Abi'l-Saj. When the imperial troops on the launches learned that Abu Tahir had restored the bridge, they went by night and set fire to it.

¹ A bridge of this name is mentioned by Yaqut and located by Le Strange.

Thus Abu Tahir with part of his followers was left on the Eastern bank of the Euphrates, while his baggage was on the Western bank ; and the launches and barges were between. When the news of Abu Tahir's crossing to Anbar and slaughter of the commanders there came to the capital, Nasr the Chamberlain started out with the *Hujari* troops, the *Masaffi* infantry, and all the commanders left in Baghdad, preceded by the imperial ensign, which is like any other standard, only black in colour, with the legend in white *Mohammed is the Apostle of God*.

Mu'nis had already arrived at the gate of Anbar, and his forces united with those of Nasr ; the cavalry, infantry and other ranks with them amounted in numbers to over 40,000 men. ABU'L-HAIJA and his brothers ABU'L-WALID, ABU'L-'ALA, and ABU'L-SARAYA came out with his friends and Arabs. Nasr arrived before Mu'nis at the bridge of the canal called Zubara in the region of 'AQR QUB some two parasangs from Baghdad ;¹ presently Mu'nis came up with him, and their forces united on the canal. (177) ABU'L-HAIJA advised Nasr the Chamberlain to destroy the bridge over the Zubara, and indeed insisted on this. When he found Nasr in no hurry to adopt the suggestion, he said : *O Ustadh, cut it and cut my beard at the same time.*² Nasr then had the bridge destroyed.

Abu Tahir with those of his followers who were with him on the Eastern bank of the Euphrates proceeded in the direction of the Zubara ; when he had got to the distance of one parasang from the imperial army, at the end of Monday 10 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Jan. 5, 927),³ he spent the night where he was, and started early next day in the direction of the Zubara bridge. A black foot-soldier advanced in front of the army, and became a mark for

¹ If this be the 'Aqr quf of Yaqut, (Akker Kuf) four parasangs is another estimate.

² A terrible form of dishonour.

³ According to Wüstenfeld this day was a Sunday.

the imperial archers, and though he got to look like a porcupine with the arrows that stuck in him, he advanced undismayed, only returning when he had begun to mount the bridge and found that it had been cut. Abu Tahir's followers tried for some time to ford the water of the canal, but, when they found that it could nowhere be forded, they retreated, without however turning their backs. When they reached *HASANIYYAH*, they found it surrounded by water, Nasr and Mu'nis having previously sent and made wide breaches in the embankments, so that the water of the *MAKHR* surrounded Abu Tahir's army. He remained there the Tuesday, and then proceeded with his followers to *ANBAR* ; none of the imperial forces ventured to follow him, or repair the bridge over the *Zubara* or cross it. Abu'l-Haija's advice that the bridge should be cut proved to have been a divine inspiration ; for had it remained standing, the *Qarmatians* would have crossed by it, nor would they have been dismayed by the numbers of the imperial forces. Those forces would have been routed, and the *Qarmatians* would have taken *Baghdad*. For indeed most of the imperial troops fled in disorder to *Baghdad* when they heard that Abu Tahir had reached the canal, before they had actually cast eyes on the enemy. So terrible was the alarm that filled their breasts after the catastrophe which had befallen Ibn Abi'l-Saj. None among them after that imagined that he would be able to stand against Abu Tahir.

(178) Abu Tahir had with him a number of guides, who led him away from the *Makhr* ; and he marched in the direction of *Anbar*. When he and his followers abandoned their encampment by the *Zubara*, the imperial forces raised loud shouts and cheers, with the view of spreading the intelligence. The despatch-riders hastened to bring 'Ali b. 'Isa the news that they were safe ; that Abu Tahir had departed and was retreating to *Anbar*, that there was no road, ford, or device whereby

he could reach his camp, or approach Baghdad. Mu'nis was anxious to capture his baggage with the portion of his force which he had left on the Western side of Anbar, and to rescue Ibn Abi'l-Saj. So he despatched his chamberlain YALBAQ and a number of commanders and retainers of Ibn Abi'l-Saj with six thousand men, thinking Abu Tahir would be unable to cross the Euphrates and rejoin his cavalry and baggage. Abu Tahir, hearing of this, devised a scheme whereby he got separated from his troops, and after walking a long distance reached the deserted region which abuts on the Euphrates; he there crossed in the boat of a fisherman to whom he is said to have paid a thousand dinars, and got back to his baggage. Having rejoined his followers, he proceeded to offer battle to Yalbaq, who made little resistance, and took to flight, losing a great many men. Abu Tahir happened to notice Ibn Abi'l-Saj outside the tent in which he had been confined, and looking towards the road to see how the battle was going. It occurred to Abu Tahir that his prisoner was trying to escape. So he summoned him into his presence and said: You wanted to run away, did you? (Others say that Ibn Abi'l-Saj's retainers had called out to him, and the Qarmatian said: You wanted to be rescued by your retainers, did you?) He then ordered the prisoner's throat to be cut in his presence, and the throats of other captives besides.

After this Abu Tahir devised a scheme which enabled him to get all those troops who had been with him on the Eastern bank of the Euphrates at Anbar across the river to the Western side which is contiguous with the desert. YALBAQ returned to Mu'nis the Muzaffar in a disorderly rout.

(179) ABU'L-QASIM IBN ZANJI states that the number of Abu Tahir's followers was fifteen hundred, seven hundred horse and eight hundred foot; and that he

got this information from a man of Anbar, who acted as spy for him and his troops. (Others put the number at seventeen hundred.) He adds : I heard one of the deserters from Abu Tahir, when asked why the imperial forces had taken to flight so quickly, whereas the forces of Abu Tahir had been so steadfast, reply : The reason is that the imperial forces suppose safety to be found in flight, to which therefore they give the preference, whereas we suppose it to lie in steadfastness, whence we stand firm and do not budge.

'Ali b. 'Isa organized between the Zubara and Baghdad a series of posts, with a hundred pigeons and a man to each pigeon, whose business it was to send despatches on the wings of these birds every hour about the enemy's movements. That Baghdad remained safe on the day when the Qarmatians advanced to the Zubara notwithstanding the number of highwaymen and men masquerading as soldiers, all anxious to plunder the city, was due to the instructions given by 'Ali b. 'Isa to NAZUK to patrol with his whole force both morning and evening on both sides of the river. Further on the day when Abu Tahir advanced to the Zubara the vizier ordered Nazuk to take his whole force early in the morning to the Harb Gate, and remain there till evening ; and to have continuous proclamation made on both sides that any highwayman or person masquerading as a soldier who was discovered and any one found to be in possession of a weapon should be beheaded. So the highwaymen kept in their dens, and the tradesmen of MUHAWWAL GATE, the TABIQ CANAL, the QALLA'IN and other quarters shut up their shops, transferred their goods to their residences, and mounted guard. The leading inhabitants collected boats which they floated on the canals that communicate with the Tigris (180) and embarked their goods. Some took them down the river to Wasit. Some who were prepared for emergencies transferred their

goods to *HULWAN*, that they might travel with the pilgrims to *Khorasan*. No-one high or low had any doubt that the *Qarmatians* would take *Baghdad*. *Nazuk* in accordance with 'Ali b. 'Isa's orders remained on horse-back from early morning till the first part of the night was passed; neither he nor his followers dismounted except to perform their devotions. Tents were pitched for him and them to occupy at night. These measures kept the town safe.

The *Qarmatian* next made *Hit* his objective. *Harun b. Gharib* and *SA'ID B. HAMDAN* hurried to the defence of the place and arrived before him. Mounting its walls they put heart into the inhabitants, who when the *Qarmatian* arrived fought him with artillery; many of the *Qarmatians* were killed and *Abu Tahir* raised the siege. When the news of this reached *Baghdad*, general relief was felt; *Muqtadir* and the Queen-mother when they heard of his departure gave a hundred thousand dirhems in charity. *Mu'nis* and *Nasr* had produced the rolls of the troops who had been amassed on the *Baghdad* side of the *Zubara*, taking no account of the Arabs, and exclusive of their own retainers and dependents, and found their number to have been 42,000; that of the retainers and dependents¹ was many times more.

When 'Ali b. 'Isa heard of the capture of *Ibn Abi'l-Saj*, he immediately went to *Muqtadir* and addressed him as follows: The former Caliphs hoarded money for the sole purpose of suppressing the enemies of our religion, such as the *Khawarij*, and protecting Islam and the Moslems. Now since the demise of the Blessed Prophet no more serious disaster has befallen the Moslems than this. For this man (*Abu Tahir*) is an infidel, who attacked the pilgrims in the year 311, in an unheard-of fashion. Terror of him has gained possession of the hearts of your servants and of high and low. Now

¹ i.e., of minor commanders.

MU'TADID and MUKTAFI hoarded treasure (181) in their private Treasury for emergencies of this style. Not very much at present remains in the private Treasury. Fear God, O Commander of the Faithful, and speak to the Queen-mother, who is a pious and excellent woman, and if she has any hoard which she has amassed against any necessity that may overtake her or the empire, then this is the time to bring it out. And if the other thing come about, then do thou depart with thy company to the remotest parts of Khorasan. And now I have given thee true counsel and advice.—The Caliph visited his mother and presently returned to say that she on consultation with himself had ordered the transference of half a million dinars of her own to the public Treasury, to be spent on the troops. He then asked 'Ali b. 'Isa how much remained in the private Treasury, and was told by him that there was half a million there. The vizier set to work to economize, and ordered that not a dirhem of this money should be wasted on commissions; he also collected the money due from the provinces, sending persons to urge the local officials to pay it in. Thus he got together another sum. A certain tradesman warned 'Ali b. 'Isa that he had ascertained that a man from Shiraz acted as secret-service man for the Qarmatian, and corresponded with him. The vizier sent a party to arrest him and bring him to the Palace. Questioned by 'Ali b. 'Isa in the presence of the qadi Abu 'Umar and the commanders, this person said: I am a follower of Abu Tahir and my reason for following him is that he is in the right, whereas you, your master, and your adherents, are lying unbelievers. In God's world there must always be His representative and a just sovereign of His appointment; our sovereign is the Mahdi so-and-so son of so-and-so son of Isma'il son of Ja'far; we are not like the foolish *Rafdis*, who would have men swear allegiance to a sovereign who is absent

and awaited.¹—'Ali b. 'Isa said to him : Give me a true list of the people in Baghdad and Kufah who are in correspondence with the Qarmatian.—And why, he retorted, should I give you a list of true believers to be delivered into the hands of infidels, to put them to death ? Never ! —The vizier ordered the man to be cuffed in his presence, then scourged, fettered and laden with a heavy iron collar, and gagged with a chain. He was then delivered to Nazuk (182) and imprisoned in the Gaol. He died at the end of eight days, having refused to eat or drink.

The army mutinied.

YEAR 316.

On Thursday 3 Muharram (Feb. 27, 928) ² Mu'nis the Muzaffar arrived in Baghdad, having been preceded by Nasr. There had been a mutiny in Anbar, for higher pay ; these demands were maintained in Baghdad, and an extra dinar a head was offered them, which they accepted. ³

News came that Abu Tahir had entered DALIYAH ⁴ on the Euphrates Road, and finding nothing there, had slain a number of the inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to Raḥbah, which he entered after encountering resistance from the inhabitants, whom he massacred after taking the place. Mu'nis the Muzaffar was invited to go and meet the Qarmatians, at RAQQAH. The inhabitants of QARQISIA had sent a deputation to the Qarmatian soliciting his protection ; he made them fair promises, then sent a herald to proclaim that no-one there was to show himself in the day ; and no-one ventured to do so.—A raiding party sent by him crossed

¹ This is a very early reference to the doctrine now known as that of the Ithna'sharis.

² A Wednesday according to Wüstenfeld.

³ Doubtless per month.

⁴ West bank, between Raḥbah and 'Anah. Yaqut.

the river on a bridge erected by him at RAHBAH, and effected a great massacre of the Arabs, whose camels and sheep he seized. The Arabs conceived very great fear of him, and thought it unlucky to hear his name mentioned. He imposed tribute upon them, one dinar a year on each tent, which they pay to this day. He then proceeded northwards to Raqqah. Mu'nis marched to Mausil, and thence to Raqqah, whence Abu Tahir departed by the Euphrates road, till he reached RAHBAH. There he embarked his (183) stores, &c. in boats, and descended partly by water and partly by land with the view of revisiting HIT. The inhabitants of this place had erected on their wall both large and small machines for hurling projectiles and resisted him, killing some of his men ; so he departed thence in the direction of Kufah. This movement was noised abroad, so BUNAYY B. NAFIS and HARUN B. GHARIB were despatched in Nasr's van.

The Qarmatian cavalry with IBN SANBAR advanced to Qasr Ibn Hubairah, where they crossed the Euphrates by a ford, and killed a number of the inhabitants of the Qasr. Nasr the Chamberlain marched out with the commanders and the *Masaffi* infantry with the intention of engaging Abu Tahir ; Nasr had a sharp attack of fever, yet that did not prevent him from proceeding to SORA. Abu Tahir reached the bank of the river at Sora at sunset. Nasr was then so ill that he was unable to mount his horse ; so he appointed AHMAD B. KAIGHALAGH to take his place, putting him at the head of the army. The Qarmatian however departed before this commander could engage him. Nasr's illness grew worse, his tongue drying up with fever ; he was sent home to Baghdad in a litter, and died on the way. SHAFI' MUQTADIRI came out to the army with an order from Muqtadir that Harun B. Gharib was to take the command in lieu of Nasr ; and the new commander brought the army back to Baghdad.

Account of the events which led to the dismissal of 'Ali b. 'Isa, and the appointment of Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah.

(184) 'Ali b. 'Isa was aware of the disorganization of the provinces during the ministries of Khaqani and Khasibi; and when he found that the additional pay conceded to the infantry after their return from fighting with the Qarmatians at Anbar came to 240,000 dinars a year in addition to the enormous current expenditure, he was alarmed and terrified thereat; finding further that the imperial troops were no match for the Qarmatians, and that he had incurred the displeasure of Nasr the Chamberlain, owing to the favour wherewith he was regarded by Mu'nis, he asked Muqtadir's permission to retire from the vizierate. Muqtadir bade him stay on, saying to him: *You stand to me in the relation of Mu'tadid, and I have a claim upon your services.*¹ He continued however to press for permission, and Muqtadir consulted Mu'nis the Muzaffar, informing the latter that three persons had been nominated for the office:

AL-FADL B. JA'FAR IBN HINZABAH. Mu'nis did not advise his appointment, because of the members of the Furat family who had been put to death.

ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH. Mu'nis did not advise his appointment, owing to his youth. For the vizierate, he said, there is required a man of mature years, who has acquired renown, and possesses talent.

MOHAMMED B. KHALAF NIRMANI. Mu'nis did not advise his appointment, assuring the Caliph that he was an ignorant man, incapable of spelling his own name, and reckless.

Mu'nis then advised that 'Ali b. 'Isa should be coaxed to continue in office; and he himself, meeting the vizier, endeavoured to do this. 'Ali b. 'Isa said to Mu'nis: If you were remaining in the capital, I could rely on

¹ Mu'tadid was the Caliph's father, and the person who had restored the Caliphate after the first period of anarchy.

your aid, and would do as you wish ; but you are about to leave for Raqqah.

ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH, hearing of this conversation, started an active intrigue.

So when Muqtadir consulted Nasr the Chamberlain about the three, he said : The ability and the social rank of al-Faḍl b. Ja'far are undeniable ; but only yesterday you put his uncle to death, and the Furat family are by religion *Rafidis*. As for Ibn Muqlah, he has no authority with the people.—He proceeded to advise the appointment of Mohammed b. Khalaf, owing to what had passed between them, and has been narrated. Muqtadir, knowing his ignorance and recklessness, disapproved. Ibn Muqlah then proceeded to curry the favour of Nasr the Chamberlain, who ultimately recommended him to Muqtadir, adding that if he proved satisfactory, well and good ; if not, it was open to Muqtadir to dismiss him at any moment. Thus Muqtadir was compelled to confer the (185) vizierate on Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah.

What decided Muqtadir in his favour was the following fact. When Abu Tahir the Qarmatian approached Anbar, Muqtadir was anxious to obtain information about his movements. The only person who was sending any despatches on the subject was HASAN B. ISMA'IL ISKAFI, governor of Anbar. When Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah understood the situation, he procured a lot of birds, which he sent to Anbar, and which were used to bring him news of the Qarmatian's movements from time to time. These he immediately communicated to Nasr, who showed them to Muqtadir. In this way Nasr found the opportunity to commend Ibn Muqlah before the Caliph, arguing that if he attended to the Caliph's business so zealously when he was not in any office, what would he be like when he had become a recipient of the Caliph's favour ?

Account of the arrest of 'Ali b. 'Isa and the appointment of Ibn Muqlah.

On Tuesday the middle¹ of Rabi' i, 316 (May 6, 928), Harun b. Gharib was sent to arrest 'Ali b. 'Isa. He went to the residence of 'Ali b. 'Isa accompanied by ABU JA'FAR IBN SHIRZAD, who at that time was out of employment. Harun sent Ibn Shirzad to the vizier, being himself ashamed to deliver the message; so after informing the other of his business and handing the message to him, he said that he would sit down and wait for the vizier where he was.—'Ali b. 'Isa came dressed in shoes, turban and hood, with a Qur'an and a pair of scissors in his sleeve. He begged Harun to look after his wives and children, which Harun agreed to do; he then conveyed the vizier with his brother ABU 'ALI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN to the Palace, where the former was placed in the charge of the Stewardess Zaidan, whereas the latter was put in the custody of Nasr. The duration of this vizierate had been a year, four months and two days.

At the end of Tuesday 13 Rabi' i (May 6, 928), Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah was conveyed by river to the Palace, but was not presented to Muqtadir, and was lodged with Nasr in the Palace. Mohammed b. Khalaf² canvassed hard for the vizierate, (186) offering three hundred thousand dinars down, exclusive of the revenue of the provinces. This alarmed Ibn Muqlah, who presented himself on the morrow at the Sultan's apartments, but again gained no admittance. Pressure was then brought to bear on Muqtadir to ratify the appointment of Ibn Muqlah, while Mohammed b. Khalaf was severely criticized. The Caliph decided to ratify it; Ibn Muqlah presented himself on Thursday the middle of the month, was admitted, and received a robe of honour; as was

¹ He should have said the 13th. Hilal has corrected this.

² We were told above that he had escaped from Ibn Abi'l-Saj, but not how he did so.

the practice when a vizier was appointed, some food was brought him from the Sultan's apartment.

Twenty days before the dismissal of 'Ali b. 'Isa he had written to ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI, ordering him to call in the sum which according to the statement of IBN MABANDADH had been amassed in the treasury of Ahwaz from the revenue of that province, viz., 1,050,000 dirhems ; to this was added the sum transmitted by land by QASIM B. DINAR from the revenue of Fars and Kirman, viz., 700,000 dirhems : in addition to the sum transmitted by ABU 'ALI IBN RUSTAM from the revenue of Ispahan, viz., 450,000 dirhems : total 2,200,000 dirhems. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi possessed the energy and courage requisite at that time, so he wrote to Ibn Mabandadh demanding the money, who wrote to say that it would be paid. Ibn Mabandadh was at Tustar ; Baridi wrote to hurry him, but instead of waiting for him, summoned his clerk, and transmitted 1,200,000 dirhems by the launch, with an undertaking to transmit the rest when the launch returned. 'Ali b. 'Isa was dismissed before the remainder of the money arrived.

We have mentioned how Nasr the Chamberlain had conceived a dislike for 'Ali b. 'Isa, owing to the favour shown him by Mu'nis the Muzaffar. So when 'Ali b. 'Isa fell, Nasr professed to have discovered a man named JAUHARI, who admitted that he was an adherent of the Qarma'ian, and had been appointed by the latter to act as his intermediary with 'Ali b. 'Isa, asserting that the ex-vizier corresponded with the Qarma'ian through him. (187) He was confronted with 'Ali b. 'Isa, and charged him with this to his face. The ex-vizier declared the charge to be utterly false and groundless. Nasr however found a supporter in Ibn Muqlah, and the ex-vizier was near being put to the torture, Muqtadir thinking of having him scourged in the presence of the jurists, judges, and heads of bureaux at the public Gate of the Palace ; only the Queen-mother found means of getting at the

facts of this accusation, and, ascertaining its falsity, was able to convince her son. He therefore cancelled the orders he had given on the subject.

Ibn Muqlah obtained the bonds of the provincial agents and revenue-farmers for about 100,000 dinars, and Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, who was a friend of Ibn Muqlah, and was in Ahwaz at the time, learning of his appointment to the vizierate, immediately despatched cheques to the value of 300,000 dirhems,¹ being what remained over in the treasury of Ahwaz after the previous instalment ; Qasim b. Dinar and Ahmad b. Mohammed b. Rustam had already transmitted to 'Ali b. 'Isa 600,000 dirhems, in cheques, which arrived after his dismissal. Ibn Muqlah took them and was able to carry on the business of the state by these accidents. He also issued an order remitting all claims for arrears and fines, with the view of quieting the people's minds and enabling them to proceed with their occupations.

In this year a battle was fought between Nazuk and Harun b. Gharib.

Account of the cause for this.

The cause for this was the mutual jealousy of the grooms of Harun b. Gharib and those of Nazuk over a beardless boy. This led to a brawl, in consequence of which Nazuk arrested the grooms of Harun b. Gharib and, after scourging them, confined them in the criminal gaol. The followers of Harun b. Gharib then went to the Police Court, where they assaulted ABU'L-JUD, Nazuk's deputy, (188) and rescued their friends from his hands. Nazuk thereupon rode to Muqtadir, and complained of this action ; as Muqtadir failed to express disapproval to Nazuk's satisfaction, the latter went away angry and collected his troops. Harun b. Gharib did the

¹ The text has dinars, but the preceding calculation shows that dirhems are more likely to be meant,

like, and the two passed the night making preparations ; when morning came, the followers of Nazuk proceeded to the dwelling of Harun, who locked them out. Outside the gate there were a number of Harun's retainers and followers, some of whom were killed ; thereupon Harun's gate was opened, and his party came out, when a fierce fight ensued. Nazuk then sent to withdraw his followers. The vizier Ibn Muqlah then rode out, accompanied by Muflih, to intervene, and began by conveying to Harun (son of Muqtadir's maternal uncle) a message from Muqtadir bidding him desist ; he then went to Nazuk and transmitted a similar message, and the affair came to an end. Nazuk however harboured resentment, and remained in his house, with his retainers, followers and troops. And as a boil appeared on his leg, which he had removed, he made this an excuse for not presenting himself at the Palace. Three days later he was visited by Harun b. Gharib in a *durra'ah*,¹ and a reconciliation was effected ; Nazuk however continued to stay at home, and Harun b. Gharib went and took up his quarters in the Najmi Garden,² to be at a distance from Nazuk. He then became the subject of repeated rumours to the effect that he was to be appointed *Prince of Princes*. These annoyed the dependents of Mu'nis the Muzaffar, who wrote to him at Raqqah. In consequence he hurried away thence by the Mausil road to Baghdad ; but when he reached the capital, he did not sail to Muqtadir or ask for an audience. The prince Abu'l-'Abbas and the vizier Ibn Muqlah sailed up the river to salute him, and then Nazuk presented himself at the Palace.

The beginning of strained relations between Mu'nis and Muqtadir.

Harun b. Gharib took up his quarters in the Palace, avoiding the society of Mu'nis the Muzaffar. Abu'l-

¹ The garb of a civil official.

² In the part of Baghdad adjoining Baduriyya.

Haija 'Abdallah b. Hamdan¹ returned from the Jabal, and joined Mu'nis. A long correspondence then took place between Mu'nis and Muqtadir.

YEAR 317.

(189) *Account of the revolt of Nazuk and Abu'l-Haija which led to the dethronement of Muqtadir ; of the subsequent death of the two, and the restoration of Muqtadir.*

On Saturday 8 Muharram (Feb. 21, 929) Mu'nis the Muzaffar marched with his army to the Shammasiyyah Gate, and Nazuk rode out of his residence with his retainers and followers in arms. When the latter reached the Bridge, he found it had been cut ; so he waited until it had been repaired, when he crossed with his followers and joined Mu'nis. He was then joined by Abu'l-Haija Ibn Hamdan, and the other commanders ; they then moved from the Shammasiyyah Gate to the Oratory. Muqtadir filled his Palace with the troops of Harun b. Gharib and Ahmad b. Kaighalagh, the *Hujari* and the *Masaffi* infantry ; but as the day came to its end, the greater number of the troops who were in the Palace broke away, and joined Mu'nis. Mu'nis proceeded to deprive NIHRIR the Less of the government of Dinawar, which he restored to Abu'l-Haija as an addition to the provinces already under his control.

Mu'nis addressed a letter to Muqtadir wherein he stated that the army complained bitterly of the amount of money and land wasted upon the eunuchs and women of the court, and of their participation in the administration, and demanded their dismissal and removal from the Palace, with seizure of their possessions. Muqtadir wrote to Mu'nis the following reply :—

In the name of God, etc. May God give me good from thee, and not deprive me of thee, nor show me any ill from

¹ We last heard of him saving the situation at the Zubara by his wise advice.

thee. I have meditated on the state whereunto our friends and favourites and helpers have come, and whereby they abide, and whereto they adhere, and I find that they seek only the protection of me and my children, the strengthening of my state and my empire, and the production of good and of advantage from every quarter and by every path: God bless them, and do good unto them, and help me to accomplish my good intentions towards them! As for thee, Abu'l-Hasan the Conqueror,—may I never lose thee!—thou art my teacher and my elder, (190) thou art he whom I cease not to favour, to honour, to befriend and to support, whether this trouble come between us or not, and whether the bonds between us be broken or be unbroken. I hope that thou wilt entertain no doubt thereof when thou art true to thyself and dost reason with thy soul, banishing therefrom all evil thoughts—long may God protect and strengthen it! Now what our friends propose in the matter of the eunuchs and women, whom they would cast out of the Palace and remove far away, and whose emoluments for their service they hold should lapse, so that they should be precluded and deprived of their fortunes and kept at a distance from them until they deliver up the money and the estates which are in their hands, and restore them to their rightful owners,—that is a proposal, which, if they properly considered and examined it, they would know to be an unjust proposal, and one whose iniquity is obvious to me. Still so anxious am I to agree with them, and so obedient am I to their pleasure, that I assent so far as is feasible with regard to this class of people of the court; so I am giving orders for the seizure of some of their fiefs, for the abolition of their privileges, the subjection to assessment of the land which they hold at a fixed rate, and for the removal from the Palace of all whom it is permissible to expel, while those who remain shall not be permitted to interfere with my administration or counsels. I am also giving orders that the financial officers be instructed in writing to demand in full what is due to the Treasury from those

estates of theirs which are their lawful possessions, as distinct from those about which there is some doubt or uncertainty. I will also myself look after both the high and the low, and mete out to them the most perfect justice and benevolence. I shall rely on no vizier or intermediary whatever ; I shall myself see to the development of resources, to their collection and to their employment on the proper objects, and to their being guarded against damage and diminution. Herein I shall exert myself, and I shall resist the enemies both far and near. I have hitherto neglected this duty only because I relied on you and delegated my functions to you, and was confident that you were my partners and participators, specially affected by both the good things and the evil things of my time, what was bitter therein and what was sweet. Had I known that this would be regarded as a fault on my part, and as a crime for which I should be held guilty, I should have been the first to brave (191) every hardship, the first to hasten towards it without delay or hesitation. As for you, most of your fortune comes from me, but it would not be my way to reproach you with any favour that I have conferred and which I both regarded at the time and still regard as small compared with your merits ; nay, it suits me better to fertilize and increase it ; God knows the excellence of my intentions with regard to such favours in the case of you all, and is witness how I long to bring you to the utmost of your aspirations. As for NAZUK, I know not with what he finds fault, or why he is displeased and put out ; I did not blame him for waging war with Harun the son of my mother's brother Gharib, nor did I prevent him from defending himself against Harun or endeavouring to avenge himself ; I gave no orders for the help of Harun against him neither did I restrain his hand from that whereunto it was stretched out and which was within its reach ; I made no change in his rank, nor did I confiscate any of his possessions, neither did he hear from me or as said by me anything that could vex or annoy him. God forgive us and him ! With regard

to 'ABDALLAH B. HAMDAN, what has roused his anger is the withdrawal of Dinawar from him; now arrangements were being made to restore it to him if he wanted it, in which case his demand would be granted; or for him to apply for an exchange with some more important province than Dinawar, in which case we shall not fall short of his requirements. For him, for Nazuk, and for the rebels generally I have nothing but forgiveness, mercy and forgetfulness, as before, so hereafter; I may claim from you that oath of allegiance which you have affirmed time after time, and whosoever has sworn allegiance to me has sworn it to God, so that whosoever violates that oath violates what he has vowed to God. I also may claim gratitude for favours and benefits that I have conferred upon you, obligations and kindnesses which I hope you will acknowledge and consider binding; and for which you will display gratitude and not the reverse. If you return to a better course and repair this grave error, dispersing your hosts and returning quietly to your homes to set about your business and occupy yourselves therewith and resume that service adequately and without negligence, then you will be like one who has never left his station nor done what would lead to his disgrace; whereas I will be, as you know me, (192) reliant upon you, ready to favour you, to repose in you, and to overshadow you, thereunto you have the promise to God, "promises to whom must be fulfilled" (Qur'an xvii. 36). But if you are resolved on defiance, antagonism, the stirring up of strife, and the renewal of disorder, I give you a free hand, and sheathe my sword, and declare before God that I will not stretch out my arm against any one of you, and rely on God to help, aid, and protect me. And I have only left my house and delivered up the right which God has committed unto me as 'Uthman b. 'Affan left his house¹ and delivered up his right when he was betrayed by all his councillors and helpers. This then is my plea before God, my excuse, and by His grace the reason for my hopes of success in this world and the next. "And God

¹ This seems to be inaccurate.

beholds his servants, and is on the watch for the wrongdoers, and God is sufficient for me and He is a good Trustee."

When this letter reached Mu'nis and its contents had been ascertained by Nazuk and Abu'l-Haija, they decided to reply with the suggestion that Muqtadir should expel Harun b. Gharib from Baghdad. Muqtadir assented, assigning to him the governorship of the frontiers of Syria and the Jazirah. He started the same day, but stopped at Quṭrabull.

On Monday 10 Muharram (Feb. 23, 929) Mu'nis the Muzaffar entered Baghdad with the army, but avoided the Palace, being unwilling to let it be damaged by the troops. He ¹ made a public appearance however, and a persistent rumour was circulated that an agreement had been made between Nazuk, Abu'l-Haija and Mu'nis the Muzaffar to substitute another Caliph for him. On Wednesday 12 Mu'nis proceeded for the second time to the Shammasiyyah Gate, accompanied by Nazuk, Abu'l-Haija, Bunayy b. Nafis, and all the Commanders with their forces, and thence they moved to the Palace.

Account of the deposition of Muqtadir, and the accession of Qahir.

(193) When this whole body moved towards the Palace, MUZAFFAR B. YAQUT, all the chamberlains, attendants, and eunuchs, and the vizier Ibn Muqlah fled from it, while Mu'nis entered by the ZAWIYAH Gate. The army in its entirety was introduced into the Palace. An hour after the second evening prayer Muqtadir, his mother, her sister, and his favourite slave-girls were removed from the Palace, and sent up the river to the residence of Mu'nis the Muzaffar. Harun b. Gharib secretly left Quṭrabull and hid himself in Baghdad.

Abu'l-Haija 'Abdallah b. Hamdan proceeded to the

¹ This seems to mean Muqtadir.

Palace of IBN TAHIR,¹ to bring down the river thence MOHAMMED son of MU'TADID ; but KAFUR, who was in charge of the house declined to open to him, demanding a sign from Mu'nis ; as he had none with him, he went away. So he with Nazuk went up stream again after obtaining the sign, setting fire on his way to the house of Harun b. Gharib, and brought down Mohammed son of Mu'tadid, reaching the Palace in the last third of the night before Saturday the middle of Muharram (Feb. 28, 929) ; this person was saluted as Caliph, and homage was done him by Mu'nis and the commanders. He took the title AL-QAHIR BILLAH.

Mu'nis proceeded to release 'Ali b. 'Isa from his prison in the Palace, and let him go home. He summoned Ibn Muqlah and invested him with the vizierate of Qahir, while bestowing on Nazuk the office of Chamberlain in addition to the headship of the Baghdad Police which he already held ; and to Abu'l-Haija, in addition to his governorship of the Khorasan Road, Hulwan, Dinawar, the Samarra Road, Buzurj Sabur, Radhanain, Daquqa, Khanikhan and Mausil, he gave the ministry of public security in Hamadhan, Nahawand, Saimarah, Sirwan, Masabadhan, Mihrijanqadhaq and Arzan.

The Palace was pillaged, and BUNAYY B. NAFIS went to the tomb of the Queen-mother at Rusafah, and found there a hoard of 600,000 dinars secreted by her. These he brought to the Palace.

(194) Muqtadir was deposed on Saturday the middle of Muharram (Feb. 28, 929) ; he had his abdication attested by the judges, and the deed was delivered to the qadi ABU 'UMAR MOHAMMED B. YUSUF.

A case of prudence proving advantageous.

ABU'L-HUSAIN the son of this Abu 'Umar stated that his father delivered the deed of abdication to him, bidding

¹ See Le Strange, p. 119. Members of this family which was founded by the Tahir who had won the throne for Ma'mun, played the part of Prince of Princes (without the title) in the middle of the third century.

him keep it hidden and let no creature see it in his possession. I asked my father (he said) what was the use of this secrecy, when people knew about it? He replied: And what is the use of revealing it? How can you tell what is going to happen?—So I obeyed his order, and two days after the restoration of Muqtadir the qadi Abu 'Umar took the deed and delivered it personally to Muqtadir, swearing that with the exception of myself no one had seen it in his possession.—This greatly pleased Muqtadir, who expressed gratitude, and after a short time appointed him Judge of Judges.—He then said to me: My son, our concealment of the deed has done us no harm.

The people¹ departed from the Palace on the Saturday: on the following Sunday Qahir sat, and the vizier Ibn Muqlah presented himself and was received and ordered to seat himself before the Caliph. The pillaging ceased. Ibn Muqlah proceeded to compose a note announcing the accession of Qahir, which was despatched to the provincial governors. Nazuk commanded the *Masaffi* infantry to remove their tents from the Palace, and installed his own infantry in their place. This occasioned agitation among the former. Nazuk then gave orders to the vice-chamberlains and door-keepers that no one was to be allowed to enter the Palace who had not (195) a post; and this produced agitation among the *Hujari* troops, who discussed this matter, and this led to the restoration of Muqtadir.

The cause of Muqtadir's restoration.

On Monday 17 Muharram (March 2, 929) the people came betimes to the Palace, because it was a day of state ceremonial, and the inauguration of a new reign. The vestibules, corridors, and squares were filled with visitors, as also was the bank of the Tigris. The *Masaffi* infantry presented themselves armed, to demand accession-

¹ He probably means the conspirators.

money and a year's pay. Mu'nis stayed in his residence that day and did not sail down to the Palace. The clamour of the infantry became loud, and Nazuk, hearing it, was afraid they might come to blows with his own men ; so he gave orders to his retainers and followers not to attack them. The shouts of the infantry increased in violence, and they made a rush for the Ninetieth Saloon ; no one hindered them, owing to the orders given by Nazuk to his followers. Those of them who had been on the bank entered by the window with drawn weapons and their shouts were audible in the room where Qahir was sitting ; for he was holding his court in the corridor of the Ninetieth Saloon, with Ibn Muqlah, Nazuk and Abu'l-Haija before him. He despatched Nazuk to address the men. Nazuk, having spent the previous night in drinking, was sodden with liquor, and when he appeared at the window, and was seen by the infantry, they hastened towards him ; he took fright, as their weapons were drawn against him, turned his back and fled. This encouraged them to attack him, so they ran after him, and his flight was presently stopped by a door-way which he had himself blocked up the preceding (196) day with brick and cement, so that he could not go through ; he was overtaken and killed, his pursuers having previously put to death 'AJIB ; they then cried out *Muqtadir the Victorious!* Thereupon the vizier, the chamberlains, the court-attendants and other orders fled from the Palace, which was left empty.

The infantry impaled Nazuk and 'Ajib on the wood-work of the curtain on the bank of the Tigris ; they then proceeded to the palace of Mu'nis, to demand Muqtadir. The servants in the Caliph's Palace hastened to lock the doors, being all of them eunuchs or dependents or favourites of Muqtadir. Abu'l-Haija wished to leave the Palace, but Qahir clung to him, saying : What, Abu'l-Haija, are you going to desert me ?—Abu'l-Haija's

pride was aroused, and he said : No, by Allah, I will never desert you ! So he turned back. Finding the door locked, they entered the Staircase room, when a loud cry was raised, *Allah akbar !* FA'IQ the " Bowl-face " asked one of the inferior servants employed in conveying messages to find out what the noise meant. He went and returned to say that Abu'l-Haija had been put to death. The Bowl-face bade him think carefully what he was saying. He repeated the words three times. The Bowl-face said to him : But here is Abu'l-Haija, you fool.—The servant said : I made a mistake ; it is Nazuk who has been killed.—Qahir then said to the Bowl-face : Open that door so that I can go out to the river-bank. He replied that there were several doors behind that one, through which it will be impossible to reach the river-bank ; still, he said, we will open it in any case.—It was opened, and Qahir walked on to the steps of the Water-wheels which were erected over the Tigris above the Place of the Crown. He mounted them with his hand in that of Abu'l-Haija, and they looked over the Tigris. They saw the infantry armed and arranged in close array from the MU'ALLA Canal to the Place of the Crown and to the Private Gate ; a countless mass. Qahir descended hastily, but Abu'l-Haija said to him : Go forward, Sire, for by the grave of *Hamdan* I will never leave you until I perish in your defence.—So they went on till they entered the *Firdaus*, from the gate of which they got out into the *Rahbah* ; there they met a slave of the eunuch MUQBIL mounted ; when he saw them he dismounted. They asked him whence he had come.—He said from (197) the Nubian Gate.—Abu'l-Haija thereupon stripped off his black robe and his belt, and asked the slave to give him his *jubbah*. This was of Egyptian wool. The slave gave it him, he put it on, mounted the slave's horse, and leaving Qahir with the eunuchs, said Sire, stay where you are till I return.—Abu'l-Haija was not long away, and when he returned,

Qahir asked him what news?—He said: I got to the Nubian Gate, where I was met by the gate-keeper JA'FAR. I asked him to open the door.—He said he could not, as there were countless infantry and other troops behind, since Nazuk's head had been brought thither.—Then said Qahir: This is from heaven, so take us back.—They re-entered the Firdaus, and after wandering about it they came out near the Cell; then they entered the small *Hasani* Saloon, then the Citron House. There were now only a few servants with them, and here the Bowl-face Fa'iq hung back, and said to those servants who had stopped when he had: *Go in and finish off your master's enemy.*—Some ten of them entered, armed partly with bows, partly with bludgeons. When Abu'l-Haija saw them, he shouted at them, drew his sword, stripped off the woollen *jubbah* which he had on, wrapped it round his arm, and rushed at them. They fled terrified, and some of them fell into the pond. He was at them, so they shot at him perforce, till he went back and entered a Teak room in the garden of the Citron House. When he had got inside it, the slaves who were in the pond got out and approached the Teak room; he perceiving them came out with his sword, whereupon they turned and fled before him to a side of the Saloon, and opened a door at an angle of the Saloon. By this door there entered KHUMARJUYAH, one of the chief *Hujari* retainers, armed with a bow and arrows, and accompanied by two black slaves armed with swords and shields. Addressing the eunuchs, he said: Friends, where is he?—In the Teak room, they replied.—He said: Worry him till he comes out.—So they started reviling him, and presently he leaped out like a furious camel, (198) shrieking: O tribe of Taghlib, shall I be slain between walls? Where's the chestnut, where's the black mare?—Khumarjuyah shot him with an arrow that entered just below the breast, and followed it with another which penetrated the throat, and then with a third; but by this time his hand was unsteady and the third arrow pierced his thighs.

BUSHRA, the eye-witness who narrated this scene, said : I saw Abu'l-Haija strike the arrow which had pierced his thighs and break it : and pull out the arrow which had entered beneath the breast. Flinging it away he went towards the room, but fell on his face before he reached it ; one of the two negroes ran up, and cut off the right hand which held his sword, and took it away, while the other negro seized him and cut off his head. One of the eunuchs rushed up and snatched the head from the negro's hand, and hurried away with it.

When the infantry had reached the palace of Mu'nis, and he heard their shouts, he asked what they wanted. He was told they wanted Muqtadir.—He ordered him to be delivered to them.—When Muqtadir was told to go with them to return to his post, he was afraid that it was a plot, and declined ; so he was carried on men's necks from Mu'nis's palace to the barge, and from the barge to the steps of the Ninetieth Saloon. When he had set foot within the Palace, he went to the apartment of the Stewardess Zaidan, and asked her what had happened to Abu'l-Haija.—He was told that he was in the Citron House.—He asked for ink, which the slaves were slow about bringing ; but he kept on asking till it was brought, whereupon he wrote with his own hand an amnesty for Abu'l-Haija, which he gave to one of the eunuchs, saying : Be quick, you fool, or something may happen to him.—This eunuch met the eunuch who held the head, and the two returned. When Muqtadir saw his messenger he asked him what news.—He replied : God preserve the Commander of the Faithful !—He said : Wretch, who killed him ?—MUFLIH made a sign to the negro, and said : I do not know who killed him, nor is it known, for he was attacked by a mixed crowd of infantry.—Muqtadir said : *We are God's*, &c. He kept on repeating these words, and said : During these days, while I have been in the house of Mu'nis, no one (199) but he has been visiting me to condole and manifest

sympathy, as though he were a relative. He and his kin had other claims besides.—Muqtadir displayed great grief over his death.

While he was thus employed a shout was raised which made him forget Abu'l-Haija. He asked what it meant. —A eunuch came running, saying : Mohammed ! (meaning Qahir, who had been arrested and was being brought). Muqtadir bade him approach and sit down before him, and then pulling him towards himself, kissed him on the forehead, and said : Brother, you are not to blame, for I know well that you were *forced*.¹—Qahir knelt and cried : Commander of the Faithful, my life, my life !—The Caliph said to him : By the Apostle of God no evil shall ever befall thee from me, nor while I live shall any one succeed in harming thee ; and I will see to it that thou departest this night to thy abode in Ibn Tahir's palace ; so be of good cheer and faint not.

The heads of Nazuk and Abu'l-Haija were brought out and exposed in the streets, a crier calling out : *This is the recompense of him who rebels against his master and is ungrateful for his benefits*. The disturbance then quieted down, and Ibn Muqlah returned to his vizierate, and composed a note to the provincial governors in Muqtadir's name announcing that he had been restored to his Caliphate and that the oath of allegiance to him should be renewed.

When Muqtadir had resumed possession of the Palace, and confirmed Ibn Muqlah in the vizierate, he gave the army accession-money ; six months' pay with the addition of a dinar to each foot-soldier, and three terms' pay with an addition of three dinars to each cavalry-man. When the cash was exhausted (200) over these largesses, the Caliph brought out the wearing apparel from the stores and sold it with other goods. After this he gave them contracts of sales by the agent whom he appointed,

¹ His title Qahir means one who forces.

'ALI B. 'ABBAS NUBAKHTI, whose appointment as his agent he had duly attested, the purchasers undertaking to pay into the Treasury tax upon the lands thus acquired at the rate of tithe-paying fiefs, what they received as a present being the difference between the two assessments of lands owned by subjects, viz., the fief-assessment and the metayer assessment.¹ The contracts made by Nubakhti with them were attested, and these estates and properties were knocked down to them for very low prices.

THABIT B. SINAN states that he was present in the office of the vizier Ibn Muqlah when he was entirely occupied with the signing of sales of land to the troops and the assignation to them of the difference between the assessments as a gift. The officials in the bureaux were also kept at work hunting out the assessments of the lands which were being sold. The purchasers were crowding round the vizier, and the vizier was signing, when 'Ali b. 'Isa was announced. He was admitted, and when the vizier saw him, he rose to his full height and made him sit on the same bench ; leaving the business whereon he was engaged to attend to this visitor. When the vizier asked 'Ali b. 'Isa about himself, the latter seeing the people pressing upon the former, said : Let the vizier (God aid him !) attend to his business.—Ibn Muqlah then turned to the throng and recommenced signing. 'Ali b. 'Isa observed a case containing the assessment of the Estates of Gabriel father of Bakhtishu',² and thought the price which they had fetched small as compared with that for which they had been bought. He exclaimed : " There is no god but Allah." Has it come to this ?—Ibn Muqlah put down the deed which was in his hand, and said : I was told by my chief ABU'L-QASIM (meaning 'ISA B. DAWUD)³ that when Mutawak-

¹ In the former there was a definite sum fixed, in the latter a portion of the produce which was not less than a tithe, and might amount to a half.

² Two famous physicians. For Gabriel's wealth see *Faraj* ii. 103.

³ Father of 'Ali b. 'Isa.

kil became displeased with the physician Bakhtishu', (201) he sent to his house to make an inventory of the contents of his stores. There was found in his clothes store a statement of the estates which he had purchased and the price was more than ten million dirhems. They have come to be sold now for this small figure.—Both expressed their surprise, then Ibn Muqlah went back to his work, and 'Ali b. 'Isa rose to go. The vizier Ibn Muqlah rose at his departure as he had risen at his entry.

In this year Abu 'Umar was appointed Judge of Judges and the deed of investiture made out.

Account of the Qarmatian attack on the pilgrims and the ravaging of Meccah.

This year the pilgrims were escorted by MANSUR the Dailemite, and made their journey safely; but when they reached Meccah, Abu Tahir of Hajar came thither also on the *Tarwiyah*¹ day, and massacred the pilgrims in the Holy Mosque, in the lanes of Meccah and in the House. He tore out the Black Stone, put to death IBN MIKHLAB² the governor of Meccah, removed the covering of the House, wrenched away the door, and made one of his followers mount the building with the view of wrenching off the gutter. This man fell on his head and died. Abu Tahir took the property of the people, flung the dead into the Well Zamzam, and buried others where they had fallen in the Holy Mosque and elsewhere without praying over them. He then returned to his own country taking with him the plunder of the Meccans and the Black Stone.

(202) In this year the headship of the Police in Baghdad was conferred upon the two sons of RA'IQ³ in lieu of Nazuk.

¹ 8 Dhu'l-Hijjah (Jan. 12, 930).

² In the Chronicles of Meccah ii. 204 another reading IBN MUHARIB is mentioned, but the form in the text preferred.

³ The father Ra'iq figures as a commander in the last years of Tabari's Chronicle. He is called the Khazari. His name "pleasing" is evidently that of a slave.

YEAR 318.

There was a mutiny of the cavalry who threatened to do terrible things; Muqtadir summoned their commanders and spoke them fair, promising them the payment of their money in the new month. They were mollified and went away. The infantry also mutinied and were paid their money.

In Shawwal of this year (Oct.-Nov. 930) Muqtadir bestowed a robe of honour on his son the prince Harun, making him governor of Fars, Kirman, Sijistan, and Mukran. The vizier and the army rode with him. In Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Nov.-Dec.) he bestowed one on his son the prince Abu'l-'Abbas, who was designated governor of the West, with Mu'nis for his deputy. The vizier, Mu'nis the Muzaffar and all the army rode with him.

This year the two sons of Ra'iq were dismissed from the prefecture of Police and ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. YAQUT was appointed to it.

In this year the *Masaffi* infantry were destroyed.

Account of the reason for their destruction.

The *Masaffi* infantry had become insufferably riotous, boasting that they had been the cause of Muqtadir's restoration after his deposition; they were a heavy charge, were importunate in their demands, mutinous and insubordinate. The cost of maintaining this force came to 130,000 dinars for every month of the lunar year. It happened that on the occasion of a mutiny on the part of the cavalry, who were demanding their pay, they were attacked by the infantry, and some of them killed. The Sultan pleaded with the cavalry that the money (203) all went to the infantry; so the cavalry engaged the infantry, and succeeded in driving them out of the Palace. MOHAMMED B. YAQUT then mounted his horse and proclaimed that they must not remain in Baghdad; and after this proclamation any of them

who were found were arrested and put into the criminal gaol. The houses of the sergeants of the infantry were demolished. The son of Yaqut rode about and renewed the proclamation, and presently when a party of them were caught, they were beaten and exposed ; the lands assigned to the *Masaffi* infantry were seized and their houses pulled down. There was presently a riot of the blacks at the 'Ammar Gate ; Mohammed b. Yaqut rode out with the *Hujari* commanders and attacked them, setting fire to the whole district. ABU'L-'ALA SA'ID B. HAMDAN inflicted a notable defeat upon them, and they fled in various directions ; they were then joined by a number of whites of the *Masaffi* infantry and others, and becoming numerous they descended to Wasit, where they made their captain one of the cavalry called NASR the SAJI, and expelled the Sultan's officials from Wasit. Mu'nis went down to Wasit, attacked them and massacred them. After this they raised no banner again.

In this year the vizier Ibn Muqlah was arrested.

Account of the reason for his arrest.

Muqtadir viewed Ibn Muqlah with suspicion as a partisan of Mu'nis, from whom he was estranged though he made show of friendliness ; and YAQUT too was ill-disposed to him owing to Mu'nis's favouring him. It so happened that Mu'nis the Muzaffar had gone out on an excursion to Awana,¹ when Ibn Muqlah came down to the Palace ; Muqtadir took advantage of the absence of Mu'nis to arrest him. Mohammed b. Yaqut was also his enemy, and when he was arrested sent people at night to burn his house.

(204) Muqtadir had intended to appoint to the vizierate HUSAIN B. QASIM B. 'UBAIDALLAH. Mu'nis however travelled back from Awana to Baghdad and sent to Muqtadir to say that he disapproved of Husain b.

¹ The modern Waneh between Baghdad and Takrit.

Qasim, and requesting him to reappoint Ibn Muqlah. Muqtadir was so incensed that he thought of putting Ibn Muqlah to death. 'Ali b. 'Isa acted as messenger and mollified Muqtadir saying : It is not your vizier's fault that Mu'nis pleads for him. He finally induced the Caliph to abandon his design. So anxious was Muqtadir to appoint Husain b. Qasim to the office that he summoned him, made him stay the night in the Palace, bestowed on him a robe of honour, and promised that the next day he should receive a public audience and be invested with the vizierate. When Mu'nis heard of this, he was vexed that Muqtadir should take such a step without consulting him, especially as he had previously declared that Husain was not qualified to be vizier. So a series of communications passed between Mu'nis and Muqtadir through 'Ali b. 'Isa, who, being consulted by the latter, in accordance with the wish of Mu'nis (205), advised the restoration to office of Ibn Muqlah, and that after being asked to undertake it himself and having declined.—Muqtadir said : That is impossible ; nominate some one else.—He nominated SULAIMAN B. HASAN, whose appointment he advised, or 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. 'ISA¹ ; Muqtadir preferred the former, because he had previously attacked Ibn Muqlah and manifested hostility towards him. He ordered him to be brought. Husain b. Qasim left the Palace and went into hiding. The term of office of ABU 'ALI MOHAMMED B. 'ALI B. MUQLAH had been two years and four months.

Account of the fortune of the vizierate after the dismissal of Ibn Muqlah and its assumption by Sulaiman b.

Hasan.

On Wednesday —14 Jumada i (June 16, 930) Sulaiman b. Hasan was summoned to the Palace, but given no audience on that day ; the next day, Thursday, he returned, was admitted to the imperial presence, and

¹ His own brother.

received a robe of honour ; Muqtadir ordered 'Ali b. 'Isa to survey all the business departments and bureaux, and support Sulaiman energetically. So he used to be admitted with Sulaiman to Muqtadir, and Sulaiman made no appointments, dismissals or other arrangements without the assent of 'Ali b. 'Isa.

In this year the BARIDIS were arrested and fined.

Account of this proceeding.

ABU'L-FARAJ IBN ABI HISHAM narrates as follows : My father was clerk to AHMAD B. NASR QUSHURI, and this Ahmad wished to be made Chamberlain as his father had been. He was minister of public security in Ahwaz. One day when we were in his presence there came to him an autograph from Muqtadir conveyed by a despatch-rider privately known to Ahmad, containing the following message : *Ahmad, you know the offence which you have committed and whereby you have forfeited my good opinion. It is now within your power to retrieve it by obeying the order which this autograph contains. Arrest the three Baridis (206) and get them into your house. On no account release them except upon receipt of an autograph like this. If you do this, be assured that I will change back and promote you, make your fortune, and restore your rank.*

He continues : Ahmad b. Nasr showed me this autograph, and prostrated himself, thanking God for the confidence which Muqtadir reposed in him. He crossed over at once to the house of ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI, sent his doorkeeper ABU YA'QUB to the house of ABU YUSUF BARIDI, and despatched Ahmad b. Muqbil to the house of ABU'L-HUSAIN. He found that they had all left their houses and embarked in their barges one moment before he had started. The news had reached them before him. They had professed to be going to the Rida Mosque adjoining the Fountain in Ahwaz ; Ahmad went in pursuit, and learned that they were really off to Basrah—to his consternation.

He despatched Abu Ya'qub with his retainers in pursuit, and, as the wind was violent and against the Baridis, preventing their progress, they were overtaken by their pursuers and captured.

Abu 'Abdallah offered Abu Ya'qub fifty thousand dinars to let them escape, but he declined; he then offered twenty thousand if he would let one of the brothers escape; this also he declined. So he brought them back, and they were taken to Ahmad b. Nasr's house. Five days had not passed when loud shouting was heard. Ahmad b. Nasr bade me go outside and ascertain its cause. Now he had assigned to them his house on the river-bank, and removed into an apartment of it. As I hurried out, I was seen by Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, who called out to me: Go and give him the good news: deliverance has come! Here is a letter from the vizier ordering our release, and confirming me in my appointment, and bidding me attend to business.—He gave me the letter, with which I hurried back to Ahmad. He read it and went to Abu 'Abdallah and his brothers, to whom he said: This is a mercy for which I am bound to give thanks, bestow alms, and pay vows; only here are the orders of the Commander of the Faithful, and I must have an autograph like it countermanding the former.—At this (207) the faces of the brothers fell; their confusion appeared on their countenances, and they began to appeal for mercy and tried to mollify him.

The next day there was a mutiny of the infantry in Ahwaz who took the side of the Baridis, and clamoured for their release, with arms in their hands. Ahmad b. Nasr had under his command certain Basran regiments, and a large number of blacks and *Hujari* retainers. He collected this force, and vowed with divorce as the penalty that if any one tried to break into his house he would execute the three Baridis and send their heads to the Caliph. That letter, he went on to say, is a

forgery ; else why does no confirmation of it come ? You have stirred the infantry against me, and negotiated with them to get them to rescue you from my house by force of arms, for fear your forgery should be exposed ; you hoped to run away before.—When they saw that he was not to be frightened, they made humble excuses, and sent to the infantry requesting them to go away, having first sworn that their partisanship had been of their own initiative. After this attempt they remained where they were.

After ten days there arrived IBN MUSA DANJU with an autograph resembling the former. They were delivered to him, and he went off with them. Ahmad b. Nasr Qushuri now knew that they had forged and plotted, and was embittered against them. This feeling remained between the parties until fate parted them.

When the Baridis arrived at the capital they were examined with a view to the assessment of their fines. ABU ZAKARIYYA YAHYA B. SA'ID SUSI, who at the time was on bad terms with them, says : I paid an early visit to ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. QASIM KARKHI,¹ and said to him : Ahwaz was the ground of your father, and is your home and your brother's ; for sixty years you have been in control there, so why have you left it to these scoundrels ? Why have you not endeavoured to crush them and smash them till they have not a wing to fly with ?—He said : Abu Zakariyya, at what amount do you assess their fine if it is to reduce them to the condition which you describe ?—I replied, thinking I was naming a high figure : Three hundred thousand dinars (208) would extinguish them.—He said : Rise, brother, let us cross over to the vizier's palace (the vizier at the time was Sulaiman b. Hasan).—I went with him, we took our seats in the barge, and when we had got inside the palace we found ABU'L-QASIM KALWADHANI in one

¹ Vizier in 324.

quarter of it, and before him were the Baridis and the clerks.—Abu Ja'far said to me : What say you to our paying him our respects, finding out how things are going with them, and so obtaining a basis for what we shall say to the vizier ?—I told him this would be right.—So we turned aside to Kalwadhani, and took our seats by him. He said to Abu Ja'far : We have settled our friends' business. Now you are the ornament of the capital, its crown, its gentleman ; these are your brethren ; you are the proper person to help them.—He replied : The least they can demand—God help them—is that I should share their trouble ; mere help would not satisfy my mind. For how much is their business settled ?—For nine million dirhems, he replied.—Abu Ja'far looked at me and I was abashed. We rose. He said to me : Abu Zakariyya, this is very different from what you thought.—I said : There is something behind this, I am sure. They do not possess this sum, for I know well what their earnings are ; only Abu 'Abdallah is an ambitious man, anxious to display himself to his sovereign ; so he offers more than the Caliph had been made to hope for, and more than his enemies plotted to extort from him ; watching times and seasons and on the look out for a turn in fortune's wheel, and hoping that the Sultan may hear of the enormous sum which he has undertaken to pay, and thereby feel respect for his ability and desire to renew his favours towards him. Not every one would run such a risk ; this is not the last we shall hear of him ; he has a career before him, and God save us from the mischief that he may do !

ABU ZAKARIYYA said : From that day I changed my course, and did my best to conciliate Abu 'Abdallah Baridi.

Muqtadir ordered Sulaiman b. *Hasan* and 'Ali b. 'Isa to examine Ibn Muqlah ; they chose for the purpose AHMAD B. MOHAMMED B. SALIH of 'Ukbara, whom they

sent to the Palace. He examined him, but did little more than upbraid him and explain to him the wickedness (209) of his conduct. Ibn Muqlah requested that his examiner might be 'Ali b. 'Isa ; so he held a joint session with the vizier Sulaiman in the Chamberlain's apartment and in the presence of YAQUT the Chamberlain.¹ Sulaiman used harsh language to him, charged him with errors, and insulted him ; telling him that he had created dissension between the Sultan and his ministers. Ultimately 'Ali b. 'Isa fixed his fine at 200,000 dinars, of which sum one half was to be paid at once, the rest in instalments of fine—the last being a formality, since they were not demanded from the person who had given his bond for them. Mu'nis the Muzaffar wrote to Muqtadir to intercede for Ibn Muqlah, asking for the remission of his fine and that he be put in the custody of the eunuch MURSHID. These requests were granted.

YEAR 319.

In this year the disaffection of Mu'nis the Muzaffar was increased.

Account of the reason for his disaffection and rebellion.

MOHAMMED B. YAQUT disliked Sulaiman and favoured Husain b. Qasim ; whereas Mu'nis the Muzaffar and his dependents favoured Sulaiman owing to the authority of 'Ali b. 'Isa and their confidence in him, whilst they disliked Husain b. Qasim. Mohammed b. Yaqut's influence grew, and he was appointed Censor in addition to being head of the Police. He enrolled retainers, thereby making himself powerful. Mu'nis was displeased with this procedure, and requested Muqtadir to remove him from the Censorship,² and bestow it on IBN BATHA, which was done. (210) Mu'nis commanded

¹ He must have been promoted to this office after Nasr's death.

On the duties of this office see Amedroz's article in J.R.A.S. for 1916.

his followers to rally round him, and then Yaqut and his son collected troops in the Palace and in the house of Mohammed b. Yaqut. Mu'nis was informed that the latter meditated a nightly attack on his (Mu'nis's) residence ; Mu'nis's followers insisted on his going out to the Shammasiyyah Gate, and went thither with him. He was visited there by 'Ali b. 'Isa, who showed him the unwisdom of this step, and advised him to return to his residence. He would not accept that advice, and adhered to his plan.

He then sent to Muqtadir to demand the dismissal of Mohammed b. Yaqut from the Censorship¹ and the headship of police, and of Yaqut from the office of Chamberlain, and the expulsion of both from the capital. Muqtadir sent the Judge of Judges ABU 'UMAR, his son ABU'L-*HUSAIN*, IBN ABI'L-SHAWARIB, and a number of the Hashimite nobles, holders of office, to Mu'nis with a civilly worded message wherein he was requested to return to his residence. The Judge of Judges² observed that a copy had best be written of the message wherewith they were charged, to which they could refer, and which should serve as the norm for what they were to say ; for, he said, there are a number of us, who are likely to disagree and liable to forget. The vizier saw no point in this precaution ; but 'Ali b. 'Isa said it was the proper course, so a letter was written.

The vizier and 'Ali b. 'Isa sat in the Palace awaiting the return of the party. They presently returned and reported that they had not been admitted to see Mu'nis, but had been requested to remain seated in their boat. Mu'nis then sent to them to inform him of their errand, which they stated. His clerks then came to them and delivered a civil message from him ; but while they were

¹ Apparently this had already been done.

² Abu 'Umar.

delivering it, the boat was attacked by the army, and nearly sunk ; the soldiers calling out *Nothing will satisfy us but the expulsion of Yaqut and his sons*. They also used violent language. Towards the end of the day the vizier Sulaiman b. Hasan, 'Ali b. 'Isa, and the confidential attendants (211) who were with them betook themselves to the Shammasiyyah Gate, where they delivered the message to Mu'nis orally ; he however made no reply, but as they were leaving at sunset arrested them and imprisoned them in their boat. Yaqut departed the same night with his two sons and dismounted at Mada'in. The next day when the Mu'nisites learned that he and his sons had left the capital, they released the vizier and his party, who returned to their homes.

Muqtadir appointed YAQUT minister of *kharaj* and public security in Fars and Kirman, and wrote to ABU TAHIR MOHAMMED B. 'ABD AL-SAMAD, bidding him attach himself to Yaqut, which he did, giving him the title *Ustadh*. To Muzaffar b. Yaqut he gave the government of Ispahan. The two sons of RA'IQ, IBRAHIM and MOHAMMED, were installed in Yaqut's place. Yaqut remained for a time in Shiraz. There 'ALI B. KHALAF B. TINAB was farmer of the revenues from the Estates and of the *kharaj* ; he formed a league with Yaqut, and the two prevented any revenue being sent to the Sultan until 'ALI B. BUWAIHI became master of Fars on Saturday—10 Jumada ii. 922 (June 7, 934).

This year the pilgrim caravans came safely from Meccah to Baghdad escorted by MU'NIS WARQA'I. People were cheered by the accomplishment of the pilgrimage and the opening of the road. Arches were put up in Baghdad to celebrate the event.

In this year the vizier Sulaiman b. Hasan was arrested.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason was that Sulaiman was in severe financial straits, great demands being made upon him which he was unable to meet. There was a stream of applications from persons who were intriguing for the vizierate, and Sulaiman b. Hasan with ABU'L-QASIM 'UBAIDALLAH B. MOHAMMED KALWADHANI was arrested, a proceeding which occasioned great sorrow and apprehension. They were conveyed to the Palace. Muqtadir was exceedingly anxious to bestow the vizierate on (212) Husain b. Qasim, but Mu'nis objected, advising the appointment of KALWADHANI. Muqtadir was compelled to appoint him; the vizierate of Sulaiman had lasted one year, two months and some days.

Accordingly Muqtadir summoned ABU'L-QASIM 'UBAIDALLAH B. MOHAMMED KALWADHANI from the palace of Mu'nis¹ on Saturday—5 Rajab (March 19, 931); MUFLIH brought him the message of Muqtadir appointing him vizier and president of the bureaux; but he did not present him at once, being ordered to bring him on the Monday to receive his robe of honour. Kalwadhani was afraid that Husain b. Qasim might succeed after all in his designs upon the vizierate, having been informed that after Sulaiman's arrest he had been canvassing vigorously; so he sent word to Mu'nis the Muzaffar to the effect that quite possibly the Caliph might allege as a reason for delaying the investiture of Kalwadhani the fact that there were no robes ready; and he advised Mu'nis to send a supply of robes from his own residence to the Palace, to be bestowed by Muqtadir upon him. Mu'nis did this, and on the Monday Muqtadir performed the investiture of Kalwadhani, and publicly declared him vizier and head of the bureaux. He further bade him appoint Husain b. Qasim to some

¹ It is not stated how he got thither; we were told that he had been conveyed to the Palace of the Caliph. 'Arib holds that Sulaiman was dismissed partly for vulgarity.

important bureau that he might show himself, and rumours connecting him with the vizierate might cease. 'Ali b. 'Isa received an audience simultaneously with Kalwadhani, and was ordered by Muqtadir in the other's presence to continue his customary surveillance of business, and to present himself together with the vizier; he informed him that he had committed to him sole charge of Appeals, wherein Kalwadhani was to have no share. Kalwadhani rode in his robes from the Palace to his own house, and obtained the bond of Sulaiman b. Hasan for 200,000 dinars.

Just then ABU'L-FATH AL-FADL B. JA'FAR arrived from Syria, and ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. 'UBAIDALLAH from the regions of Jund Qinnasrin and the 'Awasim¹; the former was on his way to Qumis, but at the suggestion of Mu'nis he was appointed by Kalwadhani—unwillingly—to the bureau of the Sawad. Thereby Kalwadhani (213) and ABU'L-FAYYAD lost certain supplies that used to reach them, such as the pay of persons who were not present, revenues allotted to persons who had no existence, sums allotted to retainers and stewards in the Palace and court attendants under the name of jurists and clerks, as well as what was granted them for paper and parchment, but which in part was spent on other necessities, and the like. Kalwadhani was further unable to lay his hands on the goods of certain persons because they were protected by Mu'nis.

ABU BAKR IBN QARABAH had ingratiated himself with Muflih, who introduced him to Muqtadir; who made him his go-between in the matter of those secret profits whereby he ruined the Caliphate. Ibn Qarabah told him that these secret profits had been enjoyed by the viziers, but that the revenue-farmers had offered to pay them to the Caliph to expend on his own concerns, owing to the financial stress. Ibn Qarabah pretended

¹ Region between Aleppo and Antioch. He had been in Baghdad a short time before.

to Muqtadir and the negro Muflih that he "ran" the vizierate, and that no vizier could get on without him ; and indeed he used to haunt the palace of Kalwadhani and lend him money belonging to the Baridis and others at the rate of a dirhem on a dinar. He lent Kalwadhani 200,000 dinars which with the money from fines enabled him to keep things going.

In this year news came of a battle between Harun b. Gharib and Mardawij in the neighbourhood of Hamadhan, wherein Harun was defeated, in consequence whereof Mardawij became master of the whole Jabal as far as *Hulwan*. Harun came to a stand at Dair 'Aql.

In this year too Ispahan was invaded by LASHKARI the Dailemite, who was met in battle by AHMAD B. KAIGHALAGH ; the latter was defeated, and Lashkari became master of Ispahan. This Lashkari had been a follower of Asfar b. Shirawaihi. When Harun b. Gharib went to fight against Asfar,¹ Lashkari deserted to Harun ; then when Harun was routed, Lashkari, being involved in the rout, fled to Qinnasrin. Then when Harun got ready a second time with reinforcements from Baghdad to fight Mardawij, he sent Lashkari from Dinawar to Nahawand with a body of retainers to convey money to him, with orders to him to bring it (214) to Hamadhan, and wait there until he joined him. When Lashkari got to Nahawand, his cupidity was aroused by the wealth of the inhabitants and the affluence which he saw, so he imposed on them a contribution of some three million dirhems, which he collected in the course of a week ; he then raised an army, and proceeded to Karaj where he did the like. News of these proceedings reached Harun, who went in pursuit of him, but Lashkari fled before him till he invaded Ispahan where the governor was Ahmad b. Kaighalagh.

¹ This event has not been mentioned ; Ibn Isfandiyyar alludes to it, but his dates are evidently wrong.

Account of a lucky accident which befell Ahmad b. Kaighalagh after his defeat and the entry of Ispahan by Lashkari and his followers.

ABU'L-HASAN MAFARUKHI records how he was in Ispahan at the time, and how Ahmad b. Kaighalagh after a shameful rout took refuge with thirty souls in a village behind its fort. Lashkari's followers entered Ispahan and established themselves in the dwellings, *khans*, and baths; Lashkari himself lagged behind, then moved on a little and dismounted for a private purpose. Catching sight of a troop which he failed to recognize, he asked what it was; and being told that it was a party of Kaighalaghites, he mounted at once to attack it. When he got near it, Ahmad b. Kaighalagh learning that it was he, rushed to meet him; they fought a duel, and Lashkari was near taking him prisoner, when the people of the village came out and shouted at him. Lashkari lost heart, and Ahmad being close to him, struck him a blow with his sword, which clove his mail-cap and his helmet; the sword penetrating to the head killed him; Lashkari fell down, and Ahmad, dismounting, decapitated him. When Lashkari's followers learned of this disaster, they fled panicstricken. This was an extraordinary sort of victory, and a wonderful case of fortune. Ahmad b. Kaighalagh was more than seventy years old at the time. ¹

In the same year Kalwadhani was dismissed from the vizierate, which was conferred upon HUSAIN B. QASIM.

Account of the reason for the appointment of Husain b. Qasim and the success of his intrigue for the purpose of procuring it.

(215) A curious story was told by ABU'L-QASIM IBN ZANJI of the mode whereby Husain b. Qasim attained the vizierate. Abu 'Ali Husain b. Qasim used to be

¹ He is mentioned by Tabari as fighting in the year 291.

called ABU'L-JAMAL ("father of beauty"); he was a friend of mine, reposed confidence in me, and used to invite me to the place where he lay hid, and ask my advice. So he earned a claim to my fidelity, and I tried all sorts of schemes and plans to secure his appointment to the vizierate. My most successful operation was the following. There was at the time in Baghdad a man called Daniali (THE DANIELITE), who was attached to me and passed nights at my house. Among the secrets which he confided to me was that he was in the habit of producing books in an ancient script which he ascribed to the prophet Daniel; into these he would introduce the names of various dignitaries of the empire with the letters of their names detached; but which were intelligible when put together. Thereby he had acquired renown, and his business was thriving. He had got good sums out of the qadi Abu 'Umar, his son Abu'l-Husain, and the leading men in the empire. and was in special favour with MUFLIH, having informed him that he had found in his books that he, Muflih, was a descendant of Ja'far son of Abu Talib. This had gone down with Muflih, who had rewarded him liberally for the discovery. It was put into my mind to ask him to insert in the books which he was composing a chapter dealing with what I wanted. He agreed. I proceeded to give a description of Husain b. Qasim, confined indeed to his height, the pockmarks on his face, the mark on his lower-lip, and the thinness of the hair there; with the statement that if he became vizier to the eighteenth of the 'Abbasids, that Caliph would be successful in all his affairs, would gain the victory over his enemies, would conquer new countries, and see the world flourish in his days. I handed the paper to Daniali, who agreed to compose a pamphlet wherein he would mention various matters, inserting this section in the middle.—I requested him to produce it and indeed importuned him, till he let me know that it would require at the least twenty days for the docu-

ment to assume the appearance that he wanted, of extreme and indubitable antiquity; he had to put it in straw for some days, and then put it into his shoe and walk about on it for some days, so that it might look yellow and old. When the time which he had (216) calculated had come, he brought it to me, and showed it me. I looked out the chapter, and found the leaves to be such that had I not known their origin, I should have sworn that they were indubitably ancient. So he went off with his work to Muflih, and read the contents out to him among other matters. Muflih requested him to read that chapter a second time. When this was done, Muflih went off to Muqtadir and told him about it. Muqtadir asked for the book, and when Muflih brought it to him, the Caliph asked: Whom do we know answering to this description? This question he kept on repeating, though Muflih said he knew no-one who answered to it. Muqtadir however was anxious to know some-one who corresponded with the description, and at last Muflih said: The only person known to me who corresponds with it is *Husain b. Qasim* called *Abu'l-Jamal*.—Muqtadir said to him: If any friend of his bring an application, or ask you to convey a message, then let me know it, but conceal the proceedings, letting no-one else know. Muflih came out to Daniali and said to him: Do you know any one of this description?—Daniali replied that he only read what he had found in the books of Daniel, and had no knowledge beyond.

Daniali came to me with this story, and I at once went to *Husain b. Qasim* and repeated it to him; he was exceedingly pleased and even elated, and a look of triumph appeared on his face. He said to me: Let me tell you that *ABU BISHR* the clerk yesterday took a letter from me to Muflih, and came away despondent, chagrined and vexed by the ill-will towards me which Muflih displayed; and that grieved me.—I said: We shall know now whether Daniali spoke true or lied; send

Abu Bishr to-morrow with a letter to Muflih ; his treatment of your messenger will show whether what Daniali recounted was truth or fiction.—So he called his clerk Abu Bishr the Christian, gave him a letter, and particularly requested him to call early.—The next day, at the close of the daytime I went to him to find out what had happened. He summoned Abu Bishr and bade him repeat the story to me. Abu Bishr informed me that (217) there were a number of people in Muflih's room when he entered ; Muflih had seated him by his side above them all, and commenced a conversation. Then bidding him come close to him, he had asked him in a whisper for news of Husain b. Qasim, and after listening to his message had said : *Greet him from me and assure him that I undertake to manage his business*, with other words to that effect ; and that he was to send a letter which he, Muflih, would deliver ; he would also act as Husain's deputy with the Caliph.—Abu Bishr added : So I came away completely confident and reliant on God for the success of the negotiation.—I then told Husain that the man's story was true, and we had now seen the effects.

ZANJI continues : Daniali now asked me for his remuneration, and I bade him be of good cheer, merely requesting him to wait till Husain had been actually appointed vizier. I reminded Husain of the man's services, and Husain appointed him Censor in Baghdad with a stipend of a hundred dinars a month. Husain made a friend of him, and when he came to his saloon, bade him sit by the side of his own cushion. But as the days passed, Daniali declared that he was not satisfied with his allowance, and wanted an increase ; so I put his case before Husain, who assigned him a further hundred dinars a month, which was to come out of the jurists' allowances.

This affair of " the Danielite " was one of the most effective causes of Husain's appointment to the vizierate

in the face of numerous persons who disapproved and objected.

To this which is narrated by Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Zanjī there should be added that Kalwadhani made an estimate of the serious expenditure that was necessary, and obtained estimates made independently by the Presidents of the Bureau of the Army and the Bureau of Public Expenditure, wherein the requirements came to more than his estimate by 200,000 dinars. This showed Muqtadir how cautious Kalwadhani had been and modest in his statement. There was a deficit of 700,000 dinars. Kalwadhani showed the estimates to Muqtadir, adding : *My sole resource for meeting this expenditure is what the Commander of the Faithful will bestow.* Muqtadir was indignant at this ; and when Husain heard about the estimate furnished by Kalwadhani, he wrote a letter to Muqtadir offering to undertake the whole expense without (218) demanding anything of the Caliph ; and in addition to raise a million dinars which should go into the Private Treasury. Muqtadir sent the letter to Kalwadhani, adding : *This is the letter of So-and-so,* and I do not demand of you financial assistance, I only want you to meet the expenditure.—Kalwadhani replied : This person may succeed where I have failed ; and requested the Caliph to bestow the office on the person who had given this guarantee, while permitting him, Kalwadhani, to retire.—When Muqtadir had ascertained the inability of Kalwadhani to find the means, and been impressed by the offer of Husain b. Qasim, he made up his mind to appoint the latter vizier. Knowing how strongly opposed Mu'nīs was to the appointment, Muqtadir instructed Husain through Mufliḥ to strive hard to conciliate his enemies. Husain commenced with the sons of RA'ĪQ, personally visiting their clerk IBRAHIM the Christian, and adding promise to promise until they were conciliated. He did the like with ABU NASR WALID B. JABIR, clerk of SHAFI' ; then with STEPHEN son of

YA'QUB, clerk of Mu'nis, to whom he said : *If I am made vizier, it is you who will have made me.* Stephen advised him to pay court to ABU 'ALI YAHYA B. 'ABDALLAH TABARI, clerk of YALBAQ. He did this ; Yalbaq had however heard that Husain was a bad man, suspected of unorthodoxy : so Abu 'Ali Tabari arranged a meeting between the two, at which Husain swore by every oath that could bind either a Moslem or a member of a tolerated cult that every charge that had been brought against his orthodoxy was false, in the first place ; then that the same was the case with the charge of ill-will to Mu'nis, his staff and his followers. Husain harboured ill (he said) to no-one ; and the money which he intended to raise was to be taken from arrears due by certain traders who had appropriated moneys that belonged to the Sultan as the price of produce, or from revenue farmers who had made enormous profits. Husain promised Yalbaq and his clerk handsome estates ; so Yalbaq pleaded his cause with Mu'nis, and Mu'nis with Muqtadir. Thus he became sure of his appointment ; and Kalwadhani, hearing of this, repeated his request for permission to retire.

It so happened that five hundred horsemen who had been stationed in the Jabal in Mah al-Kufah (219) and Hulwan, regions not conquered by Mardawij, came to Baghdad, owing to a delay in their pay, and demanded it of Kalwadhani, who told them to return to their stations, to receive it there. Instead of listening they pelted him with brickbats, as he was returning in his barge. Making this his excuse he locked his door and vowed that he would attend no more to the business of the vizierate. His tenure of office had been two months and three days.

Muqtadir then issued a rescript to Husain b. Qasim, appointing him vizier. The chief clerks, officials and commanders rode out to him, and when the news reached

ABU'L-FATH AL-FADL B. JA'FAR he also visited him with the qadi Abu 'Umar Mohammed b. Yusuf and his son, and the qadi Ibn Abi'l-Shawarib. He wrote a letter in the name of Muqtadir to Khorasan and the other provinces, announcing his appointment to the vizierate. The date of his investiture was Friday—2 Ramadan (Sep. 28, 931). He declined to hold a reception for congratulations, and devoted himself to the financial question, including the sum necessary for the feast; al-Fadl b. Ja'far and Hisham b. 'Abdallah were in attendance upon him, because they were in charge of the bureau and the control of the East, and the bureau of the Treasury. He obtained the bonds of various officials and revenue-farmers for seventy thousand dinars. Late in the day he was visited by 'Ali b. 'Isa, who offered congratulations; but Husain had stipulated that this person was to attend to none of the business and not to hear appeals, and this had been granted.

The clerk of the sons of RA'IQ and the others who had intrigued to secure him the vizierate now made exorbitant demands upon him for money; they went so far as to seize a vessel that had come from Ahwaz bringing the revenue of Ahwaz, Ispahan and Fars. The vizier Husain wrote to Muqtadir to complain of this (220) action, but the Caliph made only a mild remonstrance; so Husain and the two sons of Ra'iq effected a compromise whereby the latter took half the money, and released the rest.

DIMNAH, who was a favourite concubine of Muqtadir, used to transmit to her master the letters of Husain, and look after his interests, for which he paid her a vast sum; he also sent a sum to her son the prince ABU AHMAD ISHAQ, and asked Muqtadir's permission (which he obtained) to make his son QASIM B. HUSAIN the prince's secretary. He promised Dimnah that he would pay her son a hundred dinars a day if she would see that he was not dismissed.

His favour was sought by the BARIDIS and ABU BAKR IBN QARABAH, who advanced him a sum of money from the revenue-farmers at the usual rate of interest, a dirhem per dinar. Among the commanders who attached themselves to him were JA'FAR B. WARQA and ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. KHALAF NIRMANI, whom he appointed minister of war, *kharaḡ*, and estates in Hulwan, Marj al-Qal'ah, and Mah al-Kufah, permitting him to wear the *qaba*, the sword and belt ; he took the title Emir (Prince), and was addressed by it ; he undertook to collect troops, reconquer the Eastern provinces, and wrest them from the hands of Mardawij. This person (Mohammed b. Khalaf Nirmani) had embezzled certain arrears of money due to the Sultan from the revenues of the Estates and the *kharaḡ*, private and public, which he had farmed in the days of Sulaiman b. Hasan, and they came to a large sum. At one time he had been governor of Kirman, out of whose revenues he had collected a large sum, which he had carried off with him ; his successor wrote that he had not spent one dirhem of this money in the province. And there were other similar incidents in his career. Husain b. Qasim tried hard to get 'Ali b. 'Isa and his brother 'Abd al-Rahman removed to Egypt and Syria, and Muqtadir communicated with 'Ali b. 'Isa on the subject ; but Mu'nis the Muzaffar (221) protected him, urging that he was a man of authority who could be consulted and whose support was of value. It was finally settled that he should go no further than Safiyah,¹ whither he went.

On Saturday 3 Dhu'l-Hijjah (Dec. 17, 931) Mu'nis commenced to feel aggrieved and to display disloyalty.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason for this was that a report reached Mu'nis of a meeting between the vizier Husain b. Qasim and a

¹ Near Dair Qunna, at the extremity of Nahrawan. It was a ruin in Yaqut's time.

number of the commanders at which they had plotted against him ; *Husain*, hearing of *Mu'nis's* resentment, and that the *Muzaffar* meant to invade his house at night with a number of his partisans for the purpose of arresting him, moved during ten days to ten different places, and had no known home or place where he could be met ; the heads of the bureaux could only find him when he sent for them. Finally he established himself in the Palace. *Mu'nis* the *Muzaffar* then sent a message to *Muqtadir*, requiring him to dismiss *Husain* from the office of vizier ; *Muqtadir* agreed to dismiss him and order him not to leave his own house. *Mu'nis* was not satisfied with this, but demanded that he should be arrested and banished to Oman. *Muqtadir* declined this proposal, and a series of negotiations ensued. *Husain b. Qasim* wrote to *Muqtadir* that *Mu'nis* was plotting to kidnap the prince *Abu'l-'Abbas* from his house in *Mukharrim*, and carry him off to Egypt or Syria and there proclaim him Caliph, and advised *Muqtadir* to bring the prince *Abu'l-'Abbas* back to his apartment in the Palace. *Muqtadir* adopted this suggestion. The Prince *Abu'l-'Abbas* hearing of this proceeding on the part of *Husain b. Qasim* resented it, and cherished the grievance until he became Caliph, when he inflicted on *Husain* the punishment which we hope to narrate in its place. ¹

Husain b. Qasim also wrote to *HARUN B. GHARIB*, who was in *Dair al-'Aqul* after (222) his defeat by *Mardawij*, bidding him hurry to the capital. The alarm of *Mu'nis* was increased by these proceedings, and he was now convinced that *Husain b. Qasim* was plotting against him. So on 5 *Muharram* 320 (Jan. 17, 932) he left his palace, taking his seat in a boat, in a series which extended to the *Shammasiyyah Gate*, whither most of his followers also came who proceeded to pitch their tents. *Mu'nis* then

¹ In 321 he was banished to *Raqqa* by his brother who was then vizier to *Qahir*.

wrote to Muqtadir that Muflih the negro was conspiring with *Husain b. Qasim* against him, and that he should not feel easy until Muflih was sent to him ; he would then invest Muflih with a most important command and send him out to it.—Muqtadir replied that Muflih was a faithful servant in whom he had confidence, and not the man to be mixed up in what Mu'nis suggested.—Mu'nis hearing that *Husain* had assembled his troops and the *Hujari* retainers in the Palace, and commenced distributing money among them, and that *Harun b. Gharib* had approached Baghdad, made no further secret of his displeasure, and proceeded to Mausil. But first he sent his servant BUSHRA to deliver a message to Muqtadir. When he got within the Palace and into the presence of *Husain b. Qasim*, the latter told him to hand over the letter which he had brought ; he replied that he had no letter, but only a message.—*Husain* bade him repeat it.—He said his orders were to repeat it to the Caliph only.—*Husain* sent and told Muqtadir this, and the Caliph sent back word bidding Bushra deliver his message to *Husain*.—Bushra said he must first go and get his master's permission and then he would return.—*Husain* then insulted him and his master, ordered him to be arrested and scourged, and said : I will not give the order to stop the scourging until you give a bond for 300,000 dinars.—Bushra gave the bond, and was ordered to prison. *Husain* immediately sent to Bushra's house, had its contents removed and arrested and imposed a fine upon his wife. When Mu'nis heard of the treatment which his servant Bushra had received, he proceeded upstream with the commanders in his service and his followers. *Husain b. Qasim* wrote to the commanders and retainers of his party (223) bidding them leave him and present themselves at the Sultan's gate. A certain number obeyed this order ; Mu'nis with his own partisans and retainers hastened towards Mausil. *Husain* ordered the confiscation of his goods and lands, and the lands

of his dependents. He established a special bureau called the Rebels' Bureau for dealing with these properties ; making MOHAMMED B. JINNI its chief.

Husain b. Qasim now rose high in Muqtadir's favour. who sent him food from his own table, and ordered that he should be called by his *kunya*, should have the title '*Amid al-daulah*,¹ and that this title should be struck on the dinars and dirhems.² This was done, and the robe of honour bestowed on Monday—4 Muharram, 920 (Feb. 6, 320)³ ; and the vizier composed a letter on the subject, which was despatched to all the provinces and regions. He proceeded to dismiss and appoint officials. Among his appointments was that of ABU YUSUF YA'QUB B. MOHAMMED BARIDI at his own request to the ministries of *kharaj*, Estates, shipping and all other taxes in Basrah ; these he was to farm on condition of his paying out of the proceeds all the expenses of administration, a subsidy of 30,000 dinars to be granted him besides. When ABU'L-FATH AL-FADL B. JA'FAR learned of this arrangement, he was astonished that the revenue of Basrah should not be sufficient to meet the expenses, and that a subsidy should be required to be provided from the revenues of some other places ; so he ordered the accounts of the officials, both those which had been passed and those which had not been passed,⁴ to be brought to him ; and he told all the members of his committees to bring him the records which they possessed of the revenues of Basrah for three years. The unpassed accounts were brought to him, and he went through them as well as through the statements of the

¹ The first of the princely names compounded with *daulah* " empire," which are characteristic of the Buwaihids and Hamdanids. This title means " maintainer of the empire."

² An unheard of honour. Coins bearing his name are to be found in the chief European collections.

³ According to Wüstenfeld this should be -5 Muharram.

⁴ See *Mafatih*, 56.

clerks of the committees. Combining statement with statement and working from the morning prayer to the second evening prayer, he got together a memoir of the sort which he wanted. He then summoned Abu Yusuf Baridi and showed it to him ; Baridi found it impossible to deny any of the facts which he had produced, so he gave Al-Faḍl b. Ja'far his bond to pay all that was due to the state functionaries, and increase by a thousand (224) the guardians of the wall whom he would pay at the same rate as those to whom they were to be attached, pay all other permanent expenses, and transmit to him in addition 60,000 dinars to be paid into the Treasury in the capital. Al-Faḍl b. Ja'far brought this bond to the vizier Husain b. Qasim with some pride, laid it before him and narrated the negotiations between himself and Baridi which had resulted in his writing this bond. It did not make the impression on the vizier which al-Faḍl had calculated on its making ; he displayed vexation, thinking that it was a reproach to himself and that al-Faḍl had exceeded his functions. When al-Faḍl perceived the state of the case he communicated to Muqtadir what he had been doing, and Muqtadir was highly gratified ; the story got about the bureaux, and was the gossip of the presidents and clerks. This annoyed Husain when he heard of it, and wishing to humiliate al-Faḍl, he instructed IBN JUBAIR to ridicule al-Faḍl and scold him in the vizier's saloon. Ibn Jubair did as he was told, using expressions not ordinarily heard, while Husain maintained a reserve, and did not interfere. When Abu'l-Fath (al-Faḍl) noticed this and understood the object, he rose from the assembly, saying : *The person who is addressing me is not you, but some one else.* When he had turned his back to depart, Husain became conscious of the error which he had committed, and calling ABU 'ABDALLAH ZANJI, said to him : Abu'l-Fath is a friend of yours, and will listen to you. I do not like him to depart in this style ; please overtake him, pacify

him, and bring him back.—Abu 'Abdallah made haste, and mollified him till he let himself be brought back, when *Husain* apologized to him for the expression used by Ibn Jubair. Still he went away alarmed, and hid with ABU BAKR IBN QARABAH, leaving his office unattended until *Husain* despaired of his appearing, and appointed ABU'L-QASIM KALWADHANI to take charge of it. Abu'l-Fath intrigued to secure the vizierate for himself, and ultimately succeeded, as we shall narrate.

(225) When Mu'nis failed to return to Baghdad, *Husain* sent to Ibn Muqlah who was in confinement, and fined him; he obtained his bond for 200,000 dinars. He also sent to summon 'Ali b. 'Isa, who was in Safiyah; holding out hopes to Muqtadir that he would be able to extort 200,000 dinars from him. When the messenger of *Husain* reached Safiyah, he found there Harun b. Gharib, who was greatly interested in 'Ali b. 'Isa, and prevented the messenger from fetching him, saying that he would plead his cause with Muqtadir. When *Husain* became aware that Harun b. Gharib had undertaken to protect him, he left him alone.

When Harun b. Gharib came to the Palace, he had a private audience of the Caliph, and then retired to his own house, where he was visited by the vizier, the two sons of Ra'iq, Mohammed b. Yaqut,¹ Muflih, and Shafi'; so important had he become. He proceeded to plead with Muqtadir for 'Ali b. 'Isa, whose fine the Caliph remitted, and for Ibn Muqlah, whose fine was reduced by 50,000 dinars; the Caliph also gave orders that Ibn Muqlah should be conveyed to Harun's house. Presently, however, the Caliph thought this a mistake, fearing that Ibn Muqlah might send letters or messages to Mu'nis. Ibn Muqlah requested Harun to approach the Caliph again on this subject, offering to swear the most solemn oaths that he would send neither letter nor

¹ His return is narrated on the next page.

message to Mu'nis or any of his dependents. Harun agreed and Ibn Muqlah was brought to his house. My authority says that when Ibn Muqlah was vizier to Radi, he told them that after his removal from the Palace he started soliciting contributions, and paid the whole of his fine by what he received from various quarters. There was a surplus of 20,000 dinars, with which he bought certain lands in the name of 'ABDALLAH B. 'ALI NIFFARI, and settled them on the descendants of Abu Talib.

Husain wrote to YAQUT bidding him arrest KHASIBI, who was in Shiraz, and send him to the capital; the agent of Khasibi, 'ALI B. MOHAMMED B. RAUH, hastened to warn his chief, who fled from Shiraz the same day, secretly, and coming to Baghdad went into hiding in the house of Abu Bakr Ibn Qarabah, (226) with whom al-Fadl b. Ja'far also was hiding. Neither knew about the other. MOHAMMED B. YAQUT arrived from Ahwaz. MOHAMMED son of MU'TADID and ABU AHMAD son of MUKTAFI were both arrested and brought to the Palace, where they were confined. The Queen-mother was profuse in her liberality towards Mohammed son of Mu'tadid, and in the respect she showed him; she presented him with a number of slave-girls.

The position of the vizier Husain now began to grow difficult.

Account of the reason for this.

The financial crisis became severe, and Husain sold lands for half a million dinars, and anticipated half the revenue of the year 320 some months before the collection of it properly began. He could find no way of meeting the arrears of the *kharaj* year 319.¹ Harun b. Gharib, knowing of this, communicated the facts to Muqtadir, who decided to appoint Khasibi vizier; he

¹ The *kharaj* year was solar, beginning in June (*Letters of Sabi'*, p. 211).

wrote him a deed of amnesty, in consequence whereof he showed himself. He was approached on the subject of assuming the vizierate, but stated that no revenue remained anywhere due to the Sultan for the year 319, of which three months yet remained,¹ that *Husain* had anticipated a large portion of the revenue of the year 320, and that he was not prepared to deceive the Sultan with regard to his own powers. Harun suggested that *Khasibi* should be appointed controller of the bureaux by Muqtadir directly, so that the bureaux of first estimates should be under *Husain*, who was in the first instance to frame the budget. *Husain* acquiesced, and *Khasibi* was in consequence appointed to the presidency of the bureaux of control, with a stipend of 2,700 dinars a month for himself and his clerks. Muqtadir presented *Husain* with a robe of honour to silence rumour.

Husain now proceeded to draw up statements, the accuracy of which was certified by the heads of the primary bureaux and of the bureaux of control, concerning the revenue due from the provinces, and the amount which was likely to be realized. He assessed the expenditure at a sum approximating to the revenue, thereby relieving Muqtadir's mind. Muqtadir handed this statement to *Khasibi*, ordering him to examine it in detail. (227) *Khasibi* found that *Husain* b. *Qasim* had disingenuously added to the sums which might be expected to be realized from the provinces the revenue of districts which had passed out of the Sultan's hands, having been wrested from them by usurpers, as Rayy and the Jabal which had been seized by the Dailemites, and Mausil with Diyar Rabi'ah, which were in the hands of Mu'nis, and the revenue of Diyar Mudar, Egypt and Syria, which had not been transmitted for four years; all this made a vast sum. Further he deducted from the expenditure increases which he had himself made to

¹ Probably this means with the expenses unpaid. The events narrated here must belong to 920.

the pay of the army and the allowances of the court-attendants and others. On the other hand he had not deducted from the expected receipts the revenue coming from lands which he had sold. So Khasibi drew up a statement which he laid before Muqtadir and which Muqtadir ordered to be brought to the notice of the vizier. A meeting of the clerks was arranged, and Muqtadir ordered him to examine them. When they addressed him, he began to rebuke them and to charge them with slandering him. In what, he asked, have I misled the Sultan? Are not these the bonds of the revenue-farmers?—They replied: God forbid that any one should say such a thing of the vizier! Still, his statement was based on sums due in the year 319 which he was compelled to allocate out of the revenues of the year 320; and the revenue-farmers have sent into the bureau of control statements of the revenue which they have paid on account of the year 320, and of the amount which they have undertaken to pay of these allocated sums at harvest time. This is why we have been summoned.—*Husain* said: Do you know what the amount is?—*Khasibi* replied: Yes. He then brought a statement which he had drawn up, wherein it appeared that the amount allocated out of the revenue of the Sawad, Ahwaz and Fars for the year 320 some months before the collection of it commenced was forty million dirhems; and that what was still due from the revenue-farmers up to the end of 320 and before the commencement of 321 was twenty millions. It was asserted that no similar budget had been brought up in ancient or in modern times.

When *Husain* came to understand this, he was aghast, and wished to break up the meeting by clamouring: You put down in your estimates things the like of which no vizier ever perpetrated, and then (228) you lay them before me! *HISHAM* said: It is an error, written (no doubt) by oversight, and cannot affect the assets one way

or the other.—He was beaten for this remark, and then said: We have been summoned for the sole purpose of looking into the accounts and telling the vizier the facts.—Husain then turned to Khasibi and mocked him, not attempting to argue. Khasibi left the meeting when Husain had been exposed, and went with the revenue-farmers and ABU JA'FAR IBN SHIRZAD to Harun b. Gharib, to whom he set forth what had happened. The meeting was reported precisely as it had taken place to Muqtadir, in whose presence Khasibi addressed to Husain the same remarks as before. Husain's cause was ruined, and he was arrested after holding office seven months.

The vizierate of Abu'l-Fath al-Fadl b. Ja'far.

ABU'L-FATH AL-FADL B. JA'FAR was now appointed vizier, the robe of honour being bestowed on him on Monday—2 Rabi' ii (May 7, 932); he rode in his robes accompanied by the commanders and the courtiers of Muqtadir. Muqtadir put Husain b. Qasim in the power of the new vizier, who held friendly intercourse with him, and assessed his fine at 40,000 dinars. When he had paid it, the vizier asked Muqtadir's permission to appoint him inspector of Egypt and Syria; and this permission was granted. It then appeared that Husain was trying to dig through the wall of the place in which he was confined, and Khasibi said: This is a man who has got hold of a vast sum belonging to the Sultan, and it is undesirable that he should be at large or occupy any public post.—The arrangement was therefore delayed, a second fine was imposed on him, and after that the vizier retained him in his power, and kept him for some time; he then sent him off to Basrah with an allowance of 5,000 dirhems a month.

This year there appeared an agent of MARDAWIJ B. ZIYAR, who requested that the Eastern provinces which he had conquered should be allotted him in fief; his

cause was taken up by Harun b. Gharib, who settled that he should restore to the Sultan the districts of Mah al-Kufah and Hamadhan, (229) but be invested with the government of the rest, for which he was to send revenue. His deed of investiture was made out, and a banner with robes of honour was sent to him.

Then Muqtadir bethought him of appointing Ibn Muqlah to the vizierate, but when Harun b. Gharib heard of this he disapproved, owing to Ibn Muqlah's attachment to Mu'nis. Harun met the vizier Abu'l-Fatḥ, and the two compelled Abu 'Abdallah Baridi to pay 100,000 dinars; Ibn Muqlah was handed over to him¹; the vizier Abu'l-Fatḥ was enabled to keep things going; and Ibn Muqlah was conveyed to Shiraz with RASHIQ AISAR.

This year the qadī Abu 'Umar died, and ABU BAKR IBN QARABAH strenuously urged the Caliph to make calls upon his heirs; telling Muqtadir that the qadī's son ought to pay a hundred thousand dinars, which he could well afford. If he declined, some one else would present himself to be appointed Judge of Judges, and the money would be furnished from that source. Muqtadir ordered Harun b. Gharib to send his clerk, and the vizier to associate with him a confidential agent, who should go to see Abu'l-Husain son of Abu 'Umar with Ibn Qarabah, who should speak to him in their presence. Accordingly Ibn Qarabah went accompanied by ABU JA'FAR IBN SHIRZAD and ABU 'ALI AHMAD B. NASR BAZIYAR. When they came to the house of the qadī Abu'l-Husain, they found there a large company of friends paying visits of condolence. They said some words of sympathy themselves, and then sat down in silence as is proper on such melancholy occasions. Then Ibn Qarabah said: This is not the purpose of our visit; come with us, Abu'l-Husain, where we can see you

¹ It is not clear to whom: apparently Baridi,

alone.—He rose and went with them, and then Ibn Qarabah made a most importunate demand. Abu'l-Husain replied: My fortune and my father's fortune are both derived from the Commander of the Faithful Muqtadir, so I shall reserve nothing from him.—He asked for the delay of that day, so that he might cast up his accounts, and said he would come the next morning and give a true account of his means. It was Ramadan; when night came on, at the time of breaking fast, he went to Ibn Qarabah, and demanded admission. He was brought in, and as a table was in front of Ibn Qarabah, the latter bade him break fast with him. So he washed his hands, said *In the Name of God*, and proceeded to eat; his bereavement was indeed very fresh, having (230) happened that very day, but his idea was to protect himself from Ibn Qarabah's evil designs.—When the breakfast was over, he said: Sir, I have come to put myself in your hands; do you settle as you think fit what I am to do.—Ibn Qarabah replied: Arise and go in peace; you need give me no instructions and need not think about your concerns; I will settle it all and act in a way that will satisfy you.—The two Baridis, Abu 'Abdallah and Abu Yusuf, were present at Ibn Qarabah's table; when they had finished their meal, they approached the qadi Abu'l-Husain, in the character of sympathizers, manifested their participation in his trouble, and approved his idea of visiting Ibn Qarabah and breaking fast with him.—Then they said to him: You are on the road to fortune.—Abu Yusuf then offered him three thousand dinars, saying: If you are in need of them, take them and ransom yourself with them; or, if the state of affairs renders it necessary for you to go into hiding, then spend them on your retreat, and before they are exhausted deliverance will come.—Abu'l-Husain had no occasion to go into hiding; Muqtadir was merciful with him, and he was liberally helped by the Baridis

and his friends. Muqtadir appointed him Judge of Judges, he recovered heart and his affairs prospered.

Muqtadir after this was explaining to Ibn Qarabah the financial crisis, when the latter said to him : Commander of the Faithful, why are you not helped by Harun, your maternal uncle's son, who has barns filled with money ?—Muqtadir repeated this to Harun, who said : Commander of the Faithful, if I *do* own such stores, I do not grudge them you, as your safety is mine ; I spend them on your army, so that they come back to you. But Ibn Qarabah has hoards for which he has no use whatever, and I can get half a million dinars out of him. He has not the relationship with the Commander of the Faithful which I have, so why should he be allowed to retain them ? I will pay them to you out of his assets.—Muqtadir said : Go and take possession of him.—So Harun arrested Ibn Qarabah, who was tortured till he nearly died ; but Muqtadir was put to death in time, and so Ibn Qarabah escaped. We must not wonder at God's decrees.

(231) The vizier Abu'l-Fath had already ordered a statement to be drawn up of the profit made by Ibn Qarabah on the sums which he advanced on behalf of the revenue-farmers, the arrears of the fine which had been imposed on him in the days of 'Abdallah Khaqani, and the surplus due from him on the estates which he had purchased. The amount due from him on these various accounts came out at a million dinars ; out of which he actually paid ninety thousand. Then the attention of the vizier and of Harun was absorbed by the news that Mu'nis was descending the river from Mausil. One day Harun had had Ibn Qarabah fettered, and delivered to his door-keeper and a number of his retainers to remove to Wasit. That day Muqtadir was put to death, and all who were in charge of Ibn Qarabah took to flight except two slaves of Harun whom he had purchased, and who looked after

him. These went with him to the wharf of JA'FAR, took him into a mosque, and fetched a smith who removed his fetters. Being released he went to his house in SUWAIQAT GHALIB, and gave the two slaves five hundred dinars.

THABIT B. SINAN records in his work that his father SINAN B. THABIT was on friendly terms with Ibn Qarabah ; so we went, he says, to congratulate him on his escape. He said to my father : Abu Sa'id, you are attached to me, and are besides a man of prudence and sound judgment. I want you to advise me what I had best do.—My father said : Tell me the subject, and I will give you the advice of a friend.—Ibn Qarabah said : You know that I was in seas of meddling, and that claims were brought against me in consequence of the business which I transacted in advancing money on account of the revenue-farmers ; on no-one were ever such claims made. I have now experienced this reverse, but the amount of fine which I have paid in consequence is less than what I possessed ; and I have now got sources that produce 20,000 dinars net revenue, and I possess besides orchards and cultivated lands unrivalled in extent, with furniture, utensils, crystal, cut glass, china, gems, and apparel such as are owned by no other person. Besides these I possess (232) slaves, handsome pages, retainers and horses in greater numbers than any one else. I have besides three hundred thousand dinars in cash which I do not require. There is a firm friendship between the present vizier (*i.e.*, Ibn Muqlah, who had been appointed by Qahir and was still in Fars) and myself ; when he arrives, do you advise me to confine myself to an occasional call in order to maintain our relations, without my attaching myself to him and returning to my former occupation, or should I enter the meddling once more ?—My father said : I never saw a stranger consultation than this ; usually people consult about

difficult situations, but where they are obvious counsel is not required. Consider, God help you ; if the meddling produced what you like, then go back to it ; but if it has only produced what you dislike, and exposed you to the loss of your life and of your fortune, then do not go back ! And besides men work and toil and expose themselves to vexation to obtain merely a part of what you have acquired. So praise God, and enjoy your fortune ; for you have obtained sufficient honour to protect it. Reap the benefit of security and health !—Ibn Qarabah listened to all this, and then said : I am well aware that your advice is good, indeed excellent ; but I have an unfortunate disposition which will not be resigned ; I *must* go back to my former occupation.—My father said : May God be good to you !—We parted, and my father said to me : My boy, I have never seen a greater fool than that man. Men of that kind either get themselves killed or die in the most abject poverty.

The event turned out as he prophesied. His meddling led to his being arrested by Qahir, who confiscated his fortune ; his goods were seized and his house was pulled down ; the Caliph wished to put him to death, only was himself dethroned too soon. He then went back to his meddling, entered the service of the Baridis when they rebelled against the government, then of AHMAD B. BUWAIHI when he made himself master of Ahwaz ; but he was taken prisoner when this prince was compelled to retreat from the Diyala, and was fined so heavily that nothing was left him, and he was forced to enter the service of NASIR AL-DAULAH ABU MOHAMMED IBN HAMDAN for a wage of a dinar a month ; and to him (233) this seemed a great deal, though he had been accustomed to spend that amount in a day. He died in Mausil. God keep us from folly and ill-luck !

YEAR 320.¹

In this year Mu'nis descended the river from Mausil to Baghdad and Muqtadir was put to death.

Account of the cause for this.

The cause was the estrangement between Mu'nis and the Caliph which has already been described. When Mu'nis succeeded in getting away to Mausil, Husain b. Qasim wrote to DAWUD and SA'ID sons of HAMDAN and HASAN B. 'ABDALLAH B. HAMDAN, bidding him offer armed resistance to Mu'nis, and keep him out of Mausil as a rebel. Mu'nis on his journey had sent letters to the chieftains of the Arabs in Diyar Rabi'ah stating that he had been sent by the Sultan to fight against the Banu Hamdan: his intention being to keep these chieftains from assisting them. DAWUD refused to resist Mu'nis owing to the favours which the latter had conferred upon him; his relations however urged him to carry out his orders, saying: We have not yet cleared away the disgrace of the doings of HUSAIN B. HAMDAN,² and the recent acts of ABU'L-HAIJA;³ are we about to perpetrate a third business? He finally yielded to their representations, though exceedingly unwillingly, saying: My people, with what face shall I meet Mu'nis when he has been so kind to me? He enumerated the benefits which he had received, then said: By Allah, it would not be surprising if an arrow shot at a venture came at me in this place (pointing to his throat), and put an end to me.—And in fact (my authority adds) the moment when Mu'nis met him an arrow shot at a venture came just where he had put his finger, and pierced his throat. He was the only man killed on the occasion.

¹ This heading is somewhat belated, as many of the events recorded above were in that year.

² See above, p. 5 foll.

³ See above, p p. 196-198.

The *Hamdanid* force was of 30,000, whereas Mu'nis was at the head of 800 ; still the *Hamdanids* were routed and DAWUD slain. When Mu'nis was told that Dawud was advancing to meet him in battle, he expressed surprise : Friends, he said, am I to be attacked by Dawud, whom I held in my lap when he was circumcised, and on whom I have more than a father's claims ?

When (234) Mu'nis had obtained possession of the goods, stores and lands of the *Hamdanids*, and become supreme in the districts of Mausil, the officials came out to him in parties ¹ and in increasing numbers, and urged him to leave Mausil and invade the metropolis. After nine months' residence in Mausil he descended the river ; and when the troops in Baghdad heard of this, they mutinied demanding their pay. Muqtadir gave out the money, and held a sitting in the JAUSAQ, at which he paid them ; he then had a tent of his called *The Tent of Blood* brought out to the Shammasiyyah Gate. Mu'nis with his followers arrived at the same Gate, before that time Muqtadir had despatched ABU'L-'ALA SA'ID B. *HAMDAN* and SAFI of Basrah with cavalry to Samarra ; he then sent ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. YAQUT with two thousand horse and the *Hujari* retainers to MA'SHUQ,² and after him MU'NIS WARQA'I scouting ; when Mu'nis the Muzaffar approached, they commenced retreating and reassembled in 'Ukbara. When Mu'nis approached 'Ukbara, these troops retired with Mohammed b. Yaqut to BARADAN,³ and when he encamped in 'Ukbara, they retired to the Shammasiyyah Gate. There they encamped.

¹ Doubtless from Baghdad.

² A large fort on the western bank of the Tigris, opposite Samarra and in the midst of the desert. Yaqut.

³ Village belonging to Baghdad at a distance of four parasangs (12 miles) 'Ukbara was five parasangs further. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arab.* vi. 67.

Great confusion ensued, the tax-farmers and the officials stopping the transmission of money. Muqtadir tried to get Harun to march out against Mu'nis, but he made difficulties, alleging that most of his followers were soldiers who had previously been under Mu'nis, or under himself at the time of his war against Mardawij, or Dailemites who had deserted to him. He understood, he said, their quality as fighters, that they would take to flight and be unable to stand firm. He had no confidence in any of them, being convinced that they would desert and abandon him. So he put off marching out until the followers of Mu'nis were at the Shammasiyyah Gate, opposite the troops of Mohammed b. Yaqut. Mohammed b. Yaqut went to the vizier al-Faḍl b. Ja'far, and the two went down the river to (235) Muqtadir, accompanied by the two sons of RA'iq and MUFLIH, and Mohammed b. Yaqut explained the situation as follows. The soldiers, he said, only fight for money ; if this is produced, fighting will be unnecessary, for most of Mu'nis's followers will desert, and he will be compelled either to fly or to hide himself.—Muqtadir replied : The vizier has been paying out money, but not to every one.—They asked him to contrive to furnish 200,000 dinars from his own funds and those of his mother, to be spent on objects of immediate importance ; but he replied that neither he nor she had any means of raising money left. So he ordered the barges and launches with the view of sailing with his family to Wasit, thence to write to the officials in Basrah, Ahwaz and Fars, to demand their help and presence to combat and defeat Mu'nis.—Mohammed b. Yaqut then said : Fear God, O Commander of the Faithful ; think of thy retainers and servants, and do not abandon Baghdad to Mu'nis without a fight.—He then began to endeavour to shake his resolve, advising him to go personally to the camp, so that the troops might see him and be encouraged to fight. If, he said, the followers of Mu'nis but

see you, they will not have the heart to fight against you.—Muqtadir said to him: You are the Devil's apostle.—He then sent an order by the vizier al-Faḍl b. Ja'far to Harun to march out, adding reproaches.—The vizier went to Harun and they arranged that the latter should march to the Palace on Wednesday—3 Shawwal (Oct. 31, 932). On that day Muqtadir rode out with them wearing the cloak of the Prophet which was an heirloom of the Caliphs, with the Prophet's rod in his hand, with his son the prince ABU 'ALI in front of him, and the *Ansar*,¹ having with them copies of the Qur'an spread out and Readers reading the Qur'an aloud, and surrounded by the *Hujari* retainers armed and on foot, with all the commanders and the vizier behind him. He proceeded through Baghdad to the Shammasiyyah Quarter, with loud prayers from the inhabitants for his success. He advanced through the main street to the camp. When he reached it, he was advised to mount to a high place at a distance from the battlefield. The battle was furiously contested between the followers of Mu'nis and those of Muqtadir; Mu'nis remained in Rashidiyyah,² and was not present at the battle. Mohammed b. Yaqut and Harun b. (236) Gharib stood firm, and the armies came to grips. ABU'L-'ALA SA'ID B. HAMDAN brought Muqtadir a message from the two commanders begging him to appear on the battlefield. If Mu'nis's followers saw him, they would (the commanders assured him) desert.—Muqtadir would not move from his place.—Then ABU'L-'ALA SAFI of Basrah went up to him and said the same; but he would not hear. Then there appeared MOHAMMED B. AHMAD QARARITI, clerk of Mohammed b. Yaqut, soliciting an audience of Muqtadir; brought before the Caliph, who was on horseback, he kissed the ground and said: Commander of the Faithful, the generals and thy slave Mohammed b.

¹ Seems to mean members of the old families of Medinah.

² One of the villages belonging to Baghdad.

Yaqut say : Lord Commander of the Faithful, betake thyself to the place, for if the enemy see thee, they will be routed.—Still Muqtadir would not budge. He remained motionless on his horse, while behind him was the vizier Abu'l-Fatḥ with Mufliḥ the negro, and a number of private retainers. While they were in this state, there came a message from the generals who were actively engaged, after which Muqtadir ordered that a proclamation should be made before him : Whoever brings a prisoner shall have ten dinars, and whoever brings a head shall have five ; and this proclamation was made.—Then a note came for him, which was handed to him, and which he read ; he then called Mufliḥ and Qarariṣi, and whispered into their ears, and then called the vizier and did the like. The vizier made a reply which was not heard. Then there came another note, which he also read. Then came oral messages publicly delivered from the generals, which the people could hear, to the effect that the soldiers engaged were saying : We want to see our sovereign, that we may fling ourselves upon these hounds.—Qarariṣi and the others kept imploring him to go, and assuring him that there was no difficulty, till at last he started with Mufliḥ and those who remained with him. Only al-Faḍl b. Ja'far hung back and went towards the river-bank. Before however Muqtadir could reach the battle-field his followers had been driven off it and been routed, the last person who remained fighting vigorously being Mohammed b. Yaqut. Aḥmad b. Kaighalagh and other generals were taken prisoner. Muqtadir on his way to the battle-field, and before he had reached it, was met by 'ALI B. YALBAQ ;¹ they were on (237) an expanse of country. When Ali's eye fell on the Caliph, he dismounted, being fully armed, and cried : My lord, the Commander of the Faithful ! and proceeded to kiss the ground and then the Caliph's knee. Just then the Berber followers of Mu'nis came up, and sur-

¹ Son of Mu'nis's chief adherent.

rounded Muqtadir ; one of them struck him from behind a blow that brought him to the ground. He cried out : Curse you, I am the Caliph ! The Berber said : It's you I'm after ! He made the Caliph lie on the ground and cut his throat with a sword. With the Caliph there was a vice-chamberlain who flung himself on the Berber and had his throat cut also. The head of Muqtadir was raised upon a sword, then upon a stake ; he was stripped of his clothing, even his drawers, and left stark naked till a labouring man who passed by covered him with hay, and dug a grave for him where he lay, buried him, and obliterated the traces.¹

YALBAQ and his son 'ALI went to repose in their tents, and men were at once sent to the Palace to guard it. Mu'nis came down the river from Rashidiyyah to Shammasiyyah, where he spent the night ; 'ABD AL-WAHID son of Muqtadir, Muflih, Harun b. Gharib, Mohammed b. Yaqut, and the two sons of Ra'iq went by land to Mada'in.

The procedure of Mu'nis in letting the face of Muqtadir be struck with the sword, and letting him be killed, followed by his entry of Baghdad in this style, emboldened the enemies to achieve what they had never aspired to ; to take possession of the capital. Since that time the Caliphate has been weakened and the Caliph's authority been shattered. This process kept on increasing till it reached the state which we hope presently to describe.

(238) THABIT tells a story of Muqtadir's waste of the revenue which I have thought well to transcribe at length, that no sovereign or public administrator may be deceived by the richness of his resources, and forget to fertilize them, or take his ease and be slothful when he should be toiling thereat. If he acts thus, he may hurry but he will not overtake. His state will be comparable

¹ In 'Arib's account the Caliph fights bravely, but his authorities agree that he was most unwilling to take part in the battle.

to the breach in a dyke which starts with the diameter of a dirhem, and then expands and cannot be repaired.

I—I am here speaking in my own person—once warned an administrator in this way, and emphasized my warning. He only smiled, proud in the possession of vast treasures and stores. Two years had not passed before I saw him in a pitiable condition, wherein pity would do no good. I will tell his story in due course.

Muqtadir wasted more than seventy million dinars in addition to what he spent on proper objects and in the right places. That is a larger amount than had been hoarded by RASHID for his successors, though among all the 'Abbasids none hoarded more than he. When QASIM B. 'UBAIDALLAH was asked by MU'TADID concerning the amount left by each of the 'Abbasids, he replied that none had left more than Rashid, who had left in his Treasury forty-eight million dinars.

The following is a copy of a statement drawn up by one of the clerks of Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat when he was appointed vizier by Muqtadir.

In the Name of God, etc.

Amount in the private Treasury when Muqtadir assumed the Caliphate:
Fourteen million dinars.

Abu'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furat reconquered the provinces of Fars and Kirman in the year 299, and the revenue thence produced every year out of the *kharaj*, the Public Lands, and the lands known as the Princes' was 23,800,000 dirhems. Of this the revenue of Fars was 18,000,000 dirhems, and that of Kirman 5,000,000 dirhems. (239) In the space of twenty-one years, ending with the *kharaj* year 320, after deducting 800,000 dirhems as unpaid arrears for each year, this produces a total of 483,000,000 dirhems. If we deduct from this the amount paid by the conquerors of Fars and Kirman yearly into the Public Treasury at the capital, about 4,000,000, amounting in the course of these years to 83,000,000 dirhems, there remains 400,000,000 dirhems, worth 28,000,000 dinars.

From the revenues of Egypt and Syria there was a surplus as compared with what they produced in the days of Mu'tazid, amounting to 3,600,000 dinars.

Muqtadir realized out of the fines which he imposed upon Ibn al-Furat and his clerks and dependents 4,400,000 dinars. On the first occasion 2,300,000 dinars. On the second 1,100,000 dinars. On the third including what he took from the wife of Muḥassin and Daulah 900,000 dinars. Revenue produced by the lands of Ibn al-Furat that had been privately owned, exclusive of fiefs, and lands leased for a fixed amount, during seventeen years, account being taken of such lands as were sold, delivered in fief or leased for a fixed amount to members of the court, at the rate of 250,000 dinars a year, 4,250,000 dinars.

Amount realized by the confiscation of the estate of Abu 'Abdallah al-Jassas al-Jauhari,¹ exclusive of his own exaggerations, 2,000,000 dinars.

Amount realized on the lands of 'Abbas b. Hasan after he had been put to death, and for a period of twenty-four years, at the rate of 120,000 dinars a year, 2,880,000 dinars.¹

(240) Property which had belonged to Hamid b. 'Abbas and been confiscated, together with the revenue of his lands until they were restored to his children, 2,200,000 dinars.

Property that had belonged to the Madara'is, Husain b. Ahmad and Mohammed b. 'Ali, and had been confiscated in the days of the vizierate of Abu 'Ali Khaqani, the three vizierates of Ibn al-Furat, and in the days of Abu'l-Qasim Khaqani and Abu'l-'Abbas Khasibi, in the second vizierate of 'Ali b. 'Isa, and that of Ibn Muqlah, 1,300,000 dinars.

¹ See above, p. 35 .

² There should be 80,000 more.

Moneys obtained from 'Ali b. 'Isa, Ibn al-Hawari, and other clerks and heads of departments who were fined, 2,000,000 dinars.

Moneys obtained from the inheritance of Rasibi, 500,000 dinars.¹

Moneys obtained from the inheritance of Ibrahim Misma'i, 300,000 dinars.

Moneys obtained from sales in the days of the various viziers and increased by al-Faḍl b. Ja'far, 3,000,000 dinars.

Money obtained from the estates of Umm Musa, her brother, her sister, and her dependents, 2,000,000 dinars.

The whole amount of cash comes to 68,430,000 dinars.²

Deduct therefrom the revenue of the lands sold from the year 317 to the end of 320 at the rate (approximately right) of 900,000 dinars a year : 3,600,000 dinars.

There remains after that as the amount which went into the Treasury of Muqtadir over and above what was transmitted to the Private Treasury in the days of Mu'taḍid and Muktafi out of the revenues of the Estates and the *kharaḡ* of the Sawad, Ahwaz, the East and the West, 64,830,000 dinars. Now it had been the (241) practice of both Mu'taḍid and Muktafi to save a million dinars each year of their Caliphate out of the revenue of the provinces after paying the stipends of the soldiers, retainers, eunuchs and court attendants and all extraordinary expenditure in addition to what they found hoarded in the Private Treasury.

Had Muqtadir saved in like fashion, the amount in twenty-five years would have reached 25,000,000 dinars.

¹ See above p. 25.

² It is evident that some items have been omitted by the copyists, as the figures actually given come to 56,430,000 ; there are besides some errors in the totals where the details of a sum are given, probably due to careless copying also.

The whole sum then which ought to have been stored in Muqtadir's Treasury during these years to the end of 320 would have been 89,830,000 dinars. Deduct thence sums not squandered, but spent on three accessions,¹ and on the re-conquest of Fars and Kirman, over 10,000,000 dinars ; there remains over 70,000,000 dinars all of it squandered and wasted.

The duration of the vizierate of Abu'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. Ja'far to Muqtadir was five months and twenty-nine days.

¹ His own first and second and the first of Qahir.

CHAPTER II.

THE CALIPHATE OF AL-QAHIR BILLAH ABU MANSUR MOHAMMED SON OF MU'TADID.

IN THE YEAR 320.

WHEN Muqtadir was put to death and his head brought into the presence of Mu'nis, he burst into tears, saying : *You have killed him ! By Allah we shall all be killed ! The least you can do is to declare that this happened without any intention on your part, or any order ; and to place on the throne his son Abu'l-'Abbas, for he is my nursling ; and if he be seated thereon, his grandmother, Muqtadir's mother, his brothers, and (242) his father's retainers will be willing to spend money.* This proposal was opposed by ABU YA'QUB ISHAQ B. ISMA'IL NUBAKHTI partly because of its wisdom, but also owing to what had been foreordained by the Almighty. He said : After all the trouble which it has taken us to get rid of a sovereign with a mother and an aunt and eunuchs are we going to have the same thing again ? He urged his views upon Mu'nis and his dependents till he had brought them to reject Abu'l-'Abbas and made them inclined to favour Mohammed son of Mu'tadid ; so that that might be accomplished which had been foreordained, that Mu'nis should die by his hand. To that assembly there came Bowl-face Fa'iq of the haram, who told Mu'nis that when the Queen-mother heard of her son's death she wanted to fly, but that he had put her under surveillance and made sure of her. He added that Mohammed son of Mu'tadid and Mohammed son of Muktafi were in his custody. Mu'nis sent him to fetch them, and he brought them up stream to the palace of Mu'nis after

releasing Mu'nis's servant Bushra.¹ Mu'nis first addressed himself to Mohammed son of Muktafi, who declined the office, saying that his uncle had a better claim. Mu'nis then addressed Mohammed son of Mu'tadid, who accepted; he was made to take an oath of fidelity to Mu'nis the Muzaffar, Yalbaq, his son 'Ali, and Yahya b. 'Abdallah Tabari, Yalbaq's clerk. When they had made sure of him by oaths and covenants, they did homage to him, and the like was done by the judges and commanders present. He took the title AL-QAHIR BILLAH (The Conqueror by God). It was the morning of Thursday —2 Shawwal (Nov. 1, 932). Mu'nis advised that 'Ali b. 'Isa be appointed his vizier, and eulogized his integrity, uprightness, orthodoxy and piety; but Yalbaq and his son objected that the time did not admit of 'Ali b. 'Isa's ways; it required some one who was more liberal and less strict. He then nominated Ibn Muqlah with Abu'l-Qasim Kalwadhani as his deputy until he arrived from Fars. This arrangement was ratified by Mu'nis, who wrote to Ibn Muqlah bidding him hasten, and to Yaqut to send him with all speed.

Qahir went downstream to the Palace, and mounted the stairs; Mu'nis and his dependents also descended to their homes. Mohammed son of Muktafi was sent off to his apartment in the palace of Ibn Tahir. QAHIR proceeded to appoint as his chamberlain (243) 'ALI B. YALBAQ, who made ABU 'ALI HASAN B. HARUN his secretary. Mu'nis the Muzaffar sent to fetch 'Ali b. 'Isa from Safiyah, and a message was sent him also by Qahir through Hasan b. Harun, summoning him. He interviewed Mu'nis first, then went down stream to Qahir, —of whom he had an audience, in which he was respectfully addressed by the Caliph; this was prior to the arrival of Ibn Muqlah. Mu'nis also summoned Kalwadhani and went down with him to the Palace, where

¹ His arrest was described above, p. 222.

he introduced him to Qahir, whom he informed that he had appointed Ibn Muqlah vizier, and Kalwadhani his deputy until the other arrived. Qahir bade the latter move into the apartment of Mufliḥ in order that he might be at hand when the Caliph required him. He did this, and received congratulatory visits from the heads of the bureaux, and proceeded to issue orders and prohibitions.

Qahir now devoted his attention to discovering which of Muqtadir's women and children were in hiding, and to examining his (Muqtadir's) mother, who was seriously ill with a broken constitution and the commencement of dropsy. Moreover when she learned of her son being put to death, and not properly buried, she became desperate, bruised her face and head, and would neither eat nor drink until she nearly died. The new Caliph treated her with gentleness until she had taken a little bread and salt and drunk a little water. Then he summoned her and tried to make her reveal her treasures, at one time with gentleness, at another with threats; but she declared on oath that she had no money, nor gems, only some boxes containing ornaments and wearing apparel, household goods and perfume. These boxes were, she said, in an apartment adjoining that wherein she resided in the Palace. She showed him the apartment and the boxes, and said: Had I possessed any money, I should not have delivered my son to his death. —Thereupon the Caliph smote her with his hand, had her suspended by one foot, and beat her mercilessly on the soft parts of the body; he showed no gratitude for the kindness which she had done him when he was imprisoned by Muqtadir.¹ By inflicting these tortures he did not discover more than she had confessed of her own free will. When the first day of Dhu'l-Qa'dah came (Nov. 3, 932) the Palace was visited by Yalbak, his son 'Ali, and Kalwadhani, who, being admitted to

¹ See above, p. 225.

the Caliph's presence, demanded a sum of money to be furnished to Mu'nis the Muzaffar, to be expended on the accession-gift. (244) The Caliph told them what he had done to the mother of Muqtadir, how with his own hand he had scourged her a hundred times on the soft parts of her body with intent to make her confess, and how she had not confessed to the possession of a single dirhem besides what she had admitted possessing of her own free will. But, he added, she is in your hands.—Then he took them to the apartment which contained the boxes, and there they found embroidery and satin of Rum and Tustar, heavily adorned with gold, carpets of leather and striped silken and woollen fabrics, and satin ; some of the chests contained magnificent wearing apparel, and a few gold ornaments, with many silver ornaments, a great deal of perfume, such as Indian wood, ambergris, musk, camphor, and camphor dolls. The worth of the whole was about 130,000 dinars, exclusive of the dolls, which were worth 30,000 dirhems. Mu'nis the Muzaffar took possession of most of it to sell ; some however was left for the use of Qahir.

Fines were imposed upon all Muqtadir's dependents. Al-Fa'zl b. Ja'far came out of concealment ; and Mu'nis with Yalbaq and his son tried to protect him ; but when they spoke to Qahir on his behalf, the Caliph urged that he had been Muqtadir's vizier and must be fined. He offered 20,000 dinars, to be paid at once. Mu'nis said he would pay the money for him, as he was a trustworthy, honest and pious clerk. He ordered that he should be made president of the bureau of the lands seized from Muqtadir's mother, and of the property taken from Muqtadir's children and other dependents. He was treated with profound respect and when he went to Kalwadhani, the deputy vizier rose both on his entry and at his departure. Qahir confirmed him in the presidency of the bureaux which have been mentioned, and he took

them over ; but he made little of them, since, having yesterday been Muqtadir's vizier, he did not like to be put in charge to-day of the bureau of the property seized from that Caliph's mother, children and dependents. So Kalwadhani summoned HISHAM and made him controller of those bureaux, while he appointed ABU MOHAMMED MADARA'I president of the bureau of first instance. The duration of al-Faḍl's presidency of these offices was seventeen days.

The fine imposed on ABU BAKR IBN QARABAH¹ had acquired notoriety, and the fact besides that he had only paid ninety thousand dinars of it ; and the rest was demanded of him.² Qahir also brought Muqtadir's mother out of her prison to call (245) on the Judges and certified witnesses to attest that she recalled her pious trusts, and appointed as her agent for the sale of them 'ALI B. 'ABBAS NUBAKHTI. She was questioned on this matter, but declined, asserting that she had created of the property a trust for the benefit of the sick and poor of Meccah and the frontiers, and did not regard it as lawful to cancel the act. But, she said, as for my unsettled properties, I appoint 'Ali b. 'Abbas agent for their sale.—The qāḍi 'UMAR B. MOHAMMED rose with the witnesses and went into the presence of Qahir, who bade them testify that he had cancelled her deeds of trust, and that he appointed 'Ali b. 'Abbas agent for their sale, and for the sale of other private lands, lands originally in the possession of Ibn al-Furat, and his brother 'Abbas, lands newly acquired and lands taken back and the like in all the provinces ; and that he appointed ABU TALIB NUBAKHTI, ISHAQ B. ISMA'IL and ABU'L-FARAJ JALAKHT agents for the sale of productive properties in the capital, and of " differences between the two systems " ³ which they were able to sell. The dependents of Mu'nis perceived that the sales would never be effected

¹ The text has Yaqut by mistake.

² See above, p. 231. ³ See above, p. 200.

unless the vendors began by selling to *them*; so they made purchases to the value of about half a million dinars.

ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH arrived on the Day of Sacrifice (10 Dhu'l-Hijjah 320=Dec. 12, 932). He had written to Qahir requesting that an audience might be given him at night, as he had elected to meet him when Capricorn was in the ascendant, with one of the Sa'd's therein, and the other in the middle of the sky. He arrived at the time which he had proposed, and found Qahir awaiting him; after his audience he found on leaving the imperial presence that the apartment of HARUN son of Muqtadir had been prepared for him, and furnished. So he entered it, and in it made certain appointments of officials; the next day his robes of honour as vizier were bestowed on him, he went to greet Mu'nis the Muzaffar at his palace, and returned to his quarters. People then began to pay him visits of congratulation, and at the end of the day there came 'Ali b. 'Isa, for whom Ibn Muqlah did not rise, which provoked unfavourable comment. (246) Another visitor was ABU BAKR IBN QARABAH, who fulfilled his promise of doing business with him and returning to his "meddling," as was set forth above.¹

YEAR 321.

Ibn Muqlah had a grievance against Kalwadhani, which was that after being appointed his deputy the latter had made no inquiries about his brothers, children, women or dependents, had not gone to his house, appointed any of his dependents to an office, or bestowed any gift on his women and children. More serious than all this was the fact that when ABU 'ABDALLAH IBN THAWABAH had asked Kalwadhani's permission, when the latter was Ibn Muqlah's deputy, to mention his *kunyah* in the letters sent to the provincial governors,

¹ See pp. 231, 232.

it had been refused ! So Ibn Muqlah arrested Kalwadhani, and his dependents, this act being the first thing with which he reproached him. He obtained Kalwadhani's bond for 200,000 dinars, and removed him with his clerk and his dependents to the house of Ibn Qarabah. He proceeded to arrest various officials and bureau clerks, among them ISHAQ B. ISMA'IL NUBAKHTI, and the BARIDIS, whose farming-contracts he gave to MOHAMMED B. KHALAF NIRMANI, for an additional payment of 300,000 dinars ; this person also guaranteed to extract from them fines to the amount of 600,000 dinars, and so they were delivered into his power and he took them to his house. In all these proceedings Ibn Qarabah acted as intermediary ; Mohammed b. Khalaf, having placed them in confinement in his house, separated them from each other. In addition to these functions Ibn Muqlah bestowed on Mohammed b. Khalaf the ministry of public security. Ishaq b. Isma'il and the Baridis, knowing the recklessness and ruthlessness of Mohammed b. Khalaf, were in fear of their lives. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi took to cajoling Mohammed b. Khalaf, and tried to mollify him, suggesting that he might act as Mohammed's agent, in which case he would see that the revenue of the provinces which he farmed was forthcoming (247) with the increase, which Mohammed had promised ; that he would obey him in financial matters and execute his orders without opposition. Mohammed b. Khalaf in consequence treated him humanely, alone among the party ; he tortured the two brothers of Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, suspending from them jars that had been filled, and putting them in stocks. They refused to pay anything. He kept Ishaq b. Isma'il in close confinement, but did not actually torture him.

Between Ishaq b. Isma'il and ABU JA'FAR IBN SHIRZAD there was close friendship ; the latter asked permission of the vizier Ibn Muqlah to interview Ishaq, alleging that he had to examine him on the subject of

moneys which in the days of Muqtadir he had been ordered to provide for Ibn Shirzad's chief, Harun b. Gharib, and find out what he had paid, in order that he might not play him some trick with reference to what he had not paid. Ibn Muqlah sent one of the vizier's doorkeepers with him, who brought him to Ishaq. When Ishaq saw who it was, he cried out : Sir, in God's name have pity on me, and go at once to the Muzaffar, the *Ustadh*, and give him no respite till he releases me from the hands of this madman. Abu Ja'far went to Mu'nis, and importuned him till he summoned Yalbaq and bade him go and plead with Ibn Muqlah for him ; and if he would not release him—which would be the best thing—at least let him withdraw him from the custody of Mohammed b. Khalaf, and transfer him to that of Mu'nis. Yalbaq carried out his instructions, and Ibn Muqlah saw no escape from complying, and alleviating the sufferings of Ishaq.

ABU'L-FARAJ IBN ABI HISHAM records after ABU SA'ID IBN QUDAIDAH that the cause of the troubles which befell the Baridis was the grievance which Ibn Qarabah had against them for delaying to pay money which they owed him ; he had advanced it on their account and they made difficulties about refunding it. The day whereon Mohammed b. Khalaf got them into his hands by promising to obtain from them 600,000 dinars, Ibn Qarabah obtained a promise from him that he would make them pay back what Ibn Qarabah had advanced on their account, and would refund it to him. When they were put into the power of Mohammed b. Khalaf, he got 20,000 dinars from Abu 'Abdallah and his two brothers (the Baridis) ; he then sent the receipt of a banker in 'Aun Street for the sum to Ibn Qarabah, as part payment of the debt due to him. He proceeded to urge his prisoners to further payments ; Abu Yusuf with Abu'l-Husain let him work his will, and endured severe torture at his hands, whereas Abu 'Abdallah made

(248) elusive promises, and so secured milder treatment. On the third day of their imprisonment Mohammed b. Khalaf paid a visit to Ibn Muqlah, who said to him : Abu 'Abdallah, you have disappointed us ; those people are in your hands, but their tricks have worked with you and have done you out of your profit.—Mohammed turned red with anger, and said : I have already transmitted 20,000 dinars from this source, and I only guaranteed payment of the money within three months. What fault has the vizier to find with me, that he can address me so harshly ?—The vizier said : This is the first I have heard about the matter ; to whom did you deliver the money ?—He replied : To Ibn Qarabah.—So the vizier summoned Ibn Qarabah and asked him about the matter mentioned by Mohammed b. Khalaf.—He said : He sent me, sir vizier, this paper, which I have not yet cashed at the banker's, stating that it represented part of their debt to me ; had he told me that it was part of the sum to be transmitted I should have reported it at once. Since he has changed his mind, here is the paper, with God's blessing.—He then handed the paper to Mohammed b. Khalaf.—The latter said : No, assuredly I did not set it against your loan ; how could I give your claims priority over those of the Sultan ?—Each of the parties was offended with the other. When Abu 'Abdallah Baridi heard of the meeting, he cheered up, and endeavoured to find the means to write a letter to Ibn Qarabah requesting him to call ; he had at the time neither ink nor messenger. It happened however that ABU SA'ID IBN QUDAIDAH sent his slave Ahmad to witness his condition, and Abu 'Abdallah threw himself on this slave's mercy, held out hopes of benefits and rewards, and promised to make him a rich man, if he would take a note from him to Ibn Qarabah. The slave yielded, and ingeniously stuffed some inked cotton into a nutshell, which he brought with a small reed and a scrap of paper ; then Abu 'Abdallah Baridi wrote a

letter thereon to Ibn Qarabah wherein he swore that if Ibn Qarabah would take him into his house, he (Baridi) would pay him his money to the last coin, and do him excellent service.—Ibn Qarabah accordingly paid an early visit to Mohammed b. Khalaf, ostensibly to remonstrate ; then, when he had exhausted this subject, he said : Bring Baridi out to me, for he will be at ease with me when I talk to him, that I may settle his fine, and find out what he thinks of doing in the matter of his debt to me.—Mohammed b. Khalaf produced Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, who afterwards said : (249) The commencement of my luck was that I said to Mohammed b. Khalaf “ Only private conversation is proof against sorcery,”¹ so will the prince be so good as to leave us two alone?—Thereupon Mohammed b. Khalaf rose from his seat and foolishly surrendered it to me, saying that he was going to the private apartments. So we had our conference, and I sat on his seat and squatted where he had squatted, and took this as a good omen, thinking to myself that the seat had once been mine,² had been transferred to him, and was now restored to me. So I conciliated Abu Bakr Ibn Qarabah, and he promised to rescue me. He was as good as his word, for he went, settled the amount which we must pay, and guaranteed payment of it. The following day Ibn Muqlah declared himself satisfied with us, and summoned my brothers and me. Mohammed b. Khalaf then called us, allayed our apprehensions and sent us to the vizier. As I was about to leave,³ I said to Mohammed b. Khalaf : Prince, ABU YA'QUB ISHAQ B. ISMA'IL is your servant, and Mu'nis is protecting him, and is going to send for him immediately ; let me reconcile him to you and arrange between you an oath and a covenant.—He said : Do so.—

¹ Eloquence is said to be a form of sorcery. This sentence is apparently a proverb.

² As farmer of the revenue of Ahwaz.

³ Probably after his release from Mohammed b. Khalaf's custody had been finally arranged.

Being left alone with *Isḥaq b. Isma'il*, I said to him : I have been having my joke at the expense of this wretch, and am about to leave ; do you make a covenant with him and swear to it, then say : We are now sworn friends, so I am bound to tell you the truth. *Ibn Muqlah* detests you, and suspects that you are aiming at the vizierate ; his object has been to raise up enemies for you, and get possession of our goods through you ; he will then urge us to offer a sum of money to be got from you if you are put into our hands. And indeed *Abu 'Abdallah Baridi* is prepared to offer 300,000 dinars. He told me so himself. So for some days you should not visit the vizier. If he asks about you, that will show that the Caliph is protecting you from him ; but if he summons you, then his purpose will be to deliver you to *Baridi*.—Then I went off to *Mohammed b. Khalaf*, and told him that I had finished the business, and that the man was prepared to serve the prince as he wished.—We departed, and *Isḥaq* repeated to *Mohammed b. Khalaf* what I had told him, and left the house before the afternoon prayer and after I had gone.

When *Mohammed b. Khalaf* stayed at home, and gave up visiting the vizier, *Abu 'Abdallah Baridi* went to *Ibn Muqlah* and said to him : I learned when I was in *Mohammed b. Khalaf's* house that he was canvassing for (250) the vizierate, and that his agents were circulating among the dependents of *Mu'nis* and *Qahir* ; you must not let him remain in the town.—*Ibn Muqlah* was a coward ; so he proceeded to summon *Mohammed b. Khalaf*, to whom *Baridi's* first statement had been already delivered ; so he assaulted the servants, retainers and chamberlain of *Ibn Muqlah*,¹ beat them, shut them up in a room, and locked the door. He then climbed over the rooves and fled, and did not show himself until *ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. QASIM B. 'UBAIDALLAH* was

¹ Who apparently had been sent to fetch him.

Qahir's vizier.—When Abu' Abdallah Baridi was residing in Ahwaz, and Mohammed b. Khalaf after the success of Baridi's plot against himself learned how it was worked, he said to some one who told Baridi, to whom the remark was addressed: I thought well of you, not knowing that you were intriguing against me; yet people had told me the truth about you, only I refused to receive it.—Abu 'Abdallah Baridi bade Abu 'Ali the clerk write to the slave Fa'iq bidding him say to Mohammed b. Khalaf: A plot of this kind may well be passed off on you, for such have been passed off on your superiors. But what is more serious is that from the place wherein we were confined there was unknown to you access to your private apartments. Be careful about this in the future.

Abu Bakr Ibn Qarabah undertook to mediate in the affairs of the party; he settled them with Ibn Muqlah, who ordered the restoration of the Baridis to their offices, wherein they prospered. When Mohammed b. Khalaf's contract for the revenue which had been farmed by the Baridis was cancelled, he was also dismissed from his ministry of public security in these regions. Ibn Muqlah summoned him, and his assault on the messengers and the chamberlain of the vizier has already been described, as well as his going into hiding. Ibn Muqlah sent again to his house and opened the door of the room where his servants, retainers and chamberlain were imprisoned, and so they were released.

Ibn Muqlah was an enemy of ABU'L-KHATTAB son of Abu'l-'Abbas son of al-Furat,¹ yet found no official excuse for arresting him, as he had left the service twenty years, during which he had remained in his residence, and contented himself with the proceeds of his land. The reason for Ibn Muqlah's enmity was that (251) a request for assistance made by himself at the time of his

¹ Brother of the vizier.

fall had been declined by Abu'l-Khattab, alleging poverty. Presently however Abu'l-Khattab held a circumcision feast for his sons on the scale usual with persons of his rank ; to this he invited the children of Ibn Muqlah, who witnessed ample hospitality, with handsome vessels and numerous pieces of plate, some of which had been borrowed. Going home they told their father about it with exaggerations and additions. On the occasion of a state ceremony Abu'l-Khattab paid a visit of compliment to the vizier Ibn Muqlah, according to his custom ; **ABU'L-FARAJ IBN ABI HISHAM** says he was told by **ABU ZAKARIYYA YAHYA B. ABI SA'ID** of Sus that he was present on this occasion when Abu'l-Khattab was arrested, and that Ibn Muqlah sent negotiators, of whom he was one, to Abu'l-Khattab to demand 300,000 dinars. Abu'l-Khattab replied to the demand : What ground has the vizier against me, seeing that I have quitted the service twenty years, and when I was in it, I was honest and harmless, and annoyed no-one ? I have besides certain claims on the vizier which it is not well that he should forget, as he has a reputation for generosity, whereas it would ill beseem me too to disgrace him by the publication of letters from him in my possession prior to this intemperate display. So say to him : Sir vizier Abu 'Ali : I would remind you of certain proceedings which I might well ask you to bear in mind, and of obligations conferred by me upon you in your dark days in recompense for which I might reasonably ask for the government of a province or a subsidy or exceptional treatment of my land, or some bounty. Is it decent that, when I have released you from all such demands, I should not have even security for my person, owing to your conduct towards me, for which, if you are candid with yourself, you must fear punishment from God and infamy from men ? Your notion about my possessions is not in accordance with the facts. If this supposed wealth be inherited from my father, I am not

his only heir ; had it had an existence, we should have divided it between the number of us, and people would certainly have heard and known about it. But if you suppose me to have acquired it, then my office and its earnings are known, and you are not unaware that they were trifling. Moreover the bureau officials who are still with you will testify that I did not earn the whole of my expenses. If you suppose that it comes (252) from the productiveness of my land, then the produce is divided between the heirs and if you refer to them, you will find that what belonged to me at the time when I held office was only part of what went on my household expenses and entertainment. The viziers and high officials have left sons of the same or less competence than myself, and they have offered themselves for appointments and aspired to posts ; they have sent and received messages ¹ ; now have you found me do ought but keep the tenor of my way, satisfied with God's shadow being extended over me, and with abstinence from worldly things ? If you injure me, what will you say to God, whose name be blessed, and His servants in excuse ?—When this speech was repeated to Ibn Muqlah—not by us, only he had sent people to listen—he blushed and was confused, and presently said : This man claims the rights of the Furat family, and the Commander of the Faithful does not permit me to recognize the obligations of people of that kind. I will send him to Khasibi, who will understand better how to treat him.—So we rose and I went to Khasibi, to whom I related what had taken place at the meeting, and then I said : I implore you not to make of yourself an agent of mischief to people, nor let it be said that people lose their fortunes through you, you being a vizier and a vizier's son. God has raised you above such a trade, with your professional skill, your integrity and your descent.—He said : God reward you, you shall see that

¹ i.e., to and from the Palace,

I shall send him back to Ibn Muqlah after I have done a little to him by way of an excuse.

Then Ibn Muqlah summoned Khasibi, and delivered Abu'l-Khattab to him after compelling him to give a bond for 300,000 dinars to be paid within twenty days. Khasibi called in the prefect of police, who stripped him, and beat him ten strokes with the rod, then had him gently racked, then scourged ; he adhered to his assertion that he had no money, and that he had put his estates in trust and could not sell them. Then Khasibi desired to be excused further endeavours and sent him back to the residence of Ibn Muqlah, who put him in confinement. He then delivered him to the person known as IBN AL-JA'FARI the Registrar, who brought to him one of the slaves of Qahir and told him that this slave had orders to decapitate him unless he paid an instalment of the money. He however put them off with elusive promises until the term came, and paid nothing. When the term arrived, he had a sword brought, and bound his head and eyes : (253) Abu'l-Khattab requested that his face might be turned to the *qiblah*, which was done ; then he said : Gently ! and uttered the *shahadah*.¹ IBN AL-JA'FARI hurried to tell Ibn Muqlah who said : Nothing further than this may be done. Mu'nis the Muzaffar then said to Ibn Muqlah : What claim have you on a man who has held no office since the end of 299 ?—So Ibn Muqlah took Abu'l-Khattab and delivered him to his chamberlain with orders to put him in confinement ; where he remained two days. Then ABU YUSUF BARIDI happening to visit Ibn Muqlah, the latter complained to him of the obstinacy displayed by Abu'l-Khattab, and requested him to mediate. Abu Yusuf went to Abu'l-Khattab and arranged that he should pay ten thousand dinars ; of which however he refused to produce one dirhem even on pain of death before he had been released and sent home. Ibn

¹ The two sentences of the Mohammedan faith.

Muqlah then sent him one of his own robes of honour, set him on a horse with a saddle, summoned him to his presence and moved towards him almost rising, and then said : The Caliph was urgent in this matter, and I am grieved by what has befallen you. Go home with the escort. He departed and paid the money within ten days, and his lands and goods were released.

Ibn Muqlah sent for Ishaq b. Isma'il and obtained his bond to the effect that he would send every lunar month the same amount as he had been in the habit of sending to Muqtadir's private coffer as a secret profit, viz., two thousand dinars ; he also obtained a bond from Abu 'Abdallah Baridi that he would send three thousand dinars a month on the same system, and those of his brothers Abu Yusuf and Abu'l-Husain for one thousand, five hundred.

Story of the fortunes of the commanders in the service of Muqtadir who fled.

HARUN B. GHARIB wrote to ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. YAHYA B. SHIRZAD requesting him to make terms for him, on the basis of a fine of 300,000 dinars to be paid by him, after which his lands (254) and possessions wherever they might be should be freed from embargo, and all other sources of revenue except leases¹ and trusts, which had been in his hands, and he was to pay the dues of the Treasury according to the old assessments. He was also to recover his fiefs. His interests were protected by Mu'nis and his dependents. Qahir wrote him an amnesty, the fine which he had offered was accepted, and he was made minister of public security in Mah al-Kufah, Masabadhan, and Mihrijan-qadhaq.

'ABD AL-WAHID son of Muqtadir, MOHAMMED B. YAQUT the Bahilite,² the two sons of RA'IQ, SURUR and

¹ Probably such as belonged to the crown.

² His father's name indicates that he was originally a slave.

MUFLIH, abandoning Harun b. Gharib, left Wasit and proceeded to Sus and Jundaisabur, wasting the land, spoiling and plundering on their way; they laid hands on the cultivators and traders, and proceeded by land to Suq al-Ahwaz. When they had stayed a long time in Ahwaz, YALBAQ with the army went out against them. He was met at Jarjaraya by Harun b. Gharib, and then proceeded to the war with the people mentioned.

The following is the narrative of ABU'L-FARAJ IBN ABI HISHAM, an eye-witness. Muqtadir's commanders who fled with his son 'Abd al-Wahid entered Suq al-Ahwaz by the Tib road, but did not enter either Sus or Jundaisabur. Sole command was assumed by Mohammed b. Yaqut over the two sons of Ra'iq and the rest. He made his clerk QARARITI inspector general, levied contributions, gave orders and counter-orders; the money poured in to Mohammed b. Yaqut, who gave such sums as he thought fit to the two sons of Ra'iq and the others. He now became unpopular and the others determined to resist him.

Now Abu 'Abdallah Baridi was in the confidence of Ibn Muqlah, and was in receipt of correspondence from Ahwaz which told him all that occurred. He advised the vizier to attend to the situation, asserting that the party was breaking up, that Ibn Yaqut was playing the autocrat, but that sentiment was divided; the two sons of Ra'iq were his (Ibn Muqlah's) friends, and if an army were sent out against them, there would be a split, whereas if they were left to themselves they would be strengthened by the wealth of Ahwaz, would make 'Abd al-Wahid Caliph, and march to the capital. Ibn (255) Muqlah sent Abu 'Abdallah Baridi to Mu'nis to communicate all this to him orally. Mu'nis said: You see the embarrassment which the provision of the accession-money has occasioned, and a quarter's stipend is now due to the troops, since the affair of Muqtadir took

place three months ago ; so whence is the money to come ?—Baridi replied : I undertake to supply it ; draw upon me for it. I will provide 30,000 dinars in the capital, 50,000 in Sus, 20,000 in Tustar, and the rest in Ahwaz.—The head of the army bureau was summoned, he made out a roll of the force that was enrolled under Yalbaq, and an estimate of the money which they would require. It came to 250,000 dinars. Baridi produced the 30,000 dinars which he had promised to furnish at once in the capital ; the commanders were addressed, and the troops mustered with Yalbaq, with whom was Abu 'Abdallah Baridi. BADR KHARSHANI started by water, and orders were sent to AHMAD B. NASR QUSHURI,¹ who was governor of Basrah, to join him.

When the armies reached Wasit, Mohammed b. Yaqut became unpopular and this was so clearly shown that he said to the party : I am one of you, and will not oppose your views ; but the best course for us is to gather in Tustar, which is strongly fortified, and there draw up our plans with God's help ; we ought not to fight.—He came to terms with them with regard to the pay which they should receive, and they at once proceeded to 'Askar Mukram, evacuating the capital of Ahwaz. Qarari'i however perpetrated enormities there which went beyond the doings of the Domesticus, as he opened the shops at night, sent mules and carried off the tradesmen's goods, and fined blacks and whites. When news came of the encampment of Yalbaq at Sus, the whole party went to Tustar. Baridi now arrived at Sus and followed the system of Qarari'i, only he did more ; and by one expedient and another got together the fifty thousand dinars. Then Yalbaq with the army advanced to the Tustar bridge, which they found cut, so that the Dujail separated them from Tustar.

¹ See above, p. 205.

ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI is said to have narrated as follows with regard to the sequel: I aspired to be a conqueror and determined to become a ruler of men from the time when I had experience of the weakness of Yalbaq (256) and the incompetence of his secretary IBN AL-TABARI. They were both, I found, unequal to the situation.

Deserters were leaving the ranks, Yalbaq was growing weary, his troops were out of control, and he was thinking of retreating, but was steadied by Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, who went from commander to commander, flattering, bribing, mollifying, and started a correspondence with the two sons of Ra'iq, assuring them of his affection, and advising them to abandon Mohammed b. Yaqut, on whose bad character, self-conceit, and arbitrary treatment of them he dilated; ultimately they agreed to accept the government of Basrah and to retire from Tustar.—The first intimation which Mohammed b. Yaqut got of their intention was that one morning they sounded their trumpet and departed. He could do nothing, as, if he had attacked them, the army which was facing him would have taken the opportunity to cross and he would have been killed or taken prisoner.

When the two sons of Ra'iq had taken the road to Basrah, Muflih and Surur asked permission to go over to Yalbaq taking with them 'Abd al-Wahid: telling Mohammed b. Yaqut that they were discouraged, and that whereas he was protected by his troops, they and their followers had no protectors save their retainers.—He left the choice to them; and they entered into communication with Yalbaq, from whom they obtained the promise of their lives; they then crossed over to him. This embarrassed Mohammed b. Yaqut, who sent to Yalbaq requesting him to swear to deal honourably with him if an interview were arranged, he Mohammed b. Yaqut to cross over to Yalbaq, discuss matters with him, and then

return to his camp. Yalbaq agreed and swore as desired ; Mohammed b. Yaqut then crossed over to him in a white vest, a turban, and shoes,¹ accompanied by a single slave, in the afternoon. Yalbaq rose to meet him, and they held a long discussion the upshot of which was not at once known. Baridi was in a fever of excitement, and went again and again to Ibn al-Tabari, suggesting that Mohammed b. Yaqut should be arrested. Ibn al-Tabari communicated his advice to Yalbaq, adding that this was the suggestion of Baridi, the representative of the vizier, and the counsellor of the *Ustadh* Mu'nis ; he himself said nothing. Yalbaq's reply was : I am not the man to repudiate my guarantee or violate my oath, even at the cost of my life.—When prayer-time came, Mohammed b. Yaqut stood up in a wide space beneath the canopy and pronounced the call to prayer, and then the formula called *iqamah* ² ; Yalbaq then came forward to prayer with most of the troops behind him. When Mohammed b. Yaqut had finished the prescribed prayer, he bent over Yalbaq to embrace him, the latter rose, they bade (257) each other farewell, and Mohammed b. Yaqut returned to his army. The secret was now revealed. After some mutual remonstrances they had come to an agreement, which they swore to observe, according to which both parties were to proceed to the capital, each with a safe-conduct from the other, but with a distance of a day's journey between them on the march.

After three days Mohammed b. Yaqut advanced from Tustar to 'Askar Mukram, and Yalbaq entered Tustar. Here Baridi did worse than had been done by Qarariẓi by a great deal, for the people had taken precautions against Qarariẓi, but felt safe when they saw the followers of the Sultan. Baridi came upon them, and assailed the Jews who were the bulk of the traders ; by outdoing

¹ This means in the dress of a civil official.

² A second call to prayer ; in the Shafi'i system the first is of nine sentences, the second of eleven.

every known form of outrage he made up the hundred thousand dinars.¹ Meanwhile Yalbaq advanced to Ahwaz, whose inhabitants were flying from Mohammed b. Yaqut, and escaped, as they went to Basrah. Baridi afflicted the people of 'Askar Mukram and Tustar, his mildest measure being to ride to the bankers' houses and appropriate all the money that he found whether theirs or their clients'; he ravaged the Sawad till he paid Yalbaq 200,000 dinars, and he still owed 50,000. He was protected by Ibn al-Tabari, on whom he had humbly ministered, so much so that he would come with him to the doors of the local churches, and sit on a horsecloth waiting till he came out, when he would ask him for his consecrated bread,² which when given him, he would kiss before putting it into his sleeve; he had also formally presented him with lands producing a revenue of ten thousand dinars. Hence Ibn al-Tabari befriended him. So he approached Yalbaq on his behalf, saying: Let us set this fifty thousand to the account of the prince,³ whose gratuity was included in the sum promised by Baridi, for he has done good service and whitened the prince's face by his operations and devices, which have dispersed the enemies. He deserves Ibn Muqlah's place better than Ibn Muqlah and is a far abler manager of affairs. Yalbaq agreed to this proposal, and left with Baridi a slave named Itakh.

(258) Mohammed b. Yaqut marched to SHABARZAN, and was followed by Yalbaq; they entered Baghdad. The embargo was removed from the possessions of the two sons of Ra'iq, Mohammed b. Yaqut, Muflih and Surur, with the exception of their fiefs; to 'Abd al-Wahid some of his original possessions were restored, and he and his mother were excused their fines. Baridi was

¹ See above, p. 255.

² For the practice of giving this to Moslems see the index to my edition of *Sibt Ibn al-Ta'awidhi*. See further Bliss, *Religions of Syria* p. 132 and foll.

³ i.e., Yalbaq.

again made finance minister of Ahwaz, and order was restored. Qahir bestowed on Yalbaq a robe of honour, a couple of collars and a couple of bracelets, studded with gems.

An order was issued by Qahir for the sale of the Mukharrim palace which was the official residence of the vizier, having originally belonged to Sulaiman b. Wahb.¹ It was divided into lots and sold to a number of persons for a vast sum, as its area occupied 300,000 square cubits. The price was spent on the gratuities given on the occasion of Qahir's accession.

News came of the death of TAKIN the Favourite in Egypt, and Ibn Muqlah advised that 'Ali b. 'Isa be sent to inspect the province ; he began to make preparations for the journey, then one evening he went to Ibn Muqlah and finding him disengaged, pointed out to him his advanced age, his difficulty in moving and his failing strength, declared that he appealed to nothing but the vizier's own generosity, and employed no other intercessor, assured him with solemn oaths of his fidelity, and begged to be excused the journey ; he so far humiliated himself as to bend down for the purpose of kissing the vizier's hand.—This the vizier would not permit him to do ; in his reply he showed that he recognized 'Ali b. 'Isa's claims, and respected his rank ; and he excused him from taking the journey. 'Ali b. 'Isa returned home after expressing his gratitude. A letter arrived from Takin's son MOHAMMED soliciting his father's place ; his application was granted, and the robes of honour with the deed of investiture were sent out.

Qahir proceeded to write an autograph to Ibn Muqlah, wherein he called him by his *kunya*, assigned him fresh honours and distinctions, and ordered that this should be circulated to all the cities and provinces. This was done ; then he sent him robe after robe of honour as the

¹ Vizier of Mu'tamid, appointed 263.

Caliph's messmate ; and had conveyed to him a silver-gilt dish (259) containing *nadd*, ambergris and musk, and another containing a crystal vessel holding a *ratl* of old raisin syrup with a crystal glass and decanter and a silver bason.

The army in Egypt mutinied against Mohammed b. Takin, and defeated him in battle.

In this year Mu'nis the Muzaffar, Yalbaq, his son 'Ali, and Ibn Muqlah became disaffected towards Qahir and endeavoured to coerce him and his dependents.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason for this was the dislike of the vizier Ibn Muqlah to Mohammed b. Yaqut. He put into the minds of Mu'nis the Muzaffar, Yalbaq, and his son 'Ali that Mohammed b. Yaqut was plotting against them with Qahir, and that 'Isa the physician acted as messenger between Qahir and him. Mu'nis in consequence sent 'Ali son of Yalbaq to the Palace, where he asked for 'Isa and was told that he was in Qahir's presence ; the retainers of 'Ali b. Yalbaq thereupon rushed in, and finding 'Isa on his feet in the presence of Qahir, arrested him, and took him off to Mu'nis, who straightway banished him to Mausil. Mu'nis, Yalbaq, his son, and the vizier Ibn Muqlah then decided to assault Mohammed b. Yaqut, and to issue a proclamation that his followers were not to remain in Baghdad.

On Wednesday 1 Jumada ii (May 29, 933) 'Ali b. Yalbaq started with the army, accompanied by TARIF SUBKARI, for the purpose of assaulting Mohammed b. Yaqut. The latter, hearing of this design, absconded from his camp at the Ashnan parade-ground, and the efforts of 'Ali b. Yalbaq to discover his whereabouts were unavailing ; for he had gone into Baghdad and concealed himself there ; and his followers had dispersed. 'Ali b. Yalbaq returned at once to the Palace, placed

Qahir under restraint, put AHMAD B. ZAIRAK in charge of the Palace, and ordered him to search every one who went in or came out, man, woman or eunuch, and to search all who went to the Caliph. AHMAD B. ZAIRAK carried out his orders so faithfully that he even examined some milk that was being carried to Qahir, dipping his finger in to see that it (260) contained no letter. 'Ali b. Yalbaq proceeded to transfer to his own residence the personages who were imprisoned in the Palace, such as the mother of Muqtadir and others; Qahir was not allowed the money to pay his attendants nor most of what was furnished to him; and 'Ali b. Yalbaq demanded that the Caliph should surrender to him what remained in his possession of the fabrics and furniture which had belonged to Muqtadir's mother and her nephew Harun. These things were surrendered and sold; the price was then paid in to the Treasury and thence distributed to the troops; Ibn Muqlah also sold, in order to make up the accession-money, lands and property belonging to the Sultan of which the price amounted to 2,400,000 dinars, including what was realized by the sales effected by Kalwadhani when deputy, prior to the arrival of Ibn Muqlah from Shiraz. The mother of Muqtadir remained with the mother of 'Ali b. Yalbaq in honour and comfort for ten days, and died on 6 Jumada ii¹ (June 3, 933) owing to the increasing severity of her illness, and the tortures which Qahir had made her suffer. She was carried to her tomb in Rusafah and buried there.

In this year 'Ali b. Yalbaq and his secretary HASAN B. HARUN proposed to institute the cursing of MU'AWIYAH IBN ABI SUFYAN from the pulpits²; the public were agitated by this, and 'Ali b. Yalbaq ordered the arrest of

¹ If this date is right, she must have been transferred from the Palace before the date given above.

² This measure was doubtless suggested by the growing power of the Spanish Umayyad 'Abd al-Rahman ii. It had been contemplated by Mu'tadid.

BARBAHARI,¹ head of the *Hanbalites*, and a number of his chief (261) followers ; they were placed in a closed boat and sent down the river to Basrah.

And in this year Qahir plotted successfully against Mu'nis the Muzaffar, the plan of Ibn Muqlah to arrest Qahir was frustrated, and instead Mu'nis, Yalbaq, and his son were arrested, while Ibn Muqlah and Hasan b. Harun took to flight.

Account of the frustration of the plot.

When 'Ali b. Yalbaq put pressure on Qahir and the latter endured the treatment which has been described, the Caliph began to scheme against Mu'nis and his party. Learning that TARIF SUBKARI and BUSHRA were ill-disposed to Yalbaq and his son, as they envied their exalted positions, and knowing that Mu'nis and Yalbaq placed their chief reliance on the Saji troops, whom they had promised, if they entered Baghdad, to put on a level with the *Hujaris*, and that this promise had not been fulfilled, in consequence of which these troops were disaffected towards the two : Qahir entered into communication with the Sajis and stirred them up against Mu'nis and Yalbaq, guaranteeing that he would transfer them to the scale of the *Hujaris*, who received their pay once in fifty days, whereas the Sajis received once in sixty according to the scale of the slaves, and make them equal to the *Hujaris* in rations and provender.

Now there was an old friendship between the Stewardess IKHTIYAR and ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. QASIM B. 'UBAIDALLAH,² and she was in frequent communication with his mother ; this Stewardess advised Qahir to write to him promising him the vizierate, on consideration of his helping the Caliph in his plot against

¹ The name is said to mean "dealer in Indian drugs" in the dialect of Basrah. This person's full name was Abu Mohammed Hasan b. 'Ali b. Khalaf. He died 326.

² See above, p. 212. His father had been vizier.

Mu'nis and his party. She further suggested to this Mohammed b. Qasim to write to Qahir giving him a true account of the designs of Ibn Muqlah and Yalbaq's son against him. Now this Ikhtiyar was in the habit of going from the Palace to Qahir's former quarters in the house of Ibn Tahir, ostensibly on the business of Qahir's women and children ; and when it was night she went to Mohammed b. Qasim and interviewed him. Ibn Muqlah learned that Qahir was strenuously scheming against himself, Mu'nis, Yalbaq, his son, and Hasan b. Harun, and in consequence urged them (262) to take action quickly and depose Qahir, whose successor they agreed should be ABU AHMAD son of Muktafi. To SHAHMARUZ, mother-in-law of IBRAHIM B. KHAFIF, head of the bureau of outgoings, who was on intimate terms with Abu Ahmad, they communicated their plan ; they privately conferred the sovereignty on this prince, and allegiance to him was sworn by Yalbaq, his son, Ibn Muqlah, and Hasan b. Harun. After this they told Mu'nis what they had done. He said to them : I have no doubt about the iniquities of Qahir, though you have treated him with too much contempt ; you made a mistake in appointing him Caliph. Do not hurry now, but be gentle with him, so that you may quiet his apprehensions ; then, when he feels secure and his mind is at ease, arrest him.—'Ali b. Yalbaq and Hasan b. Harun replied that they were the official doorkeepers, and the Palace was in their hands ; the Caliph was like a bird in a cage, so they required the assistance of no-one in arresting him. Hence they were for hurrying the matter on.

It happened that Yalbaq, riding to the parade-ground, came into collision with one of his servants, and was thrown ; he fell ill and was confined to his house. His son 'Ali got the opportunity of backing Ibn Muqlah, and they proceeded to advocate their plan with Mu'nis and Yalbaq, minimizing the difficulties, until they

obtained the consent of the two. On Saturday ult. Rajab (July 27, 933)¹ when Ibn Muqlah came away from the Sultan's apartments, he was joined by his clerks, his brother, and other persons who usually ate at his table, among whom was ABU BAKR IBN QARABAH. When he had finished his meal, he turned to Ibn Qarabah and said to him: Your Qarmatian friend has got to Kufah with three thousand mounts, accompanied by his adherent (mentioning some name), has entered the town, and proclaimed a general amnesty to the inhabitants except the adherents of "the person called Mohammed and entitled Qahir."—Ibn Qarabah said: Vizier, this is a fiction; Ibn Busr of Kufah is my neighbour, and was with me to-day; pigeons have just arrived assuring him that all there is well.—Ibn Muqlah retorted: Good Lord! Do you suppose that you and Ibn Busr know better than the minister of public security at Kufah, from whom 'Ali b. Yalbaq has just received a pigeon? Moreover I have just been visited by SA'ID B. *HAMDAN*, with a Bedouin, who all but killed (263) himself, and ruined a number of horses, who brings the news of what he himself witnessed. (Ibn Muqlah had previously arranged with Sa'id b. Hamdan that he should confirm this.) Ibn Muqlah then called for an inkstand and a "third" of paper,² and proceeded to write an autograph letter to Qahir, wherein he stated that the Qarmatian from Hajar, called Abu Tahir, had come to Kufah with three thousand mounts, and entered the place; pigeons (he said) have reached me from the finance minister, and 'Ali b. Yalbaq from the minister of public security, with letters bearing the date of to-day, announcing his arrival with his followers. Yalbaq and I have concealed this intelligence from the commanders and the army, and from the court, for fear it should get about, and

¹ The first day of the next month according to Wüstenfeld.

² i.e., of a sheet of standard size. Different accounts of this phrase are given by Qalqashandi.

discourage our friends. Mu'nis and I have arranged to despatch 'Ali b. Yalbaq with most of his captains and those of his father to the environs of Kufah, to prevent the Qarmatian from advancing thence to Baghdad; he is to start to-morrow morning, moving to SARSAR so as not to pitch a tent near the Gate of Baghdad. There he will be joined by the troops. The sergeants have been sent¹ this evening, and I have instructed 'Ali b. Yalbaq to present himself to-night at the Palace, to take leave of your majesty. I have arranged to come late, lest the news should be disseminated that I presented myself at the imperial apartment at an unusual hour, and so the plan whereby 'Ali b. Yalbaq is to start to-morrow morning be spoiled. I am communicating this to your majesty that you may be aware of it, acquiesce in my plans, and grant 'Ali b. Yalbaq his audience when he presents himself this evening.—After sending this letter the vizier went to sleep.—Qahir sent a written reply to the effect that he approved the vizier's action, and would receive 'Ali b. Yalbaq when he presented himself.—When Ibn Muqlah woke, without waiting to receive Qahir's reply to his note, he sent a second note to the same effect. When this reached Qahir, since there was no occasion for this note, as the reply to the first had been sent off, his suspicion was aroused, and he scented a plot against himself. Then he learned through *TARIF SUBKARI* (by some treachery) of 'Ali b. Yalbaq's design to arrest him when he had been admitted to an audience, and so took precautions; he sent for (264) the Sajis, and informed them that 'Ali b. Yalbaq was about to present himself for the purpose of executing a plot. They remained within call in groups. After the afternoon prayer 'Ali b. Yalbaq presented himself, somewhat the worse for liquor, with a small number of his retainers armed, in his barge, having sent another band of retainers² to the Palace. Mounting from his barge to

¹ To collect the troops.

Probably by land.

the porch, he sent a messenger to Qahir requesting admission ; Qahir put him off until all the Sajis were present in arms. These troops then went out to 'Ali b. Yalbaq, insulted him and tried to arrest him. He was defended by his retainers and his door-keeper IBN KHANDAQUQI, who put themselves between him and the Sajis ; calling out to them, he flung himself from the porch into his barge, crossed the river and concealed himself forthwith. Ibn Muqlah, hearing of this, also went immediately into hiding, and the same step was taken by Hasan b. Harun and Ibn Qarabah. Yalbaq, accompanied by all the captains who were in the palace of Mu'nis at the time, went down to the Caliph's Palace, thinking that he would be able to cajole Qahir and make some excuse for his son. As soon as he had reached the Palace he was arrested and imprisoned. AHMAD B. ZAIRAK, and the prefect of Police, YUMN the One-eyed, were arrested also ; and the whole army was quartered inside the Palace.

Qahir then sent a message to Mu'nis, requesting him to come down to him, as he desired to consult him concerning the course which he should follow, adding : I regard you as a parent, and would fain do nothing and execute no plan except in accordance with your views.—Mu'nis excused himself on the ground of the difficulty that he had in moving, but Qahir insisted, and asked him to make the effort.—Tarif Subkari declared that it would be improper for him to hang back, and urged him to go to the Palace.—When he arrived there, he was arrested and imprisoned.

Ibn Muqlah had been Qahir's vizier nine months and three days ; Qahir now sent for ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. QASIM B. 'UBAIDALLAH on Sunday (265) 1 Sha'ban (July 28, 933), gave him an audience, and appointed him vizier and chief of the bureaux. On the following Monday he bestowed on him the robes of office. The same day Qahir sent to summon 'Isa the physician from Mausil. The house of Ibn Muqlah at the Bustan

Gate was fired, and burned down, and Baghdad was pillaged. Mohammed b. Yaqut came out of concealment, appeared at the Palace, and for that day discharged the functions of Chamberlain; but finding himself in disfavour with *Tarif Subkari*, the *Sajis* and the *Hujaris*, he devised a scheme whereby he fled and went into hiding, and descended the river with the view of joining his father in Fars. He did not however get beyond *ARRAJAN*, and did not meet his father. He sat in the boat ¹ in the attire of a penman,² sailed the sea, landed at *MAHRUBAN* and reached *Arrajan* at night, where he became the guest of *ABU'L-'ABBAS B. DINAR*. His father sent him money, clothes and horses, and he proceeded to call in moneys that had been assigned him in Fars. He was joined here by his troops, and received a letter from *Qahir* allaying his apprehensions and telling him that he acted with undue haste in taking alarm. He was appointed minister of public security in the districts of *Ahwaz*, remained at *Arrajan* until he fell ill, this place being bad for his constitution, when he moved to *Ramhurmuz*. *Qahir* had previously written to *MARDAWIJ*, bidding him evacuate *Ispahan*, to be invested with the government of *Rayy* and the *Jabal*, and so become an authorized ruler and cease to be a rebel; and this had been accomplished.³ He also wrote to *WASHMAGIR*, bidding him retire from *Ispahan*, which he did; the province was left without a ruler for seventeen days, when *Qahir* wrote to *Mohammed b. Yaqut*, appointing him governor of *Ispahan*, and bidding him go thither; this was after the defeat of his brother *Muzaffar b. Yaqut* and the retirement of *'ALI B. BUWAIHI* from *Ispahan*.⁴ Mohammed b. Yaqut made preparations and was engaged on them when he received news of *Qahir's* deposition, and his plans were thrown out.

¹ The text has "in the water."

² Another account has "of a Sufi."

³ Above, p. 229, this had been done in *Muqtadir's* time.

⁴ The account of these events comes later.

When 'Ali b. Yalbaq had gone into hiding and Mohammed b. Yaqt fled, Qahir made (266) SALAMAH TULUNI Chamberlain. He proceeded to search for the persons who had gone into hiding. He appointed ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. KHAQAN prefect of police, who made a search for Abu Ahmad son of Muktafi, and discovered him in the house of 'Abdallah b. al-Fath. Qahir gave orders that the prince should be placed in a doorway and then built in with cement and brick, he being alive.¹ These orders were carried out. He ordered the houses of the Banu Muqlah to be pillaged, as also those of Hasan b. Harun and Ibn Qarabah. 'Ali b. Yalbaq was found in concealment near the gate of the Cemetery; he was surprised and taken from a bakehouse, which he had entered when he perceived that he had been surprised, closing the lid upon himself. He had escaped detection, and those who were on the search for him, not finding him, had gone out of the place; only it happened that one of the infantry went back in search of something to take out of the house, and coming to the oven, searched it for dry bread; when he opened it, he found 'Ali b. Yalbaq there; at his shouts his comrades came back, and captured him; and he was brought to the Caliph's Palace. He was violently beaten in the presence of Qahir, and confessed to the possession of ten thousand dinars, which were found and paid into the Treasury. A fresh beating elicited no further money, so he was imprisoned.

HUSAIN B. QASIM B. 'UBAIDALLAH² was in hiding; a message was sent him by his brother the vizier Mohammed, asking him to show himself, and assist him, and he would make him president of the bureaux of the Sawad, of the army and of outgoings. He would

¹ Other accounts represent him as being put to death by some other barbarous method.

² He had been Muqtadir's vizier in 319, and was exiled to Basrah with a pension.

appoint as his deputies Kalwadhi,¹ IBRAHIM B. KHAFIF, and 'UTHMAN B. SA'ID. He swore, in the presence of the intermediary, by God Almighty, and by all the oaths of allegiance, involving in the event of perjury manumission of his slaves and divorce of his wives, that he was well-disposed to his brother, (267) and that his inner feelings agreed with their outer expression in these offers. He in addition wrote an autograph letter to the same effect, wherein he invoked the witness of God to what he felt. The intermediary took this document and brought it to *Husain*, to whom he narrated the proceedings. Mohammed (the vizier)² kept waiting for his brother till the end of the day. QASIM, son of his brother *Husain*, narrated how the vizier came at night to *Husain* without an attendant, talked to him about showing himself, asked for his personal assistance, and repeated the oaths which he had sworn. Finally *Husain* promised the vizier that he would come to him next evening. He informed his friends, who rode with him to his brother's. His brother the vizier had prepared for him a covered boat, and when *Husain* arrived, the vizier ordered that he should be got into the boat. His mother, learning of this, came and stood on the bank of the Tigris at the place where he would go down to his barge; there was a concourse of people there, and she called on the vizier for help, loosed her hair in his presence and showed her breast, and abjured him by every claim she had upon him to release her son. He paid her not the slightest attention, sat down in his barge, and proceeded to the Palace. There was not one of those present but disapproved his action, and cursed him. He went on and told Qahir that he had hunted down his brother *Husain* and banished him to Raqqah owing to his acceptance of the doctrine of Ibn Abi'l-'Azaqir,² whence he regarded him as a danger to the dynasty.

¹ More often called Kalwadhani.

² See above, p. 123 and Appendix.

Qahir had the houses of the Banu Bistam put under surveillance owing to the report that they held the doctrine of Ibn Abi'l-'Azaqir.

Account of the execution of Mu'nis, Yalbaq, and his son 'Ali.

The troops of Mu'nis and Yalbaq raised a disturbance and mutinied, and were followed by the rest of the army; they went out to the country, and then made for the palace of the vizier Abu Ja'far Mohammed b. Qasim, of which they burned down the porch, calling out the name of Mu'nis—a proceeding which was the cause of his being put to death. Qahir went to the place wherein Mu'nis, Yalbaq and his son were confined; the throat of 'Ali was cut in Qahir's presence, and his head was sent to his father, who wept with despair at the sight; (268) then Yalbaq's throat was cut and his head with that of his son sent to Mu'nis, who when he saw them cursed their slayer. He was dragged by the foot to the gutter, and there slaughtered like a sheep, while Qahir looked on. The three heads were brought out in three basons to the parade-ground, to be seen by the people; that of Yalbaq's son 'Ali was carried round the city on both sides, then brought back to the Palace and in accordance with custom placed in the magazine of skulls.

THABIT states on the authority of SALAMAH TULUNI the Chamberlain that when the head of Mu'nis was brought to him to dress, he removed the brain and weighed it; the weight came to six *ratls*.¹ I heard the same from Juhani, who was present.

Among the incidents that took place on this occasion were the following. A party of cavalry and infantry caught ABU BAKR IBN NUBATAH' AL-DAQQAQ, the Witness, in Perfume Street, and pretending that the

¹ For the brain-weights of famous men see A. Wilson, *Education, Personality and Crime*, 1908, p. 73.

Sultan had sent them to search for *Hasan b. Harun*, they took from his dwelling 30,000 dinars, flung a napkin over the head of one of the party and declared that he was *Hasan b. Harun*. *Ahmad b. Khaqan* (chief of police) rode in pursuit of these people, caught one of them and made him confess; he gave the names of several, of whom some were caught; but little of the money was recovered. He executed those of the robbers whom he caught.

(269) In this year there was issued an order of *Qahir* to forbid singing-women, wine and other liquors; all men known as singers, or hermaphrodites, and all singing girls were arrested; some were banished to *Basrah*, others to *Kufah*.

The slave-girls were sold, as being of immature age. In spite of these measures *Qahir* himself was a wine-bibber, rarely sober, and fond of music, so that he selected such singing women as he wished.

Information was given about *ABU 'ABDALLAH IBN MUQLAH*,¹ who was arrested; in his possession there were found documents in the handwriting of his brother *Abu 'Ali*. He was taken to the house of the vizier *Abu Ja'far*, who asked him who brought him the letters: he stated that they were transmitted to him by *ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. 'ABDUS JAHSHIYARI*, who was arrested together with his brother, when they were asked what they knew of the doings of *Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah*. They swore that they had no news of him since he had gone into hiding. *Qahir* was informed that they were both commanders in the Sultan's army; they were therefore treated leniently, and released; and they rode to the Sultan's Palace on days of state ceremonies.

(270) The vizier *ABU Ja'far* further arrested *ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. SHIRZAD*, the case against him being that he had held high offices, and purchased numerous estates out of the lands publicly sold; his

¹ The famous caligrapher.

revenue had reached a million dirhems a year. ISHAQ B. ISMA'IL mediated, and obtained his bond for twenty thousand dinars ; he was allowed to return to his house the same day.

*Account of the reason for appointing Abu'l-' Abbas
Khasibi vizier.*

After Ibn Muqlah and the others had gone into hiding the Baridis had done likewise ; and their official posts had been bestowed on ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. QASIM KARKHI.¹ Ishaq b. Isma'il undertook the office of mediator for them, and obtained from the vizier a promise of security for them, in consequence of which they showed themselves. Then Ishaq advised the vizier to speak to Qahir on their behalf and show him that the best plan was to restore to them their revenue-farming in Basrah and Ahwaz. The vizier accepted the suggestion and spoke to Qahir on the subject, adding that he found fault with Mohammed b. Qasim Karkhi for failure to collect revenue and transmit it ; and that the Baridis could do this better. He further held out hopes that the sum guaranteed by the Baridis might be increased. Qahir put him off, saying he must first consider the matter. He then summoned 'Isa the physician, and repeated the conversation. 'Isa the physician disapproved of the vizier Mohammed b. Qasim, because he, having been away at Mausil, had had no voice in his appointment ; so he condemned this plan and the vizier himself, advising the appointment of Khasibi. Qahir bade him interview Khasibi and ask him what he thought about the Baridis and others. 'Isa went to Khasibi and the matter was arranged between them, Khasibi undertaking to raise enormous sums.

Through 'Isa Khasibi wrote to Qahir to the effect that if it became known that he had been appointed

¹ He was mentioned above, p. 207, as having a hereditary right to the control of Ahwaz.

vizier, the persons in possession of the money which he promised to produce would go into hiding ; it would be better then that the Caliph should order his vizier to arrest a group of persons whom he named, and to do so gradually ; when they were arrested, Qahir should send and have them conveyed to his Palace, where they should be withdrawn from the hand of the vizier but remain for some days in custody. Then the vizier Mohammed b. Qasim should be arrested. Qahir carried (271) this plan out, and ordered SABUR the eunuch to go to the vizier's house and arrest the Baridis and *Ishaq* b. Isma'il. Sabur sent a confidential agent to the vizier's house to find out whether these persons were there, and bring him back word. The Baridis had however engaged spies to watch Sabur, Salamah and the dependents of Qahir, whence they learned the orders which had been given by Sabur to the agent whom he had sent to find out about them, and so they went into hiding. Sabur's words to his agents had been : I have been told by the Caliph to search the dwelling of *Ishaq*, since he has been told that *Ishaq*'s slave-girls are concealing a number of singing-girls. He bade these agents get ready to ride with him. *Ishaq*, hearing of this, did not at once suppose that any mischief to himself was intended, and so told his slave-girls to put no difficulties in the way of Sabur, if he came to search for singing women, but let him investigate. He himself went down to the residence of the vizier, whither too came Sabur. Finding *Ishaq* in his presence, he arrested him and conveyed him to the house of the jailor.

Qahir sent people to surprise the dwellings of the Baridis, who were not found. Those of *Ishaq* in the NUBAKHTI quarter and on the bank of the Tigris were surprised ; his women and children fled and got into safety ; his secretary AHMAD B. 'ALI KUFİ was arrested. Qahir summoned 'Ali b. 'Isa and after informing him that his vizier had no authority in the districts of Wasit

and the Irrigation of the Euphrates, whose revenue had been farmed by *Is/haq*, made him governor of these regions and relied on him for the management of public security therein. Qahir gave 'Ali b. 'Isa an autograph deed of appointment which 'Ali b. 'Isa accepted.

News arrived of the death of *ABU 'ALI AHMAD B. MOHAMMED B. RUSTAM* in Ispahan, and that *MUZAFFAR (272) B. YAQUT* had laid hands upon his money and horses, and appropriated them. Muzaffar had charge of public security in Ispahan. Qahir resented this action, and his displeasure extended to his father and brother. Information was given of the whereabouts of *Abu Yusuf Baridi*, who was surprised, seized and conveyed to the house of the vizier *Mohammed b. Qasim*, who treated him courteously. Qahir wrote to the vizier, bidding him settle with him his fine and those of his brothers; he was accordingly summoned by the vizier, who demanded that he should arrive at a settlement with him.—*Abu Yusuf* said: If we can be sure that the matter rests with you, and that you are to be confirmed in your office of vizier, we are prepared to arrange it with you; but as we know for certain that it does not rest with you, and that some one else is going to be vizier, it is not permissible to settle it with you.—On Tuesday 13 *Dhu'l-Qa'dah* (Oct. 14, 933)¹ there was an eclipse of the moon, and Qahir arrested the vizier *Mohammed b. Qasim*; he sent *Sabur* the eunuch to his house, where he seized him and all who were to be found there, including *Abu Yusuf Baridi*. They were conveyed to the Palace. *Abu Ja'far Mohammed b. Qasim b. 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaiman* had been vizier to Qahir three months and twelve days.

Qahir proceeded to summon *ISHAQ B. 'ALI QUNNA'I* and *'ABD AL-WAHHAB B. 'ABDALLAH KHAQANI* ostensibly to make one vizier and the other president of the bureaux; when they presented themselves their hands

¹ The correct Julian date is Nov. 5, 933.

were kissed by the commanders, and Salamah the Chamberlain seated himself in front of them. Without delay a message came from Qahir ordering them to be arrested and confined in dungeons. Next SULAIMAN B. HASAN was summoned to be appointed vizier; he presented himself in his barge, and was met by the commanders and the people, who kissed his hand; the *ustadhs* seated themselves in front of him, in the Palace; and then Qahir sent to arrest him and confine him in a dungeon. Next he sent for AL-FADL B. JA'FAR to be made vizier, but his treatment of Khaqani and Sulaiman had become known, and al-Faḍl went into hiding; so that no appointment to the vizierate was made on that day.

(273) On the following day Qahir ordered 'Isa the physician to produce Khasibi on the Thursday, instructing him to prepare himself for the vizierate, and to appear in a black robe with sword and belt. 'Isa sent a message to him to that effect, and he appeared as instructed; the robes of honour appropriate to the vizierate were conferred upon him, and he rode in them to his residence, where people came to congratulate him. He then looked into the bureaux and assigned the presidencies to those whom he thought suitable. He established a bureau for the sale of public lands, and summoning the holders examined them, and forced them to pay fifty thousand dinars as the difference between the two rates.¹ He wrote out lists of conditions, which he made them sign. He proceeded to fine various persons and arrest others.

After Abu Yusuf Baridi had been made to endure severe torture, the fine of the Baridis was through the mediation of 'Isa and Salamah the Chamberlain fixed at twelve million dirhems. Amnesties were made out for Ahmad and 'Ali Baridi² in the writing of the Caliph

¹ See above, p. 200.

² Abu Abdallah and Abu'l-Husain.

and the vizier ; and these were attested by the Judges and Witnesses. So they showed themselves. ABU SA'ID IBN QUDAIDAH and ABU ZAKARIYYA SUSI state that Abu 'Abdallah Baridi appeared before Abu'l-'Abbas Khasibi in a hood, turban and shoes, they two being his companions. Baridi requested that the room be cleared, which was done ; he then remonstrated at length with the vizier, reminding him of many claims which he (Baridi) had upon him, and of various services which he had rendered Khasibi at different times when Khasibi's fortunes had been at a low ebb. He ended by saying : In all these services I was counting on your aid in this world, not in the next : and in the matter of the money you have an excuse, as you assert that you were under the orders of the Caliph, whom you are bound to obey ; and so have you in scourging Abu Yusuf, since he was contumacious. But why did you say evil things of Abu Yusuf's mother, who is my mother too ? Why did you think fit to assail her honour ? With all these services of mine might I not claim that you should for my sake spare her from infamous charges ?—Khasibi blushed and said : You are right ; I ought to have done so ; only in my anger I lost self-control, and I apologize. (274) Let bygones be bygones. The Caliph insists on a million dinars ; and I described you thus to the Commander of the Faithful : Abu Yusuf, I said, is narrow-breasted, but his brother Abu 'Abdallah is broad-breasted, and will not refuse the Commander of the Faithful. Were it not for this he would have had Abu Yusuf brought over to him, in which case I could not have guaranteed his life ; so I wish you would spare me further trouble in your case ; sufficient for me is my shame for what is past. So give your bond for two million dirhems more.—Abu 'Abdallah said : Vizier, you have made ample amends, and apologized honourably.—The vizier said : Write the bond, I adjure you.—He said : I will write it, but I demand immunity for

what I am going to say. Neither I nor my brothers own this sum ; but if God turn the heart of the Caliph and your heart towards us, we shall be put in office, and shall be able to pay. If we are not so fortunate, then we shall postpone execution for a time. For God has ordinarily delivered us, and we hope for His mercy.—Khasibi said (there being no-one present in the room but Abu Zakariyya and Ibn Qudaidah, Khasibi's collector) : Abu 'Abdallah, you have suggested two alternatives and shown yourself equal to either——¹ He laughed ; his bond was taken for an additional couple of million dirhems and he went off.

Now Abu 'Abdallah Baridi had made a friend of ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. RA'IQ, who in turn had paid him extreme honour. Abu Bakr now instructed him to call in the moneys allotted to him (Ibn Ra'iq) and his troops from the revenues of Ahwaz, and for this purpose to go and conquer the region. He departed from Basrah in order that his plan might not be accomplished while he remained with Ibn Ra'iq in which case it might be ascribed to him (Baridi) ; and when he reached Wasit, he found 'Ali b. 'Isa there, having brought it into a prosperous condition ; it was now assigned to him by Qahir (whose agent he was and not the vizier's) for thirteen million dirhems. 'Ali b. 'Isa gave the contract to Baridi in the presence of witnesses, and Baridi appointed as his deputy ABU'L-HASAN MOHAMMED B. HAMD B. HAMDUN of Wasit ; he stayed fifty days at NUMANIYYAH to attend to the district of the MUWAF-FAQI canal, and then departed to Baghdad. (275) One day when he and his brothers were riding to the Tuesday Bazaar to await the exit of Khasibi, he received a message from 'Isa the physician to the effect that Qahir was proposing to arrest them. They dismounted, disguised themselves, and went into hiding, not venturing

¹ Some words are lost.

to show themselves until Qahir had been deposed and Radi been appointed Caliph.

On Monday 4 Dhu'l-Hijjah (Nov. 25, 933) there came a despatch from 'ALI B. KHALAF B. TINAB to Khasibi stating how one of the chief Dailemite captains who had been in the service of Mardawij, named 'ALI B. BUWAIHI, had advanced to the district of Arrajan. This person, he asserted, had farmed the revenue of the district Mah al-Basrah for Mardawij and defaulted; fearing the wrath of Mardawij, he had rebelled, marched with four hundred Dailemites to Arrajan and made himself master of the place.

Account of the causes which led to the rise of 'Ali b. Buwaihi and the coincidences which helped towards the foundation of his empire.

ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. BUWAIHI and his brother ABU 'ALI HASAN B. BUWAIHI were among the captains in the service of MAKAN B. KAKI. The relations between Makan and Mardawij continued to be cordial from the time when they had agreed to attack ASFAR B. SHIRAWAIHI and he had retired from the fortress Samiran in Tarm.¹ They were in the habit of sending each other presents and courtesies, until Mardawij put Asfar to death as we have previously recorded,² and made himself master of the region of Rayy and the Jabal. His power then increased and he multiplied his treasures and his forces. Meanwhile Makan invaded the region of Amul and Tabaristan, and obtained possession of it. His dominion extended to Nisabur, when the latter had been evacuated by NASR B. AHMAD prince of Khorasan, who was occupied with the rebellion of his two brothers; but when he had restored order in Khorasan, he returned to Nisabur, and sent a message to Makan, requesting him to abandon the place, and

¹ This story is told, but somewhat obscurely, by Mas'udi, ed. B. de Meynard, ix. 16 foll.

² Above, p. 162.

maintain friendly relations. Makan agreed, and retired to Jurjan and Tabaristan.

(276) The relations between Makan and Mardawij now began to become strained through mutual jealousy and injuries; Mardawij presently summoned his lieutenants in the Jabal, Ispahan, and all his territories, collected his armies, and marched against Makan. Makan resisted, but Mardawij was too strong for him, routed him, and obtained possession of Tabaristan, where he installed BALQASIM B. BALHASAN who had been his commander-in-chief, a brave man and a good general. He then proceeded to Jurjan, where Makan's lieutenant was SHIRZIL B. SALLAR with BA'ALI B. TURKI; they fled and Mardawij took possession of the province, where he installed SARKHAB B. BALLUS as deputy of Balqasim b. Balhasan, of whose children's mother he was the brother; thus Balqasim was governor of both Jurjan and Tabaristan. Mardawij then returned to Ispahan triumphant and with booty. Meanwhile Makan applied for help to ABU'L-FADL The Avenger,¹ who received him with honour, and in person accompanied him on an expedition against Tabaristan, where Balqasim b. Balhasan was prepared for them. He went out to meet them and in the battle which ensued both the Avenger and Makan were routed. The Avenger returned to his home in the Dailemite country, whereas Makan proceeded along the coast with his routed and enfeebled force till he reached Jurjan, whence he turned off towards Nisabur, seeking AHMAD B. MOHAMMED B. MUHTAJ, commander of the army of Khorasan, into whose service he entered and whose help he solicited. Balqasim b. Balhasan remained in Jurjan² until he was informed that Abu 'Ali Ahmad b. Mohammed b. Muhtaj was about to march against him with Makan. He wrote to Mardawij demanding help, and Mardawij in answer sent

¹ He appears to have been in Gilan at the time.

² Probably he had come there in pursuit of Makan.

the bulk of his army with his chief followers, making a great effort to support him. (277) When Ibn Muhtaj and Makan arrived, they were met by Balqasim b. Balhasan, who defeated them in battle, and forced them to retire to Nisabur. Makan however made a fresh effort against the region of Damaghan, of which he was anxious to obtain possession. Mardawij's lieutenant there was AL-JAISH B. UMEDWAR, who was joined by Balqasim b. Balhasan, with the view of resisting Makan, who was again routed, and despairing of conquering these provinces was despatched by the prince of Khorasan to Kirman to be its governor. Here ABU 'ALI MOHAMMED B. ALYAS B. ALYASA' was in possession; he was attacked and defeated by Makan, who became ruler of Kirman subject to the prince of Khorasan.

Now Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Buwaihi and his brother Abu 'Ali Hasan had on the occasion of Makan's first defeat, when his fortunes were low, solicited his permission to desert to Mardawij, urging that it was best for him that they should quit him, and so lighten the burden which he had to support and let it fall on some one else. They promised to come back when his luck had improved. He gave them permission, and the example of 'Ali b. Buwaihi was followed by many commanders, when he and his brother were received by Mardawij with honours, and had robes bestowed upon them. Mardawij proceeded to place each of Makan's commanders in control of one of the districts of the Jabal; to 'Ali b. Buwaihi he gave Karaj, to Lashkari b. Murdi his former province Dinawand, to Sulaiman b. Sarkalah Hamadhan. And similarly with the other commanders.

Account of the reason why 'Ali b. Buwaihi's appointment materialized, whereas the others were cashiered before they had reached their provinces.

The cause of the rise of 'Ali b. Buwaihi and his attaining what he did was his natural munificence and

liberality. With this noble quality there was united another yet more noble, viz., perfect valour. To these there were added certain lucky coincidences and an auspicious horoscope. Thus when he was given control of Karaj, and others who had deserted with him were appointed to the provinces which have been mentioned, (278) and when their deeds of investiture had been drawn up, they all proceeded to Rayy. There WASHMAGIR was in control with Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. Mohammed, who had the title AL-'AMID, the father of Rukn al-daulah's vizier Abu'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amid, and supervised the administration of the place. This al-'Amid was shown a handsome mule belonging to 'Ali b. Buwaihi, who wanted to sell it and make use of the money. The price required was three thousand dirhems, equal to two hundred dinars. Al-'Amid bought it, and transmitted the money to the owner; but when 'Ali b. Buwaihi learned that it was being purchased for al-'Amid, he himself led the mule to him, and vowed that he would take no money for it. He followed the proceeding with various other attentions, overwhelming al-'Amid with kindness. Presently the plans of Mardawij made it necessary for him to countermand the order which he had issued putting the commanders in control of the provinces. He accordingly wrote to his brother Washmagir and to Abu 'Abdallah al-'Amid, bidding them prevent the departure of these commanders from Rayy; and if any of them had already left, the remainder were to be prevented. Now the official letters went first to al-'Amid, who acquainted himself with their contents, and then presented a summary to Washmagir. When al-'Amid had perused this letter, he gave secret instructions to 'Ali b. Buwaihi to hasten to his province. He started at once and did not rest at the stations. Next morning al-'Amid rose and exhibited the correspondence, but by the time it was put before Washmagir 'Ali b. Buwaihi was already a long

distance off, whereas those commanders who had not started were detained. Thus 'Ali b. Buwaihi secured that post which led the way to his conquests and his sovereignty. Next to the divine decree the only cause of this known was his freehandedness and liberality.

When he reached Karaj he began to deal liberally with the troops and treated the governor of the town with courtesy; so the governor wrote thanking him for this and for the care with which he administered and protected the place. It so happened that he stormed certain fortresses in the neighbourhood which had been in the hands of the Khurramites¹; disputes arose between the commanders of these fortresses, some of whom deserted to him, and showed him certain hidden treasures; all of which he proceeded to expend in winning the affection of the troops and others. When Mardawij returned to Rayy,² he imposed the payment of certain of (279) his commanders upon the district of Karaj. Among these commanders was IBRAHIM B. SIYARHAI called KASAK, with others more important than he. 'Ali b. Buwaihi conciliated them and was so liberal with them that all felt obliged to be loyal to him. News of this reached Mardawij, who was alarmed, and regretted that he had sent these important officers out to him; so he wrote to 'Ali b. Buwaihi bidding him come back to him, and sent similar orders to the commanders. 'Ali b. Buwaihi put him off with various excuses and civil messages until he had obtained solemn assurances of fidelity from these commanders, who, he knew, had taken fright, and whom he warned of Mardawij's treachery and violence. He then started at their head from Karaj, collecting as much money as he could. A Dailemite commander SHIRZAD deserted to him from Jarbadhaqan with forty men, and this gave him courage; mustering his troops

¹ A sect supposed to be atheistic, of which much is heard in the history of the third Islamic century.

² See above, p. 265.

he found that they were a little over three hundred men, but they were picked champions, well armed and equipped. So he took the direction of Ispahan, where was ABU'L-FATH MUZAFFAR IBN YAQUT with some ten thousand troops, with ABU 'ALI IBN RUSTAM as minister of *kharaj*. 'Ali b. Buwaihi sent before him a series of civil letters, wherein he assured them that he was deserting to them and desired to enter the service of the Sultan. They put him off with a vague reply ; for Abu 'Ali Ibn Rustam had the greatest dislike of 'Ali b. Buwaihi and most strongly disapproved of his coming. It so happened that Abu 'Ali Ibn Rustam died at the time when Abu'l-Fath Ibn Yaqut marched out to a distance of three parasangs from Ispahan. Among his followers there were a number of Dailemites and Jilites, some six hundred ; they, having heard of the liberality, bounty, and free-handedness of 'Ali b. Buwaihi, deserted to him. 'Ali b. Buwaihi then gave battle, and Ibn Yaqut took to flight having been weakened by these troops' desertion, and having become aware of the steadfastness of the Dailemites and the disorder of his own followers. He fled to Fars. 'Ali b. Buwaihi became master of Ispahan, and acquired fame and importance as having defeated thousands and thousands of the troops of the Sultan with some hundreds of his own followers. Mardawij, when he heard the news, was alarmed, and devised a plan for dealing with them which was not to succeed.

(280) *Account of this unsuccessful scheme.*

Mardawij was afraid that his followers would desert to 'Ali b. Buwaihi owing to what they heard of his fortune and the fame of his liberality ; whereas the conduct of Marwadij himself was vexatious, and such as could be endured and tolerated by no self-respecting man. So he thought fit to send to 'Ali b. Buwaihi messages of friendly remonstrance with which he hoped the other would comply, offering terms which a man

would be eager to obtain. At the same time he sent in 'Ali's track a mighty and numerous army under his brother Washmagir. 'Ali was aware that the message was inconsistent with the armed preparation, so he took warning and evacuated Ispahan after collecting its revenues for a month. He directed himself towards Arrajan, where was ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. YAQUT. The latter fled before 'Ali b. Buwaihi to Ramhurmuz without a fight.¹ 'Ali b. Buwaihi thereupon entered Arrajan and obtained thence a large sum which strengthened his hands.

Here letters reached him from ABU TALIB ZAID B. 'ALI of Nubandajan,² who invited him, and suggested to him to march against Shiraz, assuring him that there was little to fear from Yaqut³ owing to the latter's ruthless exactions, the extravagance of himself and his army, and their oppression of the people, added to their own slackness and want of discipline. 'Ali b. Buwaihi was however afraid to meet Yaqut, who was a famous general commanding numerous troops and great resources, and whose son Abu Bakr was on 'Ali's rear; so he declined the suggestion of Abu Talib. Abu Talib however encouraged him and pointed out that, if he halted, it was quite possible that Yaqut and Mardawij might come to an agreement and unite against him. His enemies were, he said, numerous; should they combine, he would have no chance against them; as time went on they would find some way of dealing with him; possibly too they would be reinforced from headquarters, and in that case armies would be gathering against him from every side. For a person in his situation the right course was to be quick, to hurry forward and not wait for the enemies to muster and devise schemes.—Abu Talib continued to send messages to 'Ali

¹ Above 265 his action is apparently due to climatic considerations.

² See above, p. 147.

³ He was now governor of Fars.

b. Buwaihi, showing that his progress was easy, if he hurried ; difficult, (281) if he procrastinated. Finally 'Ali b. Buwaihi advanced to Nubandajan. He was anticipated by the vanguard of Yaqut, consisting of some two thousand men, among whom were the bravest of his followers, such as KURMARD of Nhorasan and IBN KHARGOSH, both of them renowned for gallantry, with other champions not inferior to them. They were met by 'Ali b. Buwaihi on the road to Nubandajan, and made little resistance, fleeing to Kurkan. Here they were joined by Yaqut and his followers. Abu Talib of Nubandajan instructed his stewards and agents to minister to 'Ali b. Buwaihi, while he himself retired to an estate by way of deceiving Yaqut, to whom he wrote that he had been forced to run away by the fright that had overtaken himself and the inhabitants ; and solicited his advice. Meanwhile he was doing his utmost to abet 'Ali b. Buwaihi and show him the most advantageous courses, while he furnished him also with intelligence and guidance to passes and routes. He also appointed persons to supply all his wants both in money and kind, entertaining him and his whole force forty days, at an estimated cost of two hundred thousand dinars. 'Ali b. Buwaihi sent his brother Abu 'Ali Hasan to Kazarun and other districts of Fars, whence he extorted vast sums, and unearthed great treasures that had belonged to the Kistras, and had been inherited by certain families there ; he (the future Rukn al-daulah) raised more money than his brother had raised. Yaqut sent a mighty army against HASAN B. BUWAIHI, who met it with a handful of troops, routed it, and joined his brother 'Ali in triumph.

It now happened that the league between Yaqut and Washmagir with Mardawij against 'Ali b. Buwaihi was an accomplished fact, and the news of this reaching 'Ali compelled him to march in the direction of Kirman. Leaving Nubandajan he moved to Istakhr, and thence

to Baida, being closely followed by Yaqut with his whole army. Finally 'Ali b. Buwaihi came to a bridge over which the road to Kirman passed ; Yaqut had got to the bridge before him, and interfered with his passage ; so 'Ali was compelled to fight.¹

YEAR 322.

(282) The battle began on Tuesday—13 Jumada ii (June 2, 934), and was at its fiercest on Wednesday ; the night preceding the Thursday 'Ali called his followers and informed them that he would dismount with them and fight like one of their number ; he made lavish promises and obtained from them solemn assurances that they would hold out and do their best.

Account of an incident that favoured 'Ali b. Buwaihi and seriously hurt Yaqut, coupled with undue precipitation on Yaqut's part.

The bad policy precipitately adopted by Yaqut was the following. Two Dailemite chieftains who were among 'Ali b. Buwaihi's followers deserted to him ; no sooner had he cast eyes on them than he ordered them to be beheaded. The Dailemites being convinced that they had no chance of pardon from him, took good heed and fought with the resolution of martyrs. The incident was this. He started battle early on the Thursday morning by stationing in front of his line a number of foot-soldiers who fought with instruments for discharging naphtha and flame. The wind shifted and being violent caused the flame to reach some of Yaqut's lines, while the Dailemites fell upon those foot-soldiers and slaughtered them. The cavalry then took to flight pursued by the Dailemites in complete order.

¹ See *infra* pp. 295 foll., where the account given differs in many details.

Account of an expedient tried by Yaqut at the time of the rout, which however was ineffective, as 'Ali b.

Buwaihi had taken precautions which led to victory.

When the Dailemites were within sight of the baggage of Yaqut during his rout and that of his followers, Yaqut made for a high hill which was on his road, and ascended it ; there he planted his standard and he was joined by some four thousand men. He expected the Dailemites to make a rush for his stores, and while engaged on plunder (283) to get into disorder, when he would be able to counterattack—a device which often enough has led to victory after a force has been routed. So he told his followers not to separate, but hold themselves in readiness for a counterattack. 'Ali b. Buwaihi however perceived this, and showing himself in front of his line called to his followers, and bade them keep together and maintain their order ; for, he said, the enemy is standing and waiting for you to be occupied with plundering when he will counterattack. But that is the only stratagem that he has left.—He then informed them that the plunder would not be lost. So when Yaqut saw how firmly they stood and refrained from pillaging in order to protect themselves from his stratagem, he made a headlong retreat, and 'Ali b. Buwaihi took possession of all his baggage. Boxes were found belonging to Yaqut containing *burnouses*, fetters and similar articles which had been got ready for the captives, and which some of 'Ali b. Buwaihi's officers suggested should be used for Yaqut's troops, the *burnouses* to be placed on their heads and the fetters on their legs ; and in this condition they should be paraded first in the camp and then in the town. 'Ali b. Buwaihi declined this suggestion, saying No ! Let us rather pardon the enemies whom God has put into our power, and thank Him for this mercy. Thus shall we be more likely to obtain an increase, and avoid arrogance and impiety.—

On the Friday he advanced to Qurqan and on Saturday to Dinakan, being joined the whole way by a procession of deserters, men from the garrisons and persons of eminence. He received them all with kindly words and acts, pardoned all who had been reported to him as having used ill language about him or done him harm, and conducted himself so excellently that all fear of him even on the part of his enemies was allayed. He encamped outside Shiraz, and there issued a proclamation that justice was to be distributed, and that the inhabitants were to be secure from all annoyance, and the people were told to go about their employments and business without fear. And they did so.

Presently owing to the exorbitant demands of the army he was compelled to adopt another policy, and came to what we hope presently to describe in due course.

(284) This year there came a despatch from ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. QASIM of Karkh, who was minister of *kharaḡ* and estates in Basrah and Ahwaz, dated Tuesday 4 Muharram (Dec. 24, 933),¹ to the effect that he had received letters announcing the entry of Mardawij's followers into Ispahan; and that an important commander in the service of Mardawij, who had been in charge of Mah al-Basrah, and acquired a vast sum of money, named 'Ali b. Buwaihi, had left him and fled to Arrajan, whence he had written to assure him that he was loyal to the Sultan, and requested permission from the vizier to come to the capital or else to proceed to Shiraz to join forces with Yaqut, the freedman of the Commander of the Faithful.

This year the followers of Abu Tahir the Qarmatian came to the regions of TAWWAJ and SINIZ in boats, and landed. When they had got some distance from their boats these were burned by an agent of Yaqut who was in control of the place. He then assembled the people

¹ According to Wüstenfeld 3 Muharram.

of the place and attacked the Qarmatians, killing some and taking prisoners eighty men, among whom was one called IBN AL-GHAMR. A messenger of Mohammed b. Yaqut brought these prisoners to the capital in triumph, with horns attached to the head of Ibn al-Ghamr, and the whole party mounted on camels with satin vests and *burnouses*. In this guise they entered the Palace, where they were put into confinement.

In this year too Qahir put to death Ishaq b. Isma'il and Abu'l-Saraya Nasr b. Hamdan.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason for his putting Ishaq to death was that before his accession he had wished to purchase the slave-girl called ZINAH, who had been described to him as a beauty and a singer ; but Ishaq had outbid him and secured her. The reason for his putting Abu'l-Saraya to death was that before his accession he had wished to purchase another slave-girl, and been outbid by him. THABIT on the authority of a servant who was present at the executions records how (285) Qahir came and stood over a well in a place which he mentions, bade Ishaq be brought, and when he was brought in fetters ordered him to be thrown into the well ; “ so we threw him in, fetters and all, while he was still alive. Then he ordered Abu'l-Saraya to be brought, and we produced him also in fetters ; the Caliph ordered him to be flung into the same well ; Abu'l-Saraya kept supplicating and begging for pardon, but the Caliph paid no attention, and when he hung on to the branch of a palm-tree that was near the well, the Caliph bade us hit his hand, which we did ; so he let go the palm-branch and we pushed him into the well. Then the Caliph commanded us to fill in the well, so we flung earth in until it was full ; while he stood.”—Praise be to Almighty God ! How wonderful is fate ! When Muqtadir was killed, Mu'nis wanted to

appoint as his successor his son Abu'l-'Abbas, and Ishaq b. Isma'il strained every nerve to make them appoint Qahir instead,¹ not knowing that he was designing his own death, in order that what was foreordained should be accomplished.

In this year ABU BAKR IBN MUQASSAM was brought to the apartment of the Chamberlain Salamah charged with having invented unknown Qur'anic readings; IBN MUJAHID and the judges were summoned to examine him. He confessed his sin and repented; his books were burned.

In this year² a rebel called ABU 'ALI MOHAMMED B. ALYAS coming from Sogdia passed through Kirman and arrived at the gate of Istakhr, where he informed Yaqut that he wished to seek his protection; Yaqut presently learned that this was a pretence, and went out to meet him with force; Ibn Alyas did not resist, but retreated to Kirman, where Makan b. Kaki the Dailemite was sent against him by the prince of Khorasan. In the battle which followed Ibn Alyas was routed, and fleeing into the territory of Fars was attacked by (286) Yaqut and routed again.

In this year the Hujari and Saji troops were displeased with Qahir, and successfully plotted his arrest.

Account of the reason for Qahir's arrest.

The reason of it was that Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah from his hiding place kept sending messages to the Saji and Hujari troops setting them against Qahir and arousing their suspicion of him. The like was done also by HASAN B. HAF³, who used to meet them at night attired as a mendicant, with a wallet in his hand, and sometimes as a woman, and ultimately succeeded in exasperating them and making them conspire to assault the Caliph. He warned them that the Caliph was building dungeons

¹ See above, p. 242.

² This must have been before Yaqut's defeat by 'Ali b. Buwaihi.

for them; and he got hold of an astrologer in the employ of SIMA, whom he suborned to announce to Sima on the authority of the stars that danger threatened him from Qahir of whom he should beware. Hasan b. Harun gave this astrologer two hundred dinars, which induced him to impress on the mind of Sima this fear of Qahir; and Sima, who used to admire this astrologer's successful predictions, was duly impressed. The astrologer proceeded to make further suggestions on the authority of dreams, which he professed to have seen, which increased Sima's fear of Qahir.

On Monday 4 Rabi'ii (March 24, 934) a dispute arose between the *Hujari* and the *Saji* retainers, and the *Sajis* were told that Qahir meant to lay hands on SIMA, who was their commander. Sima fled in haste from the Palace to his own house, where he was joined by the whole body of *Sajis* with their officers in arms; they remained with him till the end of the day, when they went away, to return early next morning. Then the officers of the *Sajis* met those of the *Hujaris* and swore to act in common, after which they took an oath from the rest of both regiments to do the same. News of this reaching Qahir, the vizier and the Chamberlain, they sent to enquire into the cause of their alarm. (287) The reply was: We have ascertained that Qahir means to arrest Sima and confine us in the dungeons which he has been building for us.—Now al-Faḍl b. Ja'far had undertaken the building of certain subterraneous chambers out of his own money to be reckoned against his fine. Qahir being informed of the men's reply ordered Salamah to go out to them, after swearing to him that he had no such plan or notion, and that he was merely building baths for the women of the Palace. Salamah accordingly went out with this message

Khasibi and 'Isa the physician had now a private audience of Qahir, whom they assured that the source of this mischief could only be al-Faḍl b. Ja'far, who must

have told the Sajis and *Hujaris* this, since no-one else knew of it. Now Salamah had suggested the remission of al-Faḍl's fine, being anxious to do him a service, and restricted it to the amount to be spent on the subterraneous chambers. Qahir now ordered the arrest of al-Faḍl b. Ja'far, and Khasibi the vizier in the presence of 'Isa the physician demanded of him 300,000 dinars. Al-Faḍl replied: Were I possessed of money, I should have estates, houses, servants, and style to match.—Khasibi was angered, thinking that al-Faḍl was alluding to himself. He addressed al-Faḍl with harshness, and al-Faḍl gave as good as he had got. Khasibi the vizier wanted to inflict torture; but SABUR the eunuch said he had been ordered to protect him and prevent harm from happening to him.—So he was sent back to the Palace and confined in the place where Isḥaq b. Isma'il had been imprisoned.

On Tuesday 5 Jumada i (April 22, 934) despatches arrived from ABU JA'FAR of Karkh and ABU YUSUF 'ABD al-RAḤMAN B. MOHAMMED, formerly secretary to the Queen-mother, to the effect that the followers of IBN RA'IQ had seized Suq al-Ahwaz and made themselves masters of the whole district of Ahwaz.¹ All the ministers of public security in the Ahwaz district were now creatures of Ibn Ra'iq with the exception of Mohammed b. Yaqut, minister of public security in Sus and Jundaisabur, who declined to recognize Ibn Ra'iq's authority, as being his equal. Khasibi wrote an account of this to Qahir. (288) Qahir had already commenced his potations, so he called Salamah, made him read the letter, and bade him meet Khasibi and devise a scheme for dealing with this matter. He then returned to his cups.—Salamah accompanied by 'Isa went to Khasibi, but though their deliberations were continued until midnight, they could not arrive at any resolution. Salamah then departed to his residence, knowing that

¹ See above, p. 274.

Qahir was intoxicated by this time, and would be fit for nothing for the rest of the night. When morning came, Salamah paid an early visit to Khasibi, with whom he found 'Isa the physician ; they were informed that the Sajis and *Hujaris* were conspiring to attack the Palace. Khasibi bade 'Isa go at once to the Palace and inform Qahir, so that he might be on his guard. If he found the Caliph asleep, he was to wake him. 'Isa went and tried hard to rouse Qahir, but found it impossible ; he was told that the Caliph had continued drinking till sunrise, and that even if he were woke, he was too drunk to understand what was told him.

Now the *Hujaris* and Sajis had been holding a meeting at the house of Sima, where they had conspired to seize the Palace and arrest Qahir. Sima said to them : If you are really resolved on this course, let us arise and execute it at once.—They said : No, let us put it off till to-morrow, when there is a state ceremony, at which he will appear, so that we can arrest him.—Sima said : If you separate now, and put the matter off to another hour, he will hear of it, be on his guard and counterplot us ; and he will ruin us all.—So they accepted his suggestion, and rode with him armed to the Palace. At each gate Sima placed a Saji retainer and a *Hujari* retainer, with an adequate company of both forces ; and when he had secured the gates, he stationed his own force at the Public Gate, and bade them charge. They then charged from all the gates at once. The news reached Salamah and Khasibi who were holding a meeting in the residence of the latter. Khasibi left his house in women's attire and went into hiding ; Salamah went down stream to Saj Wharf and did the like.

(289) When the Sajis and *Hujaris* broke into the Palace, Sima did not enter it with them, but remained at his post in the Public Gate until Qahir had been arrested. He then went in.

When Qahir learned of the invasion of the Palace by the retainers, he woke up, was sobered, and fled to the roof of a bath in the women's apartments; there he hid; and when the retainers entered the room wherein he had been, they did not find him. So they seized those who were near, *e.g.*, ZAIRAK the serving-man, 'Isa the physician, and IKHTIYAR the stewardess, and put them in custody. Then a young eunuch fell into their hands, whom they beat with clubs till he showed them the Caliph's hiding-place. Entering they found him on the roof of the bath with a *Dabiqi*¹ kerchief on his head, and a drawn sword in his hand. They tried hard to make him come down to them, speaking gently: We are thy slaves, they said, and would not harm thee; we only seek assurance of our own lives.—He firmly refused nevertheless to come down, until one of them aimed an arrow at him, saying: If thou come not down, I plant this in thy breast.—Then he came down, and was arrested; the time was the early forenoon of Wednesday 6 Jumada i, 322 (April 22, 934). They took him to the prison cells, making for the room wherein TARIF SUBKARI was confined.² This was opened, and finding Tarif therein they broke off his fetters, and released him; putting Qahir into confinement in his place. At the door they posted a guard of Sajis and Hujaris. The pillage of Baghdad began, and the Caliphate of Qahir ended.

¹ Said to be named from a place in Egypt, and to be a silken fabric interwoven with silver and gold.

² We have not been told why he was arrested.

CHAPTER III.

CALIPHATE OF AL-RADI BILLAH ABU'L-'ABBAS MOHAMMED SON OF MUQTADIR IN THE YEAR 322.

WHEN the Saji and Hujari retainers had arrested Qahir, they found their way to the place (290) wherein Abu'l-'Abbas son of Muqtadir was housed, their guide being a deputy of ZAIRAK the serving-man. Opening the door, they entered and saluted him as Caliph ; they then brought him out and set him upon the throne ; allegiance was sworn to him by the officers of the Sajis and Hujaris, and by Tarif Subkari and Badr Kharshani. He took the title AL-RADI BILLAH (The Satisfied with God). He ordered 'Ali b. 'Isa and his brother 'Abd al-Rahman to be summoned ; they were brought, admitted to his presence, and consulted, as the Caliph relied on them for counsel. 'Ali b. 'Isa informed him that in accordance with custom he ought to tie a banner for himself ; so he ordered the banner to be brought, tied it with his own hand and commanded that it should be preserved. 'Ali b. 'Isa then advised him to secure the *Seal of Sovereignty*, and this was delivered by the person who had it in his possession ;¹ it is a silver ring with bezel of Chinese iron ; the legend is in three lines :

MOHAMMED

APOSTLE

OF GOD.

He also advised him to secure the *Seal of Caliphate* from Qahir ; so Radi sent some one who opened the door of his cell and demanded the ring, which Qahir surrendered ; the gem was a red ruby, with the legend *In God Mohammed the sovereign Qahir Commander of the*

¹ The Prophet's seal is the subject of numerous and conflicting traditions ; see *Mawahib Laduniyyah*, ed. Qastalani, v. 38 foll. It was said to have been in the keeping of some one else

Faithful trusts. The messenger brought it to Radi, who ordered a skilful artist attached to the Treasury to remove this legend, which was done. Another seal was then inscribed with the legend *al-Radi billah*.

'Ali b. 'Isa then ordered the summoning of the qadis Abu'l-Husain 'Umar b. Moḥammed, Abu Mohammed Ibn Abi'l-Shawarib, and Abu Talib al-Bahlul, with a number of Witnesses and courtiers, who presented themselves ; the qadi ABU'L-HASAN MOHAMMED B. SALIH HASHIMI, son of Umm Shaiban, narrated how (291) when the qadi Abu'l-Husain was summoned on the occasion of Qahir's arrest, he was bewildered ; he gathered his household, took with him fifty dinars in the belt of his drawers as a resource, and left him (the narrator) in his place in his house, before leaving. " After most of the night had passed he returned home, and said to me : I am sure you have felt anxious and been longing to know what had happened to us, so now let me tell you.—I went and was taken into a chamber in which Qahir was, there being with me three Witnesses and Tarif Subkari. Tarif said to him : Will you say it, Sire ? This he repeated several times.—Qahir then said : Wait, and turning to me said : Don't you know me ?—I replied : Certainly I do.—Then he said : I am Abu Mansur Moḥammed son of Mu'tadid (on who God have mercy), and besides al-Qahir billah ; my allegiance is on thy neck and the necks of my family and of all the officers. I am not going to absolve or discharge you therefrom on any consideration. So go !—We rose, and when we had got a little way off, I severely upbraided Tarif, asking him what use it was to summon us to a man who had not been forced to submit, nor given his signature, attested by the public scribes and the army ? This ought to have been done first, and then you might have summoned us for the business.—So he took us to 'Ali b. 'Isa, who asked what had happened, and when we told him, frowned and said : He must be deposed without hesitation, for

his conduct is notorious, and there is no secret about what he deserves.—I said : It is not for us to establish dynasties ; that is accomplished by the men of the sword. We are only suited and required for attestation and the obtaining of assurances. I heard the man say what I repeated to you, and it was not proper to confront us with him until the matter had been fully settled.—He exhibited vexation, and as the time for prayer had come, we rose.”—The *qadi* ABU’L-HASAN MOHAMMED B. SALIH says : I heard him tell this, and next morning we went to the Palace. We were told that Qahir had been blinded the day before.

(292) He continues : When Abu ‘Ali Ibn Muqlah presented himself, we were summoned, there being with the *qadi* Abu’l-Husain besides myself three Witnesses. We were assembled in the presence of *Radi*, who made a sign to *Muflih* the negro, who produced three of the new Caliph’s brothers and gave them seats on the Caliph’s right. Ibn Muqlah then produced a paper from his sleeve which he proceeded to unfold. He then made the Caliph’s brothers swear allegiance. *Radi* then made a second sign to *Muflih*, who introduced two other brothers of the Caliph, who were made to sit at the Caliph’s left. They also were sworn. Then Ibn Muqlah gave the paper to the *qadi* Abu’l-Husain and swore him. After attesting the oaths on that paper we withdrew.

SIMA had suggested the blinding of Qahir that night, and *Radi* had concealed the matter from ‘Ali b. ‘Isa. Summoning BAKHTISHU’ B. YAHYA the physician, he had asked him for the name of a competent operator. The physician gave a name ; the man was fetched, and blinded Qahir.

The whole of the Wednesday until nightfall ‘Ali b. ‘Isa continued to receive oaths of allegiance to *Radi* from judges, commanders, army officers, bureau clerks and retainers. *Radi* demanded that he should undertake the

vizierate, but he declined, alleging that he would not prove equal to the office. Sima nominated Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah, saying that he undertook to defray all expenses. 'Ali b 'Isa said that he had already nominated him to the Commander of the Faithful, and that no-one was fit for the present time save him.—Now 'Ali b. 'Isa had been pleading for (293) al-Faḍl b. Ja'far, and he was released in consequence of his appeal.¹ Radī then sent an order to Ibn Muqlah, who presented himself on Thursday 7 Jumada i (April 24, 934), when 'Ali b. 'Isa and his brother 'Abd al-Rahman also presented themselves and stationed themselves in front of him, to take his oath. Al-Faḍl b. Ja'far and Hasan b. Harun delayed. The robes of honour which indicated the vizierate were bestowed on Ibn Muqlah, and with him rode Sima, Tarif Subkari, and the other commanders, retainers and court-attendants. Hasan b. Harun and Abu Bakr Ibn Qarabah then showed themselves and after visiting Ibn Muqlah returned to their homes.

Ibn Muqlah now started on a virtuous line of conduct, saying : (294) When I was in hiding I promised God that I would not harm any one, and made various vows to that effect.—This promise he kept, as he released all the civilians and soldiers who had been imprisoned by Qahir, and besides 'Isa the physician and Ishaq b. 'Ali Qunna'i, who had been sent to him by Radī. Presently he changed his mind about 'Isa, and imposed a fine upon him.

(295) Qahir had acknowledged possession of a deposit of gold, silver and perfume which had been entrusted to his keeping by Ibn Muqlah ; and the latter now demanded the return of the whole. He pleaded with Radī the cause of Abu'l-'Abbas Khasibi, and an auto-graph amnesty was made out for him by Radī. This was taken by Ibn Muqlah, who enclosed it in an auto-

¹ See above, p. 287, for his imprisonment.

graph letter of his own, wherein he addressed Khasibi in the most courteous style. So Khasibi showed himself, and was given charge by Ibn Muqlah of the bureaux of the Private and the New Estates, as well as those which had belonged to 'Abbas and Ibn al-Furat, and those which had been acquired by confiscation from Umm Musa, Nadhir, Shafi' Lu'lu'i, and the Rebels,¹ the estates devoted to charity, and those which had belonged to the Queen-mother, *i.e.*, the mother of Muqtadir; further the bureaux of control of the East and the West. He assigned him a stipend of a thousand dinars a month for himself, exclusive of the stipends of the clerks employed in these bureaux.

Radi appointed BADR KHARSHANI prefect of police in Baghdad.

At the time when Radi was appointed Caliph despatches arrived from ABU JA'FAR of Karkh and ABU YUSUF, formerly secretary to the Queen-mother, to the effect that they had escaped from Ahwaz to the neighbourhood of the Dwellings of Rasibi, and were fleeing from MOHAMMED B. RA'IQ. The Baridis were hiding in the canals of Ahwaz, exchanging one canal for another. The news reached Mohammed b. Yaqut,² who was in Basiyan, that Qahir had been deposed, and Radi made Caliph; and that he himself had been summoned to become Chamberlain. So he returned to Wasit, and did not enter Basrah; thither Abu Ja'far of Karkh returned, but presently he went back to his post in Ahwaz, and attended to the business until Ibn Muqlah gave the Baridis the revenue-farming of Ahwaz.

Account of the commencement of the power of Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Buwaihi the Dailemite.

We have previously narrated how Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Buwaihi attached himself to Mardawij when the latter

¹ *i.e.*, Mu'nis, Yalbaq and their followers.

² The text has Ra'iq, but this is an obvious error. Basiyan is fairly close to Basrah.

was on the frontier of Tabaristan, and was given a command by him, with a body of troops. Now when Mardawij sent him to Rayy, where his brother Washmagir was his deputy, it happened that the governor of Karaj¹ wished to appropriate its revenues, so he sent 'Ali b. Buwaihi to set that matter straight. He had under him fewer than a hundred men, but in the course of his residence at Karaj (296) various Dailemites from different regions attached themselves to him, so that his numbers swelled to about three hundred. Mardawij suspected his intentions, and wrote recalling him ; but he delayed, and further messages were met with fresh excuses. He had in a short period obtained revenue from Karaj to the amount of half a million or more ; Mardawij, taking alarm, threatened him, so that he took fright. Mardawij and Washmagir then plotted to arrest him.

Now 'Ali b. Buwaihi had, when he left Rayy, where Washmagir was in residence, appointed as his representative his door-keeper AHMAD, father of Abu Is'haq Tabari the Witness, who wrote to him about the discussions which Mardawij and Washmagir were now having concerning himself ; for indeed Mardawij had come to see his brother in Rayy on this account, and with the view of despatching armed forces against 'Ali b. Buwaihi. So 'Ali left Karaj in alarm with the intention of putting himself under the protection of MUZAFFAR B. YAQUT in Ispahan, who had in his army at the time seven hundred Dailemites,² under the command of FANNAKHUSRAH, father of Hasan the Dailemite, who had been inspector of police in Baghdad. When 'Ali b. Buwaihi approached Ispahan, Muzaffar went out to prevent his entry ; he was at the head of some four thousand men,³ but his followers played each other false,

¹ Above p. 278 this was not mentioned. Miskawaihi seems to have neglected making an attempt to harmonize his authorities.

² Above p. 279 six hundred Jilites and Dailemites.

³ In the account of the affair given above, p. 279 the number is ten thousand.

and a dispute broke out between his Dailemite troops, as Fannakhusrah had a rival among the Dailemites, who opposed him. The home-born¹ troops also were slack, and divided amongst themselves. Hence Muzaffar fled to Fars where his father Yaqut was governor. Some four hundred of his Dailemites deserted to 'Ali b. Buwaihi, making his numbers up to seven hundred. But he became master of Ispahan with three hundred.

When the news reached Mardawij, he sent his brother Washmagir immediately in pursuit. When Washmagir approached Ispahan, 'Ali b. Buwaihi evacuated it, and went to Arrajan, a place of which he had been afraid, owing to its bringing him between Yaqut, who was in Fars, and his son Mohammed who was in Ramhurmuz. Still the latter had been described to him as contemptible, both his mind and his troops being undisciplined. So he entered Arrajan, and established himself there. He wrote thence to (297) Yaqut, but at the same time collected *kharaḡ* from the district to the value of about two million dirhems; and besides got access to various deposits. He made his arrangements to march to Kirman, where was Makan b. Kaki the Dailemite, whose protection he meant to seek. Yaqut made no reply to his letter, and would not accept his offer of service; for 'Ali b. Buwaihi had written addressing him as Prince and describing himself as his slave, and stating that he wanted one of two things: either to be received into Yaqut's force, or to have Yaqut's permission to proceed to the Sultan's gate. When Yaqut would have none of him, and marched against him with his son Muzaffar, 'Ali b. Buwaihi proceeded to Nubandajan, where he supposed the battle would be fought; but he first wrote to Yaqut, asking for amnesty, and deprecating war. Yaqut however was on his guard against him, fearing an assault from him, and indeed he had been told that

¹ Apparently they are opposed to the mercenaries, but the meaning of the phrase is not clear.

'Ali b. Buwaihi meant treachery ; his purpose being to get into Fars and then cajole him, Yaqut, out of it. Now during the time of 'Ali b. Buwaihi's residence in Kazarun and Balad Sabur, after his departure from Arrajan, he had procured about half a million dinars besides various treasures which he discovered ; strengthened by these he had increased his forces, and when he came to Nubandajan he was supported by Abu Talib Zaid b. 'Ali, who financed him, undertaking a charge of five hundred dinars a day.¹ He remained some time with this person ; and when Yaqut came out against him, he was in great fear of Yaqut, whose force was seventeen thousand men of all classes, Sajis, *Hujaris*, the Masaffi infantry,² etc., some Dailemites, and some of other races ; while 'Ali b. Buwaihi commanded eight hundred men. He therefore asked Yaqut to leave the road free for his retreat, so that he might pass where he chose to go ; but Yaqut refused, and was anxious to engage him, his numbers being so small and the treasure which he had amassed being so great. 'Ali b. Buwaihi did not attempt to resist, but retreated to *Baida* ; his progress was stopped by Yaqut who engaged him by the gate of *Istakhr* in a battle which lasted two days, and went favourably to Yaqut. This increased the ardour of Yaqut, and the fear of 'Ali b. Buwaihi, who urgently entreated him to leave the road free for his retreat, which Yaqut refused to do. So on Thursday—12 Jumada ii, 322³ he entered on a death struggle with him.

I was informed by one of the Dailemites present at the battle that six (298) Dailemites dismounted, placed their shields in line, and advanced to the attack. The followers of Yaqut who were facing them retreated ;

¹ Above, p. 281 the total came to 200,000 !

² These had been destroyed in 318, pp. 202, 203.

³ Above, p. 282, the battle is said to have commenced on Tuesday—13. According to Wüstenfeld the last day of Jumada ii was a Monday ; —13 would therefore be a Tuesday, coinciding with June 3, 934.

the Dailemites uttered their war-cry and advanced, ABU'L-HUSAIN AHMAD B. BUWAIHI charging with some thirty men. Yaqut with all his followers took to flight at noon of that day in the direction of Shiraz. 'Ali b. Buwaihi supposing this to be a feint, not a real rout, remained in his place and did not pursue until the afternoon; but when he ascertained that it was an actual rout, he proceeded towards Shiraz. His first encampment was at a village called Zurqan (at a distance of six parasangs from Shiraz), whence he departed on the morning of the Saturday (June 7, 934) and encamped at a village called Dinakan; he expected that Shiraz would be defended and that he would have to fight for the possession of it, for the army which he had routed had retired intact, as they had neither fought him nor made any resistance.¹ So he encamped at the distance of a parasang from Shiraz, where he learned that Yaqut and 'ALI B. KHALAF B. TINAB had evacuated the city, leaving it without government. So he despatched a number of Dailemites and other elements of his army to occupy the place and maintain order; on these the rabble of Shiraz with some of the negro infantry and the slaves of the farmers precipitated themselves, when the Dailemites were scattered about the bazaars, and killed some seventy of them. Hearing of this, 'Ali b. Buwaihi sent his brother Abu'l-Husain Ahmad, at that time a beardless lad of nineteen, whose hands were as yet uninjured,² with eighty Dailemite troops, and these put to death about a thousand of the negroes. He then issued a proclamation that no follower of Yaqut or soldier of his army was to remain in the town, and that of any of them found there after the proclamation the life and goods were forfeit. In consequence none of them remained.

¹ This absolutely contradicts the account given above, p. 283.

² This is explained later.

'Ali b. Buwaihi now entered Shiraz, and enjoyed a series of strokes of wonderful good luck which served to maintain his dominion. Thus once when his followers assembled to demand their money from him, and the amount at his disposal was not sufficient for their demands, so that his position was insecure, he became (299) exceedingly anxious: lying on his back in the chamber of the palace which Yaqut had formerly occupied, and where he had gone to meditate in solitude, he noticed a snake issue from a place in the ceiling of the room and enter at another place. Fearing that this snake would drop on him while he was asleep, he ordered the bedmakers to bring a ladder to remove the snake. They did so; and when they mounted and searched for the creature, they found that the ceiling led to a chamber between two rooves, about which they told him; he ordered them to open it, and in it there were found boxes containing cash and gems to the value of half a million dinars. He sat down and this wealth was brought to him; overjoyed, he spent it on his troops, and so his position which had been tottering was rendered stable.

ABU AHMAD AL-FADL B. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN of Shiraz narrated how 'Ali b. Buwaihi wanted some clothes to be made, and enquired for a skilful tailor; one who had been Yaqut's tailor was recommended, so 'Ali ordered him to be fetched. The man was deaf, and got the idea that 'Ali had been informed about a deposit committed to his care by Yaqut, and that he had been summoned in connexion with it. When 'Ali addressed him, he swore that all he had was a set of twelve chests, of whose contents he was ignorant. 'Ali b. Buwaihi was surprised by this answer, and sent some people with him to fetch them. He found therein a vast amount of cash and wearing apparel.

At that time 'Ali b. Buwaihi's secretary was a Christian from Rayy named ABU SA'D ISRA'IL B. MUSA;

he was afterwards put to death by 'Ali for a reason to which a section shall be devoted. He appointed in his place ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. MOHAMMED OF Qumm called *HANNAT* "the embalmer."

After obtaining possession of the town 'Ali b. Buwaihi negotiated with the view of obtaining it as a fief from the government, and proposed that he should receive investiture from Radi; the Caliph agreed to this proposal and expressed himself satisfied with the sum offered by 'Ali b. Buwaihi, viz. eight million dirhems net after payment of all charges and expenses current or extraordinary. He wrote to the vizier Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah, declaring (300) with the most solemn oaths his loyalty and attachment to the vizier Ibn Muqlah and his son ABU'L-HUSAIN; he emphasized this in every possible way. In Shawwal of the year 322 (Sept.—Oct. 934) the vizier Ibn Muqlah despatched to him the robes of honour and the standard, with orders to the envoy, ABU 'ISA YAHYA B. IBRAHIM MALIKI the clerk, not to deliver them till after he had received the money about which they had agreed. When Maliki was nearing the city, he was met by 'Ali b. Buwaihi at some distance from it, and the latter rode with him to the outskirts of Shiraz. There 'Ali b. Buwaihi demanded the delivery of the robes and the standard, and the envoy explained what were his instructions, viz. that he was not to surrender them until he had received the sum agreed on. 'Ali b. Buwaihi proceeded to threaten and browbeat him till he delivered the robes, which the former then put on; clad in them and with the standard in front of him he entered Shiraz. Maliki remained for a time demanding the money, no coin of which was paid him; all he secured was promises, delays and procrastinations; finally he fell ill and died in Shiraz. His coffin was brought to Baghdad in the year 323.

Various resources and deposits were tapped by 'Ali b. Buwaihi, while Abu Sa'd the Christian was his vizier.

The residual revenues of the year were farmed for him by ABU'L-FADL 'ABBAS B. FASANJAS, IBN MIRDAS, ABU TALIB ZAID B. 'ALI and other eminent men of the place for four million dirhems ; and he obtained access to the hoards and deposits of 'AMR B. LAITH, YA'QUB B. LAITH, YAQUT, his son, 'ALI B. KHALAF, and the officers of the Sultan. So the wealth of 'Ali b. Buwaihi increased, and his coffers overflowed ; the soldiers of Makan b. Kaki deserted to him from Kirman, his army grew, and he became a mighty power. An account of him reached Mardawij, who was exceedingly vexed, and proceeded to Ispahan, where was his brother Washmagir, who had been sent back thither by Mardawij when the place had remained without a governor for seventeen days, after Qahir had been deposed and Mohammed b. Yaqut delayed his arrival.¹ (301) But when Washmagir was settled there, and Mardawij had come there to plan how to deal with 'Ali b. Buwaihi, who was now in rebellion, Mardawij sent his brother back to Rayy to be his deputy there ; and despatched his commander-in-chief SHIRAJ B. LAILA with his Chamberlain SHABUSHTI² at the head of 2,400 men, Jilites and Dailemites, with his chief commanders such as BAKRAN and ISMA'IL the Jilite, to Ahwaz ; his object being to take possession of it, and thereby bar the road between 'Ali b. Buwaihi and the Sultan : so that if, after seizing Ahwaz he, Mardawij, were to attack 'Ali b. Buwaihi, the latter would have no egress except to the frontiers of Kirman, Tiz, Mukran and the land of Khorasan.

When the Jilite army reached Idhaj, Yaqut was afraid lest he might find himself between them and 'Ali b. Buwaihi ; so he went, accompanied by his son, to Ahwaz, where the Sultan made him minister of war and public security. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi received the title of

¹ See above, p. 265.

² Ibn Khallikan tr. De Slane ii. 263, supposes that this is a Dailemite word. He adds that this personage died in 326.

secretary to Yaqut in addition to the ministries of *kharaj* and Estates in Ahwaz which he already held. Both he and Yaqut were represented in the capital by Abu 'Abdallah's brother Abu'l-Husain. On the first day of Shawwal 322 (Sept. 14, 934) the troops of Mardawij arrived in Ramhurmuz, where they celebrated the Feast of the day, and the name of Mardawij was mentioned in the sermon. They then advanced to Ahwaz. Yaqut encamped by the bridge of ARBAQ,¹ which he cut ; the water which flows under this bridge has a swift current ; and the troops of Mardawij remained opposite Yaqut for forty days, unable to cross. Muzaffar b. Yaqut² then marched to Baghdad *via* Dur al-Rasibi, while 'Ali b. Khalaf b. Tinab went by sea to Basrah, having reached the coast at Mahruban. The army of Mardawij also departed from the Bridge of Arbaq, a party of boatmen having undertaken to get them across, to the Masruqan at 'Askar Mukram, in order that the road between them and Ahwaz might be free from obstacles ; so they turned off in that direction. Baridi and Yaqut now met and held a consultation, and decided to send Yaqut's retainer MU'NIS (302) with four thousand men to 'Askar Mukram to prevent the enemy from crossing the Masruqan ; thinking that the enemy after their forty days' delay had gone away out of weariness, and would not remain in 'Askar Mukram more than two or three days. But when the troops of Mardawij got there, they made rafts of wood and *shash*³ of bamboo, and on these fifty men crossed ; Mu'nis fled precipitately, and returning to his master, told him the news. He had by this time received reinforcements from Baghdad, including a great number of cavalry ; two days after the cavalry had joined him he quitted the Bridge of Arbaq, and the whole

¹ Probably the river is that which appears in some maps as the Gopal.

² The text has Yaqut. But this is contradicted by the sequel : whereas p. 318. Muzaffar is found in Baghdad.

³ Probably some kind of raft.

army marched to Qaryat al-Rih "Wind-village," and indeed the whole result of their efforts was "wind." Yaqut and his followers, who were a large host, proceeded to Badhaward, and thence to Wasit; the western side of which was evacuated by MOHAMMED B. RA'IQ,¹ so that Yaqut and his army took up their quarters there. 'Ali b. Buwaihi, learning of the occupation of Ahwaz by Mardawij, with a detailed account of the events, humiliated himself before the secretary of Mardawij and conciliated him; he had the name of Mardawij mentioned in public prayer, agreed to pay him a sum of money, and send him a hostage. Mardawij acquiesced, and 'Ali b. Buwaihi made IBRAHIM B. KASAK² governor of Arrajan after it had been evacuated by Mohammed b. Yaqut and 'Ali b. Khalaf.

Abu 'Abdallah Baridi remained secretary to Yaqut; being in Basrah in the Orchard of MUAMMA, and about to start for Wasit in his barge, he learned of the murder of Mardawij in his bath at Ispahan. He immediately despatched ABU 'ABDALLAH B. JINNI JARJARA'I to Ahwaz to represent him there, with orders to make for the outskirts of the town, or rather to halt at the distance of one parasang from it, and only to enter when he had ascertained that the Dailemites and Jilites had evacuated it; when you enter, he added, let the cavalry and infantry remain in their places, for I am about to send from Wasit ABU'L-FATH IBN ABI TAHIR and ABU AHMAD JUSTANI with a thousand men to keep order there and in the districts of Ahwaz. Presently there arrived ABU Jilit, retainer of Baridi's secretary JUDHAB, by water, and Ibn Abi Tahir established himself in Ahwaz, while Abu Ahmad Justani established himself at 'Askar Mukram. When Ahwaz had been evacuated, Ibrahim b. Kasak, anxious to seize it, advanced from Arrajan to Ramhurmuz; but 'Ali b. Buwaihi (303)

¹ See above, p. 287.

² See above, p. 279.

wrote ordering him to halt and not to advance further until he, 'Ali, had reinforced him. Before however this army arrived, Yaqut had proceeded to 'Askar Mukram through Sus ; and when Ibrahim b. Kasak heard of his arrival, he evacuated 'Askar Mukram and returned to Arrajan.

In Yaqut's army there were companies of Dailemites, Turks and Khorasanites, who would, he supposed, be steadfast, and on whom he relied for victory ; at 'Askar Mukram he was joined by Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, who distributed to Yaqut and his troops 300,000 dinars through the paymasters IBN BALWA and IBN SURAIJ. Yaqut led his forces towards Arrajan, but was met by 'Ali b. Buwaihi, who inflicted on him a second defeat after which he never prospered, and from which he never recovered ; his crowds of Persians and Dailemites were of no avail ; and we must not wonder at the work of God ! He was pursued by 'Ali b. Buwaihi to Ramhurmuz, and it was feared that 'Ali might seize Ahwaz. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi sent to negotiate peace, to which 'Ali b. Buwaihi agreed ; and he sent a copy of the terms to the vizier Ibn Muqlah, who showed them to Radi, who passed them. 'Ali b. Buwaihi then returned to Shiraz, and the government of Fars was assigned him as has been recorded ; Abu 'Isa Maliki was despatched to him with the standard and the deed of investiture, with the results which have been stated.

Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Buwaihi put to death his secretary Abu Sa'd Isra'il in this year.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason for this was the following. ABU SA'D was in high favour with 'Ali b. Buwaihi, who considered him a lucky man, and highly honoured him ; he commanded the army, and had Turkish retainers of his own, and wore the *qaba*, the sword and the belt. He had on

occasion fought against and defeated Yaqut. Now ABU'L-'ABBAS HANNAT of Qumm was constantly endeavouring to prejudice the mind of his master against Abu Sa'd, but without success, for his master forbade him to mention Abu Sa'd's name; Abu'l-'Abbas however persisted, and one day when he had made a strenuous attempt to rouse 'Ali b. Buwaihi against Abu Sa'd, his master said to him: My friend, this man was my adherent when I was of humble station, and now that I have reached the position which (304) you see, I cannot tell whether it is my luck or his which has brought me there. His position is not to be shaken, so beware how you approach me again on this subject.—This prohibition was however unavailing, and Abu'l-'Abbas did not cease attacking and abusing him.

Now between this Abu Sa'd and a chamberlain of 'Ali b. Buwaihi named KHUTLUKH, who was both chamberlain and commander-in-chief, there was enmity. It happened that Abu Sa'd gave a great banquet, to which he invited 'Ali b. Buwaihi and the commanders, spending a great deal of money upon the robes of honour and the gifts. He invited Khutlukh, but he did not accept; Abu Sa'd tried hard to get him to come, but it was useless. The day after the banquet Abu Sa'd rose and worked at his business, and then invited some people to keep him company. Khutlukh woke up that day in a state of indignation, with the idea that he must ride over to Abu Sa'd and put him to death; for in a dream he had seen Abu Sa'd, intending to kill him. Khutlukh's staff urged him to delay his project, but he declined, took a dagger in his boot, and mounted. Abu Sa'd was told that Khutlukh was on his way to him, at which Abu Sa'd took alarm, because Khutlukh had declined the invitation to come, and Abu Sa'd knew of no reason why he should want to come without invitation; so he prepared to resist, and told his retainers to have their battle-axes ready, and to be in concealment in the surrounding

apartments ; if he noticed anything suspicious in the conduct of Khutlukh, he would call out, and they were to lay hands upon him. Khutlukh appeared, and was met by Abu Sa'd ; he entered, sat down, and began to complain and to brawl, and presently stuck his hand in his boot and produced the dagger. Abu Sa'd shouted to his retainers, and they came out armed with battle-axes and bludgeons ; they attacked Khutlukh, and a bludgeon falling on his head stunned him, and he fell. It was supposed that he was dead ; he was carried to his house, where he lived two days, after which he died. Abu'l-'Abbas *Hannat* immediately hurried to the Prince ('Ali b. Buwaihi), and finding that he was asleep, bade his retainers wake him ; they did not venture to do so, so he himself shouted and cried till he had roused 'Ali, into whose presence he then entered to tell him that Abu Sa'd had murdered his Chamberlain Khutlukh. 'Ali did not believe this, and scolded him, to which his reply was : Send and see.—Confirmation of the story then reached him, and it shocked him ; for a time he was bewildered. Abu Sa'd then presented himself, and 'Ali b. Buwaihi (305) did not show that he disapproved, or felt aggrieved, but merely asked Abu Sa'd the reason for his action. Abu Sa'd explained the situation, and called upon those who were present to attest what he said ; and 'Ali b. Buwaihi declared himself satisfied. Abu Sa'd however was in fear, and Abu'l-'Abbas *Hannat* found his opportunity, and started a rumour that Abu Sa'd was obtaining promises of allegiance from the army commanders, and meant without doubt to rebel.—The prince now sent to Abu Sa'd, endeavouring to allay his apprehensions, and swearing solemn oaths that he placed confidence in Abu Sa'd, and that no mischief should ever befall Abu Sa'd from him.—It so happened that Abu Sa'd had his chests brought out of the rooms of his house into the court, with the intention of concealing them somewhere as a

resource in case of emergency ; and he held a private consultation with MUSA FAYADHAH. *Hannat* went off to 'Ali b. Buwaihi and informed him that Abu Sa'd had been swearing-in the prince's officers, and last of all Musa Fayadhah ; he has, he added, brought out his chests, and is going to start his rebellion at once.—The Prince sent some one to find out the facts, and this messenger, seeing the chests and Musa Fayadhah coming out from the interview, reported accordingly ; 'Ali b. Buwaihi had no longer any doubt of the truth of *Hannat's* statements, arrested Abu Sa'd, seizing all his goods of every description, and put him in confinement. He remained in confinement until the arrival of a certain Turkish captain from one of the districts of Fars, whom *Hannat* suborned to appear at the palace with his fifty followers with their garments rent and their faces blackened, lamenting the treatment of Khutlukh by Abu Sa'd, and threatening vengeance if he were not executed. The captain carried out his instructions, and presented himself before the prince when the latter was drinking ; and the prince gave the order for Abu Sa'd's execution. When he was sober and it was too late, he repented. The prince made Abu'l-'Abbas his secretary after this, and he remained with the prince till the latter's death.

We now return to the events of the capital. When Mohammed b. Yaqut reached Baghdad, and obtained the offices of Chamberlain¹ and commander-in-chief, he began to meddle with the management of the *kharaj* and the Estates, and attended to the business to which the vizier normally attended. He demanded that the heads of the bureaux should come to his office, and that they should accept no deed of appointment, dismissal, or anything else, save (306) after it had received his signature. Ibn Muqlah put up with this as best he could, and

¹ A letter of congratulation to him on this occasion is preserved by Qal-qashandi ix. 14. Its author is Husain b. Sa'd.

exercised sufficient self-restraint to go personally to Mohammed b. Yaqut, who visited him once for the vizier's twice. Ibn Muqlah was like an official in retirement, who had nothing to do but remain at home, where he was visited by ABU ISHAQ QARARITI, secretary to Ibn Yaqut, who informed him of what was going on and what he was to do.

And in this year HARUN B. GHARIB, mother's brother to Muqtadir, was killed.

Account of the cause of his death.

The reason for it was the following. When Harun b. Gharib learned of Raḍi's accession to the Caliphate, he was residing in Dinawar, which is the chief town of the district Mah al-Kufah, he being minister of public security, *kharaj* and Estates for Mah al-Kufah, Masa-badhan, Mihirjanqadhaq, and Hulwan.¹ These were the only regions out of the Eastern provinces which remained in the hands of the Sultan after the conquests of Mardawij. Harun b. Gharib supposed himself to have a better right to be ruler than any one else ; so he wrote to all the commanders in the capital promising that if he came to the capital and were made commander-in-chief and administrator-general, he would remit to them their pay intact, and keep none of it back. He started for Baghdad and reached Khaniqin ; this gave great offence to Ibn Muqlah, Mohammed b. Yaqut, the Saji, Hujari, and Mu'nisi troops ; these all made representations to Raḍi, who replied : I dislike the man ; prevent him from entering Baghdad, fighting him, (307) if he make it necessary.

On Saturday ² 7 Jumada i, 322 (April 24, 934) 'Abu Bakr Ibn Yaqut summoned ABU JA'FAR IBN SHIRZAD, and introduced him to Raḍi, who made him the bearer of a message to Harun b. Gharib, bidding him return

¹ See above, p. 254.

² A Sunday according to Wüstenfeld.

to Dinawar; he sent with him a letter also. Ibn Shirzad started at once, and found that Harun had advanced to the bridge of Nahrawan. He repeated the message and delivered the letter. Harun replied that the revenue of his province was not sufficient for the troops who had now joined him.—Ibn Shirzad took this message and delivered it to Raḍi in the presence of the vizier Ibn Muqlah and the Chamberlain Mohammed b. Yaqut. They offered to give him the administration of the whole Khorasan Road, and to let its revenue be devoted to his needs in addition to what he already received. Raḍi said: His best plan would be to reduce the (308) numbers of his troops.—Ibn Shirzad, accompanied by Abu Ishaq Qarariṭi returned with this reply. When they had delivered their message, he refused, declaring that this addition would not satisfy the troops. Then he said: And who made the son of Yaqut worthier of the offices of Chamberlain and Commander-in-chief than me? People know that at the end of Muqtadir's time he used to sit in front of me and obey my orders. Who made him to be nearer the Caliph than me, who am a relative and kinsman of the Commander of the Faithful, whereas Ibn Yaqut is the son of one of his slaves?—Qarariṭi observed: If you were to do your duty as a kinsman, you would not be in rebellion against him.—He replied: Were you not an envoy, I should have had you assaulted. Be off!—Harun then started collecting money, and collected the revenue of the Khorasan Road, arresting the Sultan's officers; he collected the money with great violence and cruelty, though the time was near the commencement of the financial year.

As his acts became more and more arbitrary, Mohammed b. Yaqut started at the head of the troops which were in the capital, and encamped at Nahrabin; as a final effort he sent Ibn Shirzad once more with a civil message, promising to make an agreement with him about the number of men whom he should retain, and

that he would consider their requirements as shown by the rolls for a *kharaj* year, and if the revenue of his provinces was sufficient for his pay and theirs, he should return to Dinawar; but if it were insufficient, then Mohammed b. Yaqut would order the deficit to be made good from the districts of the Nahrawans.—Ibn Shirzad started on the Monday with this message; there had already been an attack made by the vanguard of Harun b. Gharib on the vanguard of Mohammed b. Yaqut, wherein the followers of Harun had had the best of it; and deserters began to flock from the army of Mohammed b. Yaqut to Harun b. Gharib. Ibn Shirzad perceived that Harun suspected him of partiality towards Mohammed b. Yaqut and Ibn Muqlah. Seeing this he asked leave to go back with a reply. Harun said: I am afraid that he will put you in confinement, and only one night separates us from the battle which will settle our difference.

(309) On Tuesday —6 Jumada ii (June 10, 934) the armies met, the followers of Harun commencing the engagement. It was hotly contested, and the Harunites were victorious, being in number many times the followers of Ibn Yaqut, most of whom took to flight, together with a company of the *Hujari* retainers. The Harunites plundered most of Ibn Yaqut's baggage, knocked his followers off their horses, wounded many and killed several. Mohammed b. Yaqut then rode off without stopping till he had crossed the bridge of Nahrabin. The battle however continued to rage until midday, when Harun b. Gharib galloped off by himself along the bank of Nahrabin, making for the bridge as he had learned that Mohammed b. Yaqut had crossed it. He hoped either to kill or take him prisoner. His horse however threw him into a watercourse, where he was overtaken by his own slave YUMN, who wounded him in many places with his battle-axe, and then drew his sword to cut his throat. Harun said to him: Wicked slave,

do you mean to do this, yourself act as my executioner ? What offence have I committed against you ?—The slave said : Yes, I am going to do it.—He proceeded to sever the head, which he raised aloft, crying *Allah akbar* ! The followers of Harun then disbanded, and some of them entered Baghdad by different routes ; his baggage and theirs were plundered, and some of the Harunites were captured. Mohammed b. Yaqut went to the place where Harun's trunk lay, ordered it to be carried to his tent, and then to be wrapped and buried. He also sent people to guard Harun's house from being plundered. He then entered Baghdad preceded by the heads of Harun and some of his officers, which Radi ordered to be stuck on the Public Gate. Mohammed b. Yaqut received a robe of honour, a collar and a bracelet.

YEAR 323.

In this year Radi made his two sons ABU JA'FAR and ABU'L-FADL respectively governors of the East and the West, (310) and appointed to their secretaryship ABU'L-HUSAIN 'ALI, son of Ibn Muqlah. He bestowed a robe of honour for this office on Abu'l-Husain on Monday 5 Muharram (Dec. 15, 934) ; Abu'l-Husain appointed as his deputy-secretary ABU'L-HASAN SA'ID B. 'AMR B. SANJALA. Letters were sent out announcing this.

This year intelligence reached Baghdad that Mardawij b. Ziyar the Jilite had been put to death by his slaves in his bath in Ispahan. Mohammed b. Yaqut boasted that he had plotted this. He had, he asserted, been in correspondence with a slave of his who had deserted to Mardawij, and sent him more than ten letters by despatch-riders, whose names he gave, in such a way that no-one knew of their delivery ; and he exhibited letters on the subject written to him by the slave. He also composed accounts of the matter in detail, some of which were read out in the public mosque, and likewise

wrote to the provincial governors, informing them that he had planned the affair. This was all a fiction, for we have heard an account of the situation which from beginning to end makes it certain that no human being designed it.

Account of the reason for the assassination of Mardawij.

Says the *Ustadh* ABU 'ALI AHMAD B. MOHAMMED MISKAWAIHI, whose fortune God continue: I was informed by the truly chief *Ustadh* ABU'L-FADL IBN AL-'AMID, on whom God have mercy, as follows. When the night of the Bonfire called *Sadhaq*¹ was approaching, Mardawij had a long time before ordered wood to be gathered from mountains and distant regions and to be brought for him into the valley called Zarin Rudh² and the neighbouring marshes and woods. Wood then was collected from every quarter; then he ordered naphtha with those who manipulated it and fire-squirts with persons skilled in managing them and playing with them to be collected, and he ordered besides a supply of tall candles such as are placed in holders. There was not a (311) hill overlooking Jizin of Ispahan nor any rising ground but had arranged upon it firewood and brambles; there were erected too, but at a distance from his seat so that the flame could occasion him no annoyance, great towers of tree trunks, fastened together with iron bolts, and filled with brambles and bamboos; crows and kites were caught and nuts stuffed with fluff and naphtha suspended from their beaks and claws. In his private room there were set up waxen images and vast pillars of the same material, whose like had never been seen, that there might be a simultaneous blaze upon the hills and upon the heights, in the plain, in the room and upon the birds which were to be let loose. Then a vast banquet was spread in the fields whereon his house opened,

¹ Tenth day of Bahman, about January. See Sachau's *Al-Beruni*, p. 213 E.T. The celebration of this feast is vehemently condemned by Hamadhani, *Letters*, Beyru, 1890, p. 279.

² Name of the river of Ispahan.

and there were massed thousands of sheep, oxen, and other animals, and there were unparalleled preparations and decorations. When everything had been finished, and his tents had been pitched near the banqueting-place, and the time had arrived when he should have taken his seat with the others, first to eat, and then to drink, he came forth from his quarters and went round the banqueting-place, and the installations which have been described for the bonfires. He was dissatisfied with them all, and regarded them as inadequate, the reason lying (according to Abu'l-Faḍl) in the vastness of the plain ; for when the eye has roamed over a wide expanse, and then turns therefrom to these artificial objects, they seem small to it, however vast they may be. He was annoyed, and was so overcome by pride and arrogance that he would not utter a single word, retired to a pavilion in a vast tent, lay down, and turned his face so that his back was towards the door ; wrapping himself in his clothes, so that no-one might speak to him. The princes, magnates, commanders and all the army as well as the spectators assembled, but no-one ventured to address him or to disturb him ; and he delayed coming out to the people till the time was passed. The people began to disseminate rumours, and to talk in whispers and in secret, and there was danger of a riot. Al-'Amid then walked round the pavilion muttering something that required an answer, but Mardawij would not utter a word ; the former then coaxed and cajoled till he compelled him to sit up, when he went in and said to him : (312) Prince, what is the meaning of this indolence when you should be alert, when your followers are present, your friends are rejoicing, and your enemies are in distress ?—He said : Abu 'Abdallah, and how can I be alert, when I am so humiliated, and disappointed ! By heaven, I have incurred a slur which nothing can ever wipe out !—Al-'Amid said : For a time I felt bewildered, then I said : And what, Prince, is the slur ?—He said :

Can't you see the meagreness of what I ordered to be copious, how scanty and wretched it all is, the food, the banquet, all the arrangements for the fires and the things connected therewith?—I said: I assure you, Prince, the things here are on a scale which has never been heard of, not to speak of ever having been seen. Rise, come to the entertainment room and look again.—He declined obstinately, till I said: Your enemies are spreading certain rumours, so for God's sake mount your horse and go once round, that those rumours may stop. After that do what you like, for I shall invent some excuse.—What I told him of the rumours only added to his vexation and annoyance, but he got up, mounted his horse against his will and with an injured air, and went the round once, just sufficiently to be seen by the people, after which he returned to his place and adhered to his former attitude. An embarrassed attempt was made to assemble the guests, most of whom refused to come, while those who had presented themselves went away again, saying: We are not sure that the Prince wants our society.

For three nights he remained in his camp neither seeing any one nor being seen; only he let it be known that he meant to go to the castle of Abu 'Ali Ibn Rustam. On the third day he ordered the horses to be saddled, that he might return from Jizin to his palace in the city, which had belonged to Abu 'Ali Ibn Rustam. One of its gates opened on the country and the other into the city. The retainers saddled their horses and assembled at the gate in the afternoon. Mardawij dozed and slept, so that he was late; the afternoon prayer came on, and it happened that the retainers' horses began to neigh with a loud noise, to which was added that of those who were rebuking them; it was not possible to separate them, owing to their being crowded in the gateway, and most of them being held by slaves of the retainers who were awaiting the prince, (313) and would not mount

till he had done so. Mardawij awoke in alarm—his mind being full of the notion that rumours had been circulated against him—and asked those near him the cause of the uproar. As they did not know the situation, he got up, and looked out on the horses and the mercenaries; they were all of them shouting in the endeavour to restrain their horses, which had fallen upon each other and were uttering terrible noises. He was frightened for a little while; presently, learning the facts of the case, he was quieted, and then asked who the men with the horses were. He was told that they were the Turkish retainers. He then ordered the saddles to be removed from the backs of the horses and placed on the backs of the retainers with all their trappings, and that the reins of the horses should be given to them, to lead them into the stables themselves. This was done; it was an ugly sight, and an ominous one. He then mounted with his staff, and kept uttering threats against the retainers till he reached his residence near the time of the second evening prayer. He had been wetted by a shower of rain, and when he entered his house he found it empty, no-one being there except the inferior slaves and a negro eunuch who was their chief. He then went into the bath-room to change his clothes. Now before this he had dealt violently with certain superior Turkish retainers, who resented this treatment, but had been unable to find supporters; now, when he had dealt with the whole company in the way that has been described, they seized the opportunity, saying to each other: What is the use of our putting up with this demon?—So they agreed to assault him. When he entered the bath, they asked the slave who attended him there not to take his weapons (314) with him—it being his custom to bring with him into the bathroom a dagger wrapped in a napkin.—The slave replied that he could not venture to present himself before Mardawij without the dagger.—They agreed then to break the blade and

leave the handle in the sheath, in order that Mardawij's suspicion might not be aroused, and that the slave should deposit this as usual in a corner of the bathroom.—A number of them then rushed in upon Mardawij, whilst the black eunuch was seated on a chair at the door of the bathroom ; when he saw them, he sprang at their faces, and struck at one of them with his sword. The man warded off the blow with his hand, and the sword slid from Mardawij's arm and dropped. More men tried to rush in, and cries were raised. Mardawij saw that mischief was meant, and hurriedly barricaded the door from within with a chair, on which he was in the habit of sitting, after looking for the dagger and failing to find it. The slaves pushed at the door, but were unable to open it, so a part of them climbed up the dome of the bathroom, broke the glass and shot arrows at him. He went into the hot chamber, and tried to coax them, making them fair promises ; for a while they seemed to feel afraid of him, then they recognized that the point which they had reached was one after which compromise was impossible. So some of them charged the part of the door behind which was the chair till they smashed it, and got inside, when one of them cut open the belly of Mardawij with his knife ; Mardawij struck at the face of one with a silver hand-basin and inflicted an ugly wound. They then went out of the room thinking that they had finished him. Their comrades who had remained outside said to them : What have you done ? They replied that they had ripped open his belly. Then one said : You had better go back and cut off his head. The reason for this was that during these days one of the bedmakers had happened to have had his belly cut open in an operation, after which it had been stitched up, treated and healed. They were afraid of the same thing happening in the case of Mardawij, and therefore they beheaded him.

It is asserted that when they went back they found that he had replaced his entrails and was holding his belly with his left hand, and that he fought with his hand-basin until he was finished off. When they had flung his head into the living room, they rushed off to the stables, saddled the horses and mules, and carried off from the treasury such money and weapons (315) as they could, after which they rode away.

While this was going on, some members of the household succeeded in climbing the walls and going into the city under cover of night, and informing the officers and troops of what had happened. They were scattered about and drunk, but some of them collected, kindled fires, blew trumpets, saddled horses, took up their arms and rode into the country with the view of coming back to the gate whence the palace could be entered. By the time they accomplished this the retainers had made their escape. They only found some poor little innocent lads, of whom they put some to death ; then they desisted. The wiser among the ministers were afraid the stores might be plundered ; al-'Amid suggested that they should be burned, and the building demolished and piled upon them. The treasure and most of the stores were saved, because by the time when the plunderers arrived smoke and flame were raging in the place, so they could not get at anything.

RUKN AL-DAULAH¹ ABU 'ALI HASAN B. BUWAIHI was a hostage with Mardawij for his brother 'IMAD AL-DAULAH¹ 'ALI B. BUWAIHI ; when he perceived the situation, he coaxed his guards, offering them various assurances, so that they helped him to escape the night following the murder of Mardawij.

A lucky accident which befell him on his flight.

When he had gone out into the country in his fetters, and had seated himself with the view of breaking them,

¹ These names were given some years later.

some mules came by carrying straw, and ridden by his own followers. He bade them dismount, and himself with his companions mounted the mules, which they rode at their best speed till they were safely beyond pursuit.

The Turks now divided into two parties. One marched in the direction of Fars, seeking the protection of 'Ali b. Buwaihi, having among them that KHAJKAJ who was afterwards blinded by TUZUN, when the latter became master of 'Iraq. The other, and the more numerous, traversed the Jabal. In this was Bachkam, who became master of 'Iraq and was invested with the office of Prince of princes in the days of Rādī. We shall give such an account of his career as suits this work.

(316) With regard to the fortunes of Mardawij's followers. ABU MAKHLAD, who was a minister of Mardawij, used to relate how the coffin of Mardawij was conveyed to Rayy; I never, he said, saw a more wonderful day than that whereon his coffin was brought into Rayy. All the Jilites and the Dailemites walked with it barefoot four parasangs. With them walked Washmagir, brother of the deceased. Old as was their father he had walked with them the whole way from Ispahan to Rayy; people had no doubt that they would seek the protection of 'Ali b. Buwaihi, but this fancy was soon disproved. He added: I never saw an army which proved so loyal to its dead commander, and that without payment of a dirhem or a dinar. Just as they were, they put themselves at the disposal of his brother Washmagir. SHIRAJ who was in Ahwaz by Mardawij's orders, learning that Ispahan was undefended, departed at once to 'Askar Mukram, without publishing the news. He told it secretly to HARJAM the Jilite, who was in the latter place, and taking him with him proceeded to Tustar, where there was an eminent Jilite; informing this person of the news, he took him with him and made for Junddisabur. There was ISMA'IL the Jilite; each of these persons was the equal in rank of Shiraj,

so he told each one of them the news, and they all moved with him. The whole party then proceeded to Sus, where were 'ABDALLAH B. WAHBAN QASBANI of Basrah, Mardawij's governor of the Districts of Ahwaz, and the Chamberlain SHABUSHTI, who was a counsellor of Mardawij. According to Abu Makhlad they had been assigned their posts by Mardawij with the idea that Shiraj should advance to Wasit and thence to Baghdad. Mardawij had been waiting for the winter of the year 323¹ to end in order to attack Arrajan first, after which he meant to engage 'Ali b. Buwaihi, and when he had finished with him, to turn off to Ahwaz, and thence to Sus. He meant to despatch the bulk of his army to Shiraj, who was to precede him at Wasit. His fancy was to take possession of Baghdad, set a crown upon his own head, and restore the Persian empire ! He was murdered before he could achieve this scheme. (317) So his whole army, as has been mentioned, marched with Shiraj, Shabushti and Ibn Wahban from Sus to Rayy *via* Shaburkhvast and Karaj, to offer their services to his brother Washmagir. They met with no resistance nor did any one venture to attack or harass them. When they reached Rayy, they swore allegiance to him. Washmagir made IBN WAHBAN his vizier, and thanked him for his skilful management of his brother's affairs in Ahwaz.

When Mardawij made him governor of Ahwaz, he assigned him a stipend of two thousand dinars a month, and said to him : If you prove loyal and trustworthy, I shall make you vizier in the capital, and shall set up the standards before you up to the gate of Nisibin. But if you prove unfaithful and greedy, since your chest is so broad and your paunch so vast, and sweets so plentiful in Ahwaz, I shall rip up that paunch with this dagger ; see how long and how sharp it is !—Ibn Wahban replied : You shall know, Prince, how loyal and faithful I am,

¹ Began Dec. 11, 934.

and that I am deserving of your favour.—This person was originally of Basrah, and his father a butcher ; in the time of Harun b. Gharib he had been made governor of Hamadhan ; when Harun had been defeated in battle by Mardawij, and was marching on the capital with the design of seizing the headship from Mohammed b. Yaqut, with the results which we have seen, Mardawij got possession of Hamadhan, and Ibn Wahban came into his power. Mardawij pardoned him, gave him employment and was satisfied with him. Letters came to him from Mardawij bidding him get the *Iwan* of Kisra ¹ ready for his habitation should he arrive at the capital before him ; he was to put it in repair, and restore it as it looked before Islam. He himself meant to stay in Wasit till the work was finished ; and he regarded him with Shiraj and the others who were with them as the match of those who were in the capital, Ibn Yaqut, the *Hujaris*, the *Sajis*, and the other forces. There was no occasion for him to meet them himself. He had had fabricated a great crown studded with gems, and Abu Makhlad recorded how (318) a few days before the catastrophe he had seen him sitting on a golden throne, on which he had placed a vast cushion, whereon he sat by himself ; below him there was a throne of silver with a carpet spread over it, and below that some large gilt chairs, with other arrangements whose purpose was to assign the officials their proper orders in the seating. The unofficial crowd were all standing at a distance from him, gazing and only speaking in whispers ; such was their awe and admiration of his greatness.

This year a dispute arose between the followers of Yaqut and those of Mohammed b. Ra'iq,² leading to a flight wherein a number of persons were killed.

¹ Ruined palace at Mada'in, *i.e.*, Ktesiphon, built by some Sassanian king. Descriptions of it by Arabic writers are common, *e.g.*, in the Ode of Buhturi, i. 108.

² See above, p. 302.

And in this year Yaqut's sons, Muzaffar and Mohammed, were arrested through a plot of Ibn Muqlah.

Account of the reason of this.

The reason was the following. Ibn Muqlah was alarmed by Mohammed b. Yaqut's monopolizing the administration, and attending to the collection of the revenue, so that the heads of the bureaux went to his office, and while Mohammed b. Yaqut had sole control of the business which was properly the vizier's, he, Ibn Muqlah, was unemployed. So Ibn Muqlah plotted to get rid of Mohammed and successfully. On Monday, 6 Jumada i (April 13, 935) the officers of the army rode, according to their wont on days of state ceremonies, to the Palace, and the vizier Ibn Muqlah presented himself. Radi pretended that it was his intention to appoint a number of officers to administrative posts in various parts of the empire; and to bestow robes of honour upon them. Mohammed b. Yaqut with his secretary Abu Ishaq Qarariti presented himself as minister, and they sat as usual in the Ninetieth Court. Then the servants came out to Mohammed b. Yaqut and informed him that the Caliph required him. He rose hastily, but when he entered the presence, he was taken off to a chamber that had been prepared for him, where his sword and belt were removed, and he was put under guard. Then the servants went out to Abu Ishaq Qarariti, and informed him that his chief wanted him; when he entered, he too was taken off to another chamber and imprisoned. A party was sent to the house of Muzaffar b. Yaqut, and arrested him; he was brought to the Palace and imprisoned with his brother: when found he was nearly drunk, he being a toper. Thus the plot of Ibn Muqlah (319) succeeded; and he ordered the Hujari and Saji retainers to come to the Palace and pitch their tents by the Private and the Public Gates in order to guard the building. Muflih the negro was ordered to go to the

residence of Mohammed b. Yaqut,¹ and a robe of honour was bestowed upon him. Qarariṭi was put into the power of the vizier Ibn Muqlah, who obtained his bond for 500,000 dinars, but this was afterwards settled for three million dirhems.

Yaqut descended from Wasit to Sus, and wrote a letter to Raḍi about his sons, imploring his mercy and endeavouring to mollify him; he begged the Caliph to be kind to them and renew his favour, both to them and to himself in reference to them; he further requested that they might come to him to help him in his work and especially to aid him in his wars.

When Mohammed b. Yaqut had been set aside and Ibn Muqlah was sole administrator, the latter appointed his son Abu'l-Husain his deputy over all the bureaux and provinces; the correspondence of the heads of the bureaux was thenceforth with him, and their reports were despatched to him; he began to appoint and cashier officials, and to cancel contracts and ratify them. ABU 'ABDALLAH AHMAD B. 'ALI KUFİ came to him placing himself at Abu'l-Husain's disposal; he was appointed his secretary, having previously been in the employ (320) of Abu Isḥaq Qarariṭi in that capacity, and acquired great influence over him. His offer was accepted by Ibn Muqlah, and he rose in favour with him and his son.

The troops mutinied demanding their pay, and came to the dwelling of the vizier Ibn Muqlah; they proceeded to plunder his stables, and to seize at his gate the horses of those who were in his saloon; they compelled many of the clerks whom they met to dismount, and seized their horses. Their pay was then given out and they became quiet.

In this year Abu 'Abdallah Baridi rose to greatness and became a power.

¹ Some words are lost.

Account of the reasons for this.

ABU 'ABDALLAH BARIDI was farmer of the *kharaj* and the Estates in Ahwaz, and when SHIRAJ B. LAILA the DAILEMITE came there by Mardawij's orders, and Yaqut had been defeated, with his retainer Mu'nis, as we have set forth above,¹ he went off to Basrah, and continued to administer the lower regions of Ahwaz until Mohammed b. Yaqut appointed him secretary to his father Yaqut, with whom he proceeded to Wasit. Whilst Baridi was with Yaqut and managing his affairs, news arrived of the arrest of Yaqut's sons Mohammed and Muzaffar, which seriously alarmed Yaqut. Ibn Muqlah wrote to Baridi asking him to allay Yaqut's apprehensions, and explain to him that the army was excited and had expressed dislike of them, and repeatedly mutinied, "as you are aware." Finally they had sent to the Caliph to say that if he failed to arrest them, they (the army) would bring disaster on the empire. He had therefore been compelled to satisfy them by the measure which he had taken, but that he would speedily make reparation to them, and despatch them to him. The best thing for him was to hasten to reconquer Fars. —Yaqut departed from Wasit to 'Askar Mukram *via* Sus, and Abu 'Abdallah Baridi sent out with him ABU'L-HASAN IBN HUMAID of Basrah who was a creature of his, to be his deputy as Yaqut's secretary, and ABU ZAKARIYYA YAHYA B. SA'ID of Sus to help him in his own town. Accompanied by these two, Yaqut entered 'Askar Mukram. Presently Baridi came by water to Ahwaz, followed by his brother Abu Yusuf, who farmed the revenues of Sus and Junddisabur (321) with his brother Abu'l-Husain as his partner. They asserted that Shiraj b. Laila had appropriated the revenue of the year 322, and that the regions were unproductive in the following year. Ibn Muqlah sent out IBN 'AINAWAIHI

¹ Above, p. 301.

to enquire into this. He agreed with them, and wrote to confirm their statement.

This civil war was a blessing to the two Baridis, Abu 'Abdallah and Abu Yusuf, for by it and by what followed till the time when they were driven from Ahwaz, according to the statement of ABU'L-FARAJ IBN ABI HISHAM, they made four million dinars ; with which they rebelled against the Sultan.—From Ahwaz they made for 'Askar Mukram in order to join Yaqut. Arriving there they were met by Yaqut at the place called " The Mouth of the Two Canals," whence they escorted him to Arrajan for the reconquest of Fars.

In this year an order was issued by Raḍi that Abu'l-Husain 'Ali b. Mohammed b. Muqlah should be addressed by every one, whether in speech or in writing, as vizier, he being at the time eighteen years of age ; and that he should be the director of all business, small or great. He sent this order to all the heads of the bureaux, and bestowed upon him the robes of honour proper for the vizier. This title then was given to him, and he was mounted on a charger, and went home by land from the Palace accompanied by the commanders, the army, the court-attendants and the heads of the bureaux. His father Ibn Muqlah went home in his barge ; his son brought him his robes of honour, a praying-carpet was spread for him in his father's saloon, and the people entered with him to congratulate Ibn Muqlah, to whom the poets addressed odes. Abu'l-Husain proceeded to issue orders and prohibitions, and sign documents, and the spreading of a prayer-carpet for him in his father's saloon became a practice. His father issued an order to all the heads of the bureaux that they were not to despatch any order of his except after they had presented it to his son Abu'l-Husain and obtained his instructions with regard to it, and his signature ordering it to be obeyed.

The cavalry repeatedly mutinied and got into the

habit of seizing people's horses from the gate of the vizier.

(322) In this year BADR KHARSHANI rode and proclaimed on both sides of Baghdad that no two Hanbalite followers of ABU MOHAMMED BARBAHARI¹ were to assemble in one place ; a number of them were imprisoned, and Barbahari himself went into hiding. The reason of this lay in their frequent assaults on people and their constant stirring up of strife. An order was issued by Radi to the Hanbalites as follows :—

In the name of God, etc. Whosoever hypocritically makes show of piety, and assaults the Moslems, and thereby devours the goods of those who are in treaty with them, is liable to the wrath of the Lord of the Worlds, the anger of God ; and he is one of those who go astray. The Commander of the Faithful has observed the conduct of a party among you, and he has probed the system of your chief, how he has made what is forbidden seem fair to his company, and how he lets down to them the rope of deceit. Of this nature is your occupying yourselves with debates about the Lord of might, whose names are blessed, and His Prophet, and the Throne and the Seat, and your speaking ill of the chosen among His people, and your ascribing to the party of the blessed Prophet's house unbelief and error, and lying in wait to annoy them on the roads and in the resting-places ;² further your inviting the Moslems to adopt for their religion evident innovations and wicked doctrines, not attested by the Qur'an nor required by the ordinances of the Merciful ; your disapproving visitation of the tombs of the Imams, whom God favour !, and your calumniating those who visit them as innovators ; and that notwithstanding your disapproval of this, you assemble and combine to seek a common man³ who is neither noble

¹ See above, p. 260.

² In *Faraj ba'd al-shiddah* ii. 75 visitors to the tomb of Husain go thither secretly for fear of the Hanbalites.

³ Ahmad Ibn Hanbal.

nor related to nor connected with the Prophet, and command that his tomb should be visited and that prayer and supplication should be made by his ashes. God's curse be upon a chief who has encouraged you to these improprieties—how vile he must be!—and a demon who has made them seem fair to you—how misleading he must be! Now the Commander of the Faithful swears by God a solemn oath which he must surely pay, that if ye do not turn away from your evil way and your crooked path, he shall bestow on you blows in plenty, shall exile, slay, and scatter you. He shall employ the sword on your necks and the fire (323) on your dwellings, so let him that is present tell him that is absent, for "he that hath given warning hath made his excuse," and the Commander of the Faithful hath no guide save God, on Him he relies and to Him he turns.

In this year there was a mutiny of the army, who thronged to the residence of the vizier; a store of his containing cut glass, crystal and china, &c. was plundered, and they entered the house and rioted there. The two viziers left their residence and retired to the Western side. The vizier Ibn Muqlah had banished KHASIBI and SULAIMAN B. HASAN to Oman, and had written to the governor of Oman requesting him to confine them and treat them with severity. He now released them and they came to Baghdad, where they went into hiding. The vizier was alarmed thereat and surprised numerous places with a view to catching them, but he did not succeed.

In this year too HASAN B. 'ABDALLAH B. HAMDAN put to death his uncle ABU'L-'ALA SA'ID B. HAMDAN; on account of which event Ibn Muqlah made a journey to Mausil.

Account of the reason for this.

Abu'l-'Ala had made an offer to farm the revenue of Mausil and Diyar Rabi'ah, and the contract had been

granted him secretly ; (324) a robe of honour had been bestowed upon him, and it was given out that he was being sent to Mausil to interview his brother's son ABU MOHAMMED HASAN B. 'ABDALLAH with reference to the money due from him as farmer of the revenue and to demand its payment. He started off with some fifty of his retainers and entered Mausil. His nephew, hearing of his arrival, went out ostensibly to meet him, but intentionally took a different road so as not to see him. Abu'l-'Ala proceeded to the residence of Abu Mohammed, where he alighted ; enquiring about him, he learned that he had gone out to meet himself, so he sat and awaited him. When Abu Mohammed ascertained that his uncle was safely within his house, he sent his retainers, who entered the apartment wherein Abu'l-'Ala was, arrested him, and put him in fetters. Abu Mohammed then sent men who attacked him with their swords and put him to death. Nephew and uncle did not once meet. News of this affair came to Radi, who was indignant, and ordered his vizier Ibn Muqlah to make ready for an expedition to Mausil, and to punish Hasan b. 'Abdallah b. Hamdan and his representative in the capital.

It was stated that 'Ali b. 'Isa had written an autograph letter to Hasan b. 'Abdallah b. Hamdan in the name of the Commander of the Faithful, bidding him consider his contract at an end, send no money to the capital, and prevent the sending of provisions thither. Ibn Muqlah got hold of his written affidavit to that effect, called a number of witnesses who attested it, and handed the letter to IBN SANJALA to show to Radi. The following day, a Wednesday, the vizier Ibn Muqlah descended to the Palace and returned home. Radi sent his two eunuchs RAGHIB and BUSHRA to 'Ali b. 'Isa, and they conveyed him to the vizier Ibn Muqlah, who however did not admit him to an audience, but confined him in a chamber of his residence. A message

was sent to him by 'ALI B. AHMAD B. 'ALI NUBAKHTI telling him of what SAHL B. HASHIM¹ had caused to be attested against himself,² and how the Caliph had disapproved of his action. The interchange of messages between the two continued until Ibn Muqlah compelled 'Ali b. 'Isa to submit to a fine of fifty thousand dinars, of which ten thousand were to be deposited at (325) the gate of Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirazad, head of the bureau of expenditure on the Turks, while land and estates were to be taken to the value of ten thousand more. 'Ali b. 'Isa undertook to carry these conditions out.

It is asserted that TULAIB the Hashimite had instructed 'Ali b. 'Isa from *Radi* to write to *Hasan b. 'Abdallah* and mediate between them, so as to induce *Hasan* to send the Caliph privately seventy thousand dinars in instalments. *Hasan* had stipulated that the Caliph must protect him and defend him, and see that his position was not assailed, and that he was maintained in his revenue-farming, no higher offers being accepted. He sent some of the instalments, but delayed the rest. The Caliph however denied the whole story, and declared that nothing had reached him.

The tent of the vizier Ibn Muqlah was brought out, and in the van there went NAQIT the Less, IBN BADR the Cupbearer, with a number of *Hujaris* and others. He left his son Abu'l-Husain behind in the capital as minister of the Sultan and to manage affairs. Before leaving he released 'Ali b. 'Isa sending him away to his estate at *Safiyah*, after obtaining an oath from him that he would make no attempt to do him harm, would say nothing about him that would affect his reputation, or injure his interests, and that he would not canvass for the vizierate either for himself or for any one else. 'Ali b. 'Isa after taking this oath at once departed for *Safiyah*.

¹ Secretary of Abu Mohammed *Hasan b. Hamdan*.

² Apparently the composition of this letter.

(326) When the vizier Ibn Muqlah approached Mausil, Abu Mohammed evacuated it ; he was pursued by the vizier till he (Abu Mohammed) had ascended mount TINNIN and entered the region of ZAWAZAN ; the vizier then returned to Mausil, where he took up his residence, collecting the revenue of the place, and borrowing money from the corn factors, on the security of the produce of the district which he placed at their disposal. He thus amassed 400,000 dinars. As the vizier's residence in Mausil continued indefinitely, SAHL B. HASHIM, secretary to Abu Mohammed Ibn Hamdan resorted to a device. He offered ten thousand dinars to Ibn Muqlah's son, the vizier Abu'l-Husain, to write to his father informing him that his interests in the capital were being compromised, and that if his return were delayed, some catastrophe might well take place which would be their ruin. The vizier was alarmed by this, and after placing 'ALI B. KHALAF B. TINAB¹ in charge of the *kharaj* and the Estates at Mausil, and MAKIRD the Dailemite, one of the Sajis, in charge of public security, and ordering that the money which he had borrowed of the merchants should be refunded to them, descended the river to the capital. The prince ABU'L-FADL with the heads of bureaux and the commanders went out to meet him, and he had an audience of the Caliph, after which he returned to his house. The next day he and his son received robes of honour as messmates ; and delicacies, wine, perfume, and crystal were conveyed to them.

Before descending from Mausil the vizier Ibn Muqlah had written to the other vizier, his son, bidding him release 'Ali b. 'Isa from surveillance, and write to him in the most courteous terms, offering him the option between returning to Baghdad and remaining at Safiyah. Abu'l-Husain accordingly wrote a letter to this effect. The reason why Ibn Muqlah took this step was that he had written to Abu Mohammed Ibn Hamdan inviting him

¹ His return to Basrah was mentioned above, p. 301.

(327) to become again a loyal subject, and offering him amnesty. Ibn *Hamdan* kissed the letter, but said to the bearer : I have no dealings with this person, meaning Ibn Muqlah, nor can I accept his guarantee, since he is destitute of honour, fidelity, and loyalty, neither will I hear anything which he says, unless 'Ali b. 'Isa acts as mediator and guarantees his good faith. On that I am prepared to rely and that I will accept.

At the time of Ibn Muqlah's departure to Mausil ABU 'ABDALLAH AHMAD B. 'ALI KUFİ remained in the capital and frequented the office of the vizier Abu'l-Husain to whom he professed sincere attachment ; he was however anxious to get away from him and out of his reach. Presently there came a despatch from Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, stating that there was no chance of any money being transmitted to the capital at that time. This disconcerted Abu'l-Husain who had already assigned the revenue to be transmitted by Baridi to certain objects. He bade Abu 'Abdallah Kufi read the despatch. Kufi expressed astonishment at its contents and suggested that he should himself be sent on a mission to Ahwaz, to discuss with Baridi the case of the men on whom he professed to have spent the money, to make him produce them, to remit to them their due, and then bring to the capital a vast sum ; the moment of his arrival he would hand over a hundred thousand dinars.—The vizier Abu'l-Husain wrote to Baridi accordingly that he could not accept any excuse for the delay in transmitting the money, and that Baridi had compelled him to send ABU 'ABDALLAH AHMAD B. 'ALI KUFİ to discuss the financial question with him, and exact payment. The letter was despatched and Ahmad b. 'Ali followed it to Ahwaz. When the commissioner was the guest of Abu 'Abdallah Baridi he was unable to go against the wishes of the latter, and so wrote home to the effect that he found himself unable to assemble the men and to discuss the financial question. He remained with Baridi

until ABU BAKR IBN RA'IQ assumed the control of affairs at the capital.

Abu 'Abdallah Kufi felt apprehensive of Baridi and wished to get away from him, being afraid of his impulses. He held out hopes to Baridi that he might be able to produce discord between *HUSAIN B. 'ALI NUBAKHTI* and Ibn Ra'iq. This *Husain b. 'Ali* was one of the bitterest enemies of the Baridis; so Abu 'Abdallah Baridi accepted the offer, (328) released Kufi, and arranged with him the procedure which he should follow and the money which he should offer in order to suppress *Husain b. 'Ali Nubakhti*. During his stay with Baridi it was the practice of Kufi to depreciate the metropolis and describe to him its gradual ruin owing to the maladministration of Ibn Muqlah, and his stopping the revenue of Wasit and Basrah through Ibn Ra'iq, his crushing the sons of Yaqut, his mismanagement of the affair of *Hasan b. 'Abdallah b. Hamdan*, and his practical annihilation of the Caliphate. He dilated on this subject, and in the course of his remarks observed: He it was who encouraged the *Hujaris* to attack Ibn Yaqut, but they will presently be yet bolder against himself; his destruction is not far off.—This talk made a favourable impression on Baridi, who made a friend of Kufi; he did not indeed make him his secretary, but he consulted him, showed him honour, and cultivated his society.

ABU'L-FARAJ IBN ABI HISHAM related how Abu 'Abdallah Kufi said to him at Wasit in the days of Saif al-daulah: ¹ I never had a more agreeable time in my life than that which I spent with Baridi. I was in his house for about a year, without occupation, not included among his underlings, and not worried with having to attend to any business. He associated with me in

¹ *i.e.*, when Saif al-daulah was at Wasit in 331 and Kufi was sent on a mission to him by his brother Nasir al-daulah,

the friendliest manner, and I obtained from him in gold, silver and articles sent me the value of thirty-five thousand dinars. I did not leave Ahwaz till I had been made secretary to Ibn Ra'iq. I had by then been secured against Ibn Muqlah through his arrest ; from him I had reason to fear, and praise be to God who did not let him leave the world until he was as utterly ruined as he had ruined it. May God send his son after him, for he is the worse of the two ; both are equally shameless, hard and mean ; only the father with all his faults occasionally showed mercy and generosity to his attendants and his household though not to strangers. But NASIR AL-DAULAH here¹ is trying hard to cajole him so as to get him into his power ; if he succeeds, I hope he will put out his eyes. And indeed he harbours grievances against both him and his father.—Kufi indulged in this tirade in his room, when there was no one present except myself and his Christian secretary Ibn Safiyyah.

(329) Baridi produced in Ahwaz an autograph letter from Ibn Muqlah to himself, containing the words : *A plague on Kufi who has thwarted me ; I sent him to win you to my side and he has turned you against me ; he has aroused your cupidity, and you in your greed have listened to him. By Allah I will amputate his hands and feet. As for you, I have hopes that you will not persist in your ingratitude for my favours and benefits, and that reflection will lead you to a proper sense of your obligations ; that you will give me cause for satisfaction with you, and give me your help in this difficult situation to the like of which no occupant of my post under any dynasty was ever reduced ; that you will avert what threatens me by a remittance of money, and thereby save your two fortunes, one of which is in my hands and the other in your own. If God will.*

¹ He was at that time in Baghdad holding the supreme power.

When Ibn Muqlah returned from Mausil Abu Mohammed Ibn Hamdan came back thither from Zawazan, and attacked Makird the Dailemite. Abu Mohammed was defeated, but he returned to the charge ; a second battle was fought between them at the Rum Gate of Nisibin, at which Makird was defeated ; he fled to Raqqah, and thence descended by the Euphrates to Baghdad. 'Ali b. Khalaf b. Tinab also came away from Mausil, so that Abu Mohammed became master of Mausil and Diyar Rabi'ah. He wrote to the Sultan for pardon and permission to farm the revenue of these regions, and obtained both.

There arrived now in Baghdad the merchants whose money had been borrowed by Ibn Muqlah, but who had not been paid the produce which they had purchased ; and they demanded that Ibn Muqlah should refund their money. Necessity compelled him to allocate to this purpose some of the revenue which belonged to the officials of the Sawad ; thus he satisfied them for a time, but presently he sold certain imperial lands to pay the rest. His expedition therefore produced no considerable advantage after what he had refunded to the merchants, and what he had spent upon the journey and the army which had gone out with him.

(330) In this year there was a pilgrimage, but when the pilgrims reached Qadisiyyah, they were opposed by Abu Tahir the Qarmatian. With the pilgrims the Sultan had sent LU'LU' retainer of MUTAHASHSHIM ; he supposed the Qarmatians to be ordinary Bedouins, and the people in the caravans engaged them ; *they were however defeated by the Qarmatians who acquired*¹ large booty. 'UMAR B. YAHYA the 'Alid pleaded for those who had entered Qadisiyyah, and Abu Tahir granted them their lives. They then slunk away from Qadisiyyah, and the pilgrimage was frustrated for this year. Abu Tahir went to Kufah and remained there.

¹ The words in italics are supplied conjecturally.

In the same night ¹ there was a fall of shooting stars from the beginning of the night to the end in Baghdad, Kufah and the adjoining regions, unparalleled and indeed unapproached in size.

There was a mutiny of the troops, who went to the vizier's residence, and dug through the wall in numerous places; they could not however reach the vizier, who was defended by his retainers, who shot arrows at the mutineers from the top of the wall.

This year Abu Bakr Mohammed b. Yaqut died in prison in the Palace, of bloodspitting; the qadi ABU'L-HUSAIN 'UMAR B. MOHAMMED was summoned and a number of other persons; the corpse was submitted to them for examination, (331) and they drew out the beard, and ascertained that he had died a natural death.² It was then given to his relations. The vizier sold his lands and chattels, and arrested all his dependents.

In this year the vizier appointed HASAN B. HARUN to the districts of the Jabal. He departed thither, and when he arrived, his protection was sought by the retainers who had assassinated Mardawij in his bath. They were three hundred in number, and he received them. After a time however they mutinied, demanded pay, arrested him and put him in fetters; presently however they released him. When the news of his arrest reached the vizier, he appointed in his place ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. KHALAF NIRMANI; when Hasan b. Harun heard of this, he was afraid, as this person was his enemy, and came secretly to Baghdad, where he continued in hiding for a time. He then negotiated with the vizier Ibn Muqlah, and it was settled that he should pay a fine which was assessed at fifteen thousand dinars. He then showed himself. Mohammed b. Khalaf remained in the Jabal for a short time.

¹ We learn from the work cited in the Arabic edition that this was Wednesday 11 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (this month began Friday Oct. 2, 935).

² The text is not very clear.

The retainers of Mardawij among whom was BACHKAM proceeded to the Nahrawan Bridge, whence they entered into negotiations with the Sultan, who commanded them to enter the metropolis. They did so, encamping in the Oratory. The *Hujaris* became excited, thinking this was a plot against themselves ; they met and asked the vizier Ibn Muqlah to satisfy them and get them to go away.—He summoned some of their leaders, and arranged that they should attach themselves to MOHAMMED B. 'ALI, retainer of Rashidi, whom he would appoint to the Jabal, he would then remit to them fourteen thousand dinars for their expenses, and then allocate to their pay some of the revenues of the Jabal.—They replied that they would go and inform the rest of their party of his offer. When they went, the others were not satisfied with it, and meanwhile ABU BAKR IBN RA'IQ, who was in Wasit (332) and in charge of public security there and in Basrah, heard of them, and both by letter and an oral message invited them, promising to treat them well. This invitation suited their fancy, so they went to him, were received and enrolled by him, and given liberal pay. Ibn Ra'iq made Bachkam (whom he called Bachkam Ra'iqi, *i.e.* freedman of Ra'iq) their captain, exalted, enriched and pampered him to excess. He placed all the retainers under him, and bade him write to the Turks and Dailemites in the Jabal, bidding them all come to him to be enrolled. A great number came, were enrolled, and attached to Bachkam.

YEAR 324.

In this year Muzaffar b. Yaqut was released from his confinement in the Palace and allowed to go home, through the intercession of the vizier Ibn Muqlah on his behalf. The vizier made him swear a solemn oath that he would befriend him, would not abandon his cause, and would not endeavour to injure him.

In this year too the vizier appointed MOHAMMED B. TUGHJ to the ministry of public security in Egypt in addition to the same office which he already held in Syria. Radi summoned the judges and witnesses to the Palace to inform them of Mohammed b. Tughj's appointment, and bade them write to their friends and acquaintances announcing the fact, lest AHMAD B. KAIGHALAGH, who was governor of Egypt, should dispute his authority.

In this year MOHAMMED B. RA'IQ stopped transmitting the revenue which he farmed in Wasit and Basrah to the capital, alleging the necessity of spending the money on the force which he had collected.

In this year Muzaffar b. Yaqut succeeded in a plot to get the vizier Ibn Muqlah arrested ; being convinced that Ibn Muqlah had killed his brother and been instrumental in imprisoning and ruining them both.

Account of this plot against Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah.

From the time of his release Muzaffar had been longing for revenge ; but he concealed his designs (333) till he had interviewed the Hujaris and set them against the vizier. The latter hearing of this sought support from BADR KHARSHANI, whose position he strengthened, and whom he instructed to take control of the Palace, and to keep the Hujari retainers out ; for he had intelligence that they designed to come to the Palace and take up their quarters there. Badr carried out these instructions ; he entered the Palace with his followers in arms, and they prevented the Hujaris from entering. The vizier did not let it be known that what had been done by Badr was his own design ; he afterwards arranged a meeting of the Sajis with Badr, who swore to assist each other. When Muzaffar b. Yaqut learned of this, he felt discouraged, and he advised the Hujaris to humiliate themselves before the vizier ; they accordingly

proceeded to make themselves agreeable to him, and to attach themselves to his service till he felt no further fear of them. They then requested him to dismiss Badr, and offered in return to go to any length in obeying and gratifying him. Finally he was cajoled into dismissing Badr and his followers. When neither they nor the Sajis were any longer in the Palace, the *Hujaris* swore to act in union, marched together to the Palace, and pitched their tents inside and around. Thus they became masters of the Palace, and Radi was in their hands and one of their party. The vizier regretted what he had done, and perceived that he had been out-manoeuvred. He now ordered Badr to go out with his followers to the Oratory without letting any one know that this was at the suggestion or by the order of the vizier. Badr did this, and began to enroll additional infantry. When the *Hujaris* heard of this, they demanded that Radi should come out with them to the Public Mosque which was within the Palace walls, and lead prayer, so that the people might see him with them, and know that he was within their power. So on Friday Radi went out to this Mosque, the whole body of retainers walking on foot before him and around him in arms, led prayer, mounted the pulpit, and preached, saying in the course of his sermon : *O God, these retainers are my inner and my outer garment ; (334) whosoever designs evil against them do Thou design the like against him, and whosoever fights with them, fight Thou with him.*¹

He made Badr Kharshani governor of Damascus, and ordered him to leave for his province from the Oratory and not to enter the city. Throughout this affair Muzaffar was pretending to the vizier to be labouring in the cause of peace, and making a display

¹ It was by this time unusual for the Caliph to take the service himself. Yaqut (in his biographical dictionary ii. 349) records how Radi consulted an authority on sermons how to deal with the passage in the sermon wherein there was prayer for the Caliph.

of humility, while really he was compassing the vizier's death ; and the action of Radi had greatly strengthened his (335) position. Presently a compromise was effected between Badr Kharshani and the Hujaris ; he was allowed to go home from the Oratory, and was retained in the prefecture of police.

When this business was over, the vizier privately suggested to Radi to undertake an expedition which he should himself lead with the army and the Hujari and Saji troops, to expel Ibn Ra'iq from Wasit and Basrah. These territories, he said, are closed against you owing to Mohammed b. Ra'iq's action in refusing to transmit the revenue which he farms ; when others see that this is possible and is tolerated in his case, they will follow his example ; the revenue of Ahwaz will stop, and the empire cease to exist.

Radi determined to carry out this project, and ordered the vizier to proceed with it. The vizier started the negotiations with Ibn Ra'iq by sending to him YANAL the Elder, one of the Hujaris, and MAKIRD the Dailemite, one of the Sajis, with a letter from Radi wherein he ordered him to send HUSAIN B. 'ALI NUBAKHTI to be examined with regard to the revenue of Wasit and Basrah which had passed through his hands. Ibn Ra'iq declined to send Nubakhti, and bribed the two envoys to convey a secret message from himself to the Caliph, to the effect that, if he were summoned to the capital, and entrusted with the administration, he would defray all the Sultan's necessary expenses and the pay of the army, would manage everything in the best possible manner, and save the Commander of the Faithful the trouble of thinking about any public business. When the two envoys returned, they after delivering his public message had a private audience wherein they delivered the secret message. The Caliph was not prepared to betray his vizier, and so he held back.

When the vizier saw that Ibn Ra'iq declined to deliver up Husain b. 'Ali Nubakhti, he planned to make it appear that his expedition to Ahwaz was not to deal with or attack him ; and he bethought him of despatching the qadi Abu'l-Husain with a letter from Radi to inform him of this, saying that it might well occur to Ibn Ra'iq (336) that the expedition was against him, and his apprehensions consequently be roused, so he had sent the qadi to explain what was his design and intention, and he gave assurances which might well ease his mind. On Monday—14 Jumada i (April 11, 936) the vizier went down to Radi's Palace, accompanied by the qadi Abu'l-Husain, whom he was to introduce to the Caliph so that he might hear his message ; when he had reached the vestibule of the Ninetieth Saloon, before he had come into the Caliph's presence, the Hujari retainers, with whom was Muzaffar b. Yaqut, sprang upon him, arrested him, and sent to the Caliph to inform him that they had arrested the vizier, on the ground that he was the mischief-maker ; and requesting the Caliph to appoint some one else vizier. Radi sent back approving what they had done and assuring them that, had they not done it, he would have done it himself. He left the choice of a successor to them. They nominated 'Ali b. 'Isa, eulogizing his fidelity and competence, and declaring that he had not his equal in that age. Radi sent for him and proposed that he should undertake the vizierate. He refused and expressed his aversion. Radi repeated the proposal, and the retainers urged him to accept it. There was a lengthy scene, but he persisted in his refusal. Then they said : Then nominate some one whom you approve. He suggested his brother 'Abd al-Rahman.

Radi then sent Muzaffar b. Yaqut to 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Isa, who brought him and presented him to Radi. The Caliph informed 'Abd al-Rahman that he invested him with his vizierate and with the presidency of the

bureaux. The Caliph bestowed a robe of honour on the new vizier, who rode home in his robes accompanied by the army. The house of Ibn Muqlah was burned.

Vizierate of 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Isa.

When 'Abd al-Rahman was invested, 'Ali b. 'Isa seized upon the administration. ABU'L-'ABBAS KHASIBI and ABU'L-QASIM SULAIMAN B. HASAN, whose story has been told—how they were banished to Oman by Ibn Muqlah, who ordered YUSUF B. WAJIH, governor of Oman, to imprison them, and how this person (337) released them, and they then returned to Baghdad where they remained in hiding until Ibn Muqlah was arrested—learned what had happened; and they were treated with honour by the vizier 'Abd al-Rahman, with whom they were admitted to Radi, accompanied also by ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. QASIM of Karkh, and ABU 'ALI HASAN B. HARUN. 'Ali b. 'Isa too did not recoil from presenting himself in their company. The vizier Ibn Muqlah was delivered over to the new vizier 'Abd al-Rahman, who had him scourged, and obtained his bond for a million dinars. He then delivered him to Abu'l-'Abbas Khasibi, by whom he was made to endure terrible tortures, scourging and racking. After a time Abu Bakr Ibn Qarabah presented himself and mediated; he guaranteed the sum due, and took Ibn Muqlah in charge. The sum which he had paid to Khasibi was over fifty thousand dinars.

(338) Badr Kharshani was dismissed from the prefecture of police owing to his being out of favour with the Hujaris, and he was entrusted with the ministry of public security in Ispahan and Fars, as the Hujaris objected to his remaining in the metropolis. He received a robe of honour, and took his tents out to the Ushnan parade-ground. His standard was sent to him, and Hasan b. Harun was attached to him as minister of

kharaj in these regions. Then he delayed the execution of this plan, and his expedition came to naught.

'Abd al-Rahman found himself unable to keep things going, and the financial stress was such that he begged permission to abandon the attempt and to resign the vizierate. He asked the Caliph to lend him ten thousand dinars, as all the sources of revenue had failed. Radi arrested him in this year and appointed Karkhi as his vizier.

Account of the vizierate of ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. QASIM KARKHI.

When Abu Ja'far Karkhi was appointed vizier, had received his robes of honour, and returned to his house escorted by the army, he was told to examine 'Ali b. 'Isa and his brother 'Abd al-Rahman, and they were conveyed to his house. He fined the former a hundred thousand dinars and the latter seventy thousand; they remained with him well protected and respectfully treated until the former had paid seventy thousand dinars and the latter thirty thousand. They were then dismissed to their homes.

The vizier Abu Ja'far Karkhi was short, so short that the height of the royal throne¹ had to be reduced by four finger-breadths.²

(339) In this year Yaqut was killed at 'Askar Mukram.

Account of Yaqut's death.

We have mentioned the expedition of Yaqut to Arrajan to fight against 'Ali b. Buwaihi with his troops and his legions, his Dailemites, and his Turks with the rest of his cavalry; while he had three thousand black infantry. He with his whole army was routed by 'Ali b. Buwaihi at the gate of Arrajan. In the rout he was with the rear, having himself stood firm. He was pur-

¹ The name "king" is commonly applied to viziers.

² See the epigram on him in the Nishwar.

sued by 'Ali b. Buwaihi to Ramhurmuz, and himself reached the Western side of 'Askar Mukram, having cut the bridge over the Masruqan. 'Ali b. Buwaihi remained in Ramhurmuz until peace was made between him and the Sultan.

Abu 'Abdallah Baridi wrote to Yaqut advising him to remain in 'Askar Mukram to refresh, and that plans for his future operations might be made later. It was his intention that he and Yaqut should not be in the same town. Yaqut accepted his advice. He was visited by ABU YUSUF BARIDI, to condole with him on his defeat and congratulate him on his escape. He negotiated between Yaqut and his brother Abu 'Abdallah an arrangement whereby the latter was to pay the former fifty thousand dinars to meet the immediate demands of his army, until he could write to the Sultan and obtain his instructions with regard to the amount to be remitted to Yaqut and his troops. Abu Yusuf also informed Yaqut that the troops stationed in Ahwaz were numerous, and clamouring for their pay. They consisted of Berbers, and retainers who had formerly been in the service of SHAFI', NAZUK, YALBAQ, and HARUN. Ibn Muqlah had separated these troops and sent them to Ahwaz to save the metropolis the expense of them, and so increase the pay of the Sajis and Hujaris. Abu Yusuf told Yaqut that these troops would not tolerate the remission of money from Ahwaz to any other troops, and would mutiny if they heard of it being done. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi had been compelled to leave Ahwaz for fear they might attempt his life. Matters would only result in a campaign after that of Arrajan, and no one knew how it would eventuate.¹ Besides this the Sultan was demanding the remission of money to himself. Finally he said: Your troops, after their misconduct, unsatisfactory behaviour, and repeated defeats, (340)

¹ Apparently the suppressed premise is "if Abu 'Abdallah undertook the payment of Yaqut's force."

will be satisfied and keep quiet if a little be given them. —Yaqut accepted these proposals, and certain of the revenues of 'Askar Mukram and Tustar were allotted to the purpose; Yaqut met the demands of the *Hujaris* with some of the money, and those of the chief officers with some; in the Public Mosque of 'Askar Mukram he paid out three dirhems to each of his black troops. Things went on thus for some months. Then the revenue of the year 324 began to come in, and his troops clamoured for pay, saying that they could not endure their misery any longer; competition for the good things of this world was engrained in human nature; even if they were rich, they would compete for them; how much more when they were so destitute! They could not be content that their comrades in Ahwaz should be in regular receipt of money, and they themselves be refused. They could not swallow the vexation and annoyance, and were tired of enduring poverty and starvation.

Certain followers of 'Ali b. Buwaihi had deserted to Yaqut, among them one *TAHIR* the Jilite, a man who aspired to great things, and regarded himself as the equal of Shiraj and his compeers. Joined by some three hundred Persians he mutinied and left Yaqut, with the idea of making himself master of Mah al-Basrah and Mah al-Kufah. He was captured by 'Ali b. Buwaihi, who imprisoned him; he escaped however with some of his retainers, while his secretary *ABU JA'FAR SAIMARI* remained in captivity. The latter however was rescued by *HANNAT*, and proceeded to Kirman; his imprisonment was the cause of his success and being attached to the prince Abu'l-Husain *Almad* b. Buwaihi. Yaqut was discouraged by the desertion of *Tahir* the Jilite and his followers, and the rest of his troops became defiant; he began to be afraid that they would appoint one of the officers leader and abandon him. He wrote to Abu 'Abdallah Baridi to explain the situation, stating that

Baridi was his secretary and the manager of his affairs, and that he committed to him the question how to deal with his troops, and that he might take with regard to himself and them whatever measures he deemed best.

*Account of the treachery to which Yaqut fell
a victim.*

Yaqut placed absolute confidence in a worthless person named ABU BAKR NILI, whom he treated like a father, and whose advice he implicitly (341) followed, notwithstanding the man's baseness and meanness both of mind and rank. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi won over this Nili by liberality. He was employed by Yaqut to take to Abu 'Abdallah the message which has been stated. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi wrote in reply that his army had been corrupted, and contained elements which should be weeded out; for 'Ali b. Khalaf b. Tinab¹ had deceived him, having appropriated certain moneys in the name of these troops, and given numerous increases to others; the right course was that Yaqut should send these individuals to him (Baridi), when he would show them how these increases meant to them the loss of the original stipends which they derived from the Sultan, and personally assure them that the right course was for them to waive these increases in order that they might save the original pay. But this, he added, can only be done in Ahwaz, whither they will come in groups and parties. If therefore they misbehave themselves, and reject my proposal, they can be brought to order by the troops stationed in Ahwaz. Whereas, if this language be addressed to them while they are in 'Askar Mukram, they will combine, unite and conspire, and it will not be possible to reduce them from a large to a small sum.—Baridi dealt at length with this theme, and then said: Abu Bakr, the inspection of troops should take place where they will be overawed not where they will be able

¹ He had been with Yaqut in the campaign against the forces of Mardawij.

to overawe.—Abu Bakr Nili did not retort “The awe will be where the commander is, not where you are,” neither had he the courage to make any objection.

Abu ‘Abdallah Baridi requested that ABU’L-FATH IBN ABI TAHIR and ABU AHMAD JUSTANI¹ should be sent to him to be consulted with regard to the final settlement, and to inform him of the rank of the persons involved; he also required the presence of ABU BAKR the Sergeant who had been with ABU TAHIR MOHAMMED B. ‘ABD AL-SAMAD² that he might learn from him their circumstances. Yaqut sent him the persons whom he requested, and ordered his troops to march to be inspected. When they came into the presence of Baridi, he proceeded to win them over to himself; *i.e.* he selected those whom he wanted, and promised to pay at the same rate as the troops who were stationed with him in Ahwaz; and these accepted his terms and went over to his force; and he sent the inefficient back to Yaqut after withdrawing their increases. When the inspection was over, it was found that half the troops of Yaqut had deserted him. When Yaqut was told this, and severely censured for letting it happen, he replied : (342) In exchange for the troops who have decided to stay in Ahwaz I have two things: reduction of the demands upon me, and the fact that they are with my secretary. Baridi has not my qualifications, so that I should have cause to fear him. If I want them or fighting becomes necessary, the lot will of a certainty come back to me; he has them in store for me. Yaqut’s assistants on their return told him that they had got nothing from the inspection except the loss of half their number, “the breaking of their wing,” and the reduction of their strength. They bade him write to Baridi telling him to send the sum which he had agreed to give them.—Yaqut wrote to this effect, and Baridi replied that he would devise means to furnish the sum.

¹ See above, p. 302.

² See above, p. 157.

The demands upon Yaqut became more pressing, and he made a personal expedition to Ahwaz at the head of three hundred men ; keeping the number low, in order not to alarm Baridi. He fancied himself on a visit to his secretary. Baridi however met him with a vast assemblage, having indeed brought out with him the whole of the army stationed in Ahwaz. When he saw Yaqut, he dismounted, and Yaqut bent so low towards him that he nearly fell off his horse. The two then proceeded and Baridi entertained Yaqut in his house and ministered to him with his own hands ; he stood before him till he had eaten, washed his hands, handed him the rose-water and the towel, and fumigated him himself. He was engaged in this last process and had not yet commenced conversation, when shouts were heard, and the army broke into disorder, calling out : *Yaqut has only come to him !*¹ Baridi said : Prince, in God's name leave this house at once, or we shall all be murdered.—Yaqut immediately left with fear and caution by a route different from that whereby the mutineers had come, and returned to 'Askar Mukram, as he had left it. A letter now arrived from Baridi to the effect that the troops in Ahwaz were apprehensive of him, Yaqut, and that it would be best for him to go to Tustar, which was sixteen parasangs away from Ahwaz, whereas 'Askar Mukram was only eight, and the greater the distance the less the apprehension. Baridi gave him a draft on the governor of Tustar for fifty thousand dinars, so thither he went.

Mu'nis, a man who had been brought up by Yaqut, and whom he trusted, said to him : Prince, Baridi is lopping off our joints one by one, and making game of us, while he is taking you in. He has got into his own army (343) half our troops and our best officers ; he has guaranteed us only a small portion of the sum settled,

¹ Apparently they meant that his visit was not, as it should have been, to the army.

and that he does not remit, in the hope that the remainder may desert to him, when he will be upon our throats. Letters are constantly coming from the *Hujaris* to you, assuring you that they have no chief but you. Either then you should enter Baghdad, where every one will surrender the headship to you, first of all Mohammed b. Ra'iq of necessity owing to your seniority, since you are his father's peer ; or you should advance to Ahwaz, to expel Baridi thence and establish yourself there. For though our number be small and inferior to his, still he is only a clerk, even though we had only five hundred men. He is at the head of ten thousand ; I have counted those who are with us and find them to be about five thousand, and that number is sufficient. An army goes by its commander, and you are yourself. Your enemy 'Ali b. Buwaihi said : Had there been in the army of Yaqut a hundred men like himself, I should never have withstood him. For God's sake, my master, do not ruin yourself and us.—He replied : I must think about it.—Mu'nis departed from his presence in anger, and with three thousand men separated from his master Yaqut, and rode to 'Askar Mukram, with the view of reaching Ahwaz. He then said to us¹ : I am not going to rebel against my master, who purchased me, brought me up and bestowed favours upon me ; but I mean to take Ahwaz and deliver it to him.—Before he had been three hours at 'Askar Mukram a letter from Yaqut came to DARAK, prefect of police there, informing him that Yaqut's retainer Mu'nis had come away without his leave, with an account of the situation, and requesting him to interview Mu'nis and threaten him with the divine vengeance if he was ungrateful for the benefits which he had received, and to detain him till he, Yaqut, arrived.—Darak crossed from the Eastern side of 'Askar Mukram to the Western, and delivered a long and eloquent homily to Mu'nis. He was a distinguished chief, only

¹ Probably the author's authority rather than himself.

age had diminished his powers ; he was accompanied by various attendants, among them a eunuch who was influential with him, though stupid, and he said to Mu'nis : Mu'nis, though your master's two sons—(344) two crowns, two pearls—were arrested, he still thought it improper to rebel against his master, and show himself ungrateful for his benefits ; he surrendered them, would not fight for them, and would not seek vengeance. Are you then going to rebel against your master and withdraw from your obedience ? Are you not afraid of the consequences ? Of forfeiting the divine help in this war, being captured, and so losing both this world and the next ? The more so as he has offered to join you and help you to the accomplishment of what you want. Wait till our letter is delivered and the reply arrives.—Mu'nis, affected by the censure and reprobation of Darak and his attendants, decided to wait ; and the following day Yaqut arrived and joined his retainers.

The whole army of Baridi now arrived, and encamped in the plain of KHAN TAUQ. They were commanded by a retainer of Baridi, assisted by the chief officers, of whom the highest was ABU'L-FATH IBN ABI TAHIR. Yaqut then and ABU JA'FAR JAMMAL¹ faced each other, and Yaqut waited in 'Askar Mukram instead of advancing to Ahwaz, as the situation alarmed him. He said to Mu'nis : The disposition of the Sultan towards us is what we know, and he has treated my son in such a way that there never can be a friendly relation between us. With regard to Fars, you know of our situation there. There is no place in the world whither we can go or which will harbour us except this town. War is uncertain, the man's army is numerous, and if we fight him and are defeated, we shall either be captured and brought to the capital, where I shall be set upon an elephant and taken round in triumph, and besides it will be supposed that I have shown ingratitude towards my benefactor, and I

¹ The retainer of Baridi to whom reference was just made.

shall be cursed by the people ; or we shall be slain. The best plan is to make ourselves agreeable to this man, return to Tustar, and thence make our way to the Jabal. If we can maintain ourselves there, well and good ; if not, we can go to Khorasan.—This speech of Yaqut got about, and discouraged Yaqut's followers. For many days they sat facing the army of Baridi, and every day some of his followers deserted to Baridi. Mu'nis used to come to Yaqut every morning, with the news that the day before three hundred (or more or fewer) had departed ; and all Yaqut (345) would reply was : They are going to our secretary ; and if their disposition towards us was of this sort, what use would they have been ? A thousand men who remain with us, and will be ready to go with us wherever we design to go, are better than this rabble, who are a burden upon us in peace time, and our enemies on the day of battle. We have had experience of them at the gate of Fars and at the gate of Arrajan.—This continued till he was left with eight hundred men. When Baridi knew that he had absolutely got the upper hand, he sent the qadī ABU'L-QASIM TANUKHI¹ to negotiate a truce ; after assuring Yaqut of his good faith, he was to state that Baridi was Yaqut's secretary, and was not suited to be a prince ; that he was in serious difficulties, owing to the demands of his troops ; that he had to face death from morning to evening, being afraid that they would murder him. That he had had no desire to enlist them, only one cause had involved another, and thus they had gathered into his host. Baridi now suggested a matrimonial alliance, in order that Yaqut's confidence in him might be restored ; and had authorized the qadī to give Baridi's daughter in marriage to Yaqut's son ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD. The qadī Abu'l-Qasim went to Yaqut and delivered his

¹ See my *Irshad al-arib*, v. 332. He was the father of the author of the *Table-talk*.

message, which was accepted. The marriage was solemnized, and Yaqut at once departed to Tustar.

After this one of the *Hujari* retainers came to him from the Sultan, accompanied by Yaqut's son Muzaffar ; bringing a letter to the effect that the Sultan presented him with this son as a special favour.—The father and son met at Tustar, and Muzaffar advised his father to proceed to the metropolis to thank the Caliph for sending him ; he should halt at Dair al-'Aqul, and thence solicit permission to enter the city. If that leave were given, he would have secured what he wanted, and he would find the *Hujaris* welcome him. If it were refused, then he would assume the charge of Mausil and Diyar Rabi'ah and go out thither. If this were prevented, he might make Syria his objective.—He differed from his son, and was not satisfied with this plan, but promised to consider what he had suggested, and bade him stay with him to deliberate.—Muzaffar begged to be excused, and asked for permission to take up his residence in 'Askar Mukram. This permission was granted. Baridi then held out hopes to Muzaffar that he would make him commander-in-chief of his army and be guided by his advice ; in consequence Muzaffar abandoned his father, and deserted to Baridi, who housed him in his famous Garden (346) in Ahwaz, surrounding the Garden with watchers who could observe his movements while themselves unseen.

When Baridi had made his own position secure and commanding, he conceived some apprehension of the soldiers now in his service who had formerly been in that of Yaqut ; they might suggest to their former master some evil design against himself ; they might feel partisanship towards him, and mutiny, uttering the watchword Yaqut !—So he wrote to Yaqut to the effect that the Sultan commanded him either to quit Tustar and come to the capital with an escort of fifteen retainers,

or to proceed to the Jabal and undertake the government there ; and that he, Baridi, had orders to come to Tustar and forcibly expel him.—Yaqut was perplexed by this communication, and calling his retainer Mu'nis, asked what he advised.—He replied : *Now*, after what has passed, not a man among your followers will join an expedition to the capital nor to the Jabal ; they have not the money for their equipment. But if you like to go to the Sultan with a score of retainers, you can do it.—He replied to Baridi's letter to the effect that he would reflect and communicate his decision, after soliciting a month's delay, which he required in order to prepare for the journey which he contemplated.

One of his spies now returned to him with the false information that the army had come to 'Askar Mukram, and been billeted in the houses, and was now scattered in the city. Summoning his retainer Mu'nis, he said to him : Praise be to God ! We have now got our enemy, the ungrateful recipient of our favours, into our power ! At the time of the second evening prayer we shall start from Tustar, reaching 'Askar Mukram in the morning while they are in fancied security in the houses ; we shall surprise them, rout them, and make our way to Ahwaz ; Baridi will not be able to make a stand, but will think only of headlong flight.—Mu'nis replied : I hope that this will turn out correct.

Accordingly Yaqut started and reached 'Askar Mukram when sunrise had commenced ; he proceeded through MABARR to NA'URAT AL-SABIL (" the Watermill of the Way ") and the JARUD Canal, but found no trace of Baridi's troops. He pitched his tents by the canal and encamped ; the day passed and approached its end, and he was wondering all the time at the deceit practised upon him by his spy. In the late afternoon there appeared the advance guards of the enemy, followed by the main army, commanded by Abu Ja'far

Jammal, who encamped at the distance of a parasang from Yaqut. The night then screened the armies (347) from each other. When morning came, there was some skirmishing and some single combats; and they prepared for a regular engagement on the following day; for Baridi's army were expecting the co-operation of another army which Baridi had despatched by way of the Dujail¹ on whose bank it was to enter an ambush so as to be behind Yaqut.

On the morning of the third day of Yaqut's arrival at 'Askar Mukram at sunrise the battle commenced; and it lasted till noon. Yaqut stood firm, supported by people like Mu'nis, ADHARIYUN, MUSHRIQ, and others, with less than a thousand men; and proved too strong for his opponents, Abu Ja'far Jammal and others, numerous as they were. The followers of Baridi came near being routed. Noon came, and "their hearts had reached their windpipes," when the men in ambush appeared, three thousand fresh troops, and Yaqut was at a loss; crying "There is no help nor strength save in God the Exalted the Mighty" he signalled to Mu'nis to attack them and prevent their reaching him. Mu'nis went off to deal with them, taking three hundred men with him; Yaqut was left with five hundred. Before an hour had passed Mu'nis returned routed. Yaqut threw himself from his horse, stripped himself of his armour and clothes, except his drawers and a shirt of SINIS² manufacture, and took refuge at a hermitage called after Husain b. Dayyar. Against this he leaned, and had he gone inside and hidden, he might have remained concealed, and in the darkness of night might have effected his escape. He however sat down

¹ The river now called Qarun.

² A place on the Persian coast near Jannabah; in ruins in Yaqut's time. These goods are mentioned by Muqaddasi, p. 442, who states that they resemble the material called *qasab*, i.e., linen adorned with gold or silver flakes. The linen used to be imported from Egypt, but in Muqaddasi's time was ordinarily home-grown.

where I have mentioned, near the Water-mill of the Way, covered his face, and stretched out his hand like a mendicant, wishing it to be supposed that he was a man of fortune who had become impoverished, and was soliciting a gift. Certain Berbers rode up to him and seeing him in this posture bade him uncover his face. He declined. One of them pointed at him with a javelin, and he said: I am Yaqut, take me to Baridi. The Berbers gathered round him and beheaded him.

Mu'nis, Adhariyun and Mushriq fled to Tustar, followed by the Arabs and Berbers, who captured them and brought them back. Abu Ja'far Jammal sent off a pigeon with the news to Baridi, (348) asking permission to send the head of Yaqut. In his reply, which was sent by a despatch-rider, Baridi bade him put the head with the trunk, and bury them both in the place where he had been killed. Baridi placed his son Muzaffar in arrest for a time, but presently sent him to the capital.

After this Baridi went into open revolt. He had been deficient in courage in what he perpetrated with Yaqut, only his brother Abu Yusuf had braced him, so that he equipped his armies against Yaqut and put him to death. ABU ZAKARIYYA YAHYA B. SA'ID SUSA stated that he had heard Abu Yusuf Baridi in conversation with his brother Abu 'Abdallah. The latter said: Brother, I am afraid that some day if we enter the capital the *Hujaris* will band themselves together against us and put us to death. And at this moment (349) I should not wonder if my brother Abu'l-Husain who is in the capital were to be killed by way of retaliation for Yaqut.—Abu Yusuf replied: As for Abu'l-Husain, we shall write to him about what has occurred, and he will take precautions and protect himself. As for the *Hujaris* and the idea that we should set foot within the capital after having been branded with a fine of twenty million

dirhems¹—never ! After we have been rescued from Qahir and the accursed Khasibi, and got off with our lives, should we dream of entering the capital ? Oh, but our houses will be demolished !—Away with them to God's curse ! We are not going back to the capital, nor have we any further need of it, as it is going to ruin. Give up your design, Abu 'Abdallah !² You cannot be still harbouring such an idea, considering the rottenness of the time, the ruin of the empire, and the poverty of the Caliph. We used at one time to earn money from the Sultan ; but now he is on a level with us, or rather we are a source of profit to him. He would like to ruin us and seize our wealth. If we do not protect ourselves with these armies that we have assembled and drive out Yaqut, we shall fall, and it will be long before we find a day that we can call ours. Most assuredly I have not given you the counsel which you have heard except after furnishing myself with what will help towards its being carried out. This I tell you secretly and openly ; for Abu Zakariyya is a person whom we do not mind.—

Abu Zakariyya observed that in this sentence he was alluding to the revenue of Sus and Jundaisabur ; for Abu 'Abdallah had allowed it to accumulate in Abu Yusuf's hands, as something to fall back upon ; and had resorted for current expenditure, the pay of the officials, and what he occasionally transmitted to the Sultan, to the revenues of the remaining districts of Ahwaz. Of these too he was in the habit of abstracting a little at a time, and putting it by ; at that time he had no personal expenditure or pomp, nor did he ever give anything to visitor, poet or favourite, and was an expert in finance ; every detail passed through his hands, and if any thing was missing and had remained with the collectors, ISRA'IL B. SALIH and SAHL B. NAZIR, its amount did not escape him. He adds that Abu 'Abdallah and his

¹ See above, p. 273, 274, where the sum is different.

² i.e., of making himself vizier or " prince of princes."

brother Abu Yusuf after they had been installed by Radī collected from the districts of Ahwaz for the years 322, 323, 324, and down to Sha'ban of 325, the month in which they were defeated by Bachkam and expelled from the province, (350) eight million dinars ; whereas the whole outgoings on all heads were under four millions cash.¹

I heard the Jewish banker YA'QUB say : I heard Abu 'Abdallah Baridi say : We shall go to Basrah ; if we succeed there, we are safe. If anything befalls us with which we cannot cope, we shall make for Oman, and seek the protection of the governor there (meaning YUSUF B. WAJIH) ; for he is a noble man, and we shall get on. Or we may cross to Fars, and seek the help of 'Ali b. Buwaihi, since the Dailemite power is mighty, and the capital is retrograde ; or we may cross to Tiz and Mukran, and seek the governor of Khorasan, whither they form the high road.

We return to chronicling the affairs of the capital and its administration by the viziers. The vizier was unequal to the burden of office, the financial stress was constantly increasing, and the officials who had to do with money rapacious. Ibn Ra'iq cut off supplies from Wasit and Basrah, the Baridis from Ahwaz ; 'Ali b. Buwaihi had seized Fars, and Ibn Alyas Kirman. The vizier Abu Ja'far Karkhi was at a loss, as the demands upon him were numerous and the supplies were cut off. Unable to maintain his authority, after three and a half months from his appointment he went into hiding. In his archives there were found uncashed cheques and the like, examples of incapacity and want of energy in the conduct of business.

When Karkhi went into hiding, Radī summoned ABU'L-QASIM SULAIMAN B. HASAN and invested him with the vizierate and the presidency of the bureaux. He was

¹ This figure was given above, p. 131.

no less helpless and resourceless than Karkhi. Necessity then compelled Raḍi to send to ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. RA'IQ, who was in Wasit, reminding him of his offer to undertake to defray all the expenses including maintenance of the army and of the court attendants, and asking whether he still held by that proposal or withdrew from it.¹ Abu Bakr Mohammed received (351) the messenger with favour, bestowed a thousand dinars on him, and replied to the letter that he abode by his undertaking.

Account of Ibn Ra'iq's assumption of control over the Caliphate and all the provinces of the empire.

Raḍi then sent to him MAKIRD the Dailemite, one of the Sajis, to inform him that he was appointed Prince, and commander-in-chief of the army; that the Caliph constituted him PRINCE OF PRINCES, and put upon him the administration of the *kharaj* and the Estates and of public security in all the provinces, and entrusted him with the management of the empire. His name was to be mentioned in the Sermon from all the pulpits of the empire, and he was to be called by his *kunyah*. Robes of honour and the standard were sent out to him with Makird the Dailemite and one of the imperial eunuchs. All the chiefs of the bureaux, all the officers of the Sajis, and *Hasan b. Harun* went down the river to him. When they had got to Wasit Ibn Ra'iq had the Sajis and *Hasan b. Harun* arrested before they had come into his presence; the Sajis were imprisoned and their baggage plundered. The *Hujaris* were then told that the reason for thus treating the Sajis was to increase the pay of the former. The news were transmitted to Baghdad, where some of the Sajis were still remaining; they departed to Mausil and to Syria. The *Hujaris* in Baghdad were alarmed by the action taken against the Sajis in Wasit, proceeded to the Palace, surrounded it

¹ See above, p. 333.

and pitched their tents round about. Ibn Ra'iq sent MU'NIS AFLAH and BARIS the Chamberlain to Baghdad. They pitched their tents at the Shammasiyyah Gate, and LU'LU' was made prefect of police in Baghdad.

Mohammed b. Ra'iq went up from Wasit on Friday —10 Dhu'l-Hijjah (Nov. 8, 936)¹ accompanied by Bachkam; the former was given rank above the vizier, received a robe of honour, and then rode to his tent in the Racecourse, where for a number of days food, drink and fruits were brought him from the Palace, and he was attended by the Sultan's servants. The (352) Hujari retainers gathered there to greet him, and he bade them remove their tents from the Palace, and return to their quarters, which they did.

From this time the power of the viziers ceased. The vizier no longer had control of the provinces, the bureaux or the departments; he had merely the title vizier, and the right of appearing on ceremonial days at the Palace in black with sword and belt. But he stood there in silence. Ibn Ra'iq and his secretary had control of the whole business of state, and the same has been the case with all who have held the Princeship from the time of Ibn Ra'iq to this date. The revenue from the provinces is transmitted to the treasury of the Princes, they order and prohibit with regard to it, and expend it as they please, while remitting what they choose to the Sultan for his expenses. The old Treasuries ceased to exist.

In this year IBN ALYAS made himself master of Kirman; his complete possession being secured after a series of battles with the army of Khorasan.

In this year a disaster occurred to Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi, who was wounded in the hand, and fell among the slain. He was rescued and ultimately became sovereign of 'Iraq.

¹ A Tuesday according to Wüstenfeld.

Account of the cause of this.

When 'ALI B. BUWAIHI became master of Fars, and his brother HASAN B. BUWAIHI of Ispahan, the former began to consider what could be done for his younger brother ABU'L-HUSAIN AHMAD B. BUWAIHI, and after an interchange of letters and messages the two agreed that he should be sent to Kirman. 'Ali b. Buwaihi put him in command of an army, (353) containing fifteen hundred of the foremost and most renowned of the Dailemites, and some five hundred Turks and similar troops. Abu'l-Husain's secretary at the time was one ABU'L-HUSAIN AHMAD B. MOHAMMED RAZI, known as KUR-DEPIR "the blind scribe",¹ because he could only use one eye. This man had no professional skill, but he was large-minded and courageous, and having come to Sirajan and collected revenue, he expended it on the army. IBRAHIM B. SIMJUR DAULATI,² representing the governor of Khorasan, was besieging MOHAMMED B. ALYAS B. ALYASA' SUGHDI; when he heard about the Dailemites, he returned to Khorasan, raising the siege of Mohammed b. Alyas. The latter, being released, took the opportunity to escape from the fortress wherein he had been to the city of Bamm, which is in a desert³ that stretches to Sijistan. Ahmad b. Buwaihi went against him, and he retreated to Sijistan without a battle. Ahmad b. Buwaihi accordingly departed thence, and directed his march to Jirift, which is the capital of Kirman, leaving one of his officers in charge of Bamm. When he approached Jirift, he was met by an envoy of 'ALI B. ZANJI, chief of the Qufs and the Beloochis, known as 'ALI B. KALLAWAIHI, whose ancestors, and afterwards himself, had made themselves

¹ In the Persian dictionaries the word for "scribe" is written with B, in the Armenian with P.

² Perhaps "the holder of the inkhorn."

³ In modern maps Dasht-i-Lut,

masters of those regions,¹ only they adopted a courteous attitude towards every Sultan who invaded their territory, submitted to him, paid him a fixed sum, but did not "tread his carpet." He offered Aḥmad b. Buwaihi the money according to custom; Aḥmad replied that the decision belonged to his brother 'Ali b. Buwaihi, and that he must certainly enter Jirift; when he had done so, he would send a messenger with a letter to his brother about this offer, but meanwhile he ordered 'Ali b. Zanji to evacuate the place.—'Ali b. Zanji consented, and marched away to a distance of (354) about ten parasangs from the town, to a rough region, in which movement was difficult. A series of messages then were interchanged, and it was finally settled that the chief should send a hostage to Aḥmad b. Buwaihi, who assigned the region in fief to him for a payment of a million dirhems a year; an immediate payment of a hundred thousand was made, but as a gift, and not to be reckoned as part of the rent of the fief. The chief then had Aḥmad b. Buwaihi's name introduced into the Sermon, paid him an instalment of the rent in advance, and otherwise acted honestly. The secretary KUR-DEPIR now suggested to Aḥmad b. Buwaihi to attack the chief in violation of the agreements which they had made, pointing out that he would find the chief off his guard, and his followers in fancied security, as they were relying on the agreement at which they had arrived and the cessation of disputes. He would thus be able to seize their stores and treasures and make himself master of their country. Thus he would achieve what no-one had achieved before.

Account of the result of this treachery and perjury.

Aḥmad b. Buwaihi listened to his secretary, and decided according to his view, owing to his youth and imprudence; emboldening himself to disregard what

¹ His name seems to be unknown to the geographers.

both piety and virtue enjoined. He collected his picked troops, and leaving behind those of inferior quality, started at once on a nightly raid ; it was then the time of afternoon prayer, and his intention was to surprise them by a nightly march, and attack them in the morning. But 'ALI B. KALLAWAIHI was vigilant, having a service of spies ; news came to him in time, and he collected his followers, whom he posted in a narrow pass between two mountains, which formed the raiders' road. When Abu'l-Husain with his followers was in the middle of this pass at night, the people of Jirift sprang upon them from every side, slew or captured the troops, few of whom escaped. Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi was himself wounded in many places, where the marks afterwards showed, lost his left hand and some fingers of the right, received severe blows on his head and other parts of his body, and fell among the corpses. The news of this disaster reaching Jirift, his secretary and those of his followers who had not taken part in the raid fled. In the morning 'Ali b. Kallawaihi ordered his followers to make search among the corpses for Ahmad b. Buwaihi, who was found living, though all but dead. He was carried to Jirift, where (355) 'Ali b. Kallawaihi set himself to nurse and serve him, to the utmost of his ability. He offered apologies for what had occurred, and expressed his regret at what had happened to Ahmad. When the news reached 'Ali b. Buwaihi, he was deeply grieved, arrested Kur-Depir, and sent to replace him ABU'L-'ABBAS HANNAT and his Chamberlain KHUTLUKH¹ with two thousand men, to assemble in Sirajan the remains of the army of Mu'izz al-daulah (as Ahmad b. Buwaihi was afterwards called), and collect such remnants as could be found of the defeated army. 'Ali b. Kallawaihi sent both oral and written communications to 'Ali b. Buwaihi, apologizing for what had occurred and explaining the situation.

¹ Above, p. 304, it is suggested that he had been killed before this time.

He freely offered his allegiance, which he declared he had never abandoned nor violated.—‘Ali b. Buwaihi sent an embassy to him consisting of the qadī of Shiraz, ABU’L-‘ABBAS HANNAT, ABU’L-FADL AL-‘ABBAS B. FASANJAS, and other distinguished people, to return a civil answer, accepting his apologies, and ratifying the settlement that had been made; he also returned his hostage, and renewed the treaty and covenant. Ibn Kallawaihi then released Abu’l-Husain Aḥmad b. Buwaihi, and with him ISPAHDOST and others whom he held as captives; first treating them kindly, bestowing on them robes and furnishing them with equipment and comforts. When Aḥmad b. Buwaihi returned to Sirajan, he found his secretary in arrest, having been subjected to tortures which nearly resulted in his death. He released him from arrest, championed his cause, acquitted him of all blame, and interceded for him with his brother, who in consequence of this intercession allowed him to go free.

When Abu ‘Ali b. Alyas heard of what had happened to Aḥmad b. Buwaihi, his cupidity was aroused, and he marched from Sijistan, encamping in the region called KHUNNAB. Aḥmad b. Buwaihi went to meet him, and there was a fierce engagement between them which lasted several days, finally resulting in a victory for Aḥmad b. Buwaihi, and the rout of Ibn Alyas. The former returned in triumph; he longed however to avenge himself on ‘Ali b. Kallawaihi, and started an expedition against him. The latter made his preparations, mustered his troops and marched to meet Aḥmad b. Buwaihi. He encamped at a distance of two parasangs from the army of Aḥmad. They had planned to commence the battle in the early morning. (356) ‘Ali b. Kallawaihi however tried a nightly raid with certain of his followers, foot-soldiers who were able to keep up lengthy running. He attacked the army of Aḥmad b. Buwaihi at night. It happened that the sky was covered with heavy rainclouds; the troops got mixed

and could only be distinguished by their languages. The raiders damaged the army of *Aḥmad b. Buwaihi*, killing and plundering ; they then retired. The army of *Aḥmad b. Buwaihi* spent the rest of the night in vigilance, they then marched to the attack, and killed a number of the enemy ; '*Ali b. Kallawaihi* was routed and *Abu'l-Husain* retired, with his desire for vengeance slaked, though some resentment still remained in his mind. He wrote to his brother '*Ali b. Buwaihi* announcing his victory over *Ibn Alyas*, who had been routed and over *Ibn Kallawaihi*, who had fled. The reply which came back was to the effect that he was to stop where he was and go no further. '*Ali b. Buwaihi* then sent out to him *MARZUBAN B. KHUSRAH*, the *Jilite*, one of his best captains, to bring him to '*Ali's* capital with all speed and keep him from delaying or making application. He wrote similar instructions to the rest of the commanders. *Aḥmad b. Buwaihi* returned towards his brother's capital against his will, as he had not fully gratified his spite against '*Ali b. Kallawaihi* and his followers. When he had reached *Istakhr*, he went no further.

Account of the circumstances which led to his expedition to 'Iraq, of which he ultimately became master.

It came to pass that *Abu 'Abdallah Baridi* came to *Fars* by sea, to take refuge with '*Ali b. Buwaihi*. For *Mohammed b. Ra'iq* and *Bachkam* gained the victory over him in numerous battles, and wrested *Ahwaz* from his grasp ; they also came near wresting *Basrah* from it. There he left his brothers *Abu Yusuf* and *Abu'l-Husain 'Ali b. Mohammed* ; and when he arrived at the capital of '*Ali b. Buwaihi* as a suppliant, he found himself honourably received and entertained. *Baridi* offered, on condition of his providing him with troops, to put him in possession of the districts of *Ahwaz*, pay him down vast sums from the revenues of *Ahwaz*, and leave his two sons with him as hostages. '*Ali b. Buwaihi*

summoned his brother Abu'l-Husain Ahmad from Istakhr, and when he was near, (357) went out to meet him at the head of his whole army, drew him near, assigned him higher rank than he himself claimed, by way of solace for his misfortune, and then bade him start with Abu 'Abdallah Baridi at the head of a mighty army perfectly equipped.

The news reached Ibn Ra'iq and Bachkam. The latter was with Ibn Ra'iq at Abu Ja'far's Camp, besieging Basrah, and returned to Ahwaz with the intention of preventing the Dailemites from invading the district ; Ibn Ra'iq returned to Wasit. The armies of Bachkam and Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi met near Ram-hurmuz, and the former retired to 'Askar Mukram after a series of engagements which we hope to narrate in the year 326.

YEAR 325.

In this year Ibn Ra'iq advised Radi to descend the river with him to Wasit in order to be near Ahwaz, and to negotiate with Baridi. If the latter agreed to what was required of him, well and good ; if he rebelled, the Caliph should make war upon him. Radi agreed, and descended the river on Saturday the first day of Muharram (Nov. 19, 936). The Hujaris were disturbed, thinking that this was a design against them, with the view of treating them as the Sajis had been treated ; they declared that they would remain in Baghdad. Ibn Ra'iq paid no attention to them, so while some remained, most of them joined the expedition ; presently all did the latter. When they had arrived in Wasit they were inspected by Ibn Ra'iq ; he began with the deputy-doorkeepers, who were some five hundred ; he restricted their number to sixty, cashiering the rest. He reduced the pay of those whom he retained. He then made an inspection of the Hujaris, and rejected the interlopers, the substitutes, the women, the traders, and the refugees.

They were disturbed by this measure, and would not at first acquiesce; presently they acquiesced, and at the next inspection he rejected a large number more. They then mutinied and seized their arms; Ibn Ra'iq fought a furious battle with them on Tuesday—5 Muharram, (Dec. 13, 936), which went against the Hujaris, of whom he slew some and captured others; the rest fled to Baghdad, where (358) Lu'lu', prefect of police rode out and charged them; they then went into hiding, their dwellings were pillaged, and some of them burned, and their possessions confiscated. When Ibn Ra'iq had finished his struggle with the Hujaris, he ordered the execution of the Sajis whom he had imprisoned. They were all put to death with the exception of SAFI the Treasurer and HASAN B. HARUN.

When he had finished with the Sajis and Hujaris, Radi and Abu Bakr Ibn Ra'iq determined to march out to Ahwaz and expel Baridi thence. The tents were brought to BADHIBIN; and when Baridi heard of this, he was greatly perturbed. ABU JA'FAR IBN SHIRAZAD and ABU MOHAMMED HASAN B. ISMA'IL ISKAFI were despatched to him with a message from Radi and Ibn Ra'iq, to tell him that he had kept back the revenue, which he had treated as his own, and corrupted the army, which he had taught to rebel. They were to remind him *that he was not a descendant of Abu Talib anxious to be sovereign, nor a soldier ambitious to be made a prince, nor a bearer of arms,¹ who might be thought worthy to reconquer countries that are locked, but originally a humble clerk, who had risen out of obscurity, and a mediocre official, who had been favoured and thought worthy of high office, and had then rebelled, been ungrateful for the benefits which he had received, and rewarded evil for good, and thrown off his allegiance. If, however, he surrendered his army, and transmitted the revenue, he would be retained in his*

¹ It is not clear how this differs from the soldier. Perhaps the former word is corrupt.

office. Otherwise, he would be attacked and treated as he deserved.

The two envoys went to Baridi and informed him of their message, strongly advising him to yield. He offered to farm the revenues of the Ahwaz districts for (359) 360,000 dinars, of which he was to pay 30,000 every lunar month, and to surrender his army to some person authorized to take it over, and appointed to command it on an expedition to Fars; as the troops were unwilling to return to the capital owing to the scarcity of money there, to the discord between the officials, and to their apprehension of the Turks and the Qarmatians.—The envoys communicated this offer by letter to Ibn Ra'iq, who put it before Radi. He consulted HUSAIN B. 'ALI NUBAKHTI about it, and he advised that it should not be accepted; the Caliph should, he said, carry out his proposed expedition against Baridi whilst Baridi was still trembling, should wrest Ahwaz from his grasp, and not let him remain there. ABU BAKR IBN MUQATIL advised that his offer be accepted and that he be retained in office.—Ibn Ra'iq inclined to the easier course and accepted the counsel of Ibn Muqatil; but Nubakhti was in the right.

Ibn Ra'iq therefore wrote to Ibn Shirzad and Ibn Isma'il Iskafi giving them permission to assign the province to Baridi and have the deed attested. They did this and returned. With regard to the money, not a dinar was ever paid; and with regard to the army, JA'FAR B. WARQA was sent to take it over and lead it to Fars. This person, arriving in Ahwaz, was met by Abu 'Abdallah Baridi bringing the whole of his force, regiment after regiment, filling the whole country and blackening it, and encompassing Baridi. The effect on Ja'far b. Warqa was bewildering. Then the imperial robes of honour were despatched to Baridi as minister and governor of Ahwaz; he put them on in the public Mosque

of Ahwaz, and returned home preceded by the army, its captains and cavalry, free men and slaves, and infantry, with their standards and their flags, and their weapons, so that Ja'far b. Warqa, who rode with Baridi, was in despair, depressed and discouraged. When Baridi reached his residence, he detained ¹ Ja'far b. Warqa, the commanders who were with him, and the people; and it was a great day. Ja'far b. Warqa stayed with him some days, after which Baridi induced the troops to mutiny, and demand of Ja'far a quarter's pay for the purpose of the expedition; (360) Ja'far went into hiding, and applied for protection to Baridi, who got him out of the place, so that he could return to the capital. Prior to this Ibn Ra'iq had interested himself in Abu'l-Husain Baridi and obtained permission for him to leave Baghdad and join his two brothers. When the affair of Baridi had been settled, Radi with Ibn Ra'iq went up stream to Baghdad. The Prince Ibn Ra'iq's secretary, ABU ,ABDALLAH HUSAIN B. 'ALI NUBAKHTI also came to Baghdad.

*Account of the plot whereby Abu Bakr Ibn Muqatil ousted
Husain b. 'Ali Nubakhti from the secretaryship of
Ibn Ra'iq.*

ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. MUQATIL had obtained his well-known influence over Ibn Ra'iq, and was now unfriendly towards Husain b. 'Ali Nubakhti, after they had been closely attached; and indeed it was Nubakhti who had introduced Ibn Muqatil to Ibn Ra'iq, and brought him into his office. For this reason, and because Husain b. 'Ali was above him, and monopolized Ibn Ra'iq, whose kingdom he administered, having built up for Ibn Ra'iq his lofty station, brought to him his fortune, and amassed for him from the revenue of Wasit and Basrah, which he farmed, the resources which were his mainstay, Ibn Muqatil advised Ibn Ra'iq to obtain the

¹ Apparently to a banquet.

support of Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, and make him his Secretary ; thus they would make common cause, and the army of Ahwaz would be united with the army of Ibn Ra'iq. Ibn Muqatil spoke to Ibn Ra'iq in the following strain: Prince, this plan will redound to your glory. At present Baridi is like an equal to you ; but if he condescends to become a dependent, he will be under your power. You will be told that *Baridi betrayed the trust of the Sultan and of Yaqut, so how can you rely upon him ?* The answer to this is that you will not be together in one region, where he would have the chance of overreaching you as he overreached Yaqut. You can do nothing against him except by war ; and in war you may come out victorious or (361) he may. And now that we have come to this arrangement with him, to reduce him from being prince to being secretary, to make of him a dependent, to lure away the men who constitute his army, and despatch him with Bachkam to reconquer Fars and Ispahan for us, are a better plan than to refuse his request, and excite his suspicions, which will lead to his taking precautions and tampering with the troops. Further he has transmitted to you, Prince, a present of thirty thousand dinars, which are in my lodging.—Ibn Ra'iq replied : I have no intention of dismissing the faithful and fortunate Husain b. 'Ali Nubakhti, even though Baridi were to reconquer Fars and Ispahan, and make of them a personal gift to myself.—Ibn Muqatil said : Well, Prince, if you disapprove of this, then let him farm the revenues of Wasit and Basrah.—Ibn Ra'iq said : That I am prepared to do, if Husain b. 'Ali approves.—Ibn Muqatil then asked Ibn Ra'iq to keep quiet their discussion of the secretaryship and not mention it to Nubakhti.

Presently Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. 'Ali Nubakhti appeared. Ibn Ra'iq communicated the second proposal to him, and he was indignant ; he enumerated the crimes of Baridi, his treachery and his ingratitude for benefits from the commencement of his career and that of his

brothers, until they had openly rebelled. He repeated the story of Yaqut, and then turning to Ibn Muqatil said : You are not doing your duty by the Prince, nor giving him sincere advice. He added : My health is failing, and if I live and remain with you, the plot against you will not succeed ; but if God's decree be executed upon me, I adjure you by God to be induced by no trick which Baridi may devise to place any trust or confidence in him.—Ibn Ra'iq's eyes filled with tears at this, and he said : No, God is going to prolong your life and end his !

Husain b. 'Ali Nubakhti was at this time suffering from fever and a cough. He retired, leaving Ibn Muqatil angry. The latter said to Ibn Ra'iq : The man has transmitted thirty thousand dinars to you, you *must* treat him with civility. Agree to receive AHMAD B. 'ALI KUFİ as his agent and representative at your court till you make up your mind about his application. To this Ibn Ra'iq assented.

(362) Ibn Muqatil communicated these proceedings to Baridi, who despatched Ahmad b. 'Ali Kufi.¹ He came to the court of Mohammed b. Ra'iq in Baghdad, and became associated with him as the representative of Abu 'Abdallah Baridi. Nubakhti's illness became worse, and for some days he could not appear at the office. He had a nephew to whom he had given his daughter, who was acting for him in the office of Ibn Ra'iq, signing documents in his place. Abu Bakr Ibn Muqatil addressed Ibn Ra'iq as follows : Fidelity is a part of piety, and is particularly seemly on the part of the Prince, since it brings safety to every one. Still it is not prudent to let affairs go to ruin. Husain b. 'Ali is dying, so look out for yourself, as business is in a bad way.—Ibn Ra'iq replied : My friend, I just asked SINAN B. THABIT² and he told me that Nubakhti was

¹ See above, p. 327.

² Famous physician, ob. 331.

improving ; the blood-spitting is milder, and he has eaten some heath-cock.—Ibn Muqatil retorted : Sinan is a prudent man, and does not like to tell you anything disagreeable about a man whom you value, especially when that man is the vizier of the period. But call his son-in-law and his brother's son, who is also his deputy, and make him swear that he is telling you the truth.—Ibn Ra'iq agreed to do this.—Ibn Muqatil then went and summoned 'ALI B. AHMAD, brother's son to Nubakhti, and said to him : I have been paving the way for you to become secretary to the Prince, and advising him to appoint you ; it is the vizierate at the capital ! Your uncle is about to depart this life ; and if the Prince asks you, tell him that your uncle is sure to die. I will then go back and get him to redeem his promise, and put the robe of honour upon you before there is another candidate in the field.—'ALI B. AHMAD took the bait, and the next day he was privately asked by Ibn Ra'iq about his uncle's condition. By way of reply he burst into tears, and said : God give you rich reward, Prince, for your solicitude about Abu 'Abdallah ; you may count him among the dead.—He then beat his face.—Ibn Ra'iq said : There is no power nor strength save in God ! He is truly dear to me ; if the living might ransom the dying, I should ransom him with my whole kingdom ! —He proceeded to summon Ibn Muqatil, and said to him : You were right ; we despair of Nubakhti's recovery. " We are God's and to Him do we return " ! What had we better do ?—He said : ABU 'ABDALLAH AHMAD B. 'ALI KUFİ here is the equal of Nubakhti, and both were favourites of ISHAQ B. ISMA'IL NUBAKHTI.¹ Kufi is absolutely trustworthy and honest, (363) and is on an intimate footing with Abu 'Abdallah Baridi. If you appoint Kufi secretary, you will have a capable, honest and painstaking minister, and in addition you will draw those people into your party and secure their adhesion.

¹ See above, p. 245, etc.

We shall make Baridi recognize that we have granted his request and made him your Secretary, appointing as his representative Abu 'Abdallah Kufi.—Ibn Ra'iq replied: Ask God's blessing on your scheme and carry it out. Only you are to be responsible if Kufi plays me false or favours Baridi against me in any matter.—Ibn Muqatil replied: I am prepared to guarantee on behalf of Kufi all that is stipulated by the Prince.—So Ibn Ra'iq appointed him secretary, and he proceeded to manage the whole of the business as Nubakhti had done; only he omitted from the letters which were issued in Ibn Ra'iq's name the words *written by A. son of B*, which Nubakhti had been in the habit of writing in the style of a vizier.¹ The length of time during which Nubakhti managed the affairs of the empire was three months and eight days.

Ibn Muqatil now wrote to Abu 'Abdallah Baridi to demand his gratitude for the plan whereby he had pushed Nubakhti aside, and given the office which he had held to him (Baridi), appointing as his deputy Abu 'Abdallah Kufi.—Baridi sent him twenty thousand dinars in addition to the thirty thousand which we have previously mentioned.²

Nubakhti now recovered and became quite well. The fact was concealed³ from Ibn Ra'iq, and the Baridis obtained their chance of seizing Basrah.

Account of their plan, and the way wherein fortune favoured them.

Not a month passed from the appointment by Ibn Ra'iq of Abu 'Abdallah Kufi to the secretaryship before the latter endeavoured to obtain for Abu Yusuf Baridi the

¹ Qalqashandi vi. 198 quotes an earlier writer for the statement that this was the practice in 'Iraq; at the end of the imperial rescripts there were the words "written by" followed by the name of the vizier and that of his father.

² Above, p. 361.

³ It seems clear that the author's information is defective, as Ibn Ra'iq could not easily have been kept in ignorance of his dear friend's recovery.

farming of the revenues of Basrah and Wasit. He made the proposal to Ibn Ra'iq ; the latter declared he would not do it, as he did not trust them. Why not ? asked Kufi. As for Wasit, I administer it myself, and not even an unmounted messenger of theirs comes there. I undertake that the revenue shall be paid in full. As for Basrah, I have settled the amount at four million dirhems, on condition that he provides (364) trustworthy sureties there.—Ibn Muqatil supported the proposal, and Ibn Ra'iq presently agreed to give Abu Yusuf Baridi the contract, and Abu Yusuf appointed ABU'L-HASAN IBN ASAD officer of *kharaj* in Basrah. The minister of war there was MOHAMMED B. YAZDAD. The whole population of Basrah went out to Suq al-Ahwaz to congratulate Baridi on his appointment, and there was a great gathering. ABU'L-HUSAIN IBN 'ABD AL-SALAM the Hashimite, the leading man in Basrah, had already deserted the side of Ibn Ra'iq, because the latter had subjected him to indignity in Basrah. Betaking himself to Abu 'Abdallah Baridi and Abu Yusuf his brother, he flung himself absolutely upon them, advising them to make themselves masters of Basrah by the despatch of an army thither. He asserted that the *Khawal*¹ and the canal workers were ready to obey him. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi thereupon commenced building launches, barges, and other boats in large numbers, and presently had a fleet of a hundred craft thoroughly sound and in excellent condition. When he was visited by the people of Basrah for the purpose of congratulation, he paid them various honours and compliments, and then said : Abu'l-Husain Ibn 'Abd al-Salam is already acquainted with my favourable intentions towards you, and my anxiety for your welfare. He knows how I have been preparing river-craft for the armies with which I shall protect your town from the Qarmatians ; I could easily have dispensed with farming the revenues of

¹ See above, p. 33.

Basrah, since I derive no profit therefrom, only I felt indignant at the wrongs inflicted on you by Ibn Ra'iq and his deputy Mohammed b. Yazdad. I have undertaken to pay out of my own pocket four thousand dinars a month in order to relieve you of the police, prison and *shawak* dues,¹ which were taken from you, all of which I now abolish, and here is my signature to their abolition. —He signed an order to that effect, and this action was received with loud plaudits and blessings. He proceeded: This will be told to Ibn Ra'iq, and will meet with his disapproval, will set him against me, and be a cause of enmity between us. But by Allah, where your interests are at stake, I care not if I make enemies of my brothers Abu Yusuf and Abu'l-Husain or of my son Abu'l-Qasim! For I know that among you are the sons of Hashim and of Abu Talib, and the offspring of the Refugees and the Helpers. To protect you is (365) one of the sacred duties of Islam, and I imagine that God will forgive me all my sins if I relieve you of annoyance.² Ibn Ra'iq will want to reimpose the pelf which he used to take from you and which I have removed; and where are the strong arms and the proud souls which fought against 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, on whom God's favour rest! When Ibn Ra'iq wants to cancel what I have done, strike his face and the faces of his followers with those arms and swords, and I will back you! —He proceeded to remind the people of Basrah of their exploits in connexion with 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. AL-ASH'ATH and MOHAMMED and IBRAHIM, sons of 'Abdallah b. Hasan b. Hasan.³ Let your hearts, he said, be stout, and your hopes high, and your minds strong in resisting your enemy. —He proceeded to assign two thousand dinars to be expended on the public Mosque in Basrah, having

¹ This last is obscure. Possibly it is a local pronunciation of the word for "market"; or the initials of the words which signify Witnesses, Trusteeship and Surety.

² In the last of Hariri's Maqamahs there are assertions of this sort.

³ See the history of the years 81 and 144/5.

heard, he said, that it was in ruins. Various petitions were presented to him, and he proceeded to sign his name to reductions, reconsiderations, allowances, and alleviations of assessment to the amount of two million dirhems; by the time they left him they had become his swords. He proceeded to despatch his retainer and chamberlain IQBAL, who alternated with ABU JA'FAR AL-JAMMAL, with two thousand men, bidding them remain in Hisn Mahdi till he wrote to the chamberlain Iqbal to bring them to Basrah. When IBN YAZDAD heard of this, he was in a state of consternation.

This year Mohammed b. Ra'iq appointed ABU'L-HUSAIN BACHKAM chief of police in Baghdad and ABU'L-HUSAIN 'UMAR B. MOHAMMED judge of judges in addition to the posts which he already held.¹

He also ordered the *Hujari* retainers who were hiding in Baghdad to show themselves, and when they did so and came before him with their arms, he inspected them and passed out of the whole number some two thousand, to whom he assigned a fresh rate of pay according to his own idea. The rest he rejected. Those whom he had passed and whose pay he had fixed were sent by him to the Jabal; when they were on the (366) Khorasan Road, they decided to go to Ahwaz. So they went to Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, who received them, doubled their pay, made them a sympathetic speech on the subject of their treatment at the hands of Ibn Ra'iq, at which he expressed his surprise, and promised to befriend them to the uttermost. To the Sultan and to Ibn Ra'iq he explained that when they came to him, it had not been in his power to reject them; so he had been compelled to receive them. He made them his excuse for failing to transmit the sums which he had been ordered to pay, declaring that they had conspired with the army to prevent his sending the local revenue away. He became master of Ahwaz and Basrah.

¹ Above, p. 230, he was appointed judge of judges by Muqtadir.

Thus the world was in the hands of usurpers. These persons had become provincial kings ; whoever had got control of a region regarded himself as its possessor, and withheld the revenue from it. Wasit, Basrah, and Ahwaz were in the hands of the Baridis ; Fars in those of 'Ali b. Buwaihi ; Kirman in those of Abu 'Ali Ibn Alyas ; Ispahan, Rayy and the Jabal in those of Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Buwaihi and his competitor Washmagir ; Mausil, Diyar Rabi'ah and Diyar Bakr in those of the Banu Hamdan ; Egypt and Syria in those of Mohammed b. Tughj ; the Maghrib and Ifriqiyyah in those of Abu Tamim ; Spain in those of the Umayyad prince ; ¹ Khorasan in those of Nasr b. (367) Ahmad ; Yamamah, Bahrain and Hajar in those of Abu Tahir Ibn Abi Sa'id Jannabi ; Tabaristan and Jurjan in the hands of the Dailemites.

Nothing remained in the hands of the Sultan and Ibn Ra'iq except the Sawad and 'Iraq. Diyar Mudar, having become desolate and waste, and too poor to compensate the Sultan, was evacuated by Badr Kharshani, who was minister of war there. He returned to the capital ; and there being there no minister of public security, it was invaded and seized by 'Ali b. Hamdan.² The illness of Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. 'Ali Nubakhti was increased by his witnessing the ruin of his plans, and having himself fallen victim to a plot. He became consumptive.

This year the hostility between Mohammed b. Ra'iq and the Baridis became open.

Account of the reason for this.

It happened that in Rabi' ii of the year 325 (Feb.-March, 937) Abu Tahir the Qarmatian came and entered Kufah. Ibn Ra'iq moved out of Baghdad and dismounted in the Garden of Ibn Abi'l-Shawarib at the

¹ Al-Nasir 'Abd al-Rahman. He took the title Commander of the Faithful in 326. See al-Hulal al-Manshiyyat. Cairo 1329, p. 18.

² Better known as Saif al-daulah.

Yasiriyyah Bridge; thence he despatched Abu Bakr Ibn Muqatil with a message to Abu Tahir of Hajar, who had demanded that the Sultan should every year send him money and food to the value of about 120,000 dinars, on condition of his remaining in his own country. Ibn Ra'iq offered to provide that amount, only as pay to Abu Tahir's men, and on condition that they should be enrolled by the Sultan, the money to be spent on them while they were to enter the Sultan's service. A series of negotiations and discussions ensued, in the course of which Abu Tahir went home, without having come to any settlement with Ibn Ra'iq. Ibn Ra'iq proceeded as far as Qasr Ibn Hubairah, and returned thence to Wasit. He made no further secret of his hostility to Baridi, and appointed ABU'L-FATH (368) AL-FADL B. JA'FAR vizier.

Account of the reason for this.

Ibn Ra'iq supposed that if he were to appoint al-Fadl b. Ja'far vizier, the latter would bring him the revenues due from Egypt and Syria. Al-Fadl therefore came from Syria, and Sulaiman b. Hasan¹ stayed at home. The robes of honour were sent out to the new vizier before his arrival in Baghdad, and reached him at Hit, where he put them on. Arriving at the capital, he confirmed Abu'l-Qasim Kalwadhi as president of the bureau of the Sawad, and appointed as his deputy in the capital ABU BAKR 'ABDALLAH B. 'ALI NIFFARI, husband of his sister. The Sultan wrote a letter which was despatched to the provincial governors announcing the appointment of al-Fadl as vizier.

Now when Ibn Ra'iq heard of the address delivered by Baridi to the people of Basrah, he was alarmed and vexed with Kufi, whom he had a mind to arrest, only Ibn Muqatil defended him. Then he thought he would deceive Baridi by writing him a letter. So he said to

¹ The former vizier.

Kufi: I have been informed that your chief has been addressing the people of Basrah in a style which I shall not notice, as very likely the matter has been exaggerated; but do you write to him as follows in my name: *That of which I disapprove is your reception of the Hujaris; either send them back, or expel them. If however they ask your permission to betake themselves to some region, then attach to them such of your commanders as you think fit, and despatch them to the Jabal. With regard to the force sent by you to Hisn Mahdi,¹ I am aware that, hearing of the arrival of the man from Hajar at Kufah, you sent it by way of precaution to assist the inhabitants against him, if required. There is now no need for their services; and their remaining in Hisn Mahdi when they are not wanted will bring suspicion upon you and enable your enemies to sow dissension between us. I am also informed that you have despatched your retainer Abu Ja'far Mohammed to Sus (369) (as he had actually done), bidding him make for Tib, and remain there; this was doubtless for fear lest I might be unable to cope with the Qarmatians, and that he might be at hand, should he be required for the defence of Wasit. I, when I came to Wasit, bade him retire, and he has returned to Ahwaz. For this I am grateful, and do you do likewise in the matter of Iqbal and the force which you have sent to Hisn. You may count on my loyalty.*—Kufi wrote all this, and the reply was that Baridi's original army would not be parted from the Hujaris, who were their kin, attached by ties of blood, marriage and nationality. He could not therefore expel the Hujaris at once. He would however separate them in course of time. There had been persistent rumours that when the Qarmatian left Kufah he had directed himself towards Basrah, whose people had demanded his (Baridi's) help. He had despatched this force out of concern for them, and it had already reached the place.

¹ See above, p. 374.

Now the moment Baridi had heard of the arrival of Ibn Ra'iq at Wasit, he had sent orders to the force which was at *Hisn Mahdi* to go to Basrah; and the force had entered that city after Baridi had despatched a considerable detachment of *Hujaris* to help them enter. MOHAMMED B. YAZDAD sent out against them two Turks of the Basrah garrison, MAKAN SUGHDI and TAKIN; in an engagement which took place at the Prince's Canal the Ra'iqites were routed; Mohammed b. Yazdad proceeded to reinforce them with regulars and with his personal retainers, and there was a second engagement at Kasraban, a parasang's distance from Ubullah; the Ra'iqites were again defeated, and Iqbal with the army of Baridi entered Basrah. Mohammed b. Yazdad, the representative of Ibn Ra'iq, opened the gate of Basrah and fled to Kufah by the land route. Makan, Takin, and the Ra'iqite river-troops found their way to Wasit in their vessels. Within a few days Ibn Ra'iq received news of the arrival of Baridi's retainer Iqbal with his followers in Basrah, and the reply to Kufi's letter. He despatched a messenger to Baridi with a message (370) half lure, half menace, containing promises and threats. Baridi's reply was to the effect that he could not withdraw his troops from Basrah, for the inhabitants had confidence in them, whereas they had been alienated by the ill-treatment which they had received from Ibn Yazdad during his residence there. The Qarmatian was hankering after the possession of the city; should he (Baridi) order his force to evacuate it, the Qarmatians were likely or even certain to be admitted in order that the people of Basrah might not have further dealings with Ibn Yazdad after they had openly taken part against him.

It is undoubtedly true that the people of Basrah were in the highest degree offended with Ibn Ra'iq and Mohammed b. Yazdad; for the latter had dealt with

them in the style of Sodom¹ and inflicted on them the grossest injustice and humiliation; they being accustomed to honourable treatment. They expected blessings from Baridi; but their experience of him and his two brothers made them wish they had "eaten their artichokes and carobs"² and been content to endure their treatment by Ibn Ra'iq and Mohammed b. Yazdad.

By the time of the messenger's return Ibn Ra'iq had already summoned BADR KHARSHANI, and bestowed on him various honours, such as imperial robes and a mount. They were at first in doubt whether they should despatch forces to Basrah or to Ahwaz; ultimately they decided to give Bachkam control of Ahwaz after a dialogue on that matter between Bachkam and Ibn Muqatil which we hope presently to record. Ibn Ra'iq bestowed on Bachkam the robe of honour for that office, and despatched him with Badr Kharshani to Ahwaz, sending with them IBN ABI 'ADNAN RASIBI as guide and helper. He further despatched his chamberlain FATIK, 'ABD AL-'AZIZ RA'IQI, Ahmad b. Nasr Qushuri, and BURGHUTH, bidding them remain in Jamidah, so that the army of Baridi might be caught "between the two rings of the belt."³

Bachkam hurried on without waiting for Badr Kharshani, and advanced till he reached Sus; Baridi despatched his retainer Mohammed, known as Abu Ja'far Jammal, at the head of ten thousand (371) men excellently equipped and armed for war. An engagement took place outside Sus, and though Bachkam had only two hundred and ninety Turkish retainers with him, the followers of Baridi were routed; it was the day on which Badr reached Tib. Bachkam stated that he had hurried forward and taken the risk of encountering such

¹ A proverbial phrase for injustice.

² A proverbial phrase, which probably refers to a humble diet.

³ Proverbial expression; see Dozy's *Ibn Badrun* 151, 3.

large numbers with his handful of men in order that Badr might have no share in his victory.

When Abu Ja'far Jammal returned to Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, the latter struck him on the face with his shoe, saying to him : What, have you with ten thousand men run away from three hundred slaves !—Abu Ja'far replied : You fancied you were fighting with the unlucky Yaqut and his unlucky troops. You have got against you in the cudgel of Bachkam and the Turks something very different from what you have been accustomed to in the Blacks from the gate of Oman and the homeborn.—Baridi stood up and cuffed him with his hand, and then said : I have despatched ABU'L-KHALIL the Dailemite and my Persian followers, both those who were with me and those who were left behind in Ahwaz, with three thousand men to Tustar ; and do you at once go thither with your followers to join them and renew the campaign.—He said : I will do so, only we shall return to you this time more shamefully routed than on the first occasion ; for the fear of Bachkam has taken possession of the minds of the whole army.

He started at once with three thousand men ; Bachkam meanwhile had advanced to the Tustar Canal, into which he and his retainers flung themselves, meaning to swim across ; there was little water ; their enemies fled without an engagement, and returned to Baridi. Baridi immediately departed with his two brothers ; they embarked in a barge accompanied by a vessel containing three hundred thousand dinars out of their treasury. This vessel sank in the Nahrawan, and their barge sank too ; they were rescued by divers, and some of the money was brought up for Bachkam. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi said : We have assuredly not escaped drowning for our merits, but for a stroke which God means to launch upon the world.—Abu Yusuf asked him whether he could not refrain from joking on such an occasion,

They finally arrived in Basrah. Bachkam entered Ahwaz, and wrote to Ibn Ra'iq announcing his victory.

(372) When Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, accompanied by his two brothers, reached Ubullah, he despatched his retainer Iqbal to Matara, while they remained in their barges. They prepared three vessels for flight to Oman from Ubullah, in the event of Iqbal being routed at Matara as Abu Ja'far had been at Sus. Abu 'Abdallah Baridi further sent ABU'L-HUSAIN IBN 'ABD AL-SALAM to support Iqbal. This time the Ra'iqites were defeated, and BURGHUTH was taken prisoner; he was brought to Baridi who released him. Baridi then wrote a letter to Ibn Ra'iq wherein he endeavoured to mollify him, and despatched it with Burghuth. The three Baridis then entered the official dwellings in Basrah, and made themselves comfortable; Bachkam was unable to leave Ahwaz owing to the want of rivercraft. The troops of BADR mutinied, in consequence of which Badr retired to Wasit. Bachkam remained master of Ahwaz.

When Ibn Ra'iq learned what had happened to his followers on the water, he despatched ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. KHAQAN and JUWAMARD RA'IQI by land to Madhar, to fight Baridi and expel his followers; and he sent Badr Kharshani to Basrah by water with a fleet of tarred boats, which he had built in Wasit. The Ra'iqites were routed at Madhar, where Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn Khaqan was taken prisoner; Juwamard returned to Wasit. Baridi treated Ibn Khaqan with kindness, and made him swear that he would not again fight nor take part against himself; he then released him.

When the news of this defeat reached Ibn Ra'iq, he moved personally by land from Wasit to Basrah, and wrote to Bachkam to join him at 'Askar Abi Ja'far. It so happened that Badr Kharshani went by water to 'Umar's Canal, and reaching Basrah seized the Kalla bank; while at the same time Baridi's retainer Iqbal,

having heard that Ibn Ra'iq had left Wasit, advanced to its boundaries. Ibn Ra'iq, learning of this, sent his chamberlain Fatik back to Wasit to guard the place.

When Badr Kharshani became master of Kalla, Abu 'Abdallah Baridi immediately fled to the island of Uwal,¹ while the troops in Basrah went out to resist Badr. They were joined (373) by an immense crowd from the populace, so that Badr was compelled to evacuate the Kalla bank, and went to the island that is opposite. Abu Yusuf Baridi went into hiding; his brother Abu'l-Husain mounted his horse and encouraged the army with the populace.

Bachkam joined Ibn Ra'iq at 'Askar Abi Ja'far the same day as Badr reached Kalla; in the afternoon the two crossed the Tigris of Basrah and entered Dubais's Canal. They were pursued by Ahmad b. Nasr Qushuri, but stones were flung at him, which sank his boat. Badr, Ibn Ra'iq and Bachkam assembled on the island. There they witnessed an extraordinary spectacle in the thronging of the people to oppose them. Bachkam said to Ibn Ra'iq: What can you have done to these people to make them come out in this way?—Ibn Ra'iq vowed that he did not know.

Bachkam and Ibn Ra'iq retired to 'Askar Abi Ja'far; and when it was night and the tide advanced, Badr retired thither too. Iqbal being informed how Badr had made his way by water from Jamidah to Basrah taking a different route from his, turned back, and on the afternoon of the second day reached the Kalla bank; thence he proceeded to the Ubullah bank, where he was between Ibn Ra'iq, Bachkam and Badr, and Ubullah. The war was now waged on the Tigris, and there was a lengthy engagement.

From the island of Uwal Abu 'Abdallah Baridi made his way to Fars, where he sought the protection of 'Ali

¹ Island off Bahrain.

b. Buwaihi, who despatched his brother ABU'L-HUSAIN AHMAD B. BUWAIHI to the conquest of Ahwaz. The news of this reaching Ibn Ra'iq and his followers, Ibn Ra'iq ordered Bachkam to hasten to (374) the defence of Ahwaz. Bachkam's reply was: I decline to fight the Dailemites and keep them out of Ahwaz, unless I be made minister of both war and *Kharaj* there. You are aware that when you gave Abu'l-'Abbas Khasibi control of Ahwaz, I declined to submit to him, and you dismissed him in consequence; shall I submit to the government of 'Ali b. Khalaf b. Tinab in a region on behalf of which I have to fight? ('Ali b. Khalaf was in Ahwaz by appointment of the vizier Abu'l-Fath).¹—So Ibn Ra'iq gave Bachkam the farming of Ahwaz and its dependencies for 130,000 dinars to be transmitted each year, Bachkam having to pay his troops and satisfy both himself and his retainers. Ibn Ra'iq further bestowed on Bachkam a fief to the value of fifty thousand dinars.

A month (or somewhat less) after the arrival of Bachkam at Ahwaz Ibn Ra'iq too quitted 'Askar Abi Ja'far and went to Ahwaz after burning what remained of his baggage; this was due to a disaster which had befallen him.

Account of the disaster which befell Ibn Ra'iq, causing him to burn his baggage and fly to Ahwaz.

TAHIR the Jilite² had come to Wasit to demand the protection of Ibn Ra'iq; not finding him there, he went after him to 'Askar Abi Ja'far, but received on his way a letter from his son and his slave-girl informing him that they had fallen into the power of Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, who was in Fars, and had welcomed Tahir's son and re-united him with the slave-girl.³ So Tahir the Jilite crossed at night with two hundred men, and sur-

¹ Cf. below, p. 384.

² Above, p. 374.

³ Probably his mother.

prised Ibn Ra'iq with Badr Kharshani ; he was assisted by all Baridi's followers in their fleet, and thereupon Badr took to flight in the direction of Wasit, whereas Ibn Ra'iq betook himself to Ahwaz, where he was honourably received by Bachkam, who ministered to him. Bachkam was indeed advised to arrest him, but did not do so. Ibn Ra'iq remained there some days, till he was joined by his retainer Fatik from Wasit. He then went to Wasit, leaving Bachkam in Ahwaz.

The story of the dialogue between Bachkam and Ibn Muqatil which we promised to record is the following ; the authority for it is THABIT B. SINAN, who had it from his father Sinan.

(375) *A story about Bachkam indicating astuteness, far-sightedness and highmindedness.*

I was told, he says, by my father that in the course of a conversation which took place between him and Bachkam after the latter had become master of the metropolis and extinguished Ibn Ra'iq, Bachkam said to him : When an emergency overtakes a king, all his money and other possessions should be more worthless than dust in his eyes and he should fling away the whole, as I fling this pebble, on that object whereby he believes that he will free himself from the danger. For if his power be established, he will be able to replace what he has sacrificed many times ; whereas if he stint, be miserly, and be afraid to let go what he possesses, he loses what he stints, and his own life besides. I remember how when Ibn Ra'iq made me governor of Ahwaz, without consulting Ibn Muqatil or obtaining his approval, the latter when he heard of it, was exceedingly vexed, and hurrying to Ibn Ra'iq said to him : What are you doing ? Have you really decided to make Bachkam governor of Ahwaz ?—Ibn Ra'iq replied in the affirmative.—Ibn Muqatil said : You are damaging yourself most seriously. You are no match for the

Baridis, who are clerks, wearers of *durra'ahs*; you cannot remove them from their offices or withdraw the rule from their hands. And do you now bestow upon a Turkish swordsman, who has been your follower but a short time, such a government as that of Ahwaz? What will happen is that when Ahwaz comes into his power, and he sees its magnificence, beauty and wealth, and the army which comes under his command there, he will be tempted to make himself independent ruler of the region; then he will not be satisfied with Ahwaz, but will want other territories, nor will his ambition let him rest till he disputes your government with you, and expels you from your post to install himself there; in order to be secure of his acquisitions, and to have no one to dispute them with him. Your present anxiety is to wrest the region from the hands of Baridi; if you make Bachkam governor, you had better remove that anxiety, and put Ahwaz out of your mind, directing your energies to the preservation of other regions, and may you succeed in preserving them! You had better also be looking after your life, which you are exposing to danger.—This discourse discouraged (376) Ibn Ra'iq and caused him to alter his intentions with regard to myself. And I am free to confess that Ibn Muqatil's advice was sincere and sound.

I was told what had taken place, and I was in a terrible state of mind. I feared I was going to miss that sovereignty on which I had set my mind. In my anxiety I consulted MOHAMMED B. YANAL the interpreter, but he had no suggestion to offer, and began to solace me by telling me that I was in the enjoyment of comfort and luxury, and that I counted as a brother to the monarch.—You are a fool, I answered; go and see that a *sumairiyyah*¹ is ready for me to-night—I had made up my mind to visit Ibn Muqatil, knowing him to be a tradesman of low origin, and mean mind, and that coin

¹ Some sort of rivercraft.

has a wonderful effect on such people's minds. So when it was night and people were asleep, I took with me ten thousand dinars, and embarked in the *sumairiyyah*, taking with me Mohammed b. Yanal only, and no slave. Arriving at Ibn Muqatil's door I found it locked. I knocked. The porter from behind the door informed me that his master was asleep, and that the doors between us were locked.—I bade the porter knock at his master's door and wake him, as I had come on important business.—He did so, and when I entered the room I found Ibn Muqatil had left his bed in alarm at my calling at such a time. He asked me, What is the news? Something good, I said; it is a proposal which I wanted to make to you in private; so I waited till people were asleep, and the passage clear. I have brought no-one but the interpreter, and had I not required him to interpret for us I should not have brought him or let him know what I mean to say to you.—He bade me say what I wanted to say.—I said: You are aware what were the Prince's intentions with regard to myself, viz. to make me governor of Ahwaz, and I am now told that he has withdrawn from that course. I know of no reason why he should withdraw, and his rejection of the plan after it has been noised abroad is a humiliation and an affront to me; no-one will doubt that it is due to suspicion of me. I have been the recipient of your favour and his, and am your creature; if I do not make my fortune in your days when shall I make it? And what honour shall I have (377) in men's eyes? Here are ten thousand dinars which I have brought for your treasury. I know that Ibn Ra'iq will accept your advice, and I want you to advise him to carry out his original plan.—When Ibn Muqatil saw the dinars, he was aghast, and said: Leave me and go away under the protection of God.—So I left the dinars before him, and went off, feeling confident that Ahwaz would be mine. After three days Ibn Muqatil visited Ibn Ra'iq

and said to him : The advice that I gave you was on the spur of the moment and after superficial consideration ; on further reflexion I find that you were in the right, since, if you leave Ahwaz in the hands of Baridi and his brothers, after the wealth which they have acquired, they will increase in power and ambition every day, and stretch out their hands to other territories and provinces of your empire ; by their liberal offers and gifts they will corrupt your army, and are even likely, as the next step, to dispute your place. If you advance against them yourself, that is war, and you do not know how it will go ; if it goes against you, you will never repair your fortunes. If you send any one but Bachkam against them, he will prove incompetent, and suffer defeat, and that will break your followers' hearts. It is then better that you should send against them a commander like Bachkam whom they are unwilling to meet in the field. If he takes possession of the place, he will annihilate them, and you will still be master of the situation ; if you wish, you can confirm him in office, but if you prefer, you can dismiss him before he becomes powerful, collects forces and aspires to what you dislike. Ask God's blessing and carry out your plan.—Ibn Ra'iq accepted this counsel, ratified my appointment and invested me with the government. Nor do I think the sum a high price for the governorship of Ahwaz.—Thus Ibn Muqatil sold himself, his master, and his fortune for ten thousand dinars ; I got in exchange many times the number, and the empire of Ibn Ra'iq too.

Account of the proceedings of Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi and Abu 'Abdallah Baridi when they advanced to Ahwaz with the view of fighting Bachkam in the year 326.

(378) YEAR 326.

We have recounted the proceedings of Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, how he went to the court of 'Ali b. Buwaihi,¹

¹ P. 373.

and how the latter commanded his brother Aḥmad b. Buwaihi to proceed with him to Ahwaz.¹ Abu 'Abdallah Baridi left as hostages with 'Ali b. Buwaihi his two sons ABU'L-HASAN MOHAMMED and ABU JA'FAR FAYYAD, and proceeded with the prince Abu'l-Husain Aḥmad b. Buwaihi to Ahwaz. When the news of the prince's arrival at Arrajan reached Bachkam, he advanced to give him battle, but was routed. The most serious cause of his defeat was that there was continuous rain for many days, and the bows were spoiled; this prevented the Turks from discharging their arrows against the enemy, so Bachkam retreated and abode in Ahwaz. He destroyed the bridge of Arbaq,² and sent MOHAMMED B. YANAL the Interpreter to 'Askar Mukram. There was an engagement for thirteen days between him and Aḥmad b. Buwaihi; then the latter with five of his staff crossed in a *sumairiyyah* to the wharf called Mashra'at al-Habbas. They routed the soldiers who had been posted there, and Aḥmad b. Buwaihi kept on bringing troops across till he had got three hundred men on the Western bank. They then sounded their trumpet and shouted their war-cry; thereat the Interpreter took to flight and made for Tustar. Bachkam, hearing of this, crossed the Tigris of Ahwaz, and arrested the notables there (in Tustar), among them IBN ABI 'ALLAN and ABU ZAKARIYYA of SUS. He took them all with him, joined the Interpreter at Sus, and proceeded with his whole force to Wasit.

When he had got to Tib, he wrote to Ibn Ra'iq, telling him what had occurred, how he with his men was in dire straits, having no money left; the men were sure to assume a high tone with him; if Ibn Ra'iq had 200,000 dinars which he could spend upon them, as they were poor, the right course would be for Ibn Ra'iq to stay at Wasit; but if they could not be provided, then

¹ P. 357. ² Compare p. 301.

he had best go up the river to Baghdad, for there was likely to be a mutiny and he could not say what would be the result.—(379) Ibn Ra'iq was alarmed by this state of affairs, and hastened to depart with his whole force for Baghdad.

Bachkam and his followers now entered Wasit and took up their quarters there. The former put the people of Ahwaz in custody and demanded of them fifty thousand dinars. ABU ZAKARIYYA YAHYA B. SA'ID states that he wanted to sound Bachkam's mind for ambitions with regard to 'Iraq, and so sent him the following message: *Prince, you are a candidate for sovereignty and aspire to the service of the Caliphate. Do you imprison ruined men who have been despoiled of their fortunes and demand money of them in a strange town, ordering them to be tortured? Only yesterday a plate containing hot coals was placed on the stomach of SAHL B. NAZIR the Collector. Do not you know that when people hear of this, they will be set against you and it will provoke the animosity and the active hostility of those who do not as yet know your name or anything else about you, not to mention those who have realized this conduct of yours? Do not you remember how but yesterday you found fault with the Prince Ibn Ra'iq for having offended the people of Basrah; and the populace of Baghdad is many times more numerous. You think of reproducing in our case the treatment by Mardawij of the people of the Jabal; remember that this is Baghdad, the seat of the Caliphate, not Rayy or Ispahan, and it will not put up with such behaviour.*—When Bachkam heard this message, he melted and ordered the fetters to be removed, and put a stop to the extortion. Ibn Ra'iq, Ibn Muqatil and Kufi interceded for Yahya b. Sa'id of Sus, and he was released by Bachkam, who attached him to himself in consideration of his intellectual ability and his general popularity, which struck Bachkam; Yahya b. Sa'id then interceded for the rest, and Bachkam accepted sureties for them and released them.

When 'Ali b. Buwaihi learned of the arrival of *Tahir* the *Jilite* in *Basrah*,¹ against whom he harboured resentment for his treatment of himself in *Arrajan*,² he wrote to his brother *Abu'l-Husain* bidding him demand of *Abu 'Abdallah Baridi* the surrender of *Tahir* the *Jilite*, whom he was to arrest ; this was done and the man was sent to *Fars*.

When the Interpreter had been routed, *Aḥmad b. Buwaihi* crossed to the Western side of 'Askar Mukram, and established himself on the bank of the *Masruqan* in the company of *Abu 'Abdallah Baridi* until he had finished the upper bridge there ; the following day he brought the rest of his army across. His scouts returned to him from *Suq al-Ahwaz* with the news that no-one remained there ; so (380) *Baridi* went into a house on the bank of the *Masruqan Canal*, where he was visited by the whole population of *Ahwaz*, who came to congratulate him and wish him well. He was suffering from a quartan fever, and among his visitors was *YUHANNA* the Physician who was distinguished in his profession. *Baridi* said to him : *Abu Zakariyya*, do not you see my state ?—*Yuhanna* said to him : Mix (meaning his foods, in order to get rid of the humours).—*Baridi* replied : Think how much mixing I have done ! I have stirred up the whole region between *Fars* and the metropolis. Perhaps that will satisfy you ; otherwise I will turn over to the other side, and stir up as far as *Khorasan*.

On the fifth day *Aḥmad b. Buwaihi* moved to *Ahwaz*, leaving three captains in 'Askar Mukram. *Abu 'Abdallah Baridi* remained with him thirty-five days, and then fled by water to *Basiyan*, where he took up his quarters, and wrote long and verbose remonstrances to *Aḥmad b. Buwaihi* with the view of defending his line of conduct. He did not dislike remaining with *Aḥmad*

b. Buwaihi owing to any financial stress, for he had handed over to ABU 'ALI, the inspector of troops, guarantees and bonds to produce five million dirhems in the space of two months, of which a considerable amount was realized by the time of his flight.

Account of the reason for Baridi's flight.

He was required to bring his army from Basrah to be despatched to Ispahan, there to join the prince Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Buwaihi who was warring against Washmagir. He brought up four thousand men; then he told the prince Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi that if they remained in Ahwaz, serious strife would arise between them and the Dailemites; the best plan, he said, is that they should proceed to Sus with my chamberlain Mohammed called Jammal; I will assign for their pay part of the revenue of Sus and of Jundaisabur, and when they have received it they should proceed by way of Bunyan to Ispahan.—Ahmad b. Buwaihi assented to this proposal, and then demanded that Baridi should bring his naval forces to Hisn Mahdi, where he might review them, and after inspection despatch them by water to Wasit, while he, Ahmad b. Buwaihi, proceeded with his Dailemites thither by land.—This proposal alarmed (381) Baridi exceedingly, for he supposed that Ahmad b. Buwaihi meant to part him from his army. He said: This is just what I did with Yaqut¹; I took away his men and then destroyed him. Had I only my own mind to instruct me, my insight would be sufficient in this case; God help us!—Further the Dailemites were in the habit of treating him with contempt; they insulted him when he rode, and forced him to get up when he was suffering from fever. He experienced on their part treatment to which he was unaccustomed. High honour was indeed paid to him by the prince Abu'l-Husain and Abu 'Ali the inspector; the rest displayed towards him the utmost contempt.

¹ Above, p. 343.

When he determined upon flight, the morning that followed the night whereon he started he sent a letter wherein he informed his retainer Abu Ja'far Jammal of his plan, and ordered him to proceed to Basiyan and thence to Nahr Tira, then to Badhaward and Basrah. His plan was carried out with success, and his troops reached Basrah in excellent condition. Messages went on being interchanged between him and Ahmad b. Buwaihi wherein it was proposed that the latter should evacuate the capital of Ahwaz, that Baridi might go thither and carry out his undertaking to farm Ahwaz and Basrah for the prince 'Ali b. Buwaihi, paying eighteen million dirhems for each financial year ; and the prince Ahmad b. Buwaihi, fearing lest the flight of Baridi should provoke the displeasure of his brother 'Ali b. Buwaihi, accepted this demand. He moved his forces to 'Askar Mukram and established himself there outside Darabaz ; he then wrote to Baridi announcing his evacuation of Ahwaz ; Baridi moved from Basiyan to Banatadhar, sending a representative to Suq al-Ahwaz. He then wrote to the prince that he could not without anxiety live in a place which was only 8 parasangs away from the prince, as he could not feel sure that the latter would not surprise him by night ; he demanded that the prince should remove to Sus, so that they might not be neighbours. Messages were interchanged, being conveyed by the qadi Abu'l-Qasim Tanukhi and the inspector Abu 'Ali. Finally it was decided that Baridi should send him thirty thousand dinars for the expenses of the move ; and Baridi sent back the slaves of the two envoys with (382) a slave of his own carrying fourteen thousand dinars, while he wrote that he would make up the thirty thousand dinars in Sus.

There gathered together DILAN, army secretary to the prince Ahmad b. Buwaihi, ABU JA'FAR SAIMARI, a dependent of Dilan, and ABU'L-HASAN MAFARUKHI, who governed 'Askar Mukram for the prince, a reckless

man who took money from any source that appeared, and they made a joint representation to the prince Abu'l-Husain to the effect that Baridi was pursuing in his case the same line as he had followed with Yaqut. He begins, they said, by removing you to Sus, and stinting you so that he may get your troops to desert. His next step will be to seize the bridges. Ahwaz is separated from 'Askar Mukram and Tustar and these from Sus by branches of the Tigris. He means, if he can, to get you into his clutches.—The prince Abu'l-Husain was horrified by this, and declined to leave 'Askar Mukram, alleging that it lay on the high road to Fars, and that he ought not to remove so far from the Great Prince¹ as to be separated from him first by the Tigris, then by the Masruqan. Baridi, learning of this, refused to let the Inspector and Tanukhi return. There was now pronounced hostility between the two (Aḥmad b. Buwaihi and Baridi).

When news of these proceedings reached Bachkam, he despatched one of his captains named BALABA with a force of two thousand men, Kurds, Arabs, non-descripts, regulars, and home-born troops, to Sus and Jundaisabur with the intention of seizing them; with him there was a clerk named FAYYADI. Baridi remained in Banatadhar having control of the lower parts of Ahwaz; the Makhladites² got possession of Tustar: so the prince Aḥmad b. Buwaihi remained in possession of 'Askar Mukram only among the dependencies of Ahwaz, and there of the capital only. For ABU MOHAMMED MUHALLABI,³ at this time steward to Abu Zakariyya of Sus,⁴ had cut down the bridges, and seized

¹ 'Ali b. Buwaihi of Shiraz.

² The author has not explained this name. There was at this time a notorious revolutionary in Africa, named Abu Yazid Makhlad "the man of the ass," who started his career in 316; it is surprising if he had followers so far East as Tustar.

³ The first mention of this eminent man, who afterwards became vizier to Aḥmad b. Buwaihi.

⁴ He was at this time acting for Bachkam,

Hamidiyyah and *Maskul*, killing an agent who was there with the help of the Arabs and the infantry whom he had enlisted. Hence the situation wherein *Aḥmad b. Buwaihi* found himself was extremely grave ; his troops became disorderly and deserted in a body, with the idea of returning to *Fars*. The prince was however supported by *ISPAHDOST* and (383) *MUSA FAYADHAH*, who mollified and brought them back, undertaking to satisfy their demands after a month. *Aḥmad b. Buwaihi* wrote to his brother to explain the situation, and the latter despatched one of his officers, who had been in charge of his camels, and was of high rank, a man of energy and courage, possessing his master's confidence, named *BULL*, with a force of three hundred *Dailemites*, and bringing half a million dirhems. With him there came *Kur-depir*, who was summoned by the prince *Abu'l-Husain*, having been the prince's vizier in *Kirman*.¹ When *Kur-depir* arrived he was immediately appointed secretary to the prince and received a robe of honour. *Abu 'Ali* the Inspector was detained at *Banatadhar* in the power of *Baridi*, and was suspected by his master of conniving at all that *Baridi* had done from first to last. The prince (*Abu'l-Husain Aḥmad*) disliked him, and he had been attached to the service of the prince by the latter's brother *'Ali b. Buwaihi* only because *'Ali b. Buwaihi* had seen him vizier to *Makan* the *Dailemite*, and had a high opinion of him ; further *Bachkam* had been his slave, presented by him to *Makan* at the latter's request.

It had then been settled that *BULL* should be despatched to *Sus* with five hundred men, accompanied by *ABU JA'FAR SAIMARI* to be governor of the place, while *MUSA FAYADHAH* should be sent to *Banatadhar* with three hundred men. *Balaba* fled so soon as he heard of *Bull*, and *Baridi* fled to *Basrah*. *Musa Fayadhah* proceeded to *Hisn Mahdi* of which he took posses-

¹ Above, p. 354.

sion. This was a dependency of Basrah, and the lower parts of the dependencies were now behind him. The prince Abu'l-Husain Ahmad entered Suq al-Ahwaz, established himself in the residence of Abu 'Abdallah Baridi, and got his affairs in order. Baridi arrived in Basrah, which was loyal to him and his brothers. Bachkam was established in Wasit, in conflict with the monarch in Baghdad. Ibn Ra'iq had recalled his forces and remained in the capital.

When the vizier Abu'l-Fath perceived the confusion of affairs, and what this state of things presaged, he held before Ibn Ra'iq the hope that he would be able to transmit to him the revenue from Egypt and Syria, and support him therewith; only he assured him that this would be impossible so long as he was away from those regions. Ibn Ra'iq therefore instructed him to depart, (384) but allied the vizier's family to his own by giving his daughter to the vizier's son ABU'L-QASIM, and he also allied his family to that of IBN TUGHJ. The vizier left hurriedly for Syria by the Euphrates route. Ibn Ra'iq now gave the ministries of *kharaj* and Estates in the districts of Ahwaz to 'Ali b. Khalaf b. Tinab, and instructed him to depart to his province, and to begin by courteous approaches to Abu'l-Husain Bachkam, trying to induce the latter to make war jointly with him upon the prince Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi, and expel the prince from Ahwaz; he was to arrange with Bachkam that the troops of the latter should number five thousand, and that his pay with theirs should be 800,000 dinars a year to be taken out of the revenue of Wasit, if Bachkam stayed there and did not proceed to Ahwaz; but if he should advance thither and take the region, then the pay should be 1,300,000 dinars a year to be got from the revenue of Ahwaz.

When 'Ali b. Khalaf reached Wasit and interviewed Bachkam, the latter thought fit to appoint 'Ali secretary, and 'Ali thought fit to accept the post. He received a

robe of honour, remained in Wasit and took the whole of its revenue.

ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. YAHYA B. SHIRZAD now successfully negotiated peace between Ibn Ra'iq and the Baridis, and Ibn Ra'iq procured from Radi an autograph letter of reconciliation; a robe of honour was cut for them on condition that they should maintain the sovereignty of Ibn Ra'iq in Basrah and endeavour to reconquer Ahwaz. They further guaranteed to transmit 30,000 dinars. The embargo was removed from their lands, and a letter on this subject was written in Radi's name.

News came of an expedition of Baridi's army to Wasit, where Bachkam sallied out against him, and defeated him in the region of Darmakan. Ibn Ra'iq held a reception in his palace in Baghdad to receive congratulations on this affair. Bachkam remained for a time on the battlefield, then at Madhar, and then returned (385) to Wasit.

It was Bachkam's intention to humiliate the Baridis and withdraw them from Ibn Ra'iq's side. He was himself bent on the capital. The day after the rout he sent 'ALI B. YA'QUB, secretary to the Interpreter, formerly charged with parading troops before him, to Baridi to make his excuses for what had occurred, and to say: *You commenced by corresponding with Ibn Ra'iq, and putting yourself in my way; and this is your second exploit: for you brought the Dailemites into Ahwaz; and you have now followed this up by sending to Ibn Ra'iq and offering to support him against me. Still I forgive you, and am prepared to enter with you into a treaty and covenant whereby I pledge myself to make you governor of Wasit when I get possession of the capital.* There was also talk of a matrimonial alliance.

'Ali b. Ya'qub (the agent sent by Bachkam on this occasion) said: I saw Abu 'Abdallah Baridi prostrate

himself in thankfulness to God Almighty for these approaches from Bachkam ; he consented to all Bachkam's requirements and all my demands. Summoning the two qadis ABU'L-QASIM TANUKHI and ABU'L-QASIM IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHAB, he swore in their presence and with their attestation to his autograph that he would faithfully perform all that I had arranged with him. Giving me a gratuity of three thousand dinars, he said to me : I will transmit money to him, and treat him with all consideration that he may know that I am suited to serve him.—Returning to Bachkam I informed him of what had taken place. He said : Abu'l-Qasim, was his *calotte* upon his head ?—I said : Prince, what does this mean ? How came you to ask me about it ?—He said : I had seen it, so tell me.—I said : Yes, I saw it.—O Abu'l-Qasim, he exclaimed, it was on the head of a demon, not of a human being.—Prince, I replied, you have never seen the man, so how can you say this ?—Oh yes, he said, I have seen him ; it was on the day of our battle at Arrajan.¹ He had put a turban over his *calotte*, and I thought I would send an arrow at him, but he perceived (386) my intention, having glanced towards me from a distance, took off his turban and *calotte*, and after putting them on the head of some one else, retired, leaving that substitute in his place. I said to myself “ That poor wretch is innocent, and he, God curse him, has escaped.” He is false in everything that he utters and to every oath which he takes. Only we must put up with him because we need to do so.—Bachkam having returned to Wasit began to scheme against IbnRa'iq.

This year first the hand and then the tongue of ABU 'ALI IBN MUQLAH were amputated.

Account of the reason for this.

When Ibn Ra'iq assumed the administration of the empire, he seized the lands of Ibn Muqlah and his son ;

¹ See above, p. 378.

and when he came to the capital, Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqlah interviewed him, and Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. 'Ali Nubakhti, and afterwards¹ Abu 'Abdallah Kufi and Abu Bakr Ibn Muqatil. They felt ashamed before him, and he humbled himself before them all, requesting the restoration of the estate which had been seized. He received a promise that it should be restored, but the carrying out of the promise was constantly delayed. Ibn Muqlah, finding the delay continue, and that the promise was not realized, began scheming against Ibn Ra'iq in all directions.

He wrote to Bachkam, suggesting to him hopes of the metropolis and of Ibn Ra'iq's place, and sent a similar letter to Washmagir in Rayy. He wrote to Radi, advising him to arrest Ibn Ra'iq and his dependents, and undertaking, if this were done, to obtain a million dinars from his estate and pay them into the treasury. He further advised that Bachkam should be summoned and installed in Ibn Ra'iq's place, as being more loyal. His correspondence with Radi was carried on through 'ALI B. HARUN son of the Astrologer, Caliph's messmate ; Radi encouraged Ibn Muqlah, who wrote to inform Bachkam that the Caliph had assented to his plan, which was ready for execution ; he therefore urged Bachkam to make haste.

When Ibn Muqlah felt sure of Radi, he received instructions from the latter to sail to him secretly, and stay (387) in his Palace until the plot against Ibn Ra'iq should be achieved. So he sailed from his house in Suq al-'Atash in a *sumairiyyah*, wearing a *tailasan* and shoes, and proceeded to the Bustan Gate in the Azaj quarter ; he embarked in his *sumairiyyah* on the night of Monday—I Ramadan (July 30, 938), having selected that night

¹ i.e., after his fall, as recorded above, p. 362.

because the moon was "under the Rays",¹ and such a night is eligible for secret plans. But when he had got to the Palace, no audience was given him by Raḍi; the Caliph had him confined in a cell, and the next day sent Ibn Sanjala to inform Ibn Ra'iḳ of what had occurred, and to tell him how the Caliph had schemed to get Ibn Muqlah into his power. A series of messages were then interchanged between Raḍi and Ibn Ra'iḳ, and on Thursday 14 Shawwal (Aug. 14, 938)² Raḍi made the affair of Ibn Muqlah public. He was produced; there were present Ibn Ra'iḳ's chamberlain FATIK, and a number of officers; Ibn Muqlah's right hand was cut off, and he was then taken back to his prison. Fatik went off to tell Ibn Ra'iḳ how he had witnessed the amputation of Ibn Muqlah's hand.

THABIT narrates: At the end of that day I was summoned by Raḍi, who bade me go and treat the wound. I went and found Ibn Muqlah in a locked cell. A slave opened the door, and I entered. I found him in a terrible plight. When he saw me tears came to his eyes; I found his fore-arm dreadfully swollen, with a coarse blue Kardawani³ rag tied round it with hempen cord. Undoing the cord, and removing the rag, I found beneath it, where the hand had been severed, a layer of horse-dung, which I shook off. The top of the fore-arm below the amputation was found to be tied with hempen cord, which owing to the swelling had sunk into the arm, which was beginning to blacken. I told him that the cord must be undone and that in lieu of the dung camphor must be applied and that his arm must be anointed with sandal, rose-water and camphor. He

¹ According to the Mafatih this means its "being with the sun before the *ih̄tiraq* or after it"; the *ih̄tiraq* means that there should be a conjunction between the sun and a star, with more than the minutes of *tasmim* between them; and *tasmim* means a distance between them of sixteen minutes or less.

² According to Wüstenfeld a Tuesday.

³ A place named Kardaban is mentioned as belonging to Darabjird, which may be the source of this ware.

told me to proceed. The slave however who had come in with me bade me wait till he had got his master's leave. He went to solicit it, and presently came out bringing a box of camphor, and said to me : His majesty gives you leave (388) to do what you think fit, to deal gently with him, and attend him, giving his case the preference, till God restores him to health.—So I undid the cord, emptied the box on the wound, and anointed his arm ; he revived, was eased, and the palpitation calmed down. I did not leave him till he had taken a little chicken, after which he declared that he could swallow no more. He drank some cold water, and seemed refreshed ; I then went away. I went to see him many days till he was restored to health. When I entered, he would ask me for news of his son Abu'l-Husain, and when I told him that he was safe in hiding, that would cheer him ; he would then mourn and lament over his hand, saying: With that hand I served the Caliphate, three times minister to three Caliphs ; and with it I have twice copied the Qur'an. And now it is cut off like the hand of a thief ! Do you remember telling me that I was undergoing my last reverse and that deliverance was near ?—I said : Certainly, and now you may well expect deliverance ; for you have undergone what has never befallen one of your rank, so this is the culmination of adversity, and after culmination there can only come reduction.—He said : Don't ! Calamity has taken hold of me as hectic fever seizes hold of the limbs ; it will never leave me till it brings me to my death. Then he quoted the verse :

If part of thee expire, then shed a tear
On what remains ; for part to part is near.

His words turned out to be true.

(389) Among the extraordinary features of his case it may be mentioned that after the amputation of his hand he kept sending messages from his prison to Radi, holding out hopes of supplying him with money, and suggesting that he should be made vizier ; the amputa-

tion of his hand would not, he asserted, stand in the way of his being appointed to that office, (390) for he could find some expedient which would enable him to write. And indeed letters by him were produced written after his hand had been amputated but before his close confinement, which he was supposed to have written by attaching a pen to his right fore-arm.

(391) When Bachkam approached Baghdad he was removed from his first prison to a darker place, and nothing more was heard of him. I (says Thabit) was not allowed to visit him.

Then his tongue was cut out, and he remained in prison for a long time after that; then he had an attack of diarrhoea, and had no-one (392) to attend him or minister to him; indeed I am informed that he had to draw water out of the well for himself with his left hand or with his mouth; he suffered such agony that he died. He was buried in the Palace; but presently (393) at the request of his family he was exhumed and delivered to them.

This year Bachkam entered 'Iraq (*i.e.*, Baghdad), interviewed the Caliph, and was invested by him with the office of Prince of princes in lieu of Mohammed b. Ra'iq.

(394) *Account of this proceeding.*

Bachkam commenced his advance from Wasit to the capital in defiance of Ibn Ra'iq, removed his name from his standards and shields, and ceased to call himself after him; previously he used to write upon them *Bachkam Ra'iqi*.¹ Ibn Ra'iq began to make arrangements for armed resistance to him; his first idea was to entrench himself in the Palace; but afterwards he decided to go out to the Diyala, into which he opened a channel from the Nahrawan in order to increase (395) the water,

¹ *i.e.*, Freedman of Ra'iq.

and prevent its falling ; he destroyed the bridge over it, so that it should serve as a trench. Ibn Ra'iq demanded that Radi should write a letter to Bachkam commanding him to return to Wasit ; the letter was written and delivered to Ibn Ra'iq, who despatched it to Bachkam by IBN SARKHAB, one of his vice-chamberlains. Bachkam read it, but paid no attention to it, and continued his advance to Baghdad. He with his army reached the Diyala Canal, which some of his followers swam across ; Ibn Ra'iq fled in disorder to 'Ukbara, his forces were dispersed, and Abu 'Abdallah Ahmad b. 'Ali Kufi and Abu Bakr Ibn Muqatil both went into hiding. Bachkam entered the capital on Monday (396) 12 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sep. 10, 938), had an audience of Radi, and was received by him with honour. The Caliph exalted his rank and bestowed on him robes of honour, in which he returned to his camp at the Diyala, where he stayed Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. He sent an expedition in pursuit of Ibn Ra'iq, and wrote to Ibn Ra'iq's army in the name of Radi, bidding them abandon him and return to the capital. That army in consequence dispersed, and Ibn Ra'iq returned secretly to Baghdad, where he hid. On Thursday the middle of Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sep. 13, 938) a second robe of honour was bestowed by Radi on Bachkam, and he went off to the palace of Mu'nis in the Tuesday Bazaar, which had been the residence of Ibn Ra'iq ; and on Thursday—8 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sep. 20, 938) a third robe of honour was bestowed by Radi on Bachkam ; the Caliph tied a banner for him and appointed him Prince of princes.

The duration of Ibn Ra'iq's Emirate had been a year, ten months and a fraction of a month.

On Friday—7 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sep. 21) Radi sent Bachkam a messmate's robes, called him by his *kunya*, and together with the robes sent liquor, perfume and greetings. Thus his title was complete.

(397) *A story about Bachkam illustrating his astuteness and ingenuity.*

The following was narrated by ABU ZAKARIYYA YAHYA B. SA'ID of Sus. When I acted as messenger between Bachkam and Ibn Ra'iq,¹ I advised the former not to declare war against the latter ; and when Bachkam asked me the reason why I gave this advice, I replied : Because Baghdad is in his power, he has the Caliph with him, he is prince, his army is large, and the provinces with their revenues are in his hands. The cash at your disposal is small, and the numbers of your followers few.—He said : As for the numbers of his followers, they are an empty nutshell, which I have cracked and whence I have extracted the kernel ; I care not whether they are many or few. The fact of the Caliph being with him will not hurt me in my followers' eyes. As for your notion that I have little money, the case is not as you suppose. I have paid my followers what is their due, and not one of them has a claim upon me ; and my coffers contain a sum on which I can fall back, and how much do you suppose it is ?—I told him I did not know. He said : (398) Well, make a suggestion.—I suggested a hundred thousand dirhems.—He said : God forgive you ! I have fifty thousand dinars which I do not require.—I said : You know best what your choice should be.—When Ibn Ra'iq fled, and Bachkam had become monarch, he said to me one day : Do you remember how once I told you I had plenty of money, and you guessed the amount at a hundred thousand dirhems, whereas I told you that it was fifty thousand dinars ?—I do, I said.—He said : Do you know how much I had in reality ?—I said No.—Fifty thousand dirhems, he said.—This shows, I retorted, that you had no confidence in me, and would not tell me the truth.—Not at all, he said : only you were my representative and my envoy, and I did not want you

to know how small it was in reality, lest the knowledge should weaken your nerve, and that should weaken your tone, and the hopes of my adversary in consequence be roused. I wanted you to go to him with a stout heart, and talk to him in a style which should make his heart palpitate and his courage fail.

This year LASHKARI B. MARDI got possession of Adharbaijan ; this is not the same Lashkari whose story has already been told ¹ ; but a more eminent man and of higher rank, a follower of Mardawij, who was his deputy over the Jabal provinces. Collecting money in large quantities and men, he abandoned his master and proceeded to Adharbaijan to take possession of the province. DAISAM B. IBRAHIM was in power there at the time, and he collected a vast army of Kurds and other races. After depositing his goods in some region, he advanced to meet Lashkari, twice gave him battle within the space of two months, and was defeated on both occasions. Lashkari obtained possession of his country with the exception of Ardabil, whose inhabitants are brave and hardy, bearers of arms ; their city, which is the capital of Adharbaijan and the seat of the government, is fortified with a wall. Lashkari sent envoys to them, making courteous speeches and fair promises, but they rejected his advances, having heard reports of the Jil and the various tortures which they had inflicted on the people of Hamadhan and other places. So the place was besieged by Lashkari, and there was a protracted war between the parties ; ultimately (399) some of his followers found a place in the wall where they could mount, while a number of places in it were dug through. They opened the gate, and the troops of Lashkari were able to enter the town, when they were overtaken by night.

¹ Above, pp. 212, 213 ; and *cf.* 277.

Account of an imprudent act on the part of Lashkari following upon this situation and resulting in his being routed and most of his followers being slain.

When Lashkari had got Ardabil in his grasp, feeling sure of his conquest, he was afraid the town might be plundered and the property be lost to him and his followers. He decided therefore to return to his camp which was at a distance of a mile from the town, spend the night there, and enter next morning by daylight. When he did this, the people of the town hastily repaired the breach, stopped up the holes, locked the gates, and renewed the war. Lashkari was astounded, and perceived the mistake which he had made, when he had neither entered the city by night nor left guards at the breaches. His officers bitterly reproached him with incompetence, and he could do nothing but confess that he had blundered. The inhabitants of the city speedily sent messengers to Daisam, explaining the situation, and advising him to come quickly on a day to be appointed by him when they might make a sortie against Lashkari, and Daisam might simultaneously fall upon his rear. This stratagem succeeded. On that day Daisam advanced with vast hordes of Su'luks¹ and Kurds, while the inhabitants made a sortie in Dailemite guise, with shields and lances; there were some ten thousand of them. Lashkari gave them battle; then Daisam appeared and charged his rear; Lashkari was disgracefully routed and vast numbers of his followers were slaughtered. Lashkari moved off in the direction of Muqan, defeated and despoiled without horses or arms. The Ispahbad of Muqan, named IBN DALULAH came out to meet him, and entertained him and his officers. Lashkari expressed his gratitude, and requested him to furnish hospitality to his followers while he himself returned to his own town, which was four days' journey from Muqan, to remove his treasure, fetch his son and his

¹ Ordinarily used for brigands, but here apparently the name of a tribe.

brother, and muster his forces. To this Ibn Dalulah agreed. So Lashkari hurried away, and returned speedily, bringing his son (400) and his nephew, with a thousand young Jilites, well supplied with arms and war-material. He invaded Adharbaijan afresh, and pursued Daisam, aided by the Ispahbad Ibn Dalulah and his followers. Daisam fled, crossing a river called the Rass, of which the current is strong ; he seized the crossings whereby it is possible to get over to the side on which he was. Lashkari took up a position facing him, and for a time was unable to reach him. Presently his son, his nephew, and the young Jilites, who were all good swimmers, their country being on the sea coast,¹ came to him in a body, and informed him that having followed the course of the river both ways they had discovered at a distance of three parasangs from their camp a place where the current was sluggish, and they asked his permission to risk a crossing. He gave it. Coming to the place at night with a number of trumpeters, they swam across, and stretched strong ropes which they attached to stakes firmly planted on the two banks ; the rest then crossed with their shields and weapons, charged Daisam's camp, sounded their trumpets, and killed some of Daisam's men ; Daisam fled, and the Jilites got possession of his baggage and stores. They were satisfied with their booty and Lashkari's victory was complete.

Daisam now went to Washmagir who was in Rayy, and told him what he had suffered at the hands of Lashkari, who was now master of Adharbaijan, and had been aided by the Ispahbad of Muqan, Ibn Dalulah. He pointed out to Washmagir that the country of the Jil was near his own, and that Lashkari could easily draw reinforcements from it ; he would very soon be attacking Rayy and disputing the possession of it with Washmagir. Daisam therefore requested Washmagir to supply him

¹ The coast of the Caspian.

with a force of Jilites and Kurds which would enable him to resist Lashkari. He proposed then that Washmagir should furnish him with a force of ten thousand cavalry, Kurds and others, that he (Daisam) should furnish the pay of this force from the day on which he entered Khunj, which is just at the frontier of Adharbaijan from the direction of Rayy, should cause the *khutbah* to be pronounced in Washmagir's name on all the pulpits of Adharbaijan, should transmit to him a hundred thousand dinars net every year, and return the force which was to be despatched with him after he had finished with Lashkari.—When Washmagir heard this statement, he regarded the affair as serious ; Daisam assented to (401) all his demands, each swore loyalty to the other, and Washmagir commenced equipping the force. Before this operation was completed news came that the Ispahbad Ibn Dalulah and many of his followers had died of small-pox ; the rest of them stayed with Lashkari, who despatched one of his chief officers, BALSUWAR B. MALIK B. MUSAFIR (nephew of Mohammed b. Musafir) LASHKARI ¹ to the neighbourhood of Miyanij, which was like the frontier between him and Washmagir, with orders to guard the roads, follow and examine those who passed, and read their papers by way of precaution and prevision. Very soon Balsuwar seized a runner who was conveying letters from officers in Lashkari's army to Washmagir, apologizing for their enrolment in the forces of Lashkari, and declaring that when they were so enrolled they had supposed themselves to be still in their original service ; and that if they saw one of his banners advancing towards them, they would join it and oppose Lashkari in a body.—When Lashkari became acquainted with these letters, he folded them up and said nothing about them. Hearing of the departure of Daisam from Rayy with Washmagir's army accompanied by his chamberlain Shabushti, he rode out into the fields,

¹ If this is right, it will be a name in the style of Ra'iqi above.

gathered his officers, and informed them of the approach of that army, stating that he was afraid if he were to engage the Jilites and Dailemites that he would be attacked from the rear by Daisam, and there would be a repetition of the affair of Ardabil. He had therefore decided to take them on a raiding expedition into Armenia, whence after pillaging the country he would take them off to Mausil and Diyar Rabi'ah, which were fertile and wealthy regions thinly populated.—As they supported this scheme, he led them into Armenia, where the inhabitants were unprepared for an attack; so he plundered their goods and cattle and took many prisoners, penetrating as far as Zawazan. He and his officers were by that time in possession of immense droves of cattle which they had plundered, and had been unable to count. They put them in charge of the herds-men, who led them out to pasture in the morning and brought them back (402) at eventide to the camp.

Near Zawazan there was an Armenian fortress held by one of their chieftains named ATOM son of JURJIN; he was a kinsman of Ibn al-Dairani,¹ king of the Armenians. He sent a courteous message to Lashkari requesting him to spare the Armenians, as they were under a treaty and paid tribute; and he held out hopes of money being transmitted to him peacefully.—Lashkari assented to his request.

Account of a scheme whereby this Armenian succeeded in killing Lashkari and the bulk of his followers.

This Armenian, knowing the speed and the levity of Lashkari's methods in war, how he advanced without reflexion, and hurried on without a plan, set an ambush

¹ According to Thomas Ardžruni, Petrograd, 1887, p. 285, there were three sons of Deranik, Ashot, Gagik and Gurgin; the second of these, also called Khachik, is the "king of the Armenians" to whom allusion is made here; he was king of Vaspurakan 904-936. See Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichten* iii. 412. The name of Atom's fortress is given by Thomas as Kanguar, and this agrees with Yaqut's statement that Kinkiwär was a fortress near the Jazirat Ibn 'Umar, reckoned among the fortresses of the Zawazan region.

on two hills near the place where Lashkari was encamped. Between these hills there was a narrow ravine. The Armenian then sent a party of his countrymen to raid the cattle in Lashkari's camp, killing the herdsmen and driving the beasts into the ravine. One of the herdsmen fled wounded to Lashkari, and found him coming out from the bath in the bazaar of Zawazan. He told Lashkari the news ; and the latter started off at once, with the herdsman in front of him to show him the way, accompanied by six only of his retainers, one of whom was FATH LASHKARI (now an officer of the Sultan in Baghdad, where I have myself seen him¹), a man of marked courage and daring ; and sending a message to the rest of his followers in the camp to join him.

Account of a lucky accident that befell this retainer Fath, in consequence of which he alone escaped the slaughter.

It happened that the horse of the secretary² went lame, God having decreed his escape, so he dismounted to see to the hoof and set it right. Lashkari went on in front, without waiting for him, with his five remaining companions, and reached the pass before he had been joined by the followers whom he had summoned from the camp. He plunged into the defile ; when he was in the middle of it, the men in ambush sprang up and killed him and the retainers who accompanied him. They removed their heads and their limbs, leaving their trunks, and departed. Presently the army came up (403) with this retainer Fath, and went after Lashkari. When they saw the group of bodies, they recognized them, and retired. The officers of his army met and appointed his son Lashkaristan chief ; they then decided to go in a body in the direction of a steep and inaccessible ridge called the Dragon's Ridge, place their baggage, valuables, and cattle in safety behind it, and then return to the town of Atom b. Jurjin to execute vengeance upon him and bring upon it slaughter and pillage.

¹ Cf. ii. 84.

² This must mean Fath.

Account of a second scheme which was successfully carried out against them and resulted in their being slaughtered in a mass save a very few, and all owing to their unwariness concerning the defiles, their ignorance of the routes, and their self-conceit.

Atom b. Jurjin had sent out scouts to learn their doings, and ascertained this plan. He anticipated it by posting on the mountain heights on their road companies of Armenians who flung stones at them. Their road on these mountains went over a place some five cubits wide, with a mountain on the left and a vast stream on the right, at a depth of more than a hundred cubits. The Armenians stationed men in ambush on that spot, and Atom himself went with a party from his fortress, and lay in ambush on the way to that defile, so that if any of the enemy escaped he might attack them. When the Jilites and Dailemites had reached the defile, the Armenians flung stones upon them; a rock would be hurled down and crush rider and mount, foot-soldiers, cattle and camels. Nothing could evade it and they fell into the stream and perished. Some of the cavalry dismounted and got between their horses' legs, and thus one and another escaped; but more than five thousand men perished at that spot. Still some escaped, among them Lashkaristan, who proceeded with his followers to take refuge with NASIR AL-DAULAH¹ at Mausil, who furnished them with a little pay. Some of them elected to accept journey-money and depart; some chose to stay with Lashkaristan; those who accepted the journey-money received passports and (404) went down stream to Wasit, where they joined Bachkam. The remainder, who were five hundred in number, were despatched by Nasir al-daulah with his cousin Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. Hamdan to Adharbaijan when Daisam the Kurd advanced thither.

¹ If the date be correct, he had not yet that title.

This Daisam had been one of the officers of Ibn Abi'l-Saj ; and Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. Sa'id b. Hamdan had been appointed minister of public security in Adhar-baijan by his uncle Abu Mohammed Hasan b. 'Abdallah b. Hamdan (Nasir al-daulah).

In this year the Judge of judges Abu'l-Husain 'Umar b. Mohammed rose high in favour with Radi, and occupied the position of a vizier, being consulted by Radi on all subjects and given a share in the administration. He used to be admitted with 'Abdallah b. 'Ali Niffari, the deputy of the vizier al-Faḍl b. Ja'far, and nothing was carried out without his being consulted about it.

In this year Radi accompanied by Bachkam visited Diyar Rabi'ah and Mausil.

Account of the reason for this.

The reason for this was that Nasir al-daulah delayed (405) sending the money which had accumulated and was due from him as farmer of the revenue of Mausil, and further delayed sending the proceeds of the estates which were for the use of Radi in his province. Radi was incensed against him, and arranged with Bachkam to attack him.

YEAR 327.

On Tuesday 3 Muḥarram (Oct. 30, 938)¹ the two started. Radi remained in Takrit, while Bachkam went on to Mausil following the Eastern bank of the Tigris. He was met by boats despatched by Nasir al-daulah, bringing wheat, barley and cattle as a present to Radi. These were taken by Bachkam, who distributed their loads among his staff and followers, and after emptying them, used them to cross over to the Western bank, whereon he advanced till he met Nasir al-daulah at Kuhail.² A battle ensued wherein the followers of Bach-

¹ A Monday, according to Wüstenfeld.

² Between the two Zabs. In Yaqut's time there was no trace of this city, which had once been considerable, left.

kam were routed, only Bachkam personally charged Nasir al-daulah gallantly, whereupon Nasir al-daulah took to flight, and was pursued by Bachkam who did not stop at Mausil or before he reached Nisibin. Ibn Hamdan fled to Amid, but Bachkam remained in Nisibin, whence he sent the tidings of victory to Radi, who then left Takrit with the intention of proceeding to Mausil by water.

Before the arrival of Bachkam's despatch announcing the victory, the Qarmatians who were with Radi in Takrit had been stinted in their allowances, and returned in ill humour to Baghdad. When they reached the city, Ibn Ra'iq came out of his hiding-place there and was joined by them; indeed it is said that their retirement from Takrit was due to messages sent to them by him, and letters wherein he allured them. News of this were brought by carrier-pigeon to Takrit, and Radi was afraid that Ibn Ra'iq and the Qarmatians would undertake an expedition and catch him. So he hastily left the water, and proceeded by land to Mausil which he entered, accompanied by his secretary (406) 'Ali b. Khalaf b. Tinab, and in great fear of Ibn Ra'iq. When Hasan b. 'Abdallah b. Hamdan learned of Bachkam's retirement from Nisibin, he proceeded thither from Amid; Nisibin and the districts of Diyar Rabi'ah were evacuated by the officers left behind by Bachkam, who all gathered to Mausil. Thus Diyar Rabi'ah came into Ibn Hamdan's possession. This increased the perplexity of Bachkam, whose followers began to slink away, and depart from Mausil for Baghdad. He was at last compelled to block the outlets of the streets of Mausil, and keep watch on his followers. This added yet more to the troubles of Bachkam who said at last: It has come to this that nothing remains in the hands of the Caliph and the Prince of princes except the town of Mausil.

Before Ibn Hamdan heard about the reappearance of Ibn Ra'iq in Baghdad, he despatched ABU AHMAD

TALIQANI, whom he had taken prisoner, to Bachkam, to solicit peace, offering to pay down at once a sum of half a million dirhems. When the envoy arrived with this message, Bachkam was relieved, and delighted that the initiative in demanding peace had been taken by the *Hamdanids*; for he had been considering the plan of surrendering Mausil to Ibn Hamdan and descending the river to expel Ibn Ra'iq. So he immediately rode over to Radi to inform him of the proposals brought by Taliqani, and to solicit his permission to ratify the peace. Radi resisted, being deeply offended with Ibn Hamdan; only Bachkam showed him that the right course was to accept Ibn Hamdan's offer, and hasten to Baghdad, the seat of government, which was out of his possession. Radi accordingly gave permission for the peace, sending Taliqani back the same day with the message that Ibn Hamdan's terms were accepted, and bearing robes of honour and a banner for Ibn Hamdan. With him there was despatched the qadi ABU'L-HUSAIN IBN ABI'L-SHAWARIB to take the oath of Ibn Hamdan. He returned bringing the money paid down.

(407) After the departure of Taliqani JA'FAR B. WARQA and TAKINAK came from Baghdad¹ to Mausil, and were followed by MOHAMMED B. YANAL the Interpreter in a *muraqqa'ah*,² flying from Ibn Ra'iq. (408) They narrated that when he came out of his hiding-place in Baghdad, three hundred Qarmatians attached themselves to him. He was met by BADI', retainer of Ja'far b. Warqa, whom he routed. A number of men belonging to the army and the *Hujaris*, and some of the populace then went out to Ibn Ra'iq, who was in the Oratory, and offered to fight on his side. He gave them pay at the rate of five and in some cases three dirhems. JA'FAR B. WARQA, AHMAD B. KHAQAN, and IBN BADR the Butler were in the Palace or its neighbourhood; Ibn Ra'iq

¹ The text has "from with Bachkam," which is clearly not intended.

² Some sort of rivercraft,

sent a message to them requesting them to leave the route free for him to proceed to his house, *i.e.*, the palace of Mu'nis, in which Bachkam had been lodged. They refused ; so he gave them battle ; they were routed and Ibn Badr was killed. A number of their troops deserted to Ibn Ra'iq, who promised them pay, and gave them clay stamps as records of his promises. He then proceeded to the Sultan's Palace, ordered that no injury should be done to its inmates, and sent a civil message to the mother of Radī and his harem ; he then went to the palace of Mu'nis, where Bachkam resided ; TAKINAK tried to resist, but was defeated, and Ibn Ra'iq obtained possession of the palace. Then MOHAMMED B. YANAL the Interpreter advanced from Wasit with four thousand Turks, Dailemites and other troops to expel Ibn Ra'iq from Baghdad ; he was met by Ibn Ra'iq at the Nahrawan, where a fierce engagement took place. The Interpreter was defeated and departed for Mausil in a *muraqqa'ah*.

Ibn Ra'iq began to hunt up the deposits of Bachkam, and despatched ABU JA'FAR IBN SHIRZAD to Mausil with a request for peace ; Bachkam ordered Ibn Shirzad to remain with him, and despatched the Judge of judges Abu'l-Husain 'Umar with the reply to the message. It was to the effect that Ibn Ra'iq was to be made governor of the Euphrates Road, Diyar Mudar, Jund Qinnasrin and the 'Awasim, and should proceed to his province. TALIQANI and the qadī IBN ABI'L-SHAWARIB also returned from (409) Ibn Hamdan bringing the ratification of the peace and part of the money. Radī with Bachkam now proceeded Southwards from Mausil. When the Judge of judges came to Ibn Ra'iq, he was admitted to his presence, and settled with him that he should undertake the governorship of the provinces mentioned. Ibn Ra'iq then left Baghdad for his provinces, and the capital was reached by Radī and Bachkam on Saturday 9 Rabi' i (Jan. 4, 939).¹

¹ A Friday according to Wüstenfeld.

This year the vizier Abu'l-Fath al-Fadl b. Ja'far b. al-Furat died at Ramlah. Radi had sent a eunuch to summon him, but he was dead by the time the eunuch arrived. The period during which he bore the title vizier was a year, eight months and twenty-five days. Radi appointed in his place ABU JA'FAR MOHAMMED B. YAHYA B. SHIRZAD, to whom he delivered 'Ali b. Khalaf. The vizier fined the latter fifty thousand dinars. The vizier also endeavoured to make peace between Bachkam and Baridi. He was successful; Abu 'Abdallah Baridi was assigned the farming of the revenues of the dependencies of Wasit for 600,000 dinars a year.

The death of the vizier Abu'l-Fath and the peace with Baridi having come about, Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad endeavoured to get Abu 'Abdallah Baridi appointed vizier. He suggested this to Radi, who despatched Abu'l-Husain¹ to offer him the appointment. Baridi at first declined, but afterwards accepted. He was appointed vizier and 'Abdallah b. 'Ali Niffari proceeded to act as his deputy in the capital as he had acted for al-Fadl b. Ja'far.

Bachkam had made BALABA the Turk minister of public security in Anbar. Balaba wrote to Bachkam requesting to be given all the provinces on the Euphrates Road, that he might be in the face of Ibn Ra'iq, who was in Syria. Bachkam gave him the appointment, and he proceeded to Raḥbah, which he seized; he then wrote to Ibn Ra'iq and ordered the name of the latter to be mentioned in the sermons (410) in the provinces of the Euphrates Road. He became a power in these regions, and reports of his proceedings reached Bachkam.

Account of the rapidity with which Bachkam adjusted the affair of Balaba before it became serious.

Bachkam despatched his retainer BUSTAKIN, his chamberlain 'ADL, and a detachment some four hundred strong, who reached Anbar the afternoon of the same

¹ The qāḍi 'Umar b. Mohammed.

day ; by the dawn of the following day they had got to Hit, where they obtained guides ; taking the desert road they arrived at Raḥbah in five days, entering the town by two of the gates. All this was done in accordance with the plans and instructions of Bachkam. Balaba was at a meal when he heard of their arrival ; he leapt on the roof and went and hid with a weaver, at whose house he was taken ; his captors proceeded with him to Anbar, and presently brought him into Baghdad exposed on a camel, bearing an " ostrich " ¹ whereon he was crucified. What became of him afterwards is not known ; some say that Bachkam poisoned him.

YEAR 328.

In this year Bachkam married SARAH, daughter of the vizier Abu 'Abdallah Baridi in the presence of Raḍi ; the wedding gift was 200,000 dirhems.

Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad was very harsh with the cultivators, increasing the surveys,² and alleging in excuse the high prices ruling ; he demanded payment in accordance with arbitrary assessments both of the produce and the price, and advance payments besides ; thereby manifesting his indifference to justice.

This year the prince Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Buwaihi advanced to Wasit. The Baridis were there ; the prince quartered himself on the Eastern side, while the Baridis remained on the Western.

Account of the reason for this.

Abu 'Abdallah Baridi had despatched an army to Sus, which put a Dailemite officer to death, (411) and compelled ABU JA'FAR SAIMARI, who was minister of *kharaḥ* there, to entrench himself in the fort of Sus. Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi, fearing that Baridi

¹ See above, p. 38.

² Of this practice there was an illustration given above, p. 30. Others will be found in volumes iii and iv.

would attack Ahwaz from Basrah, wrote to his brother Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Buwaihi, who was encamped at the gate of Istakhr, imploring his help ; and Abu 'Ali Hasan came to him by forced marches, taking ten days. Necessity had compelled Abu'l-Husain Ahmad to quit Sus ; when his brother Abu 'Ali came to Sus, Abu'l-Husain Ahmad entered Ahwaz. The followers of Washmagir had got possession of Ispahan ; and the prince Abu 'Ali Hasan now proceeded to Wasit hoping to get possession of the place. His troops however became disorderly, because he had not paid them for a year ; and a hundred of them deserted to the Baridis. Bachkam and Radi advanced from Baghdad to make war upon him ; fearing a joint attack, and that his troops would desert, he departed to Ahwaz, thence to Ramhurmuz, and thence to Ispahan which he reconquered. He took more than ten of Washmagir's officers captive. Radi and Bachkam returned to Baghdad.

Account of the reason for Bachkam's expedition to the Jabal, and for the rupture of relations between him and Baridi after peace had been made between them and they had become allied.

When Bachkam had become Baridi's son-in-law, and there was union between them, he wrote to his father-in-law bidding him undertake an expedition for the reconquest of the Jabal, whilst he himself undertook one for the reconquest of Ahwaz and the expulsion of Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Buwaihi thence. He sent him his chamberlain 'ADL with a body of five hundred men as reinforcements for his own troops. ABU ZAKARIYYA SUSI says : He sent me with 'Adl to rouse Baridi up and urge him to start out with his whole army, since they had commenced with Sus. When I got to Wasit, Baridi professed to acquiesce in the proposals which were brought by (412) 'Adl the chamberlain and myself ; only when Bachkam had reached Hulwan, Baridi felt a desire

to proceed to Baghdad and seize the treasures buried by Bachkam in his palace, which were of vast amount, and which Baridi hoped to bring back to Wasit. So he began to delay and procrastinate, and to "put one foot forward and another back," at one time hankering after the treasure and at another dreading to break openly with Bachkam, and hoping all the time that Bachkam might meet with some reverse, be killed or defeated, so that he might get his opportunity; and so our time passed and we stayed more than a month, receiving letters constantly from Bachkam, in which he ordered us to inform him of what he had been doing. When we showed them to Baridi, his reply was *I am starting at once*. Nevertheless he lingered, and we perceived what was in his mind. So I secretly told 'Adl to despatch some one to Bachkam to inform him of the facts. He immediately sent a despatch-rider in whom he had confidence, and when he had reached Bachkam, the latter without delay mounted a fast camel and returned to Baghdad, leaving his army behind.

The carrier-pigeons brought Baridi the news of Bachkam's arrival in Baghdad, but he did not know whether Bachkam was flying from an enemy or merely passing; he was therefore in a state of doubt and perplexity, and bethought him of arresting me and dragging me to Basrah. I made up my mind to go into hiding, only was afraid he would hunt me out, as Wasit was a small place. So for all that I put on a bold face and constantly visited him. One afternoon he sent a number of retainers to summon me. I had no doubt that my arrest was intended. I reached him at sunset. He had risen and got inside a mosquito curtain to escape the insects. He asked me whether I had heard the news.—What news? I asked.—Oh, he said, before the afternoon prayer a pigeon brought a message that Bachkam has started for Wasit.—I said: This must be false. When did he return to Baghdad and when did he

leave it?—He said : Never mind about that, for I have no doubt about it ; but do you go out to him at once, and put an end to his suspicions of me. Now give me your hand.—I did so. He put it on his ear, and said to me : Take me to the slave-market and sell me, I will make no opposition, only extricate me from this difficulty. And don't ask me what you are to do.—I kissed his hand and foot and the ground in front of him, and said to him : I will go and get ready.—He said : I have made the preparations for you, furnished a barge, and provided (413) fifty retainers for your escort. So get down into the barge, where there are stores which will last you the whole way to the capital, and your¹ retainers will gradually catch you up.—I could scarcely contain myself for joy, but presently began to fear that it was a plot, and that when I left his presence I should be taken off to Basrah. My mind did not come back to me till I had reached Fam al-Silh.² When I got to the Sabus Canal,³ I was met by one of my household slaves from Baghdad, bringing an order from Bachkam to me to go into hiding, which the slave whispered into my ear. The retainers of Baridi who were with me asked me what message the slave had brought. I replied that he had brought me news of a female relation who was ill, to the effect that she was at the point of death. So I hurried on, and meanwhile Baridi had begun to regret that he had sent me, and despatched people in search of me. For a pigeon had brought him a message which made him despair of reconciliation with Bachkam, and provoked him against me ; God however delivered me. I reached Dair al-'Aqul, where was Ahmad b. Nasr Qushuri, to whom I went out ; he wanted to seize the barge, and attack the retainers. I did not allow this, but called out to them and sent them home in their barge, while I

¹ *i.e.*, " my."

² He could then be sure that the direction was not that of Basrah.

³ A day's journey above Wasit.

myself embarked in a barge belonging to Ahmad b. Nasr, in which I reached Za'faraniyyah, where I met Bachkam. I disembarked and told him the story. I did my best to affect a reconciliation between him and Baridi, and induce him to return to Baghdad. He declined, saying : Had I met him on the steps of my house, it would not have been possible for me to return ; as that would be equivalent to defeat. Still less is it possible when I have actually started and got thus far. So I descended the stream with him.

In Wasit Bachkam arrested Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad, who had been Baridi's agent at the former's court, and the person who had recommended alliance with Baridi. Bachkam publicly dismissed Baridi from the vizierate, withdrawing the title from him, and conferring it upon ABU'L-QASIM SULAIMAN B. HASAN, on whom the robes of honour appropriate to the office were bestowed, while the business was managed by Bachkam's secretary Ibn Shirzad prior to his arrest. The period during which Abu 'Abdallah Baridi bore the title vizier was a year, four months and fourteen days.

When Bachkam brought his tent out to Za'faraniyyah on his way to Baridi, (414) he wished the fact of his expedition to be concealed. The boat which conveyed him was a *hudaidi*;¹ and he had the roads guarded preventing the transmission of letters lest some one should send word of his expedition.

Account of an interesting and wonderful coincidence.

Bachkam had with him on board his boat a clerk who looked after his household and the stipends of his staff, who had a brother in Baridi's service. When Bachkam sat down in the *hudaidi*, a bird alighted on the bows, which Bachkam's retainers caught and brought to their master. On the bird's tail a letter was found, which being read was found to be an autograph missive from this clerk

¹ Some sort of rivercraft. See glossary.

to his brother, telling him of Bachkam's expedition, about the army which he was sending by land, and the rest of Bachkam's secrets and plans. When Bachkam learned this, he was surprised and angry. Sending for the clerk, he flung the letter to him; "it fell upon his hand,"¹ but he could not disown it, as it was in his well-known script. He confessed and Bachkam ordered that lances should be hurled at him till he was dead. The body was then thrown into the water. Bachkam then proceeded to Wasit, where he found that Baridi had not stayed; he had descended the river.

In Dhu'l-Hijjah of this year (Sep. 7—Oct. 5, 940) there came news that Ibn Ra'iq had dealt a blow to ABU NASR IBN TUGHJ, brother of the IKHSHID. Abu Nasr's followers were routed, his chief officers captured, while he himself had been killed. Ibn Ra'iq took the body, had it laid out and embalmed, and conveyed in a coffin to the dead man's brother the Ikhshid; with it he sent his own son MUZAHIM, bearing a letter of condolence on his brother's death and apologizing for the occurrence. Ibn Ra'iq assured the Ikhshid that he had not designed his brother's death, and was now sending his own son that the Ikhshid might retaliate upon him if he so desired. The Ikhshid received this proceeding favourably, bestowed a robe of honour upon ABU'L-FATH MUZAHIM, and sent him back to his father. They arranged terms of peace whereby Ibn Ra'iq was to cede Ramlah to the Ikhshid, but was to retain the rest of Syria, and receive from the Ikhshid for the cession of Ramlah 140,000 dinars.

(415) In this year Abu Nasr Mohammed b. Yanal the Interpreter came to Baghdad from the Jabal where he had been routed by the Dailemites. The news of his defeat reached Bachkam in Wasit; the latter sent to

¹ Allusion to Qur'an vii. 147, where however the phrase is supposed to mean "to repent."

have him scourged in his own house, put in fetters and imprisoned ; he was kept in this condition for some time, after which Bachkam was reconciled.

YEAR 329.

It was in this year that Bachkam arrested his secretary Ibn Shirzad, and gave his place to ABU 'ABDALLAH KUFİ. The length of time wherein Ibn Shirzad had been secretary to Bachkam, managed the empire and occupied the place of a vizier was nineteen months and thirteen days. When Bachkam decided to arrest Ibn Shirzad, he wrote to TAKINAK his deputy, sending the missive by a swift messenger, bidding him summon Abu'l-Qasim Kalwadhani, the heads of the bureaux, the finance ministers and engineers, and order them to discuss the requirements of the Sawad, and draw up a memoir on the needs of each district separately ; when this was finished he was to receive it from them, and arrest various clerks whom he named. When they had arrived he was to send the announcement of their arrival by a number of birds. Takinak accordingly summoned them, examined them in Bachkam's palace on the requirements, and when they had finished and wished to leave, placed those whose names had been given him in confinement. Among them were ABU'L-HASAN TAZAD B. 'ISA, MOHAMMED B. HASAN B. SHIRZAD, a man called ZAHZAMAH, and a number of clerks and finance ministers besides. He then sent the announcement of the arrest. Then, when Bachkam had ascertained the arrest of these persons he arrested his vizier Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad.

(416) An illustration of his astuteness is to be found in a story told by THABIT after ABU 'ABDALLAH KUFİ. After Bachkam's arrest of Abu Ja'far Ibn Shirzad, he said : I had been told that Abu Ja'far was a man of great wealth ; I supposed that his enemies exaggerated, and wished to find out the truth of the matter. One day I said to him : I have buried a great deal of money in

the ground, and should like to deposit another hoard with some persons. There is no-one whom I trust as I trust you, so I should like to deposit some with you. Do you rise to it?—How much? he asked.—A hundred thousand dinars, I replied.—He quickly said Yes, without remarking on the magnitude of the sum, nor could I see on his face any sign that he thought it enormous. Perceiving then his nonchalance and readiness to undertake the trust, and that the amount neither alarmed nor overwhelmed him, I was convinced that the statements about his wealth were true. So I handed over to him a hundred thousand dinars, and after leaving them with him for a certain time, told him that I was in need of them and he must give them back. He said Yes, and after some days brought me a portion; after a further demand he brought another portion, and after yet another demand a further portion. I exhibited vexation at this procedure and said to him: I delivered it to you in one sum, and do you return it in instalments?—He was terrified by my angry exclamation, exhibited alarm and shame, and said: I will tell the Prince the truth; there is no-one whom I trust in these matters except my sister; she is not strong enough to carry the whole sum at once, and has no expedient except bringing it part by part. I made no remark except “That may be so,” but inferred that the person who managed deposits for him was his sister; so when after arresting him I demanded money of him, and he began to display obstinacy, I sent a message to him that he had best not be obstinate, as his sister had fallen into my hands. She had not in fact; only I wanted to frighten him. He gave way and my purpose was achieved.

And in this year on the night of Friday the middle of Rabi' i (Dec. 17, 940) *Radi* died. (417) There was a total eclipse of the moon at the time.¹ He died of asciti-

¹ The date is correct according to the Julian Calendar,

cal dropsy. His secretary ABU'L-HASAN SA'ID B. 'AMR B. SANJALA went into hiding.

Thus ended the days of Radī, who was a scholar and a poet, with a command of elegant language ; a man who loved the society of the learned, and was never without companions ; a man of liberal mind and generous disposition. Bachkam was attracted by many of his courtiers, and fancied that he, foreigner as he was, would benefit by their acquirements ; but upon investigation, he found no-one capable of making him understand what was useful to him except SINAN B. THABIT. Sinan was one of the messmates of Radī.

SINAN says : I was summoned by Bachkam, who paid me some compliments and gave me a present, after which he said : I wish to rely upon you in my administration, and in my diet and matters of health ; but besides in a matter more important to me than the state of my body, and that is the state of my character. I have confidence in your intelligence and virtue. I am vexed at the hold which anger and passion have upon me, and their vehemence, which at times leads me to order scourgings or executions which I afterwards regret. I beg of you to make a study of my conduct, and then treat me for those qualities of which you disapprove. If you find any fault in me, do not hesitate to mention it to me, and show me how to treat it so that it may disappear.—I said to him : With all my heart. Only just now let me give you a general idea of the way to deal with the failing which you notice in your character, and details may follow later.—Know, O prince, that you are in a position in which no creature's hand is above yours, neither has any one power to hinder you from doing what you wish or to come between you and the instantaneous gratification of your desires. Whenever you want a thing, you obtain it so soon as you want it, and no part of it can escape you. Now know that anger and passion

produce in a man an intoxication that is far more serious than that produced by liquor. And just as a man under the influence of liquor commits (418) that which he regrets, cannot comprehend and cannot recollect when he is sober, so does he and worse under the intoxication of anger. When therefore you feel your wrath beginning to be stirred, beginning to get the better of you and intoxicate you, then before it becomes uncontrollable, make up your mind to defer the punishment of the offence, to let it stay over for a night : in the confidence that you will not on the morrow lose the chance of doing what you wish to do at the moment. There is a saying : *Who has no fear of missing well may wait.* If you do this, pass a whole night without taking any step, the storm of passion will necessarily subside, and the intoxication produced by your anger be sobered ; and indeed it is said that the time when a man sees clearest is when he has the night behind him and the day in front of him.¹ When you are sobered from your intoxication, consider the matter which aroused your anger ; if it be something which admits of pardon, or is sufficiently punished by remonstrance, threat, rebuke, or dismissal, go no further than these ; for forgiveness is the most honourable course and that which will most surely win the favour of God Almighty. Neither the culprit nor any one else will attribute your conduct to weakness, inability to do more. But if the offence be one which does not admit of pardon, then punish in proportion to its gravity ; do not go to lengths which will soil your fame, make you an apostate from your faith, and render you detestable to yourself. The course which I recommend will be hard only the first, second or third time that you try it ; then it will become a habit which you will find easy ; then when you have ascertained its virtues, you will enjoy it.—Bachkam approved this homily, and promised

¹ Compare in general Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* i. § 37, where it is stated that dream-interpreters pay attention to dreams seen at this time only.

to carry out the instruction ; Sinan continued to point out to him one thing and another till his character was reformed, so that he restrained himself from ordering executions and barbarous punishments, and found pleasure in carrying out Sinan's suggestions for the doing of justice and the removal of injustice. Finally he said : I have ascertained that justice is by far the most profitable course for a sovereign and that it procures for him both this world and the next. The profits of injustice, however great they may be and quickly won, are speedily exhausted ; they disappear and fail, there seems to be no blessing in them ; accidents occur which annihilate them, and their result to him is the devastation of this world and the loss of the next.(419)—I said to him : And conversely the proceeds of justice grow and thrive ; they last and there is a blessing on them from the moment the operation of justice begins.

Bachkam built a hostel in Wasit at the time of the famine, and a hospital (420) in Baghdad. He treated the people of Wasit with justice and beneficence. Only he did not last ; he was put to death ere long.

God is the governor of His world and has a purpose which He compasses.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.