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REVISED TRANSLATION
OF THE
CHĀHĀR MAQĀLA
("FOUR DISCOURSES")
OF
NIZĀMĪ-I-'ARūDĪ
OF SAMARQAND,
FOLLOWED BY AN ABRIDGED TRANSLATION OF
MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD'S NOTES TO THE
PERSIAN TEXT

BY
EDWARD G. BROWNE,
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PREFACE

TWO reasons have led me to publish this revised translation of the Chahár Maqála, or "Four Discourses," of Nizámí-i-‘Arúdí of Samarqand. The first is that the translation which I originally published in the July and October numbers of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1899, and which also appeared as a separate reprint, is exhausted, and is now hardly obtainable. The second is that that translation contains many defects and errors which it is now possible to amend and correct, partly through the learning and critical acumen brought to bear on the text by Mírzá Muhammad of Qazwín, whose admirable edition, accompanied by copious critical and historical notes in Persian, was published in this Series (xi, 1) in 1910; and partly from the fact that the most ancient and correct MS. of the work at present discovered¹, that preserved in the Library of 'Ashir Efendi at Constantinople (No. 285), was not available when I made my original translation, while it has served as the basis for Mírzá Muhammad’s text. Hence my old translation is not only practically unobtainable, but, apart from the defects inherent in a first attempt of this sort, no longer entirely corresponds with what is now the accepted Persian text, so that it is at times liable to confuse and puzzle, rather than to help, the student. The old translation has been carefully revised throughout, and the proofs have all been read by Mírzá Muhammad, who supplied many valuable criticisms, together with a good deal of new material in the notes. They have also been diligently read by Muhammad Iq́bál, one of the Government of India Research Students at Cambridge, who has made many useful suggestions and saved me from numerous small errors. To these and to other friends who have helped me in a lesser degree I am deeply indebted, but special thanks are due to Mr Ralph Shirley, editor

¹ It was copied in Herát in 835/1431-2.
of the *Occult Review*, and to Mr W. Gornold for the valuable astrological notes with which they have been kind enough to supply me. To facilitate comparison, the points in the translation corresponding with the beginning of each page of the Persian text are indicated by the appropriate Arabic numbers. Mírzá Muḥammad's notes, which in the original partake of the nature of a running commentary on the text, though materially separated from it, and occupy 200 pages (vi.—viii.), I have, from considerations of space, rearranged and greatly compressed. The shorter ones appear as foot-notes on the pages to which they refer, while the substance of the longer ones, reduced to a minimum, and shorn of many of the *pièces justificatives* which serve to illustrate them in the original, has been divided according to subject-matter under thirty-two headings (fully enumerated in the following Table of Contents. But although the English notes embody the more important results of Mírzá Muḥammad's researches, it has been necessary, in order to effect the required condensation, to omit many interesting details and quotations of texts accessible only in rare manuscripts, so that those who read Persian with any facility are strongly recommended to study the original commentary.

A full account of this work and its author is given both in the Persian and English Prefaces to the companion volume containing the text, and it will be sufficient here to summarize the facts set forth more fully in that place.

*The Author.*

Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alí of Samarqand, poetically named Niẓámí and further entitled 'Arúdī (the "Prosodist") flourished in the first half of the sixth century of the *hijra* (twelfth of the Christian era), and seems to have spent most of his life in Khurásán and Transoxiana. What we know of him is chiefly derived

1 See Notes xxiv and xxxii, pp. 130–4 and 164–7.
from this book, which contains a good deal of autobiographical material. The events in his life to which he refers lie between the years 504/1110-11 and 547/1152-3, and we find him successively at Samarqand, Balkh, Herat, Tus and Nishapur. He was primarily a poet andcourtier, but, as we learn from Anecdotes XXXI (p. 74) and XLIII (p. 96), he also practised Astrology and Medicine when occasion arose. His poetry, in spite of the complacency displayed by him in Anecdote XXI (pp. 59-61), was not, if we may judge by the comparatively scanty fragments which have survived, of the highest order, and is far inferior to his prose, which is admirable, and, in my opinion, almost unequalled in Persian. It is by virtue of the Chahâr Maqâla, and that alone, that Nizâmî-i-'Arûdî of Samarqand deserves to be reckoned amongst the great names of Persian literature.

The Book.

At the present day, apart from the text printed eleven years ago in this series and the rare and bad lithographed edition published at Tihran in 1305/1887-8, the Chahâr Maqâla, so far as the present known, is represented only by three or four MSS., two in the British Museum (Or. 2955, dated 1274/1857-8, and Or. 3507, dated 1017/1608-9), and one in Constantinople transcribed at Herat in 835/1431-2, while a fourth, of which no particulars are available to me, is said to exist in India. During the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of our era it seems to have been better known than during the four succeeding centuries, for it is mentioned or cited in the thirteenth century by 'Awfi (in the Lubâbul-Albâb) and Ibn Isfandiyar (in his History of Tabaristân); in the fourteenth century by Ḥamdu'llâh Mustawfi of Qazwîn (in the Ta'rikh-i-Gusîda); in the fifteenth century by Dawlatshâh and Jâmi (in the Silsilatul-Dhahab); and in the sixteenth by the Qâdi Ahmad-i-Ghaffâri (Nigaristân). It is often referred to as the Majnun-Nawâdir ("Collection of Rarities"), which the

1 Indicated by the letter L in a few of the foot-notes.
Turkish bibliographer Hajji Khalifa supposes to be distinct from the *Chahâr Maqâla*, though, as Mirzá Muḥammad has conclusively proved, these are but two different names for the same book.

Not less remarkable than the style of the *Chahâr Maqâla* is the interest of its contents, for it contains the only contemporary account of ʿUmar Khayyám, and the oldest known account of Firdawsī, while many of the anecdotes are derived from the author's own experience, or were orally communicated to him by persons who had direct knowledge of the facts. The book is therefore one of the most important original sources for our knowledge of the literary and scientific conditions which prevailed in Persia for the two or three centuries preceding its composition, which may be placed with certainty between the years 547/1152 and 552/1157, and with great probability in the year 551/1156. Against this twofold excellence, however, must be set the extraordinary historical inaccuracies of which in several places the author has been guilty, even in respect to events in which he claims to have participated in person. Fifteen such blunders, some of them of the grossest character, have been enumerated by Mirzá Muḥammad in the Preface to the text, and some of these are fully discussed in Notes IV, V, VIII and XXI at the end of this volume. Nor can all these blunders be charitably ascribed to a careless or officious copyist, since the point of the story is in several cases dependent on the error.

Here at all events is the translation of the book, of the value and interest of which the reader, aided if necessary by the notes, can form his own judgement.

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1 See p. xvi of the English Preface to the text.

EDWARD G. BRÓWNE.

April 11, 1921.
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GENERAL INDEX

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In the name of God the Merciful the Clement.

PRAISE, thanks and gratitude to that King who, by the intervention of the Cherubic and Angelic Spirits, brought into being the World of Return and Restoration, and, by means of that World, created and adorned the World of Growth and Decay, maintaining it by the commands and prohibitions of the Prophets and Saints, and restraining it by the swords and pens of Kings and Ministers. And blessings upon [Muhammad] the Lord of both worlds, who was the most perfect of the Prophets; and invocations of grace upon his Family and Companions, who were the most excellent of Saints. And honour to the King of this time, that learned, just, divinely-strengthened, heaven-aided and ever-victorious monarch Husamud-Dawla wa'd-Din, Help of Islam and the Muslims, Exterminator of the infidels and polytheists, Subduer of the heretical and the froward, Chief of hosts in the worlds, Pride of Kings and Emperors, Succourer of these days, Protector of mankind, Arm of the Caliphate, Beauty of the Faith and Glory of the Nation, Controller of the Arabs and the Persians, noblest of mankind, Shamsul-Ma'ali, Malikul-Umará, Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Mas'úd, Helper of the Prince of Believers, may his life be according to his desires, may the greater part of the world be assigned to his name, and may the orderly government of the human race be directed by his care! For today he is the most excellent of the kings of the age in nobility, pedigree, judgement, statesmanship, justice, equity, valour and generosity, as well as in the enriching of his territory, the embellishment of his realms, the maintenance of his friends, the subjugation of his foes, the raising of armies, the safe-guarding of the people, the securing of the roads, and the tranquillizing of the realms, by virtue of upright judgement, clear understanding, strong resolve and firm determination; by whose excellence the concatenation of the House of Shamsab is held together and maintained in order, and by whose perfection the strong arm of that Dynasty's fortune is strengthened and recognized. May God Almighty

1 L. has "without the intervention."
2 L. Husamud-Din Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Fakhrud-Din Mas'ud. See Note I at the end.
3 L. has "from perils," instead of ممالک.
4 See Note II at the end, and the Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí (ed. Nassau Lees), pp. 101 et seqq. Instead of شمساء, the correct reading, B. has آل شیب and L. انسانیت.

B.
vouchsafe to him and to the other kings of that line a full portion of dominion and domain, throne and fortune, fame and success, command and prohibition, by His Favour and universal Grace!

SECTION I.

It is an old custom and ancient convention, which custom is maintained and observed, that an author or compiler, in the introduction to his discourse and preface of his book, should commemorate somewhat of his patron's praise, and record some prayer on behalf of the object of his eulogy. But I, a loyal servant, instead of praise and prayer for this prince will make mention in this book of the favours ordained and vouchsafed by God Most High and Most Holy to this King of kingly parentage, that, these being submitted to his world-illuminating judgement, he may betake himself to the expression of his thanks for them. For in the uncreated Scripture and unmade Word God says, "Verily if ye be thankful I will give you increase"; for the gratitude of the servant is an alchemy for the favours of the Munificent Lord. Briefly, then, it behoves this great King and puissant Lord to know that to-day, upon the whole of this globe of dust, and within the circle of this green parasol, there is no king in more ample circumstances than this monarch, nor any potentate enjoying more abundant good than this sovereign. He hath the gift of youth and the blessing of constant health; his father and mother are alive; congenial brothers are on his right hand and on his left. And what father is like his sire, the mighty, divinely-strengthened, ever-victorious and heaven-aided Fakhru'd-Dawla wad-Din, Lord of Iran, King of the Mountains (may God prolong his existence and continue to the heights his exaltation!), who is the most puissant Lord of the age and the most excellent Prince of the time in judgement, statecraft, knowledge, courtesy, swordsmanship, strength of arm, treasure and equipment! Supported by ten thousand men bearing spears and handling reins he hath made himself a shield before his sons, so that not even the zephyr may blow roughly on one of his servants. In her chaste seclusion and unassailable abode is a prayerful lady (may God perpetuate her exaltation!) whose every invocation, breathed upwards at earliest dawn to the Court of God, works with the far-flung host and wheeling army. Where again is a brother like the royal Prince Shamsu'd-Dawla wad-Din, Light of Islam and the Muslims (may his victories be

1 Qur'an, xiv, 7.
2 The variant (wheel, firmament), though more attractive than (parasol, umbrella), rests on weaker manuscript authority.
3 Fakhru'd-Din Mas'ud ibn 'Izzu'd-Din Hasan. See Note I at the end.
4 Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad ibn Fakhru'd-Din Mas'ud. See Note I at the end.
glorious!), who reaches the extreme term and limit in the service of this my Lord (whose exaltation may God perpetuate)? Praise be to God that this my Lord falls short neither in reward nor retribution; yea, by his face the world enjoys clear vision, and life passes sweetly by his beauty! And a blessing yet greater is this, that the All-Perfect Benefactor and Unfailing Giver hath bestowed on him an unclear like the Lord of the World and Sovereign of the East, 'Ala'u'd-Din Abu 'All al-Husayn ibn al-Husayn, Ikhtiyar Amiri'l-Mu'minin (may God prolong his life and cause his kingdom to endure!), who, with fifty thousand mail-clad men, strenuous in endeavour, hurled back all the hosts of the world (1) and set in a corner all the kings of the age. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) long vouchsafe all to one another, grant to all abundant enjoyment of one another's company, and fill the world with light by their achievements, by His Favour, and Bounty, and Grace!

**BEGINNING OF THE BOOK.**

This loyal servant and favoured retainer Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali an-Nizamí al-'Arudi as-Samarqandi, who for forty-five years hath been devoted to the service of this House and inscribed in the register of service of this Dynasty, desireth to dedicate to the Supreme Imperial Court (may God exalt it!) some work equipped according to the canons of Philosophy with decisive proofs and trenchant arguments, and to set forth therein what kingship truly is, who is truly king, whence is derived this honourable office, to whom rightly appertaineth this favour, and in what manner such an one should shew his gratitude for, and after what fashion accept, this privilege, so that he may become second to the Lord of the sons of men and third to the Creator of the Universe. For even so hath God, in His Incontrovertible Scripture and Eternal Word, co-ordinated on one thread and shewn forth on one string the pearls represented by these three exalted titles. Obey God,” saith He, “and obey the Apostle, and such as possess authority amongst yourselves.”

For in the grades of existences and the ranks of the intelligibles, after the Prophetic Function, which is the supreme limit of man's attainment, there is no rank higher than kingship, which is naught else than a Divine gift. God, glorious and exalted is He, hath accorded this position to the King of this age, and bestowed on him this degree, so that he may walk after the way of former kings and maintain the people after the manner of bygone ages.

1 'Ala'u'd-Din Husayn, called Jahán-súz, “the world-consumer,” A.H. 544-556 (A.D. 1149-1161). See Notes I and XV at the end, and p. 31, n. 1 ad calc.
2 I.e. to the Prophet, who is subordinate only to God, as the king is to him.
3 Qur‘án, iv, 62.
SECTION II.

The Royal Mind (may God exalt it!) should deign to know that all existing beings fall necessarily into one of two categories. Such being is either self-existent, or it exists through some other. That Being which is self-existent is called "the Necessarily Existent," which is God most High and most Holy, who existeth by virtue of Himself, and who, therefore, hath always existed, since He awaiteth none other; and who (1) will always exist, since He subsisteth by Himself, not by another. But that existence whose being is through another is called "Contingent Being," and this is such as we are, since our being is from the seed, and the seed is from the blood, and the blood is from food, and food is from the water, the earth, and the sun, whose existence is in turn derived from something else; and all these are such as yesterday were not, and to-morrow will not be. And on profound reflection [it appeareth that] this causal nexus reacheth upwards to a Cause which deriveth not its being from another, but existeth necessarily in itself; which is the Creator of all, from Whom all derive their existence and subsistence. So He is the Creator of all these things, and all come into being through Him and subsist through Him. And a little reflection on this matter will make it clear that all Phenomena consist of Being tinctured with Not-being, while He is Being characterized by a continuance reaching from Eternity past to Eternity to come. And since the origin of all creatures lies in Not-being, they must inevitably return again to nothing, and the most clear-sighted amongst the human race have said, "Everything shall return unto its Origin," more especially in this world of Growth and Decay. Therefore we, who are contingent in our being, have our origin in Not-being; while He, who existeth necessarily, is in His Essence Being, even as He (glorious is His Praise and high His Splendour) saith in the Perspicuous Word and Firm Hold, "All things perish save His Countenance."

Now you must know that this world, which lies in the hollow of the Heaven of the Moon2 and within the circle of this first Sphere, is called "the World of Growth and Decay." And you must thus conceive it, that within the concavity of the Heaven of the Moon lies the Fire, surrounded by the Heaven of the Moon; and that within the Sphere of the Fire is the Air, surrounded by the Fire; and within the Air is the Water, surrounded by the Air, while within the Water is the Earth, with the Water round about it. And in the middle of the earth is an imaginary point, from

1 Qur'an, xxviii, 88.
2 This is the lowest or innermost of the nine celestial spheres which environ the earth. Concerning the Muslim Cosmogony, see Dieterici's Makrokosmos, pp. 178 et seqq.
which all straight lines drawn to the Heaven of the Moon are equal; and when we speak of "down," we mean this point or what lies nearest to it; and when we speak of "up," we mean the remotest heaven, or what lies nearest to it, this being a heaven above the Zodiacal Heaven, having naught beyond it, for with it the material world terminates, or comes to an end.

Now when God most Blessed and most High, by His effective Wisdom, desired to produce in this world minerals, plants, animals and men, He created the stars, and in particular the sun and moon, whereon He made the growth and decay of these to depend. And the special property of the sun is that by its reflection it warms all things when it stands opposite to them, and draws them up, that is attracts them, by the medium of heat. So, by its opposition, it warmed the water; and, by means of the warmth, attracted it for a long while, until one quarter of the earth's surface was laid bare, by reason of the much vapour which ascended and rose up therefrom. Now it is of the nature of water to be capable of becoming stone, as it is admitted to do in certain places, and as may be actually witnessed. So mountains were produced from the water by the glow of the sun; and thereby the earth became somewhat elevated above what it had been, while the water retreated from it and dried up, according to that fashion which is witnessed. This portion, therefore, is called the "Uncovered Quarter," for the reason above stated; and is also called the "Inhabited Quarter," because animals dwell therein.

SECTION III.

When the influences of these stars had acted on the peripheries of these elements, and had been reflected back from that imaginary [central] point, there were produced from the midst of the earth and water, by the aid of the wind and the fire, the products of the inorganic world, such as mountains, mines, clouds, snow, rain, thunder, lightning, shooting stars, comets, meteors, thunder-bolts, halos, conflagrations, fulminations, earthquakes, and springs of all kinds, as has been fully explained in its proper place when discussing the effects of the celestial bodies, but for the explanation and amplification of which there is no room in this brief manual. But when time began, and the cycles of heaven became continuous, and the constitution of this lower world matured, and the time was come for the fertilisation of

1 This outermost, or ninth, celestial sphere is the Primum mobile of the Ptolemaic system, called al-Falaku'l-Atlas or Falaku'l-Afdak by the Muslim philosophers.

2 That the material universe is finite and bounded by the Empyrean, or Falaku'l-Afdak, is generally accepted by Persian philosophers. See my Year amongst the Persians, pp. 143-144.

3 The author apparently alludes to petrifaction and the formation of stalactites.
that interspace which lies between the water and the air, the vegetable kingdom was manifested. Then God, blessed and exalted is He, created for that substance wherefrom the plants were made manifest four subservient forces and three faculties. Of these four subservient forces one is that which draws to itself whatever is suitable for its purpose, and this is called "the Force Attractive" (Jaddhiba). Another retains what the first may have attracted, and this is called "the Force Retentive" (Masika). The third is that which assimilates what has been attracted, and transmutes it from its former state until it becomes like unto itself, and this is called "the Force Assimilative" (Hadima). The fourth is that which rejects what is not appropriate, and it is called "the Force Expulsive" (Daffa). And of its three faculties one is that which increaseth it (i) by diffusing throughout it nutritious matters with a proportionate and equable diffusion. The second is that which accompanies this nutriment until it reaches the extremities. The third is that which, when the organism has attained perfection and begins to tend towards decline, appears and produces ova, in order that, if destruction overtake the parent in this world, this substitute may take its place, so that the order of the world may be immune from injury, and the species may not become extinct. This is called "the Reproductive Faculty" (Quwwat-i-Muwallida).

So this Kingdom rose superior to the inorganic world in these several ways which have been mentioned; and the far-reaching Wisdom of the Creator so ordained that these Kingdoms should be connected one with another successively and continuously, so that in the inorganic world the first material, which was clay, underwent a process of evolution and became higher in organisation until it grew to coral (marjad, bussad), which is the ultimate term of the inorganic world and is connected with the most primitive stage of plant-life. And the most primitive thing in the vegetable kingdom is the thorn, and the most highly developed the date-palm and the grape, which resemble the animal kingdom in that the former needs the male to fertilise it so that it may bear fruit, while the latter flees from its foe. For the vine flees from the bind-weed, a plant which, when it twists round the vine, causes it to shrivel up, wherefore the vine flees from it. In the vegetable kingdom, therefore, there is nothing higher than the date-palm and the vine, inasmuch as they have assimilated themselves to that which is superior to their own kingdom, and have subtly overstepped the limits of their own world, and evolved themselves in a higher direction.

1 The Pearl, however, seems generally to be placed higher. See Dieterici's Mikrokosmos, p. II.
2 See Dieterici's Mikrokosmos, p. 25.
3 'Ashaga, a species of Dolichos. See Lane's Arabic Lexicon, s.v.
Section IV. The Five External Senses:

Now when this kingdom had attained perfection, and the influence of the “Fathers” of the upper world had reacted on the “Mothers” below, and the interspace between the air and the fire in its turn became involved, a finer offspring resulted and the manifestation of the animal world took place. This, bringing with it the faculties already possessed by the vegetable kingdom, added thereunto two others, one the faculty of discovery, which is called the “Perceptive Faculty” (Mudrika), whereby the animal discerns things; the second the power of voluntary movement, by the help of which the animal moves, approaching that which is congenial to it and retreating from that which is offensive, which is called the “Motor Faculty” (Muharrika).

Now the “Perceptive Faculty” is subdivided into ten branches, five of which are called the “External Senses,” and five the “Internal Senses.” The former are “Touch” (v), “Taste,” “Sight,” “Hearing,” and “Smell.” Now Touch is a sense distributed throughout the skin and flesh of the animal, so that the nerves perceive and discern anything which comes in contact with them, such as dryness and moisture, heat and cold, roughness and smoothness, harshness and softness. Taste is a sense located in that nerve which is distributed over the surface of the tongue, which detects soluble nutriments in those bodies which come in contact with it; and it is this sense which discriminates between sweet and bitter, sharp and sour, and the like of these. Hearing is a sense located in the nerve which is distributed about the auditory meatus, so that it detects any sound which is discharged against it by undulations of the air compressed between two impinging bodies, that is to say two bodies striking against one another, by the impact of which the air is thrown into waves and becomes the cause of sound, in that it imparts movement to the air which is stationary in the auditory meatus; comes into contact with it, reaches this nerve, and gives rise to the sensation of hearing. Sight is a faculty, located in the optic nerve which discerns images projected on the crystalline humour, whether of figures or solid bodies, variously coloured, through the medium of a translucent substance which extends from it to the surfaces of reflecting bodies. Smell is a faculty located in a protuberance situated in the fore part of the brain and resembling the nipple of the female breast, which apprehends

1 By the “Seven Fathers above” and the “Four Mothers below,” the seven planets and the four elements are intended.
2 The four elemental spheres (terrestrial, aqueous, aerial and igneous) present three interspaces (fur/a), in the first of which is produced the mineral kingdom, in the second the vegetable, and in the third the animal. These three are called the “threefold offspring.”
what the air inhaled brings to it of odours mingled with the vapours wafted by air-currents, or impressed upon it by diffusion from the odorific body.

SECTION V. *The Five Internal Senses*. 

Now as to the Internal Senses, some are such as perceive the forms of things sensible, while others are such as apprehend their meanings. The first is the "Composite Sense" (Hiss-i-mushtari), which is a faculty located in the anterior ventricles of the brain, and in its nature receptive of all images perceived by the external senses and impressed upon them to be communicated to it, such perception being apprehended only when received by it. The second is the Imagination (Khayal), a faculty located in the posterior portion of the anterior ventricle of the brain, which preserves what the "Composite Sense" has apprehended from the external senses, so that this remains in it after the subsidence of the sense-impressions. The third is the "Imaginative Faculty" (Mutakhayyila), thus called when animals are under discussion, but, in the case of the human soul, named the "Cogitative Faculty" (Mutafakkira). This is a faculty located in the middle ventricle of the brain, whose function it is to combine or separate, as the mind may elect, those particular percepts which are stored in the Imagination. The fourth is the "Apprehensive Faculty" (Wahm), which is a faculty located in the posterior portion of the middle ventricle of the brain, whose function is to discover the supra-sensual ideas existing in particular percepts, such as that faculty whereby the kid distinguishes between its dam and a wolf, and the child between a spotted rope and a serpent. The fifth is the "Retentive Faculty" (Hafiza), also called the "Memory" (Dhakira), which is a faculty located in the posterior ventricle of the brain. It preserves those supra-sensual ideas discovered by the "Apprehension"; between which and itself the same relation subsists as between the "Imagination" and the "Composite Sense," though the latter preserves forms, and the former ideas.

Now all these are the servants of the "Animal Soul," a substance having its well-spring in the heart, which, when it acts in the heart, is called the "Animal Spirit," but when in the brain, the "Psychic Spirit," and when in the liver, the "Natural Spirit." It is a subtle vapour which rises from the blood, diffuses itself to the remotest arteries, and resembles the sun in luminosity. Every animal which possesses these two faculties, the Perceptive and the Motor, and these ten subordinate faculties derived therefrom, is called a perfect animal; but if any faculty is lacking in it, defective. Thus the ant has no eyes, and the snake, which is

1 See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 144-145.
called the deaf adder; no ears; but none is more defective than the maggot, which is a red worm found in the mud of streams, called therefore gil-khawara ("mud-eater"), but in Transoxiana ghâk-kirmâ. This is the lowest animal, while the highest is the satyr (nasnas), a creature inhabiting the plains of Turkistán, of erect carriage and vertical stature, with wide flat nails. It cherishes a great affection for men; wherever it sees men, it halts on their path and examines them attentively; and when it finds a solitary man, it carries him off, and it is even said that it will conceive from him. This, after (s) mankind, is the highest of animals, inasmuch as in several respects it resembles man; first in its erect stature; secondly in the breadth of its nails; and thirdly in the hair of its head.

ANECDOTE I.

I heard as follows from Abú Rídá iBn 'Abdu's-Salam of Níshápúr in the Great Mosque at Níshápúr, in the year 510/1116-1117:—"We were travelling towards Tamgháj, and in our caravan were several thousand camels. One day, when we were marching in the mid-day heat, we saw on a sand-hill a woman, bare-headed and quite naked, extremely beautiful in form, with a figure like a cypress, a face like the moon, and long hair, standing and looking at us. Although we spoke to her, she made no reply; and when we approached her, she fled, running so swiftly in her flight that probably no horse could have overtaken her. Our muleteers, who were Turks, said that this was a wild man, such as they call nasnas." You must know that this is the noblest of animals in these three respects which have been mentioned.

So when, in the course of long ages and by lapse of time, equilibrium became more delicately adjusted, and the turn came of the interspace which is between the elements and the heavens, man came into being, bringing with him all that existed in the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, and adding thereunto the capacity for abstract concepts. So by reason of in-

1 Cf. Dieterici's Mikrokosmos, p. 43.
2 The correct reading of this word, which appears in a different form in each MS., is doubtful, and it is probably a local term only. Mirzá Muhammad takes ghâk-kirmâ as equivalent to kirm-i-khâk, "earthworm."•
3 The term nasnâs either denotes a real animal or a fabulous monster. In the first sense it is used of various kinds of monkeys, e.g., the orang-outang and marmoset; in the latter it is equivalent to the Shiqq or Half-man (which resembles a man cut in two vertically) of the Arabs, and the Div-mardam of the Persians. See Qazwini’s Athâr-u-Bilâd, p. 449; and my Year amongst the Persians, pp. 165, 267.
4 See Qazwini’s Athâr-u-Bilâd, p. 275. China or Chinese Turkistán appears to be meant. See Note II at the end.
5 See n. 2 at the foot of p. 7 supra. This fourth interspace (fierja) lies outside the "Igneous Sphere" and inside the "Heaven of the Moon."
telligence he became king over all animals, and brought all things under his control. Thus from the mineral world he made jewels, gold and silver his adornment; from iron, zinc, copper, lead and tin he fashioned his utensils and vessels; from the vegetable kingdom he made his food, raiment and bedding; and from the animal world he obtained for himself steeds and beasts of burden. And from all three kingdoms he chose out medicines wherewith to heal himself. Whereby did there accrue to him such pre-eminence? By this, that he understood abstract ideas, and, by means of these, recognized God. And whereby did he know God? By knowing himself; for “He who knoweth himself, knoweth his Lord.”

So this kingdom [of man] became divided into three classes. The first is that which is proximate to the Animal Kingdom, such as the wild men of the waste and the mountain, whose aspiration doth not more than suffice to secure their own livelihood by seeking what is to their advantage and warding off what is to their detriment. The second class compriseth the inhabitants of towns and cities, who possess civilization, power of co-operation, and aptitude to discover crafts and arts; but whose scientific attainments are limited to the organisation of such association as subsists between them, in order that the different classes may continue to exist. The third class compriseth such as are independent of these things, and whose occupation, by night and by day, in secret and in public, is to reflect, “Who are we, for what reason did we come into existence, and Who hath brought us into being?” In other words, they hold debate concerning the real essences of things, reflect on their coming, and anxiously consider their departure, saying, “How have we come? Whither shall we go?”

This class, again, is subdivided into two sorts; first, those who reach the essence of this object by the help of masters and by laborious toil, voracious study, reading and writing; and such are called “Philosophers.” But there is yet another sort who, without master or book, reach the extreme limit of this problem, and these are called “Prophets.”

Now the peculiar virtues of the Prophet are three:—first, that, without instruction, he knoweth all knowledges; secondly, that he gives information concerning yesterday and to-morrow otherwise than by analogical reasoning; and thirdly, that he hath such psychical power that from whatever body he will he taketh the form and produceth another form, which thing none can do save such as are conformed to the Angelic World. Therefore in the Human World none is above him, and his command

1 Or perhaps “races.” The word is ANOOS, plural of NOQ, “species.”
2 This is what is called ‘Ilmi-Ladunni, or knowledge directly derived from God.
is effective for the well-being of the world; for whatever others have, he has, while possessing also an additional qualification which they have not, that is to say communication with the Angelic World. This additional qualification is in brief termed the "Prophetic Function," and is in detail such as we have explained.

Now so long as such a man lives, he points out to his people what things conduce to well-being in both worlds, by the Command of God, glorious is His Name, communicated to him by means of the Angels. But when, by natural dissolution, he turns his face towards the other world, he leaves behind him as his representative a Code derived from the indications of God Almighty and his own sayings. And assuredly he requires, to maintain his Law and Practice, a vice-gerent who must needs be the most excellent of that community and the most perfect product of that age, in order that he may maintain his Law and give effect to this Code; and such an one is called an "Imám." But this Imám cannot reach the horizons of the East, the West, the North and the South in such wise that the effects of his care may extend alike to the most remote and the nearest, and his command and prohibition may reach at once the intelligent and the ignorant. Therefore must he needs have vicars to act for him in distant parts of the world, and not every one of these will have such power that all mankind shall be compelled to acknowledge it. Hence there must be an administrator and compeller, which administrator and compeller is called a "Monarch," that is to say, a king; and his vicarious function "Sovereignty." The king, therefore, is the lieutenant of the Imám, the Imám of the Prophet, and the Prophet of God (mighty and glorious is He!).

Well has Firdawsi said on this subject:—

"Then learn that the functions of Prophet and King Are set side by side like two stones in one ring."

The Lord of the sons of men himself hath said, "Church and State are twins," since in form and essence neither differs from the other, either as regards increase or defect. So, by virtue of this decree, no burden, after the Prophetic Office, is weightier than Sovereignty, nor any function more laborious than that of governing. Hence a king needs round about him, as men on whose counsel, judgement and deliberations depend the loosing and binding of the world, and the well-being and ill-being of the servants of God Almighty, such as are in every respect the most excellent and most perfect of their time.

1 I.e. the Scripture and the Traditions, in the case of the Prophet Muhammad the Qur‘án and the Hadith.
2 I.e. the Prophet Muhammad.
Now of the servants essential to kings are the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer and the Physician, with whom he can in no wise dispense. For the maintenance of the administration is by the Secretary; the perpetuation of immortal renown by the Poet; the ordering of affairs by the Astrologer; and the health of the body by the Physician. These four arduous functions and noble arts are amongst the branches of the Science of Philosophy; the functions of the Scribe and the Poet being branches of the Science of Logic; that of the Astrologer, one of the principal subdivisions of Mathematics; while the Physician’s Art is amongst the branches of Natural Science. This book, therefore, comprises Four Discourses, to wit:—

First Discourse, on the essence of the Secretarial Art, and the nature of the eloquent and perfect Secretary.

Second Discourse, on the essence of the Poetic Art, and the aptitude of the Poet.

Third Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Astrology, and the competence of the Astrologer in that Science.

Fourth Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Medicine, and the direction and disposition of the Physician.

Such philosophical considerations as are germane to this Book will therefore be advanced at the beginning of each Discourse; and thereafter ten pleasing anecdotes, of the choicest connected with that subject and the rarest appropriate to that topic, of what hath befallen persons of the class under discussion, will be adduced, in order that it may become plainly known to the King that the Secretarial Office is not a trivial matter; that the Poetic Calling is no mean occupation; that Astrology is a necessary Science; that Medicine is an indispensable Art; and that the wise King cannot do without these four persons, the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician.

(11) FIRST DISCOURSE.

On the essence of the Secretarial Art, and the nature of the perfect Secretary and what is connected therewith.

The Secretarial Function is an art comprising analogical methods of rhetoric and communication, and teaching the forms of address employed amongst men in correspondence, consultation, contention, eulogy, condemnation, diplomacy, conciliation and provocation, as well as in magnifying matters or minimising them; contriving means of excuse or censure; imposing covenants; recording precedents; and displaying in every case orderly arrangement of the subject matter, so that all may be enunciated in the best and most suitable manner.
Hence the Secretary must be of gentle birth, of refined honour, of penetrating discernment, of profound reflection, and of piercing judgement; and the amallest portion and fullest share of literary culture and its fruits must be his. Neither must he be remote from, or unacquainted with, logical analogies; and he must know the ranks of his contemporaries, and be familiar with the dignities of the leading men of his time. Moreover he should not be absorbed in the wealth and perishable goods of this world; nor concern himself with the approval or condemnation of persons prejudiced in his favour or against him, or be misled by them; and he should, when exercising his secretarial functions, guard the honour of his master from degrading situations and humiliating usages. And in the course of his letter and tenour of his correspondence he should not quarrel with honourable and powerful personages; and, even though enmity subsist between his master and the person whom he is addressing, he should restrain his pen, and not attack his honour, save in the case of one who may have overstepped his own proper limit, or advanced his foot beyond the circle of respect, for they say:—"One for one, and he who begins is most in the wrong".

Moreover in his forms of address he should observe moderation, writing to each person that which his family pedigree, kingdom, domain, army, and treasure indicate; save in the case of one who may himself have fallen short in this matter, or made display of undue pride, or neglected some point of courtesy, or manifested a familiarity which reason cannot regard otherwise than as misplaced in such correspondence, and unsuitable to epistolary communications. In such cases it is permitted and allowed to the Secretary to take up his pen, set his best foot forward, and in this pass go to the extreme limit and utmost bound, for the most perfect of mankind and the most excellent of them (upon him be the Blessings of God and His Peace) says:—"Haughtiness towards the haughty is a good work." But in no case must he suffer any dust from the atmosphere of recrimination in this arena of correspondence to alight on the skirt of his master's honour; and in the setting forth of his message he must adopt that method whereby the words shall subserve the ideas and the matter be briefly expressed; for the orators of the Arabs have said, "The best speech is that which is brief and significant, [not long and wearisome]." For if the ideas be subordinated to the

1 وأحده بواحدة والباهين المظلل i.e. "Tit for tat, and the aggressor is most to blame."

2 التكبر مع التكبر صدقه The printed text omits the last words.
words, the discussion will be protracted, and the writer will be stigmatised as prolix, and "He who is prolix is a babbler".

Now the words of the Secretary will not attain to this elevation until he acquires some knowledge of every science, obtains some hint from every master, hears some aphorism from every philosopher, and borrows some elegance from every man of letters. Therefore he must accustom himself to peruse the Scripture of the Lord of Glory, the Traditions of Muhammad the Chosen One, the Memoirs of the Companions, the proverbial sayings of the Arabs, and the wise words of the Persians; and to read the books of the ancients, and to study the writings of their successors, such as the Correspondence of the Sāhib [Isma'īl, ibn 'Abbād], Sābi and Qābūs; the compositions of Ḥāmādī, Imāmī and Qudāmā ibn Ja'far; the Gestes of Badī'[u'-Zamān al-Hamadānī], al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamīdī; the Rescripts of al-Bal'amī, Ḥamad-i-Ḥasan and Abū Ṣafīr Kunduri; the Letters of Muhammad 'Abduh, 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, and the Sayyidur-Ru'asā; the Šeances of Muhammad-i-Mansūr, Ibn 'Abbādī and Ḥamūn-Nassābā the descendant of 'Alī; and, of the poetical works of the Arabs, the Divāns of Mutanabbī, Abīwardī and Ghazzi; and, amongst the Persian poets, the poems of Rūdagī, the Epic of Firdawsī, and the panegyrics of 'Unṣūrī; since each one of these works which I have enumerated was, after its kind, the incomparable and unique product of its time; and every writer who hath these books and doth not fail to read them, stimulates his mind,
polishes his wit, enkindles his fancy, and ever raises the level of his diction, whereby a Secretary becomes famous. Now if he be well acquainted with the Qur'an, with one verse therefrom he may discharge his obligation to a whole realm, as did Iskafi.

ANECDOTE II.

Iskafi was one of the secretaries of the House of Sâmân (may God have mercy on him), and knew his craft right well, so that he could cunningly traverse the heights, and emerge triumphant from the most difficult passes. He discharged the duties of secretary in the Chancellery of Nūh ibn Manṣūr, but they did not properly recognize his worth, or bestow on him favours commensurate with his pre-eminence. He therefore fled from Bukhârâ to Alptagîn at Herât. Alptagîn, a Turk, wise and discerning, made much of him, and confided to him the Chancellery, and his affairs prospered. Now because there had sprung up at the court a new nobility who made light of the old nobles, Alptagîn, though he patiently bore their presumption [for a while], was finally forced into rebellion, by reason of some slight put upon him at the instigation of a party of these new nobles. Then Amir Nūh wrote from Bukhârâ to Zâbulistân that Subuktîgîn should come with that army, and the sons of Sîmîjûr from Nîshâpûr, and should oppose and make war on Alptagîn. And this war is very celebrated, and this momentous battle most famous.

So when these armies reached Herât, the Amir Nūh sent ‘Alî ibn Muhtâj al-Kashânî, who was the Chief Chamberlain (Ḫâjibûl-Bâb), to Alptagîn with a letter [fluent] like water and [scathing] like fire, all filled with threats and fraught with menaces which left no room for peace and no way for conciliation, such as an angry master might write from a distance to his disobedient servants on such an occasion and in such a crisis, the whole letter, filled with such expressions as “I will come,” “I will, take,” “I will slay.” When the Chamberlain ‘Abî’l-Ḥasan ‘Alî ibn Muhtâj al-Kashânî submitted this letter and delivered this message, withholding nothing, Alptagîn, who was already vexed,

2 This seems to be an error (though it stands thus in all three copies) for Manṣûr ibn Nūh (Manṣûr I), who reigned A.H. 350-366; for Nūh ibn Manṣûr (Nūh II) reigned A.H. 366-387, and Alptagîn died in A.H. 352 or 354. Concerning the Diwân ‘r-Ra’îl see van Kremer’s Gûlturgesch., i, pp. 174, 200; and A. de B. Kazimirski’s Lenawich, pp. 36 and 43. According to Ibn’l-Âthîr (Bulâq ed. of A.H. 1303, vol. viii, p. 179), Alptagîn’s revolt took place in A.H. 351, when Iskâfî was already dead. See p. 88 of the Persian notes and Note IV at end of this volume.
3 See Defremery’s Hist. des Samanides, pp. 260-261.
4 Concerning this general, see Defremery’s Hist. des Samanides, pp. 247-248.
grew more vexed, and broke out in anger, saying, "I was his father’s servant, but when my master passed from this transitory to that eternal abode, he entrusted him to me, not me to him. Although, to outward seeming, I should obey him, when you closely examine this matter a contrary conclusion results, seeing that I am in the last stages of old age, and he in the first stages of youth. Those who have impelled him to act thus are destroyers of this Dynasty, not counsellors, and are overthrowers of this House, not supporters."

Then in extreme ill-temper he instructed Iskáfi saying, "When thou answerest this letter omit no detail of disrespect; and I desire that thou shouldst write the answer on the back of the letter." So Iskáfi answered it on the spur of the moment, and first wrote as follows:

"In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement. O Núh, thou hast contended with us and made great the contention with us. Produce, then, that wherewith thou threatenest us, if thou art of those who speak truly!"

When this letter reached Núh ibn Mansúr the Amir of Khurásán, he read it, and was astonished; and all the gentlemen of the Court were filled with amaze, and the scribes bit their fingers [in wonder]. And when the affair of Alptagín was disposed of, Iskáfi fled away privily, for he was fearful and terrified; until suddenly Núh sent a messenger to summon him to his presence, and conferred on him the post of Secretary (1). So his affairs prospered, and he became honoured and famous amongst the votaries of the Pen. Had he not known the Qur’án well, he would not have hit upon this verse on that occasion, nor would his position have risen from that degree to this limit.

**ANECDOSE III.**

When Iskáfi’s affairs waxed thus prosperous, and he became established in the service of the Amir Núh ibn Mansúr, Mákán son of Kakúy2 rebelled at Ray and in Kúhištán, withdrew his neck from the yoke of obedience, sent his agents to Khwár and Simnak, captured several of the towns of Kúmish3, and paid no heed to the Sámanids. Núh ibn Mansúr was afraid, because this was a formidable and able man, and set himself to deal with this matter. He therefore ordered Tásh, the Commander-in-chief, to

1 Qur’dn, xi, 34.
2 The chronological difficulties involved in these two stories are considerable, for the rebellion of Mákán ibn Kakúy occurred in 329/940-1, towards the end of the reign of Nasr II ibn Ahmad, i.e. long before the rebellion of Alptagín (see n. 2 on p. 15 supra). See Defrémer’s Samanides, pp. 248 and 263–264. See Notes IV and V at the end.
3 Better known as Qúmís, the arabicised form of the name. See ıt de Meynard’s Dicr. Géogr., Histor., et Lit. de la Perse, pp. 454–455. For the three other towns mentioned, see the same work, pp. 213, 317 and 318.
march against him with seven thousand horsemen, suppress this rebellion, and put an end to this formidable insurrection in whatever way he deemed most expedient.

Now Tāsh was mighty sagacious and clear in judgement, rashly involving himself in and skilfully extricating himself from the straitest passes; ever victorious in warfare, and never turning back disappointed from any enterprise, nor defeated from any campaign. While he lived, the dominion of the House of Sāmān enjoyed the greatest brilliancy, and their affairs the utmost prosperity.

On this occasion, then, the Amīr, being mightily preoccupied and distressed in mind, sent a messenger to summon Iskāfī, and held a private interview with him. "I am greatly troubled," said he, "by this business; for Mākān is a brave man, endowed with courage and manhood, and hath both ability, and generosity, so that there have been few like him amongst the Daylamis. You must co-operate with Tāsh, and whatever is lacking to him in military strength at this crisis, you must make good by your counsels. And I will establish myself at Nīshāpur, so that the army may be supported from the base, and the foe man discouraged. Every day a swift messenger with a concise despatch from you must come to me and in this you must set forth the pith of what may have happened, so that my anxieties may be assuaged." Iskāfī bowed and said, "I will obey."

So next day Tāsh unfurled his standard, sounded his drums, and set out for the front from Bukhārā, crossing the Oxus with seven thousand horsemen; while the Amīr followed him with the remainder of the army to Nīshāpur. There he invested Tāsh and the army with robes of honour; and Tāsh marched out and entered Bayhaq, and went forth into Kūnish setting his face towards Ray with fixed purpose and firm resolve.

Meanwhile Mākān, with ten thousand mailed warriors, was encamped at the gates of Ray, which he had made his base. Tāsh arrived, passed by the city, and encamped over against him. Then messengers began to pass to and fro between them, but no settlement was effected, for Mākān was puffed up with pride on account of that high-hearted army which he had gathered together from every quarter. It was therefore decided that they should join battle.

Now Tāsh was an old wolf who for forty years had held the position of Commander-in-chief, and had witnessed many such engagements; and he so arranged it that when the two armies confronted one another, and the doughty warriors and champions

1 Mirza Muhammad (p. 11 of the Persian notes) has investigated the precise meaning of the word mulattafa, here translated "concise despatch," and shews by quotations that it is used for a minutely and concisely written note capable of being easily concealed and secretly carried.
of the army of Transoxiana and Khurasan moved forward from the centre, only half of Mákán's army was engaged, while the rest were not fighting. Mákán was slain, and Tash when he had ceased from taking and binding and slaying, turned to Iskáfi and said, "A carrier-pigeon must be sent in advance, to be followed later by a courier; but all the main features of the battle must be summed up in one sentence, which shall indicate all the circumstances, yet shall not exceed what a pigeon can carry, and shall adequately express our meaning."

Then Iskáfi took so much paper as two fingers would cover and wrote:—"As for Mákán, he hath become as his name" [Mákán = "He hath not been" in Arabic]. By this "má", he intended the negative, and by "kán?" the preterite of the verb, so that the Persian of it would be, "Mákán hath become like his name," that is to say, hath become nothing.

When the carrier-pigeon reached the Amir Núh, he was not more delighted at this victory than at this despatch, and he ordered Iskáfi's salary to be increased, saying, "Such a person must maintain a heart free from care in order to attain to such delicacies of expression."

ANECDOTE IV.

One who pursues any craft which depends on reflection ought to be free from care and anxiety, for if it be otherwise the arrows of his thought will fly wide and will not be concentrated on the target of achievement, since only by a tranquil mind can one arrive at such diction.

It is related that a certain secretary of the 'Abbásid Caliphs was writing a letter to the governor of Egypt; and, his mind being tranquil and himself submerged in the ocean of reflection, was forming sentences precious as pearls of great price and fluent as running water. Suddenly his maid-servant entered, saying, "There is no flour left." The scribe was so put out and disturbed in mind that he lost the thread of his theme, and was so affected that he wrote in the letter "There is no flour left." When he had finished it, he sent it to the Caliph, having no knowledge of these words which he had written.

When the letter reached the Caliph, and he read it, and arrived at this sentence, he was greatly astonished, being unable to account for so strange an occurrence. So he sent a messenger to summon the scribe, and enquired of him concerning this. The scribe was covered with shame, and gave the true explanation of the matter. The Caliph was mightily astonished and said, "The

1 امَّا مَآکَانَ فَصَارَ كَأْسِه
2 The substance of this anecdote is given in the Tārīkh-i-Guzida, and is cited by Defrémery at pp. 247–248 of his Histoire des Samanides (Paris, 1845).
beginning of this letter surpasses and excels the latter part by as much as the sûra 'Say, He is God; the One' excels the sûra 'The Hands of Abû Lahab shall perish?; and it is a pity to surrender the minds of eloquent men like you into the hands of the struggle for the necessaries of life. Then he ordered him to be given means sufficiently ample to prevent such an announce-
ment as this ever entering his ears again. Naturally it then happened that he could compress into two sentences the ideas of two worlds.

ANECDOTE V.

The Sâhib Isma'il ibn'Abbâd³, entitled al-Kâfi ('the Competent') of Ray was minister to the Shâhanshâh⁴. He was most perfect in his accomplishments, of which fact his correspondence and his poetry are two sufficient witnesses and unimpeachable arbiters.

Now the Sâhib was a Mu'tazilite⁵, and such are wont to be extremely pious and scrupulous in their religious duties, holding it right that a true believer should abide eternally in hell by reason of a grain of unrighteousness; and his servants, retainers and agents for the most part held the same opinion that he did.

Now there was at Qum a judge appointed by the Sâhib in whose devoutness and piety he had a firm belief, though one after another men asserted the contrary. All this, however, left the Sâhib unconvinced, until two trustworthy persons of Qum, whose statements commanded credence, declared that in a certain suit between So-and-so and Such-an-one this judge had accepted a bribe of five hundred dinârs. This was mightily displeasing to the Sâhib for two reasons, first on account of the greatness of the bribe, and secondly on account of the shameless unscrupu-

ousness of the judge. He at once took up his pen and wrote:

"In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement O Judge of Qum! We dismiss you, (â) so Come⁶!"

Scholars and rhetoricians will notice and appreciate the high merit of this sentence in respect to its concision and clearness, and naturally from that time forth rhetoricians and stylists have inscribed this epigram on their hearts, and impressed it on their minds.

1 Qur'ān, cxii.  2 Qur'ān, cxii.
3 For an account of this great minister and generous patron of literature, see de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikân, vol. i, pp. 217–217, and Note VI at end.
4 This old Persian title, "King of kings" was borne by several of the House of Buwayh. Here either Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla or his brother Fakhru'd-Dawla is intended.
5 This, as Mrâz Müller points out on p. 12 of the Persian notes, is the meaning of 'alî madhhab. The followers of this doctrine, called by their adversaries al-Mu'tazila, "the Seceders," called themselves "Partisans of the Divine Justice and Unity." See my Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol. i, p. 281.
6 Bismillah. 7 I have endeavoured to preserve, feebly enough, the word-play in the original.
ANECDOTE VI.

Lamghan is a city in the district of Sind, one of the dependencies of Ghazna; and at this present time one lofty mountain separates its inhabitants from the heathen; so that they live in constant dread of the attacks and raids of the unbelievers. Yet the men of Lamghan are of good courage, hardy and thrifty, and combining with their hardiness no small truculence, to such a degree that they think nothing of lodging a complaint against a tax-gatherer on account of a maund of chaff or a single egg; while for even less than this they are ready to come to Ghazna to complain of exactions, and to remain there one or two months, and not to return without having accomplished their object. In short they have a strong hand in obstinacy, and much back-bone in importunity.

Now in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Yamin ud-Dawla (may God illuminate his proof!), the heathen one night attacked them, and damage of every sort befell them. But these were men who could roll in the dust without soil; and when this event happened several of their chiefs and men of note rose up and came to the court of Ghazna, and, with their garments rent, their heads uncovered, and uttering loud lamentations, entered the bazaar of Ghazna, went to the King's Palace wailing and grieving, and so described their misfortune that even a stone would have been moved to tears. As their truculence, impudence, dissimulation and cunning had not yet become apparent, that great minister, Ahmad-i-Hasan of Maymand, took pity upon them, and forgave them that year's taxes, exempting them from all exactions, and bidding them return home, strive more strenuously, and spend less, so that by the beginning of next year they might recover their former position.

So the deputation of Lamghânís returned with great contentment and huge satisfaction, and continued during that year in the easiest of circumstances, giving nothing to any one. When the year came to an end, the same deputation returned to present another petition to the minister, simply setting forth that in the past year their lord the great minister had brightened their country by his grace and clemency and had preserved them by
his care and protection, (a) so that through that bounty and beneficence the people of Lamghán had reached their proper position and were able to dwell on that border; but that, since their prosperity was still somewhat shaken, they feared that, should he demand the contribution on their possessions that year, some of them would be utterly ruined, and that, as a consequence of this, loss might accrue to the royal coffers.

The minister, Ahmad-i-Hasan, therefore, extending his favour, excused them the taxes of yet another year. During these two years the people of Lamghán grew rich, but this did not suffice them, for in the third year their greed reasserted itself, and, hoping again to be excused, the same deputation again appeared at Court and made a similar representation. Then it became apparent to all the world that the people of Lamghán were in the wrong. So the Prime Minister turned the petition over and wrote on the back of it:—*Al-bharájku khuráfjun, addá'ahu dawá'ahu*”—that is to say, “The tax is a running sore: its cure is its discharge.” And from the time of this great statesman this saying has become proverbial, and has proved useful in many cases. May the earth rest lightly on this great man!

**ANECDOТЕ VII.**

There arose great statesmen under the ‘Abbasid dynasty, and indeed the history of the Barmecides is well known and famous, and to what extent and degree were their gifts and rewards. Hassan [ibn] Sahl, called *Dhur-Riyásatayn* ("the lord of two commands"), and his brother Faḍl were exalted above the very heavens, so much so that Ma’mún espoused Faḍl’s daughter and asked her in marriage. Now she was a damsel peerless in beauty and unrivalled in attainments; and it was agreed that Ma’mún should go to the bride’s house and remain there for a month, and after the lapse of this period should return home with his bride. On the day fixed for their departure he desired, as is customary, to array himself in better clothes. Now Ma’mún always wore black; and people supposed that he wore it because black was the distinctive colour of the ‘Abbásids; till one day Yahyá ibn Aktham³ enquired of him, “Why is it that the Prince of Believers prefers black garments?” Ma’mún replied to the judge, “Black garments are for men and for the living; for no woman is married in black, nor is any dead man (r.) buried in black.” Yahyá was

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1 Literally "a wound of a thousand fountains," probably a carbuncle.
2 There appears to be a confusion here between the two brothers. Hassan ibn Sahl was the father of Purán, al-Ma’mún’s bride, while Faḍl bore the title of Dhur-Riyásatayn. See de Slane’s *Ibn Khalikán*, vol. i, pp. 268-272, and 408-409; vol. ii, pp. 47-576. Also the *Lajūfu’-Ma’drif* of Ath-Tha’alibi (ed. de Jong), pp. 73-74, where a full account is given of this marriage.
greatly surprised by this answer. Then on this day Ma'mún desired to inspect the wardrobe; but of a thousand coats of satin, ma'dināt, malikī, tamīm, hand-woven, cloth of gold, miyrādī, and fine black silk, he approved none, but clad himself in his [customary] black, and mounted, and, turned his face, towards the bride's house. Now on that day, Fadl had decked out his palace in such wise that the nobles were filled with wonder thereat, for he had collected so many rare things that words would fail to describe or enumerate them. So when Ma'mún reached the gate of this palace he saw a curtain suspended, fairer than a Chinese temple yet withal more precious than the standards of the true Faith, whereof the design charmed the heart and the colour mingled with the soul. He turned to his courtiers and said, "Whichever of those thousand coats I had chosen, I should have been shamed here. Praise be to God and thanks that I restricted myself to this black raiment."

Now of all the elaborate preparations made by Fadl on that day, one was that he had a dish filled with [pieces of] wax in the form of pearls, each in circumference like a hazel-nut, and in each one a piece of paper on which was inscribed the name of a village. These he poured out at Ma'mún's feet, and whosoever of Ma'mún's attendants obtained one of these pieces of wax, to him he sent the title-deeds of that village.

So when Ma'mún entered the bride's house, he saw a mansion plastered and painted, with a dado of china tiles, fairer than the East at the time of sunrise, and sweeter than a garden at the season of the rose; and therein spread out a full-sized mat of gold thread embroidered with pearls, rubies and turquoises; and six cushions of like design placed thereon; and seated there, in the place of honour, a beauteous damsel sweeter than existence and life, and pleasanter than health and youth; in stature such that the cypress of Ghatafar would have subscribed itself her servant; with cheeks which the brightest sun would have acknowledged as suzerain; with hair which was the envy of musk and ambergris; and eyes which were the despair of the onyx and the narcissus. She, rising to her feet like a cypress, and walking gracefully, advanced towards Ma'mún, and, with a profound obeisance and earnest apologies, took his hand, brought him forward, seated him in the chief seat, and stood before him in service. Ma'mún bade her be seated, whereupon she seated

1 The exact nature of most of these fabrics I have been unable to ascertain. See Note VII at the end.
2 This, not "spring," seems to be the meaning of bahār in this passage.
3 Isdr or izdra appears to denote a kind of lower half-wall or dado against which one can lean while sitting.
4 Khānawānīr seems to mean "large enough for [covering the floor of] a house," and Shīsha-i-sar-kashida "spun" or "thread-drawn gold."
5 A quarter of Samarqand mentioned in the first story in Book i of the Mathnawī.
herself on her knees, hanging her head, and looking down at the carpet. Thereupon Ma'mún was overcome with love: he had already lost his heart, and now he would have added thereunto his very soul. He stretched out his hand and drew forth from the opening of his coat eighteen pearls, each one as large as a sparrow’s egg, brighter than the stars of heaven, more lustrous than the teeth of the fair, rounder, nay more luminous, than Saturn or Jupiter, and poured them out on the surface of the carpet, where, by reason of its smoothness and their roundness, they continued in motion, there being no cause for their quiescence. But the girl paid no heed to the pearls, nor so much as raised her head. Thereat was Ma’mún’s passion further increased, and he extended his hand to open the door of amorous dalliance and to take her in his embraces. But the emotion of shame overwhelmed her, and the delicate damsel was so affected that she was overtaken by that state peculiar to women. Thereat the marks of shame and abashed modesty appeared in her cheeks and countenance, and she immediately exclaimed: — “O Prince of Believers! The command of God cometh, seek not then to hasten it!”

Thereat Ma’mún withdrew his hand, and was near swooning on account of the extreme appositeness of this verse, and her graceful application of it on this occasion. Yet still he could not take his eyes off her, and for eighteen days he came not forth from this house and concerned himself with naught but her. And the affairs of Fadl prospered, and he attained to that high position which was his.

ANECDOTE VIII.

Again in our own time one of the ‘Abbasid Caliphs, al-Mustarshid bi’llah, the son of al-Mustazhir bi’llah, the Prince of Believers (may God render his dust fragrant and exalt his rank in Paradise!), came forth from the city of Baghdad with a well-equipped army in full panoply, treasure beyond compute, and many muniments of war, marching against Khurasan, seeking to establish his supremacy over the King of the World Sanjar.

Now this quarrel had been contrived by interested persons, and was due to the machinations and misrepresentations of wicked men, who had brought matters to this pass. When the Caliph reached Kirhânsâh, he there delivered on a Friday a homily which in eloquence transcended the highest zenith of the sun, and attained the height of the Heavenly Throne.
and the Supreme Paradise. In the course of this harangue, in his great distress and extreme despair, he complained of the House of Saljūq, in such wise that the orators of Arabia and the rhetoricians of Persia are fain to confess that after the Companions of the Prophet (God's blessing rest on all of them), who were the disciples of the Point of the Prophetic Function (รอ) and the expounders of his pithy aphorisms, no one had composed a discourse so weighty and eloquent. Said al-Mustarshid:—“We entrusted our affairs to the House of Saljūq, but they rebelled against us:— and the time lengthened over them, and their hearts were hardened, and most of them are sinners,” that is to say, withdrew their necks from our commands in matters appertaining to Religion and Islām.

ANECDOTE IX.

The Gūr-Khān of Khitā fought a battle with the King of the World Sanjar, the son of Malikshāh, at the gates of Sāmarqand, wherein such disaster befel the army of Islām as one cannot describe, and Transoxiana passed into his power. After putting to death the Imām of the East Ḥusām-ud-Dīn (may God make bright his example, and extend over him His Peace!), the Gūr Khān bestowed Bukhārā on Amtātin, the son of the Amir Bōyābānī and nephew of Aṭzī Khwarazmshāh, and, when he retired, entrusted him to the Imām Tājul-Islām Ahmad ibn ‘Abdu’l-ʿAzīz, who was the Imām of Bukhārā and the son of Burrān, so that whatever he did he might do by his advice, and that he should do nothing without his orders, nor take any step without his knowledge. Then the Gūr-Khān turned back and retired to Barskhān.

Now his justice had no bounds, nor was there any limit to the effectiveness of his commands; and, indeed, in these two

1 Qur’an, lvii, 15. The meaning of the Arabic is repeated in Persian in the text.
2 See Mirkhwand’s History of the Saljuqs, ed. Vullers, pp. 176-180. Sir E. Denison Ross has pointed out to me that Gur-Khān is a generic title. (See History of the Moghuls of Central Asia by Elias and Ross, pp. 287 et seqq., and also Schefer’s Chrestomathie Persane, vol. i, pp. 34 et seqq.) See also Mirzā Muḥammad’s note on p. 139 of the text, and Note IX at the end.
3 Ḥusām-ud-Dīn ʿUmar ibn Burhān-ud-Dīn ʿAbdu’l-ʿAzīz ibn Māzā. See Note XI at the end.
4 The correct form of this name is uncertain, but Mptitin, the reading of the lithographed edition and of Schefer, op. cit., p. 139, is certainly wrong. See note on p. 139 of the text, and Note X at the end.
5 This name also is uncertain, and there are almost as many variants as there are texts. See Note X at the end.
6 Burhān-ud-Dīn ʿAbdu’l-ʿAzīz mentioned in the last footnote but two. See Note XI at the end.
things is comprised the essence of kingship. But when Atmatigin saw a clear field, he turned his hand to oppression, and began to levy contributions on Bukhárá. So several of the people of Bukhárá went as a deputation to Barskhan to seek redress. The Gúr-Khán, when he heard this, wrote a letter to Atmatigin [beginning] in the Muslim fashion:

"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. Let Atmatigin know that although far distance separates us, our approval and displeasure are near at hand. Let Atmatigin do that which [Tájíl-Islám] Aḥmad commands, and Aḥmad that which [the Prophet] Muhammad commands. Farewell."

Again and again we have considered this and reflected on it. A thousand volumes or even more might be written to enlarge on this letter, yet its purport is extremely plain and clear, needing no explanation. Seldom have (ını) I seen anything like it.

**ANECDOTE X.**

The extreme eloquence of the Qur’án lies in its concision of words and inimitable presentation of ideas; and such citations as those above given which have occurred to orators and eloquent writers are of a kind to inspire awe, so that the wise and eloquent man is moved from his [former] mental attitude. And this is a clear proof and trenchant argument to establish the fact that this Word did not proceed from the mouth of any created being, nor originate from any [human] lips or tongue, but that the stamp of Eternity is impressed on its prescriptions and sentences.

It is related that one of the Muslims was reciting before Wálid ibnu 'l-Mughíra this verse:—"And it was said, 'O Earth, gulp down thy waters, and O Heaven, draw them up': and the water abated. Thus was the matter effected. And it [i.e. the Ark] rested upon Mount Júdî."

"By God," said Wálid ibnu 'l-Mughíra, "verily it hath beauty and sweetness; its highest part is fruitful, and its lowest part is luxuriant; nor is it the word of man!" When even enemies reached on the plane of equity such a level of enthusiasm concerning the eloquence of the Qur’án and its miraculous quality, see to what degree friends will attain.

**ANECDOTE XI.**

It was formerly customary with the kings of old time and the autocrats of past ages, such as the Píshdádí, Kayáni and Sáñání monarchs and the Caliphs, to vaunt themselves and compete with one another both in justice and erudition, and with every ambassador whom they despatched they used to send wise sayings,
riddles, and enigmatical questions. So the king, under these circumstances, stood in need of persons of intelligence and discrimination, and men of judgement and statesmanship; and several councils would be held and adjourned, until they were unanimous as to their answers, and these problems and enigmas were plain and apparent, when they would despatch the ambassador.

This practice was maintained until the time of that just king Mahmūd ibn Subuktigin Yāmīnū'd-Dawla (may God have mercy upon him!). But when the Saljuqs succeeded him, they being nomads, ignorant of the conduct of affairs and the high achievements of kings, most of these royal customs became obsolete in their time, and many essentials of dominion fell into disuse. One of these was the Ministry of Posts, from which one can judge of the remainder. It is related that one day Sultan Mahmud Yammūn'd-Dawla despatched an ambassador to Bughra Khān in Transoxiana, and in the letter which had been drafted occurred this passage:—

"God Almighty saith, 'Verily the most honourable of you in God's sight is he who is most pious of you.'" Investigators and critics are agreed that here he [i.e. the Prophet] guards himself from ignorance; for the souls of men are subject to no more grievous defect than this of ignorance, nor is there aught lower than the blight of folly. To the truth of this proposition and the soundness of this assertion [God's] uncreated word also bears witness:—

'[God will raise up those of you who believe] and those to whom hath been given knowledge to [superior] degrees.' Therefore we desire that the Imāms of the land of Transoxiana and the doctors of the East and scholars of the Khāqān's Court should impart [to us] this much information as to matters essential [to Salvation]. What is the Prophetic Office, what Saintship, what Religion, what Islam, what Faith, what Well-doing, what Godliness, what the Approbation of Right, what the Prohibition of Wrong, what the Path, what the Balance, what Mercy, what Pity, what Justice, and what Excellence?"

When this letter reached the Court of Bughra Khān, and he had acquainted himself with its purport and contents, he summoned the Imāms of Transoxiana from the different towns and districts, and took counsel with them on this matter. Several of the greatest and most eminent of these Imāms agreed that they should severally compose a treatise on this subject, and in the course of their dissertation introduce into the text a reply to these interrogations. They craved a delay of four months for this purpose; which respite was fraught with all sorts of detriments, the worst of which were the disbursements from the treasury for the expenses of the ambassadors and king's messengers, and

1 Qur'ān, xlix, 13.  
2 Qur'ān, lviii, 12.
SECOND DISCOURSE.—ON THE POETIC ART

the maintenance of the Imáms, until at length Muhammatb ibn 'Abduhī the scribe, who was Bughrá Khán's secretary, and was deeply versed in learning and highly distinguished in scholarship, besides being profoundly skilled in verse and prose, and one of the eloquent and distinguished stylists of the Muslims, said, "I will reply to these questions in two words, in such wise that when the scholars of Islam and the most conspicuous men of the East shall see my answer, it shall command their approval and admiration." So he took up his pen and wrote (v.) under the questions, after the fashion of a legal decision (fatwa):—

"Saith God's Apostle (upon whom be the Blessing of God, and His Peace) 'Reverence for God's Command and loving-kindness towards God's people.'" All the Imáms of Transoxiana bit their fingers [in amazement] and expressed their admiration, saying, "Here indeed is an answer which is perfect and an utterance which is comprehensive!" And the Kháqán was mightily pleased because the difficulty had been overcome by a scribe and there was no further need for the divines. And when the answer reached Ghazna, all applauded it.

It therefore results from these premises that an intelligent and accomplished secretary is the greatest ornament to a king's magnificence and the best means to his exaltation. And with this anecdote we conclude this Discourse, and so farewell.

(11) SECOND DISCOURSE.

On the essence of the Poetic Art and the aptitude of the Poet.

Poetry is that art whereby the poet arranges imaginary propositions and blends fruitful analogies, in such wise that he can make a little thing appear great and a great thing small, or cause good to appear in the garb of evil and evil in the form of good. By acting on the imagination, he excites the faculties of anger and concupiscence in such a way that by his suggestion men's temperaments become affected with depression or exaltation; whereby he conduces to the accomplishment of great things in the order of the world.

ANECDOYE XII.

Thus they relate that Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'lláh al-Khujístání asked, "How didst thou, who wert originally an ass-herd,

1 See p. 14 supra, Note III at the end, and p. 18 of the Persian notes.
2 "Khujistán.—In the mountains near Herat. From this country issued Ahmad ibn
become Amīr of Khurāsān?" He replied, "One day I was reading the Diwān of Hanzala of Bādghīs, in Bādghīs of Khujistān, when I chanced on these two couplets:

If lordship lies within the lion's jaws, Go, risk it, and from those dread portals seize Such straight-confronting death as men desire, Or riches, greatness, rank and lasting ease.

An impulse stirred within me such that I could not wisely remain content with that condition wherein I was. I therefore sold my asses, bought a horse, and, quitting my country, entered the service of Allāh ibn Layth, the brother of Ya'qūb and 'Amr. At that time the falcon of fortune of the Saffarids still hovered at the highest zenith of its prosperity. Of the three brothers, 'Alī was the youngest, and Ya'qūb and 'Amr had complete precedence over him. When Ya'qūb came from Khurāsān to Ghazna over the mountains, 'Alī ibn Layth sent me back from Ribāt-i-Sangīn ('the Stone Rest-house') to act as agent to his feudal estates in Khurāsān. I had a hundred horsemen of that army on the road, and had with me besides some twenty horsemen of my own. Now of the estates held in fief by 'Alī ibn Layth one was Karūkh of Herat, a second Khwaf of Nishapur. When I reached Karūkh, I produced my warrant, and what was paid to me I divided amongst the army and gave to the soldiers. My horsemen now numbered three hundred. When I reached Khwaf, and again produced my warrant, the burghers of Khwaf contested it, saying, 'We want a prefect with [a body-guard of only] ten men.' I therefore decided to renounce my allegiance to the Saffarīs, looted Khwaf, proceeded to the village of Busht, 'Abdu'llāh al-Khujistānī, who revolted at Nishāpūr and died in 264/877-8." (Barbier de Meynard's Dict. Geogr., Hist., et Litt. de la Perse, p. 197.) The editor points out (Persian notes, p. 11, and Note XIII at the end) that, according to Ibnu'l-Athīr, Ahmad was assassinated in Shawwal, 268/882, after having reigned at Nishāpūr six years. See the Journal Asiatique for 1845, pp. 345 et seqq. of the second half.

1 See Ethé's Rādāgī's Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen, pp. 38-40, where these verses and others by the same poet are cited.
2 The short-lived Saffārid dynasty was founded by Ya'qūb ibn Layth in 1154/867. On his death in 265/878 he was succeeded by his brother 'Amr, who was overthrown by Ismā'īl the Sāmārid in 278/900 and was subsequently put to death.
3 This place, evidently situated between Ghazna and Khurāsān, has not been identified, unless, as Muhammad Iqbal suggests, it be identical with the Ribāt-i-Sangīn twice mentioned by Da'ulatshāh (pp. vi and iv of my edition).
5 Ibid., pp. 213-214.
6 Busht or Pusht is also in the district of Nishāpūr.
and came to Bayhaq, where two thousand horsemen joined me. I advanced and took Nishápúr, and my affairs prospered and continued to improve until I had subdued all Khurasan to myself. Of all this, these two verses of poetry were the original cause."

Sallámi relates in his history that the affairs of Ahmad ibn ‘Abdulláh prospered so greatly that in one night in Nishápúr he distributed in largesse 300,000 dináirs, 500 head of horses, and 1000 suits of clothes, and to-day he stands in history as one of the victorious monarchs, all of which was brought about by these two verses of poetry. Many similar instances are to be found amongst both the Arabs and the Persians, but we have restricted ourselves to the mention of this one. So a king cannot dispense with a good poet, who shall provide for the immortality of his name, and shall record his fame in dévises and books. For when the king receives that command which none can escape, no traces will remain of his army, his treasure, and his store; but his name will endure for ever by reason of the poet’s verse, as Sharif-i-Mujallídí of Gurgán says:

"From all the treasures hoarded by the Houses Of Sásán and of Sáman, in our days
Nothing survives except the song of Barbad,
Nothing is left save Rúdáki’s sweet lays."

The names of the monarchs of each age and the princes of all time are immortalized by the admirable verse and widely-diffused poetry of this company; for example, the names of the House of Sáman through Master Abu ‘Abdulláh Ja’far ibn Muhammad-ar-Rúdákí, Abu’l’Abbas-ar-Ribanjání, Abu’l-Mathal al-Bukháirí, Abu’l-Ishaq-i-Júybári, Abu’l-Hasan Aghájí, Taháwí,

1 Bayhaq, also near Nishápúr, was according to Yáqút (who gives an unsatisfactory etymology) the ancient Khusravigir and the later Sabzawár.


3 I.e. the summons of the Angel of Death.

4 ‘Awfi, who mentions this poet (Lubdá, i, pp. 13-14), calls him Abu Sharíf Ahmad ibn ‘Ali.

5 Concerning Bárbad, the celebrated minstrel of Khusrav Parwiz, see my Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol. i, pp. 14-18 and foot-notes, and Nöldeke’s new edition of his Persische Nationalepos, p. 43, n. 2 ad calc.

6 Of the poets included in this long list some account will be found in Note XIV at the end of this volume (derived in almost all cases from Mirzá Muhammad’s notes to the Persian text) save in the case of a few who are too well known to need further mention (such as ‘Unsuri, ‘Asjadi, Farrukhí and Minúchíchí) and a rather larger number concerning whom no information is obtainable from the sources at present available, such as Lúlí, Gulábí, ‘Ali Sipírhi, Sughdí, Písar-i-Tishá, Káfáí, Kústá-i-Fáhí, Pür-i-Kalah, Abu’l-Qásim Rafíí, Abu Bakr Jawhi and ‘Ali Shúfi. Concerning Ja’far of Hamadán, see vol. ii of my Lit. Hist. of Persia, p. 260.
Khabbāzī of Nīshāpūr, and 'Abu'l-Hasan al-Kisā'ī; the names of the kings of the House of Nāsiru’Dīn through such men as 'Unsuri, 'Asjadi, Farrukhī, Bahramī, Zinatī, Buzurgmīr of Qāīm, Muzaffarī, Manshūrī, Minūchihīrī, Mas’ūdī, Qasārámī, Abū Hanifa-ī-Iskāf, Rashidī, 'Abu’l-Faraj of Rūna, Mas’ud-i-Sād-i-Salmān, Muhammad ibn Nāsir, Shāh Abū Rijā, Aḥmad-i-Khalaf, Uthmān Mukhtārī, and Majdūd as-Sanā’ī; "the names of the House of Khāqān through Lū’lū’ī, Gulābī, Najībī of Farghāna, 'Am’aq of Bukhārā, Rashīdī of Samarqand, Najār ("the Carpenter") of Sāgharī, 'Alī Pānīdhī, Pisar-i-Darghūsh, 'Alī Sipīhī, Jawharī, Sughīdī, Pisar-i-Tīshā, and 'Alī Shatranjī ("the Chess-player"); the names of the House of Buwayh by Master Mantiqī, Kiyā Ghadā’īrī, and Bundār; the names of the House of Saljūq by Farrukhī of Gurgān, Lāmī’ī of Dihistān, Ja’far of Hamadān, Dur-Fīrūz-i-Fakhrī, Burhānī, Amīr Mu’tizzī, Abū’l-Ma’ālī of Ray, ‘Amid-i-Kamālī and Shīhābī; the names of the kings of Ṭabaristān through Qamarī of Gurgān, Rāfī’ī of Nīshāpūr, Kafālī of Gānja, Kūsā-i-Fālī, and Pūr-i-Kalah; and the names of the kings of Ghūr or House of Shamsab (may God cause their kingdom to endure!) through Abū’l-Qāsim Rāfī’ī, Abū Bakr Jawhārī, this least of mankind Nizāmī’i’Arūdī, and ‘Alī Sūfī. The diwāns of these poets are eloquent as to the perfection, splendour, equipment, military strength, justice, bounty, nobility, excellence, judgement, statecraft, heaven-sent success and influence of these former kings and bygone rulers (may God illuminate their tombs and enlarge unto them their resting-places!). How many princes there were who enjoyed the favours of kings, and made great gifts which they bestowed on these eminent poets, of whom to-day no trace remains, nor of their hosts and retinues any survivor, though many were the painted palaces and charming gardens which they created and embellished, but which to-day are levelled with the ground and indistinguishable from the deserts and ravines! Says the author:—

"How many a palace did great Mahmūd raise, At whose tall towers the Moon did stand at gaze,
Whereof one brick remaineth not in place,
Though still re-echo ‘Unsuri’s sweet lays."

The Monarch of the World, Sultān ‘Alī’ud-dunya wa’d-Dīn Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn ibnul’-Ḥusayn, the Choice of the Prince of

1 *i.e.* the House of Ghazna.
Believers (may his life be long, and the umbrella of his dynasty victorious!), marched on Ghazna to avenge those two kings, the Prince-martyr and the Laudable Monarch1, and Sultan Bahramshah fled before him. In vengeance for those two royal victims, whom they had treated with such indignity, and of whom they had spoken so lightly, he sacked the city of Ghazna, and destroyed the buildings raised by Mahmud, Mas'ud and Idràhím, but he bought with gold the poems written in their praise, and placed them in his library. Alike in the army and in the city none dared call them king, yet the Conqueror himself would read from the Sháhnâma what Abu'l-Qasim Firdawsi says:—

"Of the child in its cot, ere its lips yet are dry
From the milk of its mother, 'Mahmud!' is the cry!
A mammoth in strength and an angel in style,
With a bounty like Spring and a heart like the Nile,
Mahmud, the Great King, who such order doth keep
That in peace from one pool drink the wolf and the sheep!"

All wise men know that herein was no reverence for Mahmud, but only admiration of Firdawsi and his verse. Had Sultan Mahmud understood this, he would presumably not have left that noble man disappointed and despairing.

**EXCURSUS. On the quality of the Poet and his verse.**

Now the poet must be of tender temperament, profound in thought, sound in genius, a powerful thinker, subtle of insight. He must be well versed in many divers sciences, and eclectic amidst divergent customs; for as poetry is of advantage in every science, so is every science of advantage in poetry. And the poet must be of pleasing conversation in social gatherings, of cheerful countenance on festive occasions; and his verse must have attained to such a level as to be written on the page of Time (r.) and celebrated on the tongues of the noble, and be such that they transcribe it in books and recite it in cities. For the richest portion and most excellent part of poetry is immortal fame, and until it be thus recorded and recited this idea will not be realized. And if poetry does not rise to this level, its influence is ineffectual, for it will die before its author. So, being impotent for the im-

1 Qutb'd-Din Muhammad and Sayfu'd-Din Súrí, both killed by Bahramsháh the Ghaznawi towards the middle of the sixth century of the Flight. From his devastation of Ghazna (550/1155-6) their brother 'Ala’u'd-Din Hüssyn the Ghúrí received the title of Jahdn-sás ("the World-consumer"). See Note XV at the end.
mortalizing of its own name, how can it confer immortality on the name of another?

But to this rank a poet cannot attain unless in the prime of his life and the season of his youth he commits to memory 20,000 couplets of the poetry of the Ancients, keeps in view [as models] 10,000 verses of the works of the Moderns, and continually reads and remembers the *divans* of the masters of his art, observing how they have acquitted themselves in the strait passes and delicate places of song, in order that thus the different styles and varieties of verse may become ingrained in his nature, and the defects and beauties of poetry may be inscribed on the tablet of his understanding. In this way his style will improve and his genius will develop. Then, when his genius has thus been firmly established in the power of poetical expression, and his verse has become even in quality, let him address himself seriously to the poetic art, study the science of Prosody, and familiarize himself with the works of Master Abu'l-Hasan Bahrami of Sarakhs, such as the “Goal of Prosodists” (*Ghâyatu'l-'Arûdiyyin*) and the “Treasure of Rhyme” (*Kanzul-Qâfiya*). Then let him make a critical study of poetic ideas and phraseology, plagiarisms, biographies, and all the sciences of this class, with such a Master as knows these matters, so that he in turn may merit the title of Master, and his name may appear on the page of Time like the names of those other Masters whom we have mentioned, that he may thus be able to discharge his debt to his patron and lord for what he obtains from him by immortalizing his name.

Now it behooves the King to patronize such a poet, so that he may enlist in his service and celebrate his praise. But if he fall below this level, no money should be wasted on him and no heed paid to his poetry, especially if he be old; for I have investigated this matter, and in the whole world have found nothing worse than an old poet, nor any money more ill spent than what is given to such. For one so ignoble as not to have discovered in fifty years that what he writes is bad, when will he discover it? But if he be young and has the right talent, even though his verse be not good, there is some hope that it may improve, and according to the Code of Nobility it is proper to patronize him, a duty to take care of him, and an obligation to look after him.

Now in the service of kings naught is better than improvisation, for thereby the king’s mood is cheered, his receptions are made brilliant, and the poet himself attains his object. Such favours as Rûdagi obtained from the House of Sâman by his improvisations and readiness in verse, none other hath experienced.

1 Or perhaps *'Arûdâyin*, “the two Prosodies,” *viz.* Arabic and Persian. See the Editor’s note on p. 45.
They relate thus, that Nasr ibn Ahmad, who was the most brilliant jewel of the Samanid galaxy, whereof the fortunes reached their zenith during the days of his rule, was most plenteously equipped with every means of enjoyment and material of splendour—well-filled treasuries, a far-flung army and loyal servants. In winter he used to reside at his capital, Bukhārā, while in summer he used to go to Samarqand or some other of the cities of Khurāsān. Now one year it was the turn of Herāt. He spent the spring season at Bādghis, where are the most charming pasture-grounds of Khurāsān and ‘Irāq, for there are nearly a thousand water-courses abounding in water and pasture, any one of which would suffice for an army.

When the beasts had well enjoyed their spring feed, and had regained their strength and condition, and were fit for warfare or to take the field, Naṣr ibn Ahmad turned his face towards Herāt, but halted outside the city at Margh-i-Sapiḍ and there pitched his camp. It was the season of spring; cool breezes from the north were stirring, and the fruit was ripening in the districts of Málin and Karúkh—such fruit as can be obtained in but few places, and nowhere so cheaply. There the army rested. The climate was charming, the breeze cool, food plentiful, fruit abundant, and the air filled with fragrant scents, so that the soldiers enjoyed their life to the full during the spring and summer.

When Miḥrān arrived, and the juice of the grape came into season, and the basil, rocket and fever-few were in bloom, they did full justice to the delights of youth, and took tribute of their juvenile prime. Miḥrān was protracted, for the cold did not wax severe, and the grapes ripened with exceptional sweetness. For in the district of Herāt one hundred and twenty different varieties of the grape occur, each sweeter and more delicious than the other; and amongst them are in particular two kinds which are not to be found in any other region of the inhabited world, (v) one called Pānriyān and the other Kalanjār, thin-skinned,

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1 See Bağbier de Meynard's Dict. de la Perse, pp. 487, 511-512, according to which the former village is distant from Herāt two parasangs, the latter ten.
2 The festival of the autumnal equinox, which fell in the old Persian month of Mihr.
3 Shāhīsvarān (Arabic Rayhām) = Ocymum basilicum. See Schlimmer’s Terminologie, p. 404; Achundow, pp. 226, 381.
4 Hamādham, said to be equivalent to the Persian Bustán-afrūz.
5 Uqhuwan (Persian Bābīna-i-Gaw-chashm), Matricaria or Pyrethrum. See Schlimmer, p. 364.
6 The Tihān lithograph has Tarniyān, of which the usual meaning appears to be a sheaf or basket made of osiers. See Horn’s Asadi, p. 99, l. 11; Salemann’s Shams-i Fadlīrī Lexicon, p. 96, l. 13 and note ad calc.
7 This word, in the form Kalanjār, is given in the Burhān-i-Qāṭī. The description seems to be based on this passage.
So the Amir Naṣr ibn Ahmad "saw Mihrgán and its fruits, and was mightily pleased therewith. Then the narcissus began to bloom, and the raisins were plucked and stoned in Málín, and hung up on lines, and packed in store-rooms; and the Amir with his army moved into the two groups of hamlets called Ghúra and Darwáz. There he saw mansions, of which each one was like highest paradise, having before it a garden or pleasure ground with a northern aspect. There they wintered, while the Mandarin oranges began to arrive from Sístán and the sweet oranges from Mázandarán; and so they passed the winter in the most agreeable manner.

When [the second] spring came, the Amir sent the horses to Búdghís and moved his camp to Málín [to a spot] between two streams. And when summer came and the fruits again ripened, Amir Naṣr ibn Ahmad said, "Where shall we go for the summer? For there is no pleasant place of residence than this. Let us wait till Mihrgán." And when Mihrgán came, he said, "Let us enjoy Mihrgán at Herát and then go"; and so from season to season he continued to procrastinate, until four years had passed in this way. For it was then the heyday of the Sámaní prosperity, and the land was flourishing, the kingdom unmenaced by foes, the army loyal, fortune favourable, and heaven auspicious; yet withal the Amir’s attendants grew weary, and desire for home arose within them, while they beheld the king quiescent, the air of Herát in his head and the love of Herát in his heart; and in the course of conversation he would compare, nay prefer Herát to the Garden of Eden, and would exalt its charms above those of a Chinese temple.

So they perceived that he intended to remain there for that summer also. Then the captains of the army and nobles of the kingdom went to Master Abu ‘Abdi’lláh Rúdági, than whom there was none more honoured of the king’s intimates, and none whose words found so ready an acceptance. And they said to him, "We will present thee with five thousand dinárs if thou wilt contrive some artifice whereby the king may be induced to depart

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1 For this meaning of munaqqa the editor refers to the article Zaháb in the Tuhfat-ul-Múmínin of Muhammad Mú’mín al-Ḥusaynī. For an account of this work, which was completed in A.D. 1669, see Fonahn’s Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin, pp. 89-91.
2 Or “Chinese Spring.” See n. 2 on p. 22 supra.
3 See Ethé’s excellent monograph and his article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica; p. 62 of the J.R.A.S. for January, 1899; and Note XIV at the end, second paragraph.
hence, for our hearts are craving for our wives and children, and our souls (र) are like to leave us for longing after Bukhārā." Rūdagī agreed; and, since he had felt the Amir's pulse and understood his temperament, he perceived that prose would not affect him, and so had recourse to verse. He therefore composed a qasīda; and, when the Amir had taken his morning cup, came in and sat down in his place; and, when the musicians ceased, he took up the harp, and, playing the "Lover's air," began this elegy:

"The Jā-yi-Mūlikān we call to mind,
We long for those dear friends long left behind.”

Then he strikes a lower key, and sings:

“When the sands of Oxus, toilsome though they be,
Beneath my feet were soft as silk to me.
Glad at the friends' return, the Oxus deep
Up to our girths in laughing waves shall leap.
Joyous towards thee hasteth our Amir!
The Moon's the Prince, Bukhārā is the sky;
O Sky, the Moon shall light thee by and by!
Bukhārā is the mead, the Cypress he;
Receive at last, O Mead, thy Cypress-tree!"

When Rūdagī reached this verse, the Amir was so much affected that he descended from his throne, all unbooted bestrode the horse which was on sentry-duty, and set off for Bukhārā so precipitately that they carried his leggings and riding-boots

1 This poem is very well known, being cited in almost all notices of Rūdagī's life (e.g. by Dawlatshāh), in Forbes' Persian Grammar, pp. 161-163, and in Blochmann's Prosody of the Persians, pp. 2-3. See Note XVI at the end.
2 The original name of this stream and the farms on its banks was, according to Narshakhi's History of Bukhārā, Jā-yi-Mawādiyān, "the Clients' Stream." See Note XVI at the end of this volume.
3 Khing-i-nawbat. To provide against any sudden emergency a horse, ready saddled and bridled, was kept always at the gate of the king’s palace, and it is this "sentry-horse" to which reference is here made. See my Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol. 1, p. 317, and n. 1 ad. calc.
after hint for two parasangs, as far as Burúna, and only then did he put them on; nor did he draw rein anywhere till he reached Bukhára, and Rúdagí received from the army the double of that five thousand dinars.

At Samarqand, in the year A.H. 504 (= A.D. 1110-1111), I heard from the Dihqán Abú Rijá Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdū’s-Samad al-‘Abidí as follows: “My grandfather Abú Rijá related that on this occasion when Rúdagí reached Samarqand, he had four hundred camels laden with his baggage.” And indeed that illustrious man was worthy of this splendid equipment, for no one has yet produced a successful imitation of that elegance, nor found means to surmount triumphantly the difficulties [which the subject presents]. Thus the Poet-laureate Mu’īzzi was one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in Persia, for his poetry reaches the highest level in beauty and freshness, and excels in fluency and charm. Zaynu’l-Mulk Abú Sa’id [ibn] Hindú ibn Muḥammad ibn Hindú of Isfahán requested him to compose an imitation of this qasída. Mu’īzzi declared his inability to do so, but, being pressed, produced a few verses of which this is one:—

(47) "Now advanceth Rustam from Mázandarán,\nNow advanceth Zayn-i-Mulk from Isfahán."

All wise men will perceive how great is the difference between this poetry and that; for who can sing with such sweetness as does Rúdagí when he says:—

(44) "Surely are renown and praise a lasting gain,\nEven though the royal coffers loss sustain!"

For in this couplet are seven admirable touches of art; first, the verse is apposite; secondly, antithetical; thirdly, it has a refrain; fourthly, it embodies an enunciation of equivalence; fifthly, it has sweetness; sixthly, style; seventhly, energy. Every master of the craft who has deeply considered the poetic art will admit, after a little reflection, that I am right.

1 L. has بيرونه, and in a marginal note explains burúna as meaning turban or handkerchief; but A. has برون, and I suspect that it is really a place-name. Cf. Sachau’s remarks on the derivation of al-Birúni’s name at p. 7 of his translation of the Chronology of Ancient Nations.

2 See Houtsma’s ed. of al-Bundári’s History of the Saljuqs, pp. 93, 101, 105; and Ibnu’l-Athir under the year 506/1112-13, in which Zaynu’l-Mulk was put to death by his master Sultán Muhammad ibn Maliksháh the Saljuq.

3 Mirzá Muḥammad points out in his note on this passage (p. 176) that the first three artifices are denoted by adjectives and the last four by substantives, and that the first and second (mutābīq and mutaqād) are identical. Finally he justly observes that “style” or “elegance” (fasādhai) is not a rhetorical artifice but an indispensable attribute of all good writing, whether prose or verse.
The love borne by Sultan Yamin’ud-Dawla Mahmúd to Ayáz the Turk is well-known and famous. It is related that Ayáz was not remarkably handsome, but was of sweet expression and olive complexion, symmetrically formed, graceful in his movements, sensible and deliberate in action, and mightily endowed with all the arts of pleasing, in which respect, indeed, he had few rivals in his time. Now all these are qualities which excite love and give permanence to friendship.

Now Sultan Yamin’ud-Dawla Mahmúd was a pious and God-fearing man, and he wrestled much with his love for Ayáz so that he should not diverge by so much as a single step from the Path of the Law and the Way of Honour. One night, however, at a carousal, when the wine had begun to affect him and love to stir within him, he looked at the curls of Ayáz, and saw, as it were, ambergris rolling over the face of the moon, hyacinths twisted about the visage of the sun, ringlet upon ringlet like a coat of mail; link upon link like a chain; in every ringlet a thousand hearts and under every lock a hundred thousand souls. Thereupon love plucked the reins of self-restraint from the hands of his endurance, and lover-like he drew him to himself. But the watchman of “Hath not God forbidden you to transgress against Him?” thrust forth his head from the collar of the Law, stood before Sultan [Mahmúd] Yamin’ud-Dawla, and said, “O Mahmúd, mingle not sin with love, nor mix the false with the true, for such a slip will raise the Realm of Love in revolt against thee, and like (vs.) thy first father thou wilt fall from Love’s Paradise, and remain afflicted in the world of Sin.” The ear of his fortunate nature being quick to hear, he hearkened to this announcement, and the tongue of his faith cried from his innermost soul, “We believe and we affirm.” But he feared lest the army of his self-control might be unable to withstand the hosts of Ayáz’s locks, so, drawing a knife, he placed it in the hands of Ayáz, bidding him take it and cut off his curls. Ayáz took the knife from his hands with an obeisance, and, having enquired where he should sunder them, was bidden to cut them in the middle. He therefore doubled back his locks to get the measurement, executed the king’s command, and laid the two tresses before Mahmúd. It is said that this ready obedience became a fresh cause of love; and Mahmúd called for gold and jewels and gave to Ayáz beyond his usual wont and custom, after which he fell into a drunken sleep.

1 Here and in the next sentence I have preferred the alternative reading of the MSS. to the printed text, which has “We believe and we affirm” in this place, and omits these and the preceding eleven words below.
When the morning breeze blew upon him, and he arose from sleep to ascend the Royal Throne, he remembered what he had done. He summoned Ayáz and saw the clipped tresses. The army of remorse invaded his heart, and the peevish headache born of wine vanquished his brain. He kept rising up and sitting down [aimlessly], and none of the courtiers or men of rank dared to address to him any enquiry as to the cause, until at length Hájib ‘Alf [ibn] Qarib, who was his Chief Chamberlain, turned to ‘Unṣurí and said, “Go in before the King and shew thyself to him, and seek some way whereby he may be restored to good temper.” So ‘Unṣurí fulfilled the Chamberlain’s command, came in and did obeisance. Sultán Yamínu’d-Dawlá raised his head and said, “O ‘Unṣurí, I was just thinking of you. You see what has happened: say something appropriate for us on this subject.” ‘Unṣurí did obeisance and extemporized as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{کَفُّ عِیْبِ سُرُ وَلِفَ بَت از خاَسْتُن اَسْتُ} \\
\text{چِه جَای بِغَر نَخَستِن و خاْسْتِن اَسْتُ} \\
\text{جَای طَرَب و نَشَاط و مَي خَواَسْتِن اَسْتُ} \\
\text{کِرَاتُن سُرُو زِ پِرَاسْتِن اَسْتُ}
\end{align*}
\]

“Why deem it shame a fair one’s curls to shear,  
Why rise in wrath or sit in sorrow here?  
Rather rejoice, make merry, call for wine;  
When clipped the Cypress doth most trim appear.”

Máhmúd was highly pleased with this quatrains, and bade them bring precious stones wherewith he twice filled the poet’s mouth. Then he summoned the minstrels before him, and all that day until nightfall drank wine to [the accompaniment of] those two verses, whereby his melancholy was dissipated and he became mighty good-tempered.

Now you must know that improvisation is the chief pillar of the Poetic Art; and it is incumbent on the poet to train his talents to such a point as to be able to improvise on any subject, for thus can money be extracted from the treasury, and thus can the statement of any matter be adapted to the king’s mood. All this is necessary to please the heart of one’s master and the humour of one’s patron; and whatever poets have earned in the way of great rewards has been earned by improvisations adapted to the occasion.
Farrukhí's Success

ANECDOTE XV.

Farrukhí was a native of Sístán, and was the son of Júlígh, the slave of Amir Khalaf-i-Bánú. He possessed excellent talents, composed pleasing verses, and was a dexterous performer on the harp; and he was retained in the service of one of the dihqánS of Sístán, who gave him a yearly allowance of two hundred measures of corn, each containing five maunds, and a hundred dirhams in silver coinage of Núh, which amply sufficed for his needs. But he sought in marriage a woman of Khalaf's clientage, whereby his expenses were increased and multiplied in all directions, so that Farrukhí remained without sufficient provision, nor was there in Sístán anyone else save his nobles. He therefore appealed to the dihqán saying, "My expenses have been increased; how would it be if the dihqán, having regard to his generosity, should make my allowance of corn three hundred measures, and make my salary one hundred and fifty dirhams, so that my means may perhaps be equal to my expenditure?" The dihqán wrote on the back of the appeal, "So much shall not be refused you, but there is no possibility of any further increase."

Farrukhí, on hearing this, was in despair, and made enquiries of such as arrived and passed by to hear of some patron in some region or part of the world who might look upon him with favour, so that he might chance on a success; until at length they informed him that the Amir Abu'l-Muzaffar-i-Chaghání in Chagháníyán was a munificent patron of this class, conferring on them splendid presents and rewards, and was at that period unrivalled in this respect amongst the kings of the age and nobles of the time. So Farrukhí set out thither, having composed the qasīda beginning:

"With caravan for Hilla bound from Sístán did I start,
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven by my heart."

In truth it is a fine rhapsody in which he has admirably described the Poetic Art, while as a panegyric it is incomparable.

So Farrukhí, having furnished himself with what was necessary for the journey, set out for Chagháníyán. And when he

1 I.e. the Amir Abú'1-Muzaffar Aḥmad Khalaf ibn Aḥmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khalaf ibn Layth 95-Saffārī, King of Sístán, whose mother, called Bánū ("the Lady"), was the daughter of Abī'1-Muhammād ibn Layth. He died in captivity in 399/1008-9.
2 See the Farhang-i-Aujuman-drā-yi-Nāṣīrī, s.v. Ziyāl, where it is said to mean Dávrūq查验.
3 I.e. Khalafī.
4 Or, in its Arabicized form, Saghānīd, a place in Transoxiana, near Tirmidh and Qubadhiyán. See de Goeje's Bibl. Geogr. Arab., where it is mentioned repeatedly.
arrived at the Court of Chagháníyán, it was the season of Spring and the Amir was at the branding-ground. Abu'l-Muzaffar, as I have heard, had 18,000 breeding mares, each one of which was followed by its colt. And every year the Amir used to go out to brand (rv) the colts, and [at this moment he happened to be at the place where the branding was done; while] 'Amíd As'ad, who was his steward, was at the court preparing provisions to be conveyed to the Amir. To him Farrukhí went, and recited a _qasída_, and submitted to him the poem he had composed for the Amir.

Now 'Amíd As'ad was a man of parts and a patron of poets, and in Farrukhí's verse he recognized poetry at once fresh, sweet, pleasing and masterly, while seeing the man himself to be an ill-proportioned Sagzí, clothed in a torn _jubba_ worn anyhow, with a huge turban on his head after the manner of the Sagzís, with the most unpleasing feet and shoes; and this poetry, withal, in the seventh heaven. He could not believe that it had been composed by this Sagzí, and, to prove him, said, "The Amir is at the branding-ground, whither I go to wait upon him: and thither I will take thee also, for it is a mighty pleasant spot—

"World within world of verdure wilt thou see"—

full of tents and lamps like stars, and from each tent come the strains of the lute, and friends sit together, drinking wine and making merry, while before the Amir's pavilion a great fire is kindled, in size like unto several mountains, whereat they brand the colts. And the Amir, with the goblet in one hand and the laçsoö in the other, drinks wine and gives away horses. Compose, now, a _qasída_, suitable to the occasion, describing the branding-ground, so that I may take thee before the Amir."

That night Farrukhí went and composed a very fine _qasída_, which next morning he brought before 'Amíd As'ad. This is the _qasída_:—

 أحمد بن بنيي

"..."  

Full of tents and lamps like stars, and from each tent come the strains of the lute, and friends sit together, drinking wine and making merry, while before the Amir's pavilion a great fire is kindled, in size like unto several mountains, whereat they brand the colts. And the Amir, with the goblet in one hand and the laçsoö in the other, drinks wine and gives away horses. Compose, now, a _qasída_, suitable to the occasion, describing the branding-ground, so that I may take thee before the Amir."

That night Farrukhí went and composed a very fine _qasída_, which next morning he brought before 'Amíd As'ad. This is the _qasída_:—

جواب بن بنيي

"..."

1 The variant راهي is explained in the margin of L. as meaning which I originally translated "roadster." The verb زهيدن, from which seems to be derived, appears to be a variant of زائدن.

2 These words are omitted in the printed edition.

3 _Pish u pas_, "hind before."

4 See pp. 114-117 of the lithographed edition of Farrukhí's works published at Tihán for Mirzâ Mahdí Khán Bādāyî-niγar, poetically surnamed Mkhîš, in A.H. 1301. Of the 52 bayts there given, only 22 are cited in the _Chahâr Maqâila_. The poem is also given by D. Ashtâh (pp. 88-89 of my edition). Only the more important variants are given here.
خادم‌الدولت خوان ناف آهو مشک زايد بیقباس،

بدرا جون پر طوطی مرگ روبد بیقباس،

دوش وقت نیمه شب بیوی پُلر آورد باد،

جِدَدی پیاد شبیل و خُرما بیوی پِلر،

بد رُشی مشک سوده دارد اندر آستین،

باغ گَوشی لب‌تانن جلوه دارد در کنار

(38) نسترن لولوی بِنیا دارد اندر مِرْشَهٔ۴

ارگوان لعل بدخش دارد اندر گوشوا،

تأ برم آمَد جام‌مای سرخ مل بر شاخ گیل

پنجه‌ها چون ۳ دست مردم سر رو کری اندر جنگ

باغ بو قلمون لباس و شاخ بو قلمون نیای

آب مروارید گون و ابر مروارید بار،

راست پندازی حک خلعت‌یای زداین یافتند،

باغ‌های پر نگار از داغ‌هاه شیربار

داغ‌ها شهرباز اکنون چنان خُرم شدو

کان درو از خُرمی خیره بماند روزگار،

بِی‌سوزه‌اندربِنی وَکون شهر اندر سپهر

خیمه اندربِنیی بِنی کون حصار اندر حصار

هر چُها خیمه است خفته عاشقی با دوست مسخت

هر چُها سبزه است سدانان باری از دیدار یار

سبزها پر بانگا چند و مطمبن جرب دست

خیمه‌ها با بانگا نوش و ساقیان می‌سانر

عاشاقان بوس و خاتار و نیکوان ناز و عتاب

مطریان رود و سرود و خفتگان خواب و خمار

1. The printed text has its word for نیمه شب صُحیدم.
2. A gloss in the lithographed Tihra edition explains this word as meaning "necklace" (بِندن گردان), which meaning is also given in the Ghiayardhul-Lughat.
3. Variants... پنجه‌هایی دست.
4. The printed text has چون سیمین حصار.
5. The printed text has چاکا for پر and om. و after چاکا.
SECOND DISCOURSE.—On Poets

The Majnia’i'l-Fusahd, as pointed out by the Editor (p. 111), arbitrarily substitutes جعفرا for جعفر, in order to support the theory that the poem was composed in honour of No. 6 not No. 7 of the House of Chaghaniyan. See Note XVIII at the end.

The printed text has رهگان explained as “slave-boys” (غلام بچگان). The Tihran ed. has دیدگان, “eyes.”

The printed text has نیکوکان مرو گیسو.

The lithograph substitutes فاخری دوالل.

Both the printed and the lithographed editions have:

شادمان و شادخوار و شاپوران و شاهدار

This verse only occurs in the Tihran lithographed edition (L.).

A., B. and L. have میدهد.
“Since the meadow hides its face in satin shot with greens and blues,
And the mountains wrapp their brows in silken veils of seven hues,
Earth is teeming like the musk-pod with aromas rich and rare,
Foliage bright as parrot’s plumage doth the graceful willow wear.
Yesteren the midnight breezes brought the fadings of the spring:
Welcome, O ye northern gales, for this glad promise which ye bring!
Up its sleeve the wind, thesemething, pounded musk hath stored away,
While the garden fills its lap with shining dolls, as though for play.
On the branches of syringa necklaces of pearls we see,
Ruby ear-rings of Badakhshan sparkle on the Judas-tree.
Since the branches of the rose-bush carmine cups and beakers bore
Human-like five-fingered hands reach downwards from the sycamore.
Gardens all chameleon-coated, branches with chameleon whorls,
Pearly-lustrous pools around us, clouds above us vairing pearls!
On the gleaming plain this coat of many colours doth appear
Like a robe of honour granted in the court of our Amir.
For our Prince’s Camp of Branding stireth in these joyful days
So that all this age of ours in joyful wonder stands agaze.
Green within the green you see, like skies within the firmament;
Like a fort within a fortress spreads the army tent on tent.
Every test contains a lover resting in his sweetheart’s arms,
Every patch of grass revealeth to a friend a favourite’s charms.
Harps are sounding ‘midst the verdure, minstrels sing their lays divine,
Ten’s resound with clink of glasses as the pages pour the wine.
Kisses, claspings from the lovers; coy reproaches from the fair;
Wine-born slumbers for the sleepers, while the minstrels wake the air.
Branding-fires, like suns ablaze, are kindled at the spacious gate
Leading to the state-pavilion of our Prince so fortunate.
Leap the flames like gleaming standards draped with yellow-hued brocade,
Hottler than a young man’s temper, yellower than gold assayed.
Branding tools like coral branches ruby-tinted glow amain
In the fire, as in the ripe pomegranate glows the crimson grain.
Rank on rank of active boys, whose watchful eyes no slumber know;
Steeds which still await the branding, rank on rank and row on row.
On his horse, the river-forder, roams our genial Prince afar,
Ready to his hand the lasoo, like a young Isfandiyar.
Like the locks of pretty children see it how it curls and bends,
Yet be sure its hold is stronger than the covenant of friends.
Bu’l-Muzaffar Shah the just, surrounded by a noble band,
King and conqueror of cities, brave defender of the land.
Serpent-coiled in skilful hands fresh forms his whirling noose doth take,
Like unto the rod of Moses metamorphosed to a snake.
Whosoever hath been captured by that noose and circling line,
On the face and flank and shoulder ever bears the Royal Sign.
But, though on one side he brands, he giveth also rich rewards,
Leads his poets with a bridle, binds his guests as though with cords.”

When ‘Amid As’ad heard this rhapsody, he was overwhelmed with amazement, for never had the like of it reached his ears. He put aside all his business, mounted Farrukhí on a horse, and set out for the Amir, whose presence he entered about sun-down, saying, “O Sire, I bring thee a poet the like of whom no one hath seen since Daqíq’s face was veiled in the tomb.” Then he related what had passed.

Then the Amir accorded Farrukhí an audience, and when he came in he did reverence, and the Amir gave him his hand and
assigned him an honourable place, enquiring after his health, treating him with kindness, and inspiring him with hopes of favours to come. When the wine had gone round several times, Farrukhi arose, and, in a sweet and plaintive voice, recited his elegy beginning:

با کاواران حَله بروئتر ز میستان، با حَله، تبیده زدل پانته زجان

"With caravan for Hilla bound from Sistán did I start,
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven by my heart."

When he had finished, the Amir, who appreciated poetry and was himself something of a poet, expressed his astonishment at this rhapsody. 'Amid As'ad said, "O Sire, wait till you see something still better!" Farrukhi was silent and held his peace until the wine had produced its full effect on the Amir, then he arose and recited this rhapsody on the branding-ground. The Amir was amazed, and in his admiration turned to Farrukhi, saying, "They have brought in a thousand colts, all with white foreheads, fetlocks and feet, bred in Khatlan. The way is [open] to thee! Thou art a cunning rascal, a Sahzi; catch as many as thou art able, that they may be thine." Farrukhi, on whom the wine had produced its full effect, came out, straightway took his turban from his head, hurled himself into the midst of the herd, and chased a drove of them before him across the plain; but, though he caused them to gallop right and left in every direction, he could not catch a single one. At length a ruined rest-house situated on the edge of the camping-ground came into view, and thither the colts fled. Farrukhi, being utterly tired out, placed his turban under his head in the porch of the rest-house, and at once went to sleep, by reason of his extreme weariness and the effects of the wine. When they counted the colts, they were forty-two in number. They went and told the Amir, who, greatly surprised, laughed heartily and said, "He is a lucky fellow, and will come to great things. Look after him and the colts as well, and when he awakes, waken me too." So they obeyed the King's orders.

Next day, at sunrise, Farrukhi arose. The Amir had already risen, and, when he had performed his prayers, he gave Farrukhi an audience, treated him with great consideration, and handed over the colts to his attendants. He also ordered Farrukhi to be given a horse and equipments suitable to a man of rank, as well as two tents, three mules, five slaves, wearing apparel and carpets. So Farrukhi prospered in his service, and enjoyed the greatest circumstance. Then he waited upon Sultan Yaminu'd-Dawla.

1 I prefer the reading دوژی to دوژی, and Mirzâ Muhammad concurs.
2 The Editor shews in a note (pp. 111-114 of the text) that Khatlan is the Persian and Khattal the Arabic name of a place in Transoxiana celebrated for its fine horses, called Khatli.
Mahmúd, who, seeing him thus magnificently equipped, regarded him with the same regard, and his affairs reached such a pitch of prosperity that twenty servants girt with silver girdles rode behind him.

**ANECDOTE XVI.**

In the year A.H. 519 (A.D. 1116-1117) the King of Islam, Sanjar the son of Maliksháh the Saljúq (may God prolong his existence and continue his exaltation to the heights!), chanced to be encamped at the spring season within the marches of Tús, in the plain of Turúq, where he remained for two months. There I, in hopes of obtaining some favour, joined his Court from Herát, having then nothing in the way of equipment or provision. I composed a qasída and went to Mu'izzí the Poet-laureate, to seek an opening through him. Having looked at my poem, he tested me in several ways, and I satisfied his expectations. He then behaved in the most generous manner and deemed it his duty to act in the way befitting so great a man.

One day I expressed in his presence a hope that fortune would be more favourable to me, and complained of my luck. He encouraged me, saying, "Thou hast laboured hard to acquire this science, and hast fully mastered it: surely this will have its effect. My own case was precisely similar; and good poetry has never yet been wasted. Thou hast a goodly share in this art: thy verse is even and melodious, and is still improving. Wait and see the advantages which thou wilt reap from this science. For though Fortune should at first be grudging, matters will eventually turn out as thou wishest.

"My father Burhání, the Poet-laureate (may God be merciful to him!) passed away from this transitory to that eternal world in the town of Qazwin in the early part of the reign of Maliksháh, entrusting me to the King in this verse, since then become famous:

"I am fitting, but I leave a son behind me, And commend him to my God and to my King."

1 This place is not mentioned in the geographies, but the Editor (p. 113 of the notes) believes it to be identical with the modern Turúq, a large village distant two parasangs from Mashhad on the road to Tíhrán.

2 This verse, to which we added several others, is commonly ascribed to the Nizámúl-Mulk, e.g. by Dawlatsháh (p. 113 of my edition). Apart from the improbability that one who lay dying of a mortal wound would be in the mood to compose verses, we learn from this anecdote that the Nizámúl-Mulk "had no opinion of poets because he had no skill in their art." The verse which gives his age as 94 at the time of his death, when he was in reality some fifteen or twenty years younger (born 468/1078; assassinated 485/1092), is alone enough to discredit the legend, while the authority of the Chahár Maqdála, of which the author derived his information directly from Mu'izzí, the son of Burhání, is far superior to any other source of the story. Compare my Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, pp. 188-193, and the Persian notes, pp. 118-119.
"So my father's salary and allowances¹ were transferred to me, and I became Maliksháh's court-poet, and spent a year in the King's service; yet during this time I was unable to see him save once from a distance, nor did I get one dinár of my salary or one maund of my allowances, while my expenditure was increased. I became involved in debt, and my brain was perplexed by my affairs. For that great Minister the Nizám-ú-Mulk (may God be merciful to him!), had no opinion of poetry, because he had no skill in it; nor did he pay any attention to any one except religious leaders and mystics.

"One day—it was the eve of the day on which [the new moon of] Ramadán was due [to appear], and I had not a farthing for all the expenses incidental to that month and the feast which follows it—I went thus sad at heart to the Amir 'Ali ibn Farámarz² 'Alá'ú'd-Dawla, a man of royal parentage, a lover of poetry, and the intimate companion of the King, with whom he was connected by marriage and enjoyed the highest honour, and before whom he could speak boldly, for he held high rank under that administration. And he had already been my patron. I said, 'May my lord's life be long! Not all that the father could do (or) can the son do, nor does that which accrued to the father accrue to the son. My father was a bold and energetic man, and was sustained by his art, and the martyred King Alp Arslán, the lord of the world, entertained the highest opinion of him. But what he could do that can I not, for modesty forbids me, and my retiring disposition supports it. I have served [this prince] for a year, and have contracted debts to the extent of a thousand dinárs, and have not received a farthing. crave permission, then, for thy servant to go to Nishápûr, and discharge his debts, and live on that which is left over, and pray for this victorious Dynasty.'

"'Thou speakest truly,' replied Amir 'Ali: 'We have all been at fault, but this shall be so no longer. The King, at the time of Evening Prayer, will come out to look for the new moon. Thou must be present there, and we will see what chance Fortune will offer.' Thereupon he at once ordered me to receive a hundred dinárs to defray my Ramadán expenses, and a purse³ containing

¹ According to the Editor's note (p. 149 of the text) jámágí is equivalent to the modern mawdúj or mustamír, and means wages in cash, while isrá (the modern jírá) means allowances, especially in kind.

² 'Ali ibn Farámarz the Kákwayhid is intended. See S. Lane-Poole's Muhemmadau Dynasties, p. 145, and Mirzá Muhammad's note on pp. 179-180 of the text. He is called Dámad ("son-in-law," but here in the wider sense of "sib"); because in 469/1076-7 he married Maliksháh's paternal aunt, Arslán Kháníún, widow of the Caliph al-Qa'im biamri'lláh. He ultimately fell in battle in 488/1095.

³ Muhr ordinarily means a seal, but Mirzá Muhammad (p. 149, of the Persian notes) quotes other passages shewing that it was also used in the sense of a sealed purse, containing a definite and certified sum of money.
this sum in Nīshāpūr coinage was forthwith brought and placed before me. So I returned mightily well pleased, and made my preparations for Ramadān, and at the time of the Evening Prayer went to the entrance of the King’s pavilion. It chanced that Ḍalā‘ūd-Dawla arrived at the very same moment, and I paid my respects to him. ‘Thou hast done excellently well,’ said he, ‘and hast come punctually.’ Then he dismounted and went in before the King.

“At sun-down the King came forth from his pavilion, with a cross-bow in his hand and Ḍalā‘ūd-Dawla on his right side. I ran forward to do obeisance. Amīr ‘Alī continued his kindnesses and they then busied themselves in looking for the moon. The King, however, was the first to see it, whereat he was mightily pleased. Then Ḍalā‘ūd-Dawla said to me, ‘O son of Burhānī, say something original about this moon,’ and I at once recited these two couplets:

"Methinks, O Moon, thou art our Prince’s bow,  
Or his curved eyebrow, which doth charm us so,  
Or else a horse-shoe wrought of gold refined,  
Or ring from Heaven’s ear depending low."

“When I had submitted these verses, Amīr ‘Alī applauded much, and the King said, ‘Go, loose from the stable whichever horse thou pleasest’; for at that moment we were standing close to the stable. Amīr ‘Alī designated a horse which was brought out and given to my attendants, and which proved to be worth three hundred dinārs of Nīshāpūr. The King then went to his oratory, and I performed the evening prayer with him, after which we sat down to meat. At the table Amīr ‘Alī said, ‘O son of Burhānī! Thou hast not yet said anything about this favour conferred on thee by the lord of the world. (14) Compose a quatrain at once!’ I thereupon sprang to my feet, did obeisance and immediately recited these two verses just as they came to me:—

"The King beheld the fire which in me blazed:  
Me from low earth above the moon he raised:  
From me a verse, like water fluent, heard,  
And swift as wind a noble steed conferred."
"When I recited these verses 'Alá'ú'd-Dawla warmly applauded me, and by reason of his applause the King gave me a thousand dinárs. Then 'Alá'ú'd-Dawla said, 'He hath not yet received his salary and allowances. To-morrow I will sit on the Minister's skirt until he writes a draft for his salary on Ispahan, and orders his allowances to be paid out of the treasury.' Said the King, 'Thou must do it; then, for no one else has sufficient assurance. And call this poet after my title.' Now the King's title was Mu'izzú'd-Dunyá wa'd-Din, so Amír 'Álí called me 'Master Mu'izz.' 'Amír Mu'izz,' said the King, [correcting him]. And this noble and nobly born lord so wrought for me that next day, by the time of the afternoon prayer, I had received a thousand dinárs as a gift, twelve hundred more as allowances, and likewise an order for a thousand máunds of corn. And when the month of Rámádán was past, he summoned me to court, and caused me to become the King's boon-companion. So my fortune began to improve, and thenceforth he made continuing provision for me, and to-day whatever I have I possess by the favour of that Prince. May God, blessed and exalted is He, rejoice his dust with the lights of His Mercy, by His Favour and His Grace!"

ANECDOте XVII.

The House of Saljuq were all fond of poetry, but none more so than Tughánhsháh ibn Alp Arsán1, whose conversation and intercourse was entirely with poets, and whose favourite companions were almost all of this class—men such as Amír Abú 'Abdu'lláh Quráshi, Abú Bakr Azaqí2, Abú Mansúr the son of Abú Yúsuf3, Shujá'í of Nasá, Ahmad Badáhi4, Haqíqi and Nasfí, all of whom were ranked in his service, while many others kept coming and going, all departing with gifts and joyful countenances.

One day the King was playing backgammon with Ahmad Badáhi. They were finishing a game for [a stake of] ten thousand [? dirhams], (44) and the Amír had two pieces in the sixth house and

1 His full names and titles were Shamsú'd-Dawla Abú'l-Fawdris Tughánhsháh ibn Alp Arsán Muhammad ibn Chaghí Beg ibn Mík'd'il ibn Saljúq. During the reign of Alp Arsán he governed Khurásán from Herát. By Rídá-quis Khán (Májma'ú'l-Fusáhá, i, 139) and other biographers he has been confused with Tughánhsháh ibn Mu'ayyad Ay-ába. See the Editor's note on the text, pp. 171-173, where many passages from poems in his praise by Azaqí are cited.

2 See Note XX at the end, and the Editor's long note on pp. 174-176 of the text; 'Awfí's Lubáh, ch. x, No. 3; Dawlatsháh (pp. 72-73 of my ed.), Tabáqa ii, No. 1; and Májma'ú'l-Fusáhá, vol. i, pp. 175-177.


4 Májma'ú'l-Fusáhá, i, p. 179. His laqab was Majdu'd-Din and his kisba Sajíwandí.
Ahmad Badi'hi two pieces in the first house; and it was the Amir's throw. He threw with the most deliberate care, in order to cast two sixes, instead of which he threw two ones, whereat he was mightily vexed and lost his temper (for which, indeed, he had good cause), while his anger rose so high and reached such a pitch that each moment he was putting his hand to his sword, while his courtiers trembled like the leaves of a tree, seeing that he was a King, and withal a boy angered at such spite of Fortune.

Then Abú Bakr Azraqí arose, and, approaching the minstrels, recited this quatrain:

"Reproach not Fortune with discourteous tricks,
If by the King, desiring double six,
Two ones were thrown; for whomsoever he calls
Face to the earth before him prostrate falls."

When I was at Herát in the year A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115-1116), Abú Mansúr the son of Abú Yusuf related to me that the Amir Tughánsáh was so charmed and delighted with these two verses that he kissed Azraqí on the eyes, called for gold, and successively placed five hundred dönars in his mouth, continuing thus to reward him so long as one gold piece was left. Thus did he recover his good humour and such largesse did he bestow, and the cause of all this was one quatrain. May God Almighty have mercy on both of them, by His Favour and Grace!

Anecdote XVIII.

In the year A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079-1080) a certain spiteful person laid a statement before Sultán Ibráhím to the effect that his son, Amír Mahmúd Sayfu’d-Dawla, intended to go to 'Iráq to wait on Maliksháh. The King's jealousy was aroused, and it so worked on him that suddenly he had his son seized, bound, and interned.

1 For the explanation of this passage I am indebted to my friend Mírzá 'Abdúl-Ghaffár of the Persian Legation. The six "houses" on each side of the backgammon board are named (proceeding from left to right) as follows: (1) khdl-khán or yak-gáh, (2) dís-khán, (3) si-khán, (4) cháhár-khán, (5) báf-dár, (6) shish-khán or shish-dárgáh. The numbers contained in these names allude to the numbers which must be thrown with the dice to get the pieces which occupy them off the board.

2 The MSS. and L. all have "572," an evident error, for (1) Sultán Ibráhím the Ghaznawí reigned A.H. 451-492 (A.D. 1059-1099); (2) Maliksháh reigned A.H. 465-485 (A.D. 1072-1092); (3) the poet in question died in A.H. 515 or 525 (A.D. 1121 or 1130); (4) the Cháhár Maqdíla, as we have already seen, was written during the lifetime of Sultán 'Alá'u’d-Din Husáyñá, i.e. before A.H. 556 (A.D. 1161).
in a fortress. His son’s intimates (defined) also he arrested and interned, amongst them Mas’ūd-i-Sa’d-i-Salman, whom he sent to Wajiristan, to the Castle of Nay; whence he sent the following quatrain to the King:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Der bin dein Sayed, Shahe Manak, Shud,}
\text{An man Sayed, Shud, Zer Shud, Manak, Tura Manak,}
\end{align*}
\]

\["O King, 'tis Malik Shah should wear thy chain, That royal limbs might fret with captive's pain, But Sa’ed-i-Salman’s offspring could not hurt, Though venomous as poison, thy domain!"

‘Alī Khāṣṣ brought this quatrain to the King, but it produced no effect on him, though all wise and impartial critics will recognize what rank Mas’ūd’s “Songs of Prison” hold in lofty feeling, and what degree in eloquence. Sometimes, when I read his verses, the hair stands on end on my body, and the tears are like to trickle from my eyes. All these verses were read to the King, and he heard them, yet they affected him not at all, and not one particle of his being was warmed to enthusiasm, so that he departed from this world leaving that noble man in prison. Khwāja Salman says:

\["Mecsur Shad Mashal Khar Gahanian, Bahr Hisb, ad min Niaz Dara, zinda, Ta gurid min Dara, de ten Nakaiban, Herideh Nashat bi dar, dar paim Sijen, men, ba yakdār Dadam, goyan, Her Zaman, Hār bi Jibid, zud, hah, Khilta, zist.\]

\["Kāftāb bi hāl Khān, az Saybe Nirdān, Gharom Khāsa, Shom az bih, Karzār, Birosun Jom, bih, Khān, az Saybe Nirdān, ba hāl Khān, bih, Aip, dar Qalehe Garchem, men bihv Shom, Murud, wa Pailī Shom, Doman.\]

1 Mirzā Muhammad (Persian notes, p. 17) at first failed to identify Wajiristan, but now believes it to be identical with the modern Waziristan.

2 The only mention of Nay hitherto discovered in Persian geographical works occurs in the Nuzhatu'l-Qultab, where it is briefly mentioned in the section dealing with Marw-i-Shahjan.

3 These verses are inserted in the margin of A. (f. 20a) only. They are omitted in the printed text.
So, by reason of his relation to Sayfû'd-Dawlà, he remained imprisoned for twelve years in the days of Sultân Ibrâhîm, and, on account of his like relation to Abû Naṣr of Pârsâ, for eight years more in the reign of Sultân Mas'ûd ibn Ibrâhîm, though none hath been heard of who hath produced so many splendid elegies and rare gems of verse as were born of his brilliant genius. After eight years Thiqatu'l-Mulk Tâhir ibn 'Alî ibn Mushkân brought him forth from his bondage, so that, in short, during these two reigns this illustrious man spent all his life in captivity, and the ill repute of this deed remained on this noble House. I hesitate as to the motives which are to be assigned to this act, and whether it is to be ascribed to strength of purpose, recklessness, hardness of heart, or a malicious disposition. In any case it was not a laudable deed, and I have never met with any sensible man who was prepared to praise that administration for such inflexibility of purpose or excess of caution. And I heard it remarked by the King of the world Ghiyathu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din that:

As Mîrzâ Muhammad has pointed out (Persian notes, pp. 145-146) there is some confusion of facts here. Mas'ûd suffered two separate periods of imprisonment, the first for ten years, of which seven were spent in Sû and Daḥak (between Zaranj and Bust in Sîstân), the second for seven or eight years in Maranj in India. Sultan Ibrâhîm’s death took place in A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098-9), so that, if he was still suffering his first imprisonment at that time, it cannot have begun earlier than A.H. 482 (A.D. 1089-90). We have Mas'ûd’s own authority for fixing the duration of his imprisonment at ten (not twelve) years. See his verses quoted at the top of p. 146 of the Persian notes.

Qiwamu'l-Mulk Nizâmû'd-Dîn Abû Naṣr Hibatu'llah al-Fârsî, a leading statesman during these two reigns and a friend and patron of our poet, fell into disgrace in the reign of Sultân Mas'ûd, together with his clients and protégés. He died about 510/1116.

He was prime minister to Sultan Mas'ud ibn Ibrâhîm, and patron of many poets, including besides Mas'ud-i-Sâ'îd-i-Salmân, Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rûnî, Mukhtârî and Sânâ'i, all of whom have sung his praises. His uncle Abû Naṣr Mansûr ibn Mushkân was secretary to Sultan Mahmûd and Sultan Mas'ud, author of a volume of Memoirs and teacher of the historian Abu'l-Fadl-i-Bayhaqî.
SECOND DISCOURSE.—ON POETS

Dín Muhammad, the son of MaliksFáh, at the gates of Hamadán, on the occasion of the rebellion of his son-in-law (may God make fragrant their dust, and exalt their station in Paradise!) Amír Shihábuddín Qutumush Alp Gházi, “It is the sign of a malicious heart to keep a foe imprisoned; for one of two things, either he is loyal or seditious. Then, if the former, it is an injustice to keep him in prison; and if the latter, it is again an injustice to suffer an ill-doer to live.” (xiv) In short that misery of Mas'úd passed, while this ill repute will endure till the Resurrection.

ANECDOTE XIX.

In the time of Sultán Khídhr ibn Ibráhím, the power of the Kháqání was at its most flourishing period, while the strength of their administration and the respect in which it was held were such as could not be surpassed.

Now he was a wise and just ruler and an ornament to the throne, and to him appertained the dominion of Transoxiana and Turquistán, while he enjoyed the most complete security on the side of Khurásán, wherewith he was allied by friendly relations, kinship, and firm treaties and covenants. And of the splendour maintained by him one detail was this, that when he rode out they carried before his horse, besides other arms, seven hundred maces of gold and silver. He was, moreover, a great patron of poets, and in his service were Amír 'Am'aq, Master Rashídí, Najjár-i-Ságharchí, 'Alí Pándíthí, the son of Dargush, the son of Isfarayí, 'Alí Sipíhrí and Najíbi of Farghána, all of whom obtained rich rewards, and vast honours. The Poet-Laureate was Amír 'Am'aq, who had profited abundantly by that dynasty and obtained the most ample circumstance, comprising Turkish slaves, fair damsels, well-paced horses, golden vessels, sumptuous apparel, and servants, biped and quadruped, innumerable. He was greatly honoured at the King's Court, so that of necessity the other poets

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1 The seventh Saljúq king, who reigned A.H. 498–511 (A.D. 1104–1117). There is, as pointed out by Mirzá Muhammad (pp. 145–146 of the Persian notes) an extraordinary confusion of dates and persons in this story. See also Note XXI at the end.

2 Sultan Khidr Khan ibn Tafghaj Khan Ibrahim ibn Nasr Arsân (known as Ilâk) ibn 'Ali ibn Músá ibn Sutuq succeeded his brother Shamsu'll-Mulk Nasr ibn Ibrahim in A.H. 474 (A.D. 1081–2), but died shortly afterwards. See Ibnul'Atir sub anno A.H. 408, and the Tarikh-i-Ifríhád (Or. 141 of the British Museum, f. 133r).

3 This Turkish Muslim dynasty, also known as Khâniyya, Ilâk Khâns, and Al-i-Afrásíyâb, reigned for about 330 lunar years (A.H. 380–609 = A.D. 990–1221) in Transoxiana, and was finally overthrown by the Khwárazmsháhs. See S. Lane-Poolé's Muhammadan Dynasties, pp. 134–135; Note XXII at the end; and pp. 144–145 of the Persian notes.

4 Mention has already been made of all these poets on p. 5a of the text (= pp. 29–30 of this translation) with the exception of "the son of Isfaráyní." See pp. 5a–5b of the Persian notes, and Note XIV at the end.

5 Literally, "speaking and silent," or "articulate and dumb."
must needs do him reverence. Such homage as from the others he desired from Master Rashidi also, but herein he was disappointed, for Rashidi, though still young, was nevertheless learned in his art. The Lady Zaynab was the special object of his panegyrics, while all Khidr Khan's women were at his command, and he enjoyed the fullest favour of the King, who was continually praising him and asserting his merits, so that Rashidi's affairs prospered, the title of "Prince of poets" was conferred on him, he continued to rise higher in the King's opinion, and from him received gifts of great value.

One day, in Rashidi's absence, the King asked 'Am'aq, "What thinkest thou of the verse of Rashidi, 'the Prince of poets'?" "His verse," replied he, "is extremely good and chaste and correct, but it wants a little spice."

After some while had elapsed, Rashidi came in and did obeisance, and was about to sit down when the King called him before himself, and said, teasing him as is the way of Kings, "I asked the Poet-Laureate just now, 'How is Rashidi's poetry?' He replied that it was good, but wanted spice. Now you must compose a couple of verses on this subject." Rashidi, with a bow, sat down in his place and improvised the following fragment:

"You stigmatise my verse as 'wanting spice';
And possibly, my friend, you may be right.
My verse is honey-flavoured, sugar-sweet,
And spice with such could scarcely cause delight.
Spice is for you, you blackguard, not for me,
For beans and turnips is the stuff you write!"

When he submitted these verses the King was mightily pleased. And in Transoxiana it is the custom and practice to place in the audience-chambers of kings and others gold and silver in trays, which they call *ṣim-tāqā* or *juft*; and in this audience of Khidr Khan's there were set for largessé four trays of red gold, each containing two hundred and fifty dinars; and these he used to dispense by the handful. On this day he ordered Rashidi to receive all four trays, so he obtained the highest honour, and became famous. For just as a patron becomes famous by the verse of a good poet, so do poets likewise achieve renown by receiving a great reward from the King, these two things being interdependent.

1 Sayyidu'sh-Shu'arā.
SECOND DISCOURSE.—ON POETS

'ANECDOCTE XX.

Master Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsí was one of the Díhqáns (landowners) of Tús, from a village called Bázh in the district of Tabárán, a large village capable of supplying a thousand men. There Firdawsí enjoyed an excellent position, so that he was rendered quite independent of his neighbours by the income which he derived from his lands, and he had but one child, a daughter. His one desire in putting the Book of Kings (Sháh-náma) into verse was, out of the reward which he might obtain for it, to supply her with an adequate dowry. He was engaged for twenty-five years on this work ere he (41) finished the book, and to this end he left nothing undone, raising his verse as high as heaven, and causing it in sweet fluency to resemble running water. What genius, indeed, could raise verse to such a height as he does in the letter written by Zál to Sám the son of Naríman in Mázandarán when he desired to ally himself with Rúdába the daughter of the King of Kábul:

"Then to Sám straightway sent he a letter,
Filled with fair praises, prayers and good greeting.
First made he mention of the World-Maker,
Who doom dispenseth and doom fulfillth.
On Nirán's son Sám,' wrote he, 'the sword-lord,
Mail-clad and mace-girt, may the Lord's peace rest!"

1 This anecdote is cited by Ibn Isfandiyár in his History of Tabaristán (A.H. 613, A.D. 1216. See Rieu's Persian Catalogue, pp. 202–204 and 533b), whence it was excerpted and published, with a German translation, by Éthis (Z.D.M.G., vol. xviii, pp. 89–94). It was also utilized by Nöledeke in 1896 in his Iranische Nationalenpos (Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie, vol. ii, pp. 150 et seqq.). A revised edition of this valuable monograph has just appeared (Berlin and Leipzig, 1920). The references here given are, unless otherwise specified, to the original edition.

2 The Burkhán-i-Qádi is the only Persian or Arabic book of reference which makes mention of this place as situated near Tús.

3 See Nöledeke, loc. cit., p. 151 (p. 25 of the new edition), and Yáquít, s.v. The city of Tús comprised the two districts of Tabárán (or Tabárán) and Núqán.

4 These verses (with some variants) will be found on pp. 124–125 of vol. i of Turner Macán's edition of the Sháh-náma (Calcutta, 1839).

5 The printed text has خانه for سلام.

6 The text has for هرث.
Hurler of horse-troops in hot-contested fights,  
Feeder of carrion-fowls with foemen's flesh-feast,  
Raising the roar of strife on the red war-field,  
From the grim war-clouds grinding the gore-shower.  
Who, by his manly might merit on merit  
Heaps, till his merit merit outmeasures? 1

In eloquence I know of no poetry in Persian which equals this,  
and but little even in Arabic.

When Firdawsi had completed the Shâhnâma, it was transcribed by 'Alî Daylam 2 and recited by Abû Dulaf 3, both of whom he mentions by name in tendering his thanks to Huyayy-i-Qutayba 4, the governor of Tús, who had conferred on Firdawsi many favours:—

"Of the men of renown of this city 'Alî Daylam and Abû Dulaf have participated in this book.

From them my portion was naught save 'Well done!' 5

My gall-bladder was like to burst with their 'Well done!' 6

Huyayy the son of Qutayba is a nobleman who asks me not for unrewarded verse.

I know nothing either of the root nor the branches of the land-tax;

I lounge [at ease] in the midst of my quilt." 7

Huyayy the son of Qutayba was the revenue-collector of Tús, and deemed it his duty at least to abate the taxes payable by Firdawsi; hence naturally his name will endure till the Resurrection and Kings will read it.

So 'Alî Daylam transcribed the Shâhnâma in seven volumes, and Firdawsi, taking with him Abû Dulaf, set out for the Court of Ghazna. There, by the help of the great Minister Ahmad ibn Hasan 8, the secretary, he presented it, and it was accepted, Sultan

1 Poor as this rendering is, I am strongly of opinion that for an English rendering of the Shâhnâma (which always seems to me very analogous in aim, scope, and treatment to that little-read English Epic, the Brut of Layamon) the old English alliterative verse would be the most suitable form.

2 See Nöldeke, op. cit., p. 153 (p. 27 of the new edition), and n. 2 ad calc.

3 So A. and L. B. has the more usual "Husayn b. Qutayba." Cf. Nöldeke, loc. cit.

4 I.e. I am sick of their barren and unprofitable plaudits. As these poor men rendered him material service in other ways, Firdawsi's remarks seem rather ungrateful.

5 What follows is evidently an explanation of this couplet. Firdawsi means that being no longer vexed with the exactions of the tax-gatherer, he can now repose in peace.

6 This celebrated minister had the title Shamsu'l-Kufât and the nisba of al-Maymandi. He died in 424/1033 after twenty years' service as Minister to Sultan Mahmûd.
Mahmúd expressing himself as greatly indebted to his Minister. But the Prime Minister had enemies who were continually casting the dust of misrepresentation into the cup of his rank, and Mahmúd (44) consulted with them as to what he should give Firdawsi. They replied, “Fifty thousand dirhams, and even that is too much, seeing that he is in belief a Rafidi and a Mu'tazilite. Of his Mu'tazilite views this verse is a proof:—

*Thy gaze the Creator can never descry; Then wherefore, by gazing, dost weary thine eye?* 

“while to his Rafidi proclivities these verses of his witness:—

*The wise man conceives the world as a sea, wherefrom the fierce wind has stirred up waves. The sea is seventy ships\(^1\) afloat, all with sails set, And amongst them one vessel, fair as a bride, decked with colour like the eye of the cock, Wherein are the Prophet and 'Ali, with all the Family of the Prophet and his Vicar. If thou desirest Paradise in the other World, take thy place by the Prophet and his Trustee. If ill accrues to thee thereby, it is my fault: know this, that this way is, my way. In this I was born, and in this I will pass away: know for a surety that I am as dust at feet of 'Ali.'*

Now Sultán Mahmúd was a zealot, and he listened to these imputations and caught hold of them, and in all only twenty thousand dirhams were paid to Hákim Firdawsi. He was bitterly disappointed, went to the bath, and, on coming out, bought a draft of sherbet\(^2\), and divided the money between the bath-man and the sherbet-seller. Knowing, however, Mahmúd's

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1 That is the seventy (or seventy-two) sects of Islam “all of which are doomed to Hell-fire save one which shall be saved.”

severity, he fled from Ghazna by night, and alighted in Herât at the shop of Azraqi’s father, Isma’il the bookseller (Warrāq), where he remained in hiding for six months, until Mahmūd’s messengers had reached Tūs and had turned back thence, when Firdawsī, feeling secure, set out from Herât for Tūs, taking the Shāhnāma with him. Thence he came to Tabaristān to the Sipahbad Shahriyār1 of the House of Bāwand, who was King there; and this is a noble house which traces its descent from Yazdigird2 the son of Shahriyār.

Then Firdawsī wrote a satire of a hundred couplets on Sultan Mahmūd in the Preface, and read it to Shahriyār3, saying, “I will dedicate this book to you instead of to Sultan Mahmūd, for this book deals wholly with the legends and deeds of thy forebears.” Shahriyār treated him with honour and shewed him many kindnesses, and said, “O Master, Mahmūd was induced to act thus by others, who did not submit your book to him under proper conditions, (...), and misrepresented you. Moreover you are a Shi’ite, and whosoever loves the Family of the Prophet his worldly affairs will prosper no more than theirs. Mahmūd is my liege-lord: let the Shāhnāma stand in his name, and give me the satire which you have written on him, that I may expunge it and give you some little recompense; and Mahmūd will surely summon thee and seek to satisfy thee fully, for the labour spent on such a book must not be wasted.” And next day he sent Firdawsī 100,000 dirhams, saying, “I buy each couplet at a thousand dirhams, give me those hundred couplets, and be reconciled to Mahmūd.” So Firdawsī sent him these verses, and he ordered them to be expunged; and Firdawsī also destroyed his rough copy of them, so that this satire was done away with and only these six verses of it remained4:

1 The MSS. have Shahrzād and the lithographed edition Shārzād, both of which readings are erroneous. The correct reading Shahriyār is given by Ibn Isfandiyār in his citation of this passage. His full genealogy, with references to the histories in which mention is made of him, is given on p. 15 of the Persian notes.
2 The last Sasanian king.
3 Cf. Nöldeke, loc. cit., p. 155, and n. 4 ad calc.
4 This is a remarkable statement, and, if true, would involve the assumption that the well-known satire, as we have it, is spurious. Cf. Nöldeke (op. cit.), pp. 155–156, and n. 1 on the latter, and pp. 30–31 of his new edition of Das Iran. Nationalepos.
"They cast imputations on me, saying, 'That man of many words
Hath grown old in the love of the Prophet and 'Ali!
If I speak of my love for these
I can protect a hundred such as Mahmúd.
No good can come of the son of a slave,
Even though his father hath ruled as King.
How long shall I speak on this subject?
Like the sea I know no shore.
The King had no aptitude for good,
Else would he have seated me on a throne.
Since in his family there was no nobility
He could not bear to hear the names of the noble."

In truth good service was rendered to Mahmúd by Shahriyár, and
Mahmúd was greatly indebted to him.

When I was at Níshápúr in the year A.H. 514 (A.D. 1120-1121),
I heard Amír Mu'izzí say that he had heard Amír 'Abdu'r-Razzáq
at Tús relate as follows: "Mahmúd was once in India, and was
returning thence towards Ghazna. On the way, as it chanced,
there was a rebellious chief possessed of a strong fortress, and
next day Mahmúd encamped at the gates of it, and sent an
ambassador to him, bidding him come before him on the morrow,
do homage, pay his respects at the Court, receive a robe of honour
and return to his place. Next day Mahmúd rode out with the
Prime Minister1 on his right hand, for the ambassador had turned
back and was coming to meet the King. 'I wonder,' said the
latter to the Minister, 'what answer he will have given?' There-
upon the Minister recited this verse of Firdawsi's:

'\text{Should the answer come contrary to my wish,}
\text{Then for me the mace, and the field [of battle], and Afrásiyáb.}'

'Whose verse,' enquired Mahmúd, 'is that, for it is one to inspire
courage?' 'Poor Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsi composed it,' answered
the Minister; 'he who laboured for five and twenty years to
complete such a work, and reaped from it no advantage.' 'You
have done well,' said Mahmúd, 'to remind me of this, for I deeply
regret that this noble man was disappointed by me. Remind me
at Ghazna to send him something.'

"So when the Minister returned to Ghazna, he reminded
Mahmúd, who ordered Firdawsi to be given sixty thousand
dinárs' worth of indigo, and that this indigo should be carried
to Tús on the King's own camels, and that apologies should be
made to Firdawsi. For years the Minister had been working
for this, and at length he had achieved his work; so now he
despatched the camels, and the indigo arrived safely at Tabáshín."

1 Khwádíja-i-Buzurg. This was the title commonly given to Shamsul-Kufát Almahmúd ibn Hasan al-Maymandí. See n. 6 at the foot of p. 55 supra.
2 Tabáshín is the name of a portion of the city of Tús. See B. de Meynard's Dict. de la Persie, vp. 374-375, and p. 54 supra, n. 3 ad calc.
But as the camels were entering through the Rúdbár Gate, the corpse of Firdawsí was being borne forth from the Gate of Razán¹. Now at this time there was in Tabarán a preacher whose fanaticism was such that he declared that he would not suffer Firdawsí’s body to be buried in the Musulmán Cemetery, because he was a Ráfídí (Shí’a); and nothing that men could say served to move this doctor. Now within the Gate there was a garden belonging to Firdawsí, and there they buried him, and there he lies to this day.” And in the year A.H.510 (A.D.1116-1117) I visited his tomb². They say that Firdawsí left a daughter, of very lofty spirit, to whom they would have given the King’s gift; but she would not accept it, saying, “I need it not.” The Post-master wrote to the Court and represented this to the King, who ordered that doctor to be expelled from Tabarán as a punishment for his officiousness, and to be exiled from his home, and the money to be given to the Imám Abú Bakr ibn Ishaq-i-Kirámi³ for the repair of the rest-house of Cháha, which stands on the road between Merv and Nishápúr on the boundaries of Tús. When this order reached Tús it was faithfully carried out; and the restoration of the rest-house of Cháha was effected by this money.

**ANECDOTE XXI.**

At the period when I was in the service of my Lord the King of the Mountains⁴ (may God illuminate (♦♦) his tomb and exalt his station in Paradise!), that august personage had a high opinion of me, and shewed himself a most generous patron towards me. Now on the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast one of the nobles of the city of Balkh (may God maintain its prosperity!), Amír ‘Amíd Safíyyu’d-Dín Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn Rawánísháhí, came to the Court. He was a young man, accomplished and highly esteemed, an expert writer, a qualified secretary of state, well endowed with culture and its fruits, popular with all, whose praises were on all tongues. And at this time I was not in attendance.

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¹ See Nöldeke’s new edition of his Pers. Nationalepos, p. 32, n. 2 ad calc. There are several places called Rúdbár, of which one situated near Tabarán is probably meant. See B. de Meynard’s Dict. de la Perse, p. 266. A Razán in Sístán is mentioned by al-Baladhuri (pp. 557-558), and another (نازرا) in the district of Nasá in Khurásán (Dict. de la Perse, p. 259).

² I am not sure at what point the inverted commas should be inserted, but the last sentence of this paragraph is certainly Nizámí’s.

³ This divine, Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishaq ibn Māḥmashád, was the head of the Kírámi sect at Nishápúr, and his biography is given in the Tárikhu’l-Yamání (ed. Gáiro, pp. 5-6-7). The Kírámi sect inclined to anthropomorphism. A full account of their doctrines will be found in Shahristání’s Kitáb’u’l-Miláw’u’l-Nihál.

⁴ This, as already stated, was the title assumed by the kings of Ghúr generally, and by the first of them, Qutbu’d-Dín Muḥammad ibn ‘Īzzu’d-Dín Husayn, especially. He it was whose death was avenged by his brother Sultan ‘Alí’u’d-Dín fahán-níšá in the sack of Ghazna, and who was our author’s patron. See Note XV at the end.
Now at a reception the King chanced to say, "Call Nizami." Said the Amir 'Amid Safiyyu'd-Din, "Is Nizami here?" They answered "Yes." But he supposed that it was Nizami-Munirî. "Ah," said he, "a fine poet and a man of wide fame!" When the messenger arrived to summon me, I put on my shoes, and, as I entered, did obeisance, and sat down in my place. When the wine had gone round several times, Amir 'Amid said, "Nizami has not come." "He is come," replied the King; "see, he is seated over there." "I am not speaking of this Nizami," answered Amir 'Amid, "that Nizami of whom I speak is another one, and as for this one, I do not even know him." Thereupon I saw that the King was vexed; he at once turned to me and said, "Is there somewhere else another Nizami besides thee?" "Yes, Sire," I answered, "there are two other Nizâris, one of Samarqand, whom they call Nizâmi-i-Munirî, and one of Nishâpûr, whom they call Nizâmi-i-Athîrî; while me they call Nizâmi-i-'Arûdî." "Art thou better, or they?" demanded he. Then Amir 'Amid perceived that he had made an unfortunate remark and that the King was annoyed. "Sire," said he, "those two Nizâmis are quarrelsome fellows, apt to break up and spoil social gatherings by their quarrelsome ness." "Wait," said the King jestingly, "till you see this one drain five bumpers of strong wine and break up the meeting: but of these three Nizâmis which is the best poet?" "Of those two," said the Amir 'Amid, "I have personal knowledge, having seen them, while this one I have not previously seen, nor have I heard his poetry. If he will compose a couple of verses on this subject which we have been discussing, so that I may see his talents and hear his verse, I will tell you which of these three is best."

Then the King turned to me, saying, "Now, O Nizami, do not shame us, and when thou speakest say what 'Amid desires." Now at that time, when I was in the service of this sovereign, I possessed a prolific talent and a brilliant genius, and the favours and gifts of the King had stimulated me to such a point that my improvisations came fluent as running water; so I took up a pen, and, ere the wine-cup had gone twice round, composed these five couplets:

1 The reading of this nisba is very doubtful in all three texts, both here and lower. In some it appears to read Minbarî.

2 The correct reading, si-yaki, is that given in the text, not sangî, which most of the MSS. have. It is wine reduced by evaporation to one-third of its original bulk; in Arabic it is similarly called muthallath. See the Anjuman-adrîyi-Nâshîrî, s.v.
"We are three Nizāmis in the world, O King, on account of whom a whole world is filled with outcry. I am at Warsād before the King’s throne, while those two others are in Merv before the Sultan. Today, in truth, in verse each one is the Pride of Khurasān. Although they utter verse subtle as spirit, and although they understand the Art of Speech like Wisdom, I am the Wine, for, when I get hold of them, both desist from their work."

When I submitted these verses, the Amir ‘Amid Saḥiyyu’d-Dīn bowed and said, "O King, let alone the Nizāmis, I know of no poet in all Transoxiana, ‘Irāq, or Khurasān capable of improvising five such verses, more especially in respect of strength, energy, and sweetness, conjoined with such grace of diction and filled with ideas so original. Be of good cheer, O Nizāmi, for thou hast no peer on the face of the earth. O Sire, he hath a graceful wit, a mind strong in apprehension, and a finished art. The good fortune of the King of the age and his generosity (may God exalt them!) hath increased them, and he will become a unique genius, and will become even more than this, for he is young, and hath many days before him."

Thereat the countenance of my King and Lord brightened mightily; a great cheerfulness appeared in his gracious temperament, and he applauded me, saying, "I give thee the lead-mine of Warsād from this Festival until the Festival of the Sheep-sacrifice. Send an agent there." I did so, sending Ishaq the Jew. It was the middle of summer and the time of active work, and they melted much of the ore, so that in seventy days twelve thousand maunds of lead appertaining to the tithe accrued to me, while the King's opinion of me was increased a thousand-fold. May God (blessed and exalted is He) illuminate his august ashes with the light of His approval and rejoice his noble soul by the accumulation of wealth, by His Favour and Grace!

1 Warsād or Warshād was the residency of this king, Quṭbū’d-Dīn Muḥammad, in Ghūr, as mentioned in the Taḥāqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī (Raverty's translation, p. 339).
2 I.e. from the end of Ramaḍān until the roth of Dhu’l-Hijja, a period of two months and ten days.
3 The exact meaning of this sentence is not clear even to the learned editor Mīrzā Muḥammad (p. 168 of the Persian notes). He suggests that our author, Nizāmi, was a Sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet, and that the khums, or fifth part of the profits, to which Sayyids are entitled, was in this case made over wholly to him. If this be the meaning, we should probably read dar iṣṭ khums for as ʿūn-i-khums. An alternative conjecture is to read bi-ḍīn-i-khums, and to translate "not counting the khums," i.e. that the net profit, after deducting the khums or tithe, was 12,000 maunds of lead.
On Astronomers

(31) Third Discourse.

On the Lore of the Stars and the excellence of the Astronomer in that Science.

Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī1 says, in the first chapter of his "Explanation of the Science of Astronomy" (Kitābūt-Tashhīm fi sinā'ati't-Tanjim)2:—"A man doth not merit the title of Astronomer until he hath attained proficiency in four sciences; first, Geometry; secondly, Arithmetic; thirdly, Cosmography; and fourthly, Judicial Astrology."

Now Geometry is that science whereby are known the dispositions of lines and the shapes of plane surfaces and solid bodies, the general relations existing between determinates and determinants, and the relation between them and what has position and form. Its principles are included in the book of Euclid the Geometrician3 in the recension of Thabit ibn Qurra4. Arithmetic is that science whereby are known the nature of all sorts of numbers, especially each species thereof in itself; the nature of their relation to one another; their generation from each other; and the applications thereof, such as halving, doubling, multiplication, division, addition, subtraction, and Algebra. The principles thereof are contained in the book of the Ṭāhib al-Muṣṭaqīmi, and the applications in the "Supplement" (Takmiyla) of Abū Mansūr of Baghdād5, and the "Hundred Chapters" (Ṣād Bāb) of as-Sajīzī6.

Cosmography is that science whereby are known the nature of the Celestial and Terrestrial Bodies, their shapes and positions, their relations to one another, and the measurements and distances which are between them, together with the nature of the movements of the stars and heavens, and the co-ordination of the spheres and segments whereby these movements are fulfilled.

1 The best account of this great scholar is that given by Dr Edward Sachau in the German Introduction to his edition of al-Āthārīl-Bāqiya (Leipzig, 1856), and, in a shorter form, in his English translation of the same (London, 1879). The substance of this is given by Mirzā Muhammad on pp. 197-197 of the Persian notes. See Note XXIII at the end.
2 This book was composed simultaneously in Arabic and Persian in A.H. 420 (A.D. 1029). There is a fine old MS. of the Persian version dated A.H. 688 (A.D. 1286), and bearing the class-mark Add. 7597, in the British Museum. See Rieu's Persian Catalogue, pp. 451-452.
3 Ṣa'īd, literally, "the Carpenter."
6 Abū Sa'īd Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'll-Jalīl as-Sajīzī (or Sijazī, i.e. of Sajštán or Sistán). See Brockelmann, op. cit., vol. i, p. 219, and Note XXIII at the end.
Judicial Astrology is a branch of Natural Science, and its special use is prognostication, by which is meant the deducing by analogy from the configurations of the stars in relation to one another, and from an estimation of their degrees in the zodiacal signs, the fulfilment of those events which are brought about by their movements, such as the conditions of the world-cycles, empires, kingdoms, cities, nativities, changes, transitions, decisions, and other questions. It is contained, as above defined by us, in the writings of Abū Ma'shar of Balkh, Ahmad [ibn Muḥammad] ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalīl-i-Sajzī, Abū Rayhān Bīrūnī, and Kūshyār-i-Jīlī.

So the astrologer must be a man of acute mind, approved character, and great natural intelligence, though apparently [some degree of] folly, madness and a gift for soothsaying are amongst the conditions and essentials of this branch [of the subject]. And the Astrologer who would pronounce prognostications must have the Part of the Unseen in his own Ascendant, or in a position which stands well in relation to the Ascendant, while the Lord of the Mansion of the Part of the Unseen must be fortunate and in a favourable position, in order that such pronouncements as he gives may be near the truth. And one of the conditions of being a good astrologer is that he should know by heart the whole of the "Compendium of Principles" (Mujnāli'l-Uṣūl) of Kūshyār, and should continually study the "Opus Major," and should look frequently into the Qānūn-i-Mašūdī and the Jāmi'-i-Shāhtī, so that his knowledge and concepts may be refreshed.

1 Abū'l-'Abbas al-Fadl ibn Ḥātam of Nayriz (near Dārāb杰īr in Fārs). He flourished in the latter half of the third century of the Flight (late ninth and early tenth of the Christian era).
2 Presumably Avicenna's great philosophical work of this name is intended.
3 See Brockelman's Gesch. d. Arab. Litt., vol. i, pp. 221-222, of the Persian notes, and Note XXIII at the end.
4 See n. 6 on p. 63 supra.
5 See n. 1 on p. 62 supra.
6 See ibid., pp. 222-223. Kiyā Abū'l-Hasan Kūshyār ibn Labbān ibn Bāshahri al-Jīlī (of Gilān) was a very notable astronomer who flourished in the second half of the fourth century of the Flight (tenth of the Christian era). A fine MS. of his Mujmal (Add. 7490) exists in the British Museum. See also p. 63 of the Persian notes, and Note XXIII at the end.
7 For this and other Astrological terms see Note XXIV at the end.
8 Kūr-i-Mihtar by Ḥasan ibnu'l-Khasib, a notable astronomer of the second century of the Flight.
9 Composed about A.D. 1031-6 for Sultān Mašūd, to whom it is dedicated, by al-Bīrūnī. A fine MS. transcribed at Baghdād in 570/1174-5 is described in Rieu's Arabic Supplement, pp. 513-519.
10 A collection of fifteen treatises by Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalīl as-Sajzī, a notable astronomer who flourished in the latter half of the tenth century of the Christian era. See p. 63 supra, n. 6 ad calc.
Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī, though he was a Jew, was the philosopher of his age and the wisest man of his time, and stood high in the service of al-Ma'mūn. One day he came in before al-Ma'mūn, and sat down above one of the prelates of Islam. Said this man, “Thou art of a subject race; why then dost thou sit above the prelates of Islam?” “Because,” said Ya'qūb, “I know what thou knowest, while thou knowest not what I know.”

Now this prelate knew of his skill in Astrology, but had no knowledge of his other attainments in science. “I will write down,” said he, “something on a piece of paper, and if thou canst divine what I have written, I will admit thy claim.” Then they laid a wager, on the part of the prelate a cloak, and on the part of Ya'qūb (⅁) a mule and its trappings, worth a thousand dīnārs, which was standing at the door. Then the former asked for an inkstand and paper, wrote something on a piece of paper, placed it under the Caliph's quilt, and cried, “Out with it!” Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq asked for a tray of earth, rose up, took the altitude, ascertained the Ascendant, drew an astrological figure on the tray of earth, determined the positions of the stars and located them in the Signs of the Zodiac, and fulfilled all the conditions of divination and thought-reading. Then he said, “O Commander of the Faithful, on that paper he has written something which was first a plant and then an animal.” Al-Ma'mūn put his hand under the quilt and drew forth the paper, on which was written “The Rod of Moses.” Ma’mūn was filled with wonder, and the prelate expressed his astonishment. Then Ya'qūb took the cloak of his adversary, and cut it in two before al-Ma'mūn, saying, “I will make it into two putties.”

This matter became generally known in Baghdād, whence it spread to 'Irāq and Khurāsān, and became widely diffused. A certain doctor of Balkh, prompted by that fanatical zeal which characterises the learned, took a knife and placed it in the middle of a book on Astrology, intending to go to Baghdād, attend the lectures of Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī, make a beginning in Astrology, and, when he should find a suitable opportunity, suddenly kill him. Stage by stage he advanced in this resolve, until he reached Baghdād, went in to the hot bath and came out, arrayed himself in clean clothes, and, placing the book in his sleeve, set out for Ya'qūb's house.

1 See Wüstenfeld's Gesch. d. Arab. Aertze, pp. 21–22. He died about A.H. 260 (A.D. 873). The author's assertion that the celebrated al-Kindī, called par excellence “the Philosopher of the Arabs,” was a Jew, is, as the Editor has pointed out (Persian notes, pp. ⅩⅩⅨ ⅩⅩⅩ ⅩⅩ ⅩⅩ), so absurd as to go near to discredit the whole story.

2 Khaby means guessing the nature of a hidden object and dāniš of a hidden thought, according to al-Bīrūnī's Tahkīm. See Note XXIV at the end.

3 i.e. Abū Ma'shār, as appears from the conclusion of the story.
When he reached the gate of the house, he saw standing there many handsomely-caparisoned horses belonging to descendants of the Prophet and other eminent and notable persons of Baghdad. Having made enquiries, he went in, entered the circle in front of Ya'qūb, greeted him, and said, "I desire to study somewhat of the Science of the Stars with our Master."

"Thou hast come from the East to slay me, not to study Astrology," replied Ya'qūb, "but thou wilt repent of thine intention, study the Stars, attain perfection in that science, and become one of the greatest Astrologers amongst the People of Muhammad (on whom be God's Blessing and Peace)." All the great men there assembled were astonished at these words; and Abū Ma'shar confessed and produced the knife from the middle of the book, broke it, and cast it away. Then he bent his knees and studied for fifteen years, until he attained in Astrology that eminence which was his.

ANECDOTE XXIII.

It is related that once when Yaminu’d-Dawla Sultan Mahmūd ibn Nāṣiru’d-Din was sitting on the roof of a four-doored summer-house in Ghazna, in the Garden of a Thousand Trees, he turned his face to Abū Rayhān and said, "By which of these four doors shall I go out?" (for all four were practicable). "Decide and write the decision on a piece of paper, and put it under my quilt." Abū Rayhān called for an astrolabe, took the altitude, determined the Ascendant, reflected for a while, and then wrote down his decision on a piece of paper, and placed it under the quilt. "Hast thou decided?" asked Mahmūd. He answered, "I have."

Then Mahmūd bade them bring a navvy with pick-axe and spade, and in the wall which was on the eastern side they dug out a fifth door, through which he went out. Then he bade them bring the paper. So they brought it, and on it Abū Rayhān had written, "He will go out through none of these four doors, but they will dig a fifth door in the eastern wall, by which door he will go forth." Mahmūd, on reading this, was furious, and bade them cast Abū Rayhān down in the midst of the palace, and so they did. Now there was stretched a net from the middle floor, and on it Abū Rayhān fell. The net tore, and he subsided gently to the ground, so that he received no injury. "Bring him in," said Mahmūd. So they brought him in, and Mahmūd said, "O Abū Rayhān, at all events thou didst not know about this event!"

1 Literally, "of the Banū Hashim."
2 See n. 3 on p. 63 supra and Note XXIII at the end.
3 I.e. the great Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna (reigned A.H. 388-421, A.D. 998-1030).
4 Abū-Bīrūnī. See n. 1 on p. 62 supra, and Note XXIII at the end.
“I knew it, Sire,” answered he. Said Mahmud, “Where is the proof?” So Abú Rayhán called for his servant, took the Almanac from him, and produced the prognostications out of the Almanac; and amongst the predictions of that day was written:—“To-day they will cast me down from a high place, but I shall reach the earth in safety, and arise sound in body.”

All this was not according to Mahmud’s mind. He waxed still angrier, and ordered Abú Rayhán to be detained in the citadel. So Abú Rayhán was confined in the citadel of Ghazna, where he remained for six months.

**ANECDOTE XXIV.**

It is said that during that period of six months none dared speak to Mahmud about Abú Rayhán; but one of his servants was deputed to wait upon him, and go out to get what he wanted, and return therewith. One day this servant was passing through the Park (Marghzár) of Ghazna when a fortune-teller called him and said, “I perceive several things worth mentioning in your fortune: give me a present, that I may reveal them to you.” The servant gave him two *dirhams*, whereupon the Sooth-sayer said, “One dear to thee is in affliction, but ere three days are past he will be delivered from that affliction, will be invested with a robe of honour and mark of favour, and will again become distinguished and ennobled.”

The servant proceeded to the citadel and told this incident to his master as a piece of good tidings. Abú Rayhán laughed and said, “O foolish fellow, dost thou not know that one ought not to loiter in such places? Thou hast wasted two *dirhams*.”

It is said that the Prime Minister Ahmad ibn Hasan of Maymand (may God be merciful to him!) was for six months seeking an opportunity to say a word on behalf of Abú Rayhán. At length, when engaged in the chase, he found the King in a good humour, and, working from one topic to another, he brought the conversation round to Astrology. Then he said, “Poor Abú Rayhán uttered two such good prognostications, and, instead of decorations and a robe of honour, earned only bonds and imprisonment.” “Know, my lord,” replied Mahmud, “for I have discovered it, and all men admit it, that this man has no equal in the world save Abú ‘Ali [ibn] Siná (Avicenna). But both his prognostications were opposed to my will; and kings are like little children; in order to receive rewards from them, one should speak in accordance with their views. It would have been better for him on that day if one of those two prognostications had been wrong. But to-morrow order him to be brought forth, and to be given a horse caparisoned with gold, a royal robe, a satin turban, a thousand *dinárs*, a boy slave and a handmaiden.”
So, on the very day specified by the sooth-sayer, they brought forth Abū Rayhān, and the gift of honour detailed above was conferred upon him, and the King apologized to him, saying, “O Abū Rayhān, if thou desirest to reap advantage from me, speak according to my desire, not according to the dictates of thy science.” So therefrom Abū Rayhān altered his practice; and this is one of the conditions of the king’s service, that one must be with him in right or wrong, and speak according to his wish. 

Now when Abū Rayhān went to his house and the learned came to congratulate him, he related to them the incident of the sooth-sayer, whereat they were amazed, and sent to summon him. They found him quite illiterate, knowing nothing. Then Abū Rayhān said, “Hast thou the horoscope of thy nativity?” “I have,” he replied. Then he brought the horoscope and Abū Rayhān examined it, and the Part of the Unseen fell directly on the degree of his Ascendant, so that whatever he said, though he spoke blindly, came near to the truth.

ANECDOTE XXV.

I had in my employment a woman-servant, who was born on the 28th of Safar, A.H. 511 (July 1st, A.D. 1117), when the Moon was in conjunction with the Sun and there was no distance between them, so that in consequence of this the Part of Fortune and the Part of the Unseen both fell on the degree of the Ascendant. When she reached the age of fifteen years, I taught her Astrology, in which she became so skilful that she could answer difficult questions in this science, and her prognostications came mighty near the truth. Ladies used to come to her and question her, and the most part of what she said coincided with the pre-ordained decrees of Fate.

One day an old woman came to her and said, “It is now four years since a son of mine went on a journey and I have no news of him, neither of his life nor of his death. See whether he is of the living or the dead, and wherever he is acquaint me with his condition.” So the woman-astrologer arose, took the altitude, worked out the degree of the Ascendant, drew out an astrological figure, and determined the positions of the stars; and the very first words she said were, “Thy son hath returned!”

The old woman was annoyed and said, “O child, I have no hopes of his coming: tell me this much, is he alive or dead?”

1 Cf. Gulistān, ed. Platts, p. 40, last two lines.
2 A/H and B. have “512,” and L. “510.” Although the text has 979, “an old woman,” I have substituted “a woman-servant” as more appropriate, for since she was born in A.H. 511 and the Chahār Maqāla was composed about A.H. 551 or 552, she can only have been at most about forty years of age, even if the incident described took place shortly before it was here recorded.

5-2
“I tell you,” said the ether, “thy son hath come. Go, and if he hath not come, return that I may tell thee how he is.”

So the old woman went to her house, and lo, her son had arrived and they were unloading his ass. She embraced him, took two veils, and brought them to the woman-astrologer, saying, “Thou didst speak truly; my son hath come,” and gave her a blessing with her present. When I came home and heard tidings of this, I enquired of her, “By what indication didst thou speak, and from what house didst thou deduce this prognostication?” She answered, “I had not reached so far as this. When I had finished the figure of the Ascendant, (1) a fly came and settled on the number of the degree of the Ascendant, wherefore it so seemed in my mind that this young man had returned. When I had thus spoken, and the mother had gone to find out, it became as certain to me that he had come as though I actually saw him unloading his ass.”

Then I perceived that it was the Part of the Unseen which had effected all this on the degree of the Ascendant, and that this [success of hers] arose from nothing else but this.

ANECDOTE XXVI.

Mahmúd Dá’údí, the son of Abu’l-Qásim Dá’údí, was a great fool, nay, almost a madman, and had no great amount of knowledge of the stars; though of astrological operations he could cast a nativity, and in his note-book were figures, declaring “it is” or “it is not.” He was in the service of Amír-Dád Abú Bakr ibn Mas’úd at Panj-dih; and his prognostications mostly came nearly right.

Now his madness was such that when my master the King of the Mountains sent Amír-Dád a pair of Ghúrî dogs, very large and formidable, he fought with them of his own free will, and escaped from them in safety. Years afterwards we were sitting with a number of persons of learning in the Druggists’ Bázár at Herá, in the shop of Muqrí the surgeon-barber, and discussing all manner of subjects. One of these learned men happening to remark, “What a great man was Avicenna (Ibn Sína)!” I saw Dá’údí fly into such a passion that the veins of his neck became hard and prominent, and all the symptoms of anger appeared in him, and he cried, “O So-and-so, who was Abú ‘Alí ibn Sína? I am worth a thousand Abú ‘Alí’s, for he never even fought with a cat, whilst I fought before Amír-Dád with two Ghúrî dogs.” So on that day I knew him to be mad; yet for all his madness, I witnessed the following occurrence.

1 I.e. Qutbu’d-Dín Muḥammad ibn ‘Izzu’d-Dín Husayn, the first king of the Ghúrî dynasty, poisoned by Bahram Sháh. See Note I at the end.
In the year A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-1115), when Sultan Sanjar encamped in the Plain of Khuzan, on his way to Transoxiana to fight with Muhammad Khan, Amir-Dad made a mighty great entertainment for the King at Panj-dih. On the third day he came to the river-brink, and entered a boat to amuse himself (1) with fishing. In the boat he summoned Dá'údí before him to talk in that mad way of his, while he laughed, for Dá'údí would openly abuse Amir-Dád.

Presently the King said to Dá'údí, "Prognosticate how many maunds the fish which I shall catch this time will weigh." Dá'údí said, "Draw up your hook." So the King drew it up; and he took the altitude, paused for a while, and then said, "Now cast it." The King cast, and he said, "I prognosticate that this fish which you will draw out will weigh five maunds." "O knave," said Amir-Dád, "whence should fish of five maunds weight come into this stream?" "Be silent," said Dá'údí, "what do you know about it?" So Amír-Dád was silent, fearing that, should he insist further, he would only get abuse.

After a while there was a pull on the line, indicating that a fish had been taken captive. The King drew in the line with a very large fish on it, which, when weighed, scaled six maunds. All were amazed, and the King of the World expressed his astonishment, for which, indeed, there was good occasion. "Dá'údí," said the King, "what dost thou wish for?" "O King of the face of the Earth," said he with an obeisance, "I desire but a coat of mail, a shield and a spear, that I may do battle with Bawardi." And this Bawardi was an officer attached to Amír-Dád's Court, and Dá'údí entertained towards him a fanatical hatred, because the title of Shujd’il-Mulk ("the Champion of the Kingdom") had been conferred on him, while Dá'údí himself bore the title of Shujd’ul-Hukamá ("the Champion of the Philosophers"), and grudged that the other should also be entitled Shujd’d. And Amír-Dád, well knowing this, used continually to embroil Dá'údí with him, and this good Musulmán was at his wit's end by reason of him.

In short, as to Mahmúd Dá'údí's madness there was no doubt, and I have mentioned this matter in order that the King may know that as regards astrological predictions folly and insanity are amongst the conditions of this craft.

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1 See Barbier de Meynard's Dict. de la Perse, pp. 215-216.
2 The person meant is Muhammad Khan (known as Arslán Khan) ibn Sulaymán ibn Dá'úd ibn Bughra Khan of the Khaniyya dynasty. The event alluded to in the text took place in A.H. 507 (A.D. 1113-1114).
3 I. has "five," which corresponds better with the prognostication, but the MS. authority is in favour of the reading here adopted.
Hakím-i-Mawsīlī was one of the order of Astrologers in Nishápūr, and was in the service of that Great Minister Nizámú’l-Mulk of Tús, who used to consult with him on matters of importance, and seek his advice and opinion. Now when Mawsīlī’s years were drawing to a close, and failure of his faculties began to manifest itself, and feebleness of body began to appear, so that he was no longer able to perform these long journeys, he asked the Minister’s permission to go and reside at Nishápūr, and to send thence, annually, an almanac and forecast for the year.

Now the Minister Nizámú’l-Mulk was also in the decline of life and near the term of existence; and he said, “Calculate the march of events and see when the dissolution of my elemental nature will occur, and at what date that inevitable doom and unavoidable sentence will befall.”

Hakím-i-Mawsīlī answered, “Six months after my death.” So the Minister bestowed on him in increased measure all things needful for his comfort, and Mawsīlī went to Nishápūr, and there abode in ease, sending each year the forecast and calendar. And whenever anyone came to the Minister from Nishápūr, he used first to enquire, “How is Mawsīlī?” and so soon as he had ascertained that he was alive and well, he would become joyous and cheerful.

At length in the year A.H. 485 (A.D. 1092-3) one arrived from Nishápūr, and the Minister enquired of him concerning Mawsīlī. The man replied, with an obeisance, “May he who holdeth the chief seat in Islam be the heir of many life-times! Mawsīlī hath quitted this mortal body.” “When?” enquired the Minister. “In the middle of Rabi’ the First” (April 11—May 11, A.D. 1092), answered the man, “he yielded up his life for him who sitteth in the chief seat of Islam.”

The Minister thereat was mightily put about; yet, being thus warned, he looked into all his affairs, confirmed all his pious endowments, gave effect to his bequests, wrote his last testament, set free such of his slaves as had earned his approval, discharged the debts which he owed, and, so far as lay in his power, made all men content with him, and sought forgiveness from his adversaries, and so sat awaiting his fate until the month of Ramadan (A.H. 485 = Oct. 5—Nov. 4, A.D. 1092), when he fell a martyr at Baghdad1 at the hands of that Sect (i.e. the Assassins); may God make illustrious his Proof, and accord him an ample approval!

1 This is an error of the author’s, for the evidence that Nizámú’l-Mulk was assassinated at Nihawand is overwhelming.
Since the observed Ascendant of the nativity, the Lord of the House, and the dominant influence (haylây) were rightly determined, and the Astrologer was expert and accomplished, naturally the prognostication came true. **And He [God], knoweth best.**

**ANECDOTE XXVIII.**

In the year A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112-1113) Khwâja Imám 'Umar-i-Khayyámī and Khwâja Imám Muzaffâr-i-Isfizârî had alighted in the city of Balkh, in the Street of the Slave-sellers, in the house of Amîr (w) Abû Sa'd Jarrah, and I had joined that assembly. In the midst of our convivial gathering I heard that Argument of Truth (Hujjatu'l-Haqq) 'Umar say, "My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms on me twice a year." This thing seemed to me impossible, though I knew that one such as he would not speak idle words.

When I arrived at Nishâpûr in the year A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135-6), it being then four years since that great man had veiled his countenance in the dust, and this nether world had been bereaved of him, I went to visit his grave on the eve of a Friday (seeing that he had the claim of a master on me), taking with me one to point out to me his tomb. So he brought me out to the Hîra Cemetery; I turned to the left, and found his tomb situated at the foot of a garden-wall, over which pear-trees and peach-trees thrust their heads, and on his grave had fallen so many flower-leaves that his dust was hidden beneath the flowers. Then I remembered that saying which I had heard from him in the city of Balkh, and I fell to weeping, because on the face of the earth, and in all the regions of the habitable globe, I nowhere saw one like unto him. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) have mercy

1 I confess that these astrological terms are beyond me. Several of them (e.g. haylây and kadkhudd) are explained in the section of the Mafâtih al-hilâm which treats of Astrology (ed. van Vloten, pp. 225-232). See, however, Note XXIV at the end.

2 The MSS. have Khayyâmî, the form usually found in Arabic books. See Note XXV at the end.

3 A notable astronomer who collaborated with 'Umar-i-Khayyâm and others in A.H. 467 (A.D. 1074-1075) in the computation of the Jalâlî era by command of Malikshâh. 伊bnu'l-Atîr mentions him under the above year by the name of Abu'l-Muzaffar al-Isfizârî.

4 The editor of the text has adopted the reading of the Constantinople MS., "every spring-tide the north wind will scatter blossoms on me," but the reading here adopted seems to me preferable, for there would be nothing remarkable in the grave being covered with fallen blossoms once a year; what was remarkable was that it should happen twice.

5 The Constantinople MS., which is the oldest and most reliable, alone has this reading, the others having "some years." If "four" be correct, it follows that 'Umar-i-Khayyâm died in A.H. 526 (A.D. 1121-1122) or 517 (A.D. 1122-1123).

6 Hîra, according to as-Sam'ânî and Yâqût, was a large and well-known quarter lying outside Nishâpûr on the road to Merv.
upon him, by His Grace and His Favour! Yet although I witnessed this prognostication on the part of that Proof, of the Truth 'Umar, I did not observe that he had any great belief in astrological predictions; nor have I seen or heard of any of the great [scientists] who had such belief.

**ANECDOTE XXIX.**

In the winter of the year A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-1115) the King sent a messenger to Merv to the Prime Minister Sadru'd-Din [Abú Ja'far] Muhammad ibn al-Muẓaffar (on whom be God's Mercy) bidding him tell Khwája Imam 'Umar to select a favourable time for him to go hunting, such that therein should be no snowy or rainy days. For Khwája Imam 'Umar was in the Minister's company, and used to lodge at his house.

The Minister, therefore, sent a messenger to summon him, and told him what had happened. So he went and looked into the matter for two days, and made a careful choice; and he himself went and superintended the mounting of the King at the auspicious moment. When the King was mounted and had gone but a short distance, the sky became over-cast with clouds, a wind arose, and snow and mist supervened. All present fell to laughing, and the King desired to turn back; but Khwája Imám ['Umar] said, "Let the King be of good cheer, for this very hour the clouds will clear away, and during these five days there will not be a drop of moisture." So the King rode on, and the clouds opened, and during those five days there was no moisture, and no one saw a cloud.

But prognostication by the stars, though a recognized art, is not to be relied on, nor should the astronomer have any far-reaching faith therein; and whatever the astrologer predicts he must leave to Fate.

**ANECDOTE XXX.**

It is incumbent on the King, wherever he goes, to prove such companions and servants as he has with him; and if one is a believer in the Holy Law, and scrupulously observes the rites and duties thereof, he should make him an intimate, and treat

1 A. and C. have—"cause him to dwell in Paradise."
2 In the printed text "Anecdote XXIX" begins here with the following sentence, which is omitted in the Tihārān lithographed edition.
3 He was the grandson of the great Nizāmu'l-Mulk. His father, Fakhru'l-Mulk Abu'l-Fath al-Muẓaffar, was put to death by Sultan Sanjar, whose Minister he was, in A.H. 500 (A.D. 1106-1107). Sadru'd-Din himself was murdered by one of Sanjar's servants in A.H. 511 (A.D. 1117-1118).
4 I suppose this to be the meaning of the words:—و يلاك بانک زمین پرینت, which is the reading of all the texts. It perhaps means the distance which the human voice will carry when raised to its highest pitch.
him with honour and confide in him; but if otherwise, he should drive him away, and guard even the outskirts of his environment from his very shadow. Whoever does not believe in the religion of God (great and glorious is He!) and the law of Muhammad the Chosen One, in him can no man trust, and he is unlucky, both to himself and to his master.

In the beginning of the reign of the King Sultan Ghiyathu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Muhammad ibn Malikshah, styled Qasimu Amiril-Miiminin (may God illuminate his tomb!), the King of the Arabs Šadaqa revolted and withdrew his neck from the yoke of allegiance, and with fifty thousand Arabs marched on Baghdad from Hilla. The Prince of Believers al-Mustazhir bi'llah had sent off letter after letter and courier after courier to Isfahan, summoning the Sultan, who sought from the astrologers the determination of the auspicious moment. But no such determination could be made which would suit the Lord of the King's Ascendant, which was retrograde. So they said, "O Sire, we find no auspicious moment." "Seek it, then," said he; and he was very urgent in the matter, and much vexed in mind. And so the astrologers fled.

Now there was a man of Ghazna who had a shop in the Street of the Dome and who used to practise sooth-saying, and women used to visit him, and he used to write them love-charms, but he had no profound knowledge. By means of an acquaintance with one of the King's servants he brought himself to the King's notice, and said, "I will find an auspicious moment; depart in that, and if (N thou dost not return victorious, then cut off my head." So the King was pleased, and mounted his horse at the moment declared auspicious by him, and gave him two hundred dinars of Nīshāpūr, and went forth, fought with Šadaqa, defeated his army, took him captive, and put him to death. And when he returned triumphant and victorious to Isfahān, he heaped favours on the sooth-sayer, conferred on him great honours, and made him one of his intimates. Then he summoned the astrologers and said, "You did not find an auspicious moment, it was this Ghaznawi who found it; and I went, and God justified his forecast. Wherefore did ye act thus? Probably Šadaqa had sent you a bribe so that you should not name the auspicious time." Then they all fell to the earth, lamenting and exclaiming, "No astrologer was satisfied with that choice. If you wish, write a message

1 Reigned A.H. 498-511 (A.D. 1104-1117).
2 For an account of this event and the doings of Šadaqa ibn Mazyad, the "King of the Arabs" here mentioned, see Ibnul'Athir's Chronicle sub anno A.H. 501 (A.D. 1107-1108).
3 This is an error, for Šadaqa never attacked Baghdād nor quarrelled with the Caliph al-Mustazhir bi'llah, his quarrel being with Muhammad ibn Malikshāh.
and send it to Khurásán, and see what Khwa'ja Imám 'Umar-i-Khayyámí says."

The King saw that the poor wretches did not speak amiss. He therefore summoned one of his accomplished courtiers and said, "Hold a wine-party at your house to-morrow. Invite this astrologer of Ghazna, give him wine, and, when he is overcome with wine, enquire of him, saying, 'That moment determined by thee was not good, and the astrologers find fault with it. Tell me the secret of this.'"

Then, the courtier did so, and, when his guest was drunk, made this enquiry of him. The Ghaznawi answered, "I knew that one of two things must happen; either that army would be defeated, or this one. If the former, then I should be loaded with honours; and if the latter, who would concern himself about me?"

Next day the courtier reported this conversation to the King, who ordered the Ghaznawi sooth-sayer to be expelled, saying, "Such a man holding such views about good Musulmáns is unlucky." Then he summoned his own astrologers and restored his confidence to them, saying, "I myself held this sooth-sayer to be an enemy, because he never said his prayers, and one who agrees not with our Holy Law, agrees not with us."

ANECDOTE XXXI.

In the year A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152-3)² a battle was fought between the King of the World Sanjar ibn (or) Maliksháh and my lord the King 'Alá’u’d-Dunyá wa’d-Din at the Gates of Awba³; and the army of Ghúr was defeated, and my lord the King of the East (may God perpetuate his reign!) was taken prisoner, and my lord’s son the Just King Shámsu’d-Dawla wa’d-Dín Muḥammad ibn Mas’úd⁴ was taken captive at the hands of the Commander-in-Chief (Amír-i-sipahsádár) Yaranqush Haná. The ransom was fixed at fifty thousand dinârs, and a messenger from him was to go to the court at Bāmiyán to press for this sum; and when it reached Heráit the Prince was to be released, being already accorded his liberty by the Lord of the World (Sanjar), who, moreover, at the time of his departure from Heráit, granted him a robe of honour. It was under these circumstances that I arrived to wait upon him.

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³ A. adds:—"they killed him, and...."

² This is the correct date, but the Ta’ríkh-i-Guzída gives A.H. 544 (A.D. 1149–1150).

³ A village near Heráit.

⁴ The second of the Kings of Shamsab or Ghúr who ruled over Bāmiyán, and the son of Fakhrú’d-Dín Mas’úd. See p. 57 of the Persian notes and Nûte 2 at the end.

⁵ The meaning appears to be that a ransom was demanded by the Amír Yaranqush, the Prince’s actual captor, but not by his over-lord Sanjar.
One day, being extremely sad at heart, he signed to me, and enquired when this deliverance would finally be accomplished, and when this consignment would arrive. So I took an observation that day with a view to making this prognostication, and worked out the Ascendant, exerting myself to the utmost, and [ascertained that] there was an indication of a satisfactory solution to the question on the third day. So next day I came and said, “To-morrow at the time of the afternoon prayer the messenger will arrive.” All that day the Prince was thinking about this matter. Next day I hastened to wait on him. “To-day,” said he, “is the time fixed.” “Yes,” I replied; and continued in attendance on him till the afternoon prayer. When the call to prayer was sounded, he remarked reproachfully, “The afternoon prayer has arrived, but still no news!” Even while he was thus speaking, a courier arrived bringing the good tidings that the consignment had come, consisting of fifty thousand dinars, sheep, and other things, and that Izzu’d-Dín Mahmúd Hájjí, the steward of Prince Husámú’d-Dawla wa’d-Dín, was in charge of the convoy. Next day my lord Shamsu’d-Dawla wa’d-Dín was invested with the King’s dress of honour, and released. Shortly afterwards he regained his beloved home, and from that time onwards his affairs have prospered more and more every day (may they continue so to do!). And it was during these nights that he used to treat me with the utmost kindness and say, “Nizámí, do you remember making such a prognostication in Herát, and how it came true? I wanted to fill thy mouth with gold, but there I had no gold, though here I have.” Then he called for gold, and twice filled my mouth therewith. Then he said, “It will not hold enough; hold out thy sleeve.” (v) So I held it out, and he filled it also with gold. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) maintain this dynasty in daily-increasing prosperity, and long spare these two Princes to my august and royal Master, by His Favour, Bounty and Grace!

(11) FOURTH DISCOURSE.

On the Science of Medicine, and the right direction of the Physician.

Medicine is that art whereby health is maintained in the human body; whereby, when it wanes, it is restored; and whereby the body is embellished by long hair, a clear complexion, fragrance and vigour¹.

¹ The ordinary definition of Medicine ends at the word “restored,” but the whole of Book VIII of the Dhakhira-i-Khwárazmštáḥt deals with the care of the hair, nails, complexion, etc.
The physician should be of tender disposition and wise nature, excelling in acumen, this being a nimbleness of mind in forming correct views, that is to say a rapid transition to the unknown from the known. And no physician can be of tender disposition if he fails to recognize the nobility of the human soul; nor of wise nature unless he is acquainted with Logic, nor can he excel in acumen unless he be strengthened by God's aid; and he who is not acute in conjecture will not arrive at a correct understanding of any ailment, for he must derive his indications from the pulse, which has a systole, a diastole, and a pause intervening between these two movements.

Now here there is a difference of opinion amongst physicians, one school maintaining that it is impossible by palpation to gauge the movement of contraction; but that most accomplished of the moderns, that Proof of the Truth Abú 'Ali al-Ḥusayn ibn Ābdūllāh ibn Siná (Avicenna), says in his book the Qāmūn, that the movement of contraction also can be gauged, though with difficulty, in thin subjects. Moreover the pulse is of ten sorts, each of which is divided into three subordinate varieties, namely its two extremes and its mean; but, unless the Divine guidance assist the physician in his search for the truth, his thought will not hit the mark. So also in the inspection of the urine, the observing of its colours and sediments, and the deducing of some special condition from each colour (viz.) are no easy matters; for all these indications depend on Divine help and Royal patronage. This quality [of discernment] is that which we have indicated under the name of acumen. And unless the physician knows Logic, and understands the meaning of genus and species, he cannot discriminate between that which appertains to the category, that which is peculiar to the individual, and that which is accidental, and so will not recognize the cause [of the disease]. And, failing to recognize the cause, he cannot succeed in his treatment. But let us now give an illustration, so that it may be known that it is as we say. Disease is the genus; fever, headache, cold, delirium, measles and jaundice are the species, each of which is distinguished from the others by a diagnostic sign, and in turn itself constitutes a genus. For example, "Fever" is the genus, wherein quotidian, tertian, double tertian and quartan are the

1 Some notes on the varieties of pulse recognized by the Arabian physicians will be found in Note XXVI at the end.
3 The Qāmūn was printed at Rome, A.D. 1593, and the Latin translation at Venice in A.D. 1544. According to Steinschneider, Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation was printed more than thirty times, and fifteen times before A.D. 1500.
species, each of which is distinguished from the other by a special diagnostic sign. Thus, for instance, quotidian is distinguished from other fevers by the fact that the longest period thereof is a day and a night, and that in it there is no languor, heaviness, lassitude, nor pain. Again inflammatory fever is distinguished from other fevers by the fact that when it attacks it does not abate for several days; while tertian is distinguished by the fact that it comes one day and not the next; and double tertian by this, that one day it comes with a higher temperature and a shorter interval, and another day in a milder form with a longer interval; while lastly quartan is distinguished by the fact that it attacks one day, does not recur on the second and third days, but comes again on the fourth. Each of these in turn becomes a genus comprising several species; and if the physician be versed in Logic and possessed of acumen and knows which fever it is, what the materies morbi is, and whether it is simple or compound, he can then at once proceed to treat it. But if he fail to recognize the disease, then let him turn to God and seek help from Him; and so likewise, if he fail in his treatment, let him have recourse to God and seek help from Him, seeing that all issues are in His hands.

Anecdote XXXII.

In the year A.H. 512 (A.D. 1118-19), in the Druggist's Bazaar of Nishapur, at the shop of Muhammad ibn Muhammad the Astrologer-Physician, I heard Khwaja Imam Abu Bakr Daqqaq saying, "In the year A.H. 502 (A.D. 1108-9) a certain notable man of Nishapur was seized with the colic and called me in. I examined him, and proceeded to treat him, trying every remedy suggested in this malady; but no improvement in his health took place. Three days elapsed. At the time of evening prayer I returned in despair, convinced that the patient would pass away at midnight. In this distress I fell asleep. In the morning I awoke, not doubting that he had passed away. I went up on to the roof, and turned my face in that direction to listen, but heard no sound [of lamentation] which might indicate his decease. I repeated the Fatiha, breathing it in that direction and adding, 'O my God, my Master and my Lord, Thou Thyself hast said in the Sure Book and Indubitable Scripture, "And we will send..."
fourth discourse.—on physic

down in the Qur'án what shall be a healing aid and a mercy to true believers?”. For I was filled with regret, seeing that he was a young man, and wealthy, and in easy circumstances, and had all things needful for a pleasant life. Then I performed the minor ablution, went to the oratory and acquitted myself of the customary prayer. One knocked at the door of the house. I looked and saw that it was one of his people, who gave good tidings, saying, ‘Open!’ I inquired what had happened, and he replied, ‘This very hour he obtained relief.’ Then I knew that this was through the blessing of the Fatiha of the Scripture, and that this draught had been issued from the Divine Dispensary. For I have put this to the proof, administering this draught in many cases, in all of which it proved beneficial, and resulted in restoration to health.” Therefore the physician should be of good faith, and should venerate the commands and prohibitions of the Holy Law.

On the Science of Medicine the student should procure and read the “Aphorisms” (Fusul) of Hippocrates, the “Questions” (Masā‘il) of Hunayn ibn Ishāq, the “Guide” (Murshid) of Muhammad ibn Zakariyya of Ray (ar-Razi), and the Commentary of Nīlī, who has made abstracts of these. After he has carefully read these works with a kind and congenial master, he should diligently study with a sympathetic teacher the following intermediate works, to wit, the “Thesaurus” (Dhakhira) of Thābit ibn Qurra, the [Kitāb ‘il-Tibb] Mansūrî of Muhammad ibn Zakariyya of Ray; the “Direction” (Hiddya) of Abu Bakr Ajwīnī, or the “Sufficiency” (Kifāya) of Ahmad ibn Faraj and the “Aims” (Aghrād) of Sayyid Isma‘īl Jurjānī. Then he

1 Qur'án, xvii, 84.
2 Each prayer consists of three parts, what is obligatory (fard), what is customary after the Prophet’s example (sunnat), and what is supererogatory (nafsita). The sunnat portion comes first, so that in the story the narrator was interrupted before he had performed the obligatory prostrations.
3 See Wüstenfeld’s Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte, No. 69, pp. 76-29. He was bprn A.H. 194 (A.D. 809) and died A.H. 260 (A.D. 873). A fuller account of all these writers and their works will be found in Note XXVII at the end.
4 Ibid., No. 98, pp. 40-49. He is known in Europe as Rasis or Rhazes. The Murshid here mentioned is identified by the Editor with the work properly entitled al-Fusul ft-Tībh, or “Aphorisms in Medicine.” See p. 44 of the Persian notes, and Note XXVII at the end.
5 See p. 44 of the Persian notes. His full name was Abū Sahl Sa‘īd ibn Abūl-‘Azīz, and he was a native of Nishāpūr. The nisba “Nīl” is explained in Sam‘ānī’s Anṣab (Vol. xx of the Gibb Series, f. 57 4b) as referring to a place called Nīl between Baghdād and Kūfa, or to connection with the trade in indigo (mutl); here the latter sense is evidently required. Mention is made of the brother of our physician, a poet and man of letters named Abū ‘Abdīr-rahmān ibn Abūl-‘Azīz, who died about 440/1048-9.
6 Al-Qiftī in his Ta‘rīkhul-Hukamā (ed. Lippert, p. 100) mentions this work, but expresses a doubt as to its authorship.
7 See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 43, No. 2. This celebrated work was composed for Mansūr ibn Ishāq, Governor of Ray, A.D. 903-9.
8 See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., No. 165, p. 95.
I PRAISE OF AVICENNA

should take up one of the more detailed treatises, such as the "Sixteen (Treatises," Sitta 'ashar) of Galen, or the "Continens" (Jāhāt) of Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā, or the "Complete Practitioner" (Kāmil-u′s-Sinā'at), or the "Hundred Chapters" (Ṣāq Bāb) of Abū Sahil Masīhī, or the Qānūn of Abū 'Ali ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), or the Dhakhira-i-Khwarazm-shāhī, and read it in his leisure moments; or, if he desires to be independent of other works, he may content himself with the Qānūn.

The Lord (vi) of the two worlds and the Guide of the two Grosser Races says: "Every kind of game is in the belly of the wild ass": all this of which I have spoken is to be found in the Qānūn, with much in addition thereto; and whoever has mastered the first volume of the Qānūn, to him nothing will be hidden of the general and fundamental principles of Medicine, for could Hippocrates and Galen return to life, it were meet that they should do reverence to this book. Yet have I heard a wonderful thing, to wit that one hath taken exception to Abū 'Ali [ibn Sīnā] in respect of this work, and hath embodied his objections in a book, which he hath named "the Rectification of the Qānūn"; and it is as though I looked at both, and perceived what a fool the author was, and how detestable is the book which he has composed! For what right has anyone to find fault with so great a man when the very first question which he meets with in a book of his which he comes across is difficult to his comprehension? For four thousand years the wise men of antiquity travailed in spirit and melted their very souls in order to reduce the Science of Philosophy to some fixed order, yet could not effect this, until, after the lapse of this period, that comparable philosopher and most powerful thinker Aristotle weighed this coin in the balance of Logic, assayed it with the touchstone of definitions, and measured it by the scale of analogy, so that all doubt and ambiguity departed from it, and it became established

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1 This, known to mediaeval Europe as the "Continens," is the most detailed and most important of ar-Razi's works. The original Arabic exists only in manuscript, and that partially. The Latin translation was printed at Brescia in A.D. 1486, and in 1500, 1506, 1509 and 1542 at Venice. See Note XXVII at the end, No. 4.

2 This notable work, also known as al-Kītabu′l-Malikī ("Liber Regius") was composed by 'Abī ibnu′l-'Abbas al-Majīsī ("Haly Abbas" of the mediaeval physicians of Europe), who died in A.H. 384 (A.D. 994). The Arabic text has been lithographed at Lahore in A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866) and printed at Bulaq in A.H. 1294 (A.D. 1877). There are two editions of the Latin translation (Venice, A.D. 1492, and Lyons, A.D. 1523).

3 Avicenna's master, d. A.H. 390 (A.D. 1000). See Wüstenfeld, loc. cit., pp. 59-60, No. 118; p. 196 of the Persian notes; and Note XXVII, No. 9, at the end.

4 See Note XXVII, No. 10, at the end.

5 See Rieu's Persian Catalogue, pp. 466-467.

6 Meaning that every kind of game is inferior to the wild ass. It is said proverbially of any one who excels his fellows. See Lane's Arabic Lexicon, p. 2357, s.v. ًلا.
on a sure and critical basis. "And during these fifteen centuries which have elapsed since his time, no philosopher hath won to the inmost essence of his doctrine, nor travelled the high road of his method, save that most excellent of the moderns, the Philosopher of the East, the Proof of God unto His creatures, Abú 'Alí al-'Husayn ibn 'Abdu'lláh ibn Siná (Avicenna). He who finds fault with these two great men will have cut himself off from the company of the wise, placed himself in the category of madmen, and exhibited himself in the ranks of the feebleminded. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) keep us from such stumbling and vain desires, by His Favour and His Grace!

So, if the physician hath mastered the first volume of the Qámin, and hath attained to forty years of age, he will be worthy of confidence; yet even if he hath attained to this degree, he should keep ever with him some of the smaller treatises composed by proved masters, such as the "Gift of Kings" (Tuhfatul-Mulük) of Muhammad ibn Zakariyyá [ar-Rázi], or the Kifáya of Ibn Mandúya of Isfahán, or the "Provision against all sorts of errors in Medical Treatment" (Tadáruku anwá'il-khatá fi 't-tadbír't-tibbí) of which Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) is the author; or the Khuffiyy-i-'Alá'í, or the "Memoranda" (Yádigár) of Sayyid Isma'il Jurjání. For no reliance can be placed on the Memory, which is located in the most posterior part of the brain, and when it is slow in its operation these books may prove helpful.

Therefore every King who would choose a physician must see that these conditions which have been enumerated are found in him; for it is no light matter to commit one's life and soul into the hands of any ignorant quack, or to entrust the care of one's health to any reckless charlatan.

1 No mention of such a work is made in any of the biographies of ar-Rázi.

2 Abú 'Alí Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'r-Rahmán ibn Mandúya of Isfahán was a notable physician of the fourth century of the hijra (tenth of the Christian era). He was one of the four and twenty physicians appointed by 'Aḍudud'd-Dawla to the hospital which he founded at Baghdad. The proper title of the work to which our author here refers appears to be al-Káff, not al-Kifáya.

3 This book was printed in 1305/1887-8 at Bulaq in the margins of the Mandáfi'i-Agháthiyyá wa Maḍárnu-há ("Beneficial and injurious properties of Foods") of ar-Rázi.

4 A small manual of Medicine in Persian by the author of the Dhakhíra-i-Khwírazm-sháh, written by command of Atsiz Khwírazm-sháh (succeeded to the throne in 521/1127) and called after him, his title being 'Alá'u'd-Dawla.

5 Another small manual by the same author as the last. See Adolf Vonahn's Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin (Leipzig, 1910), p. 105, No. 280, and p. 129.

6 Concerning the Five Internal Senses and their supposed location in the brain, see p. 8 supra, and also my Year amongst the Persians, pp. 144-145.
HEROIC TREATMENT BY BUKHT-YISHU.

ANECDOTE XXXIII.

Bukht-Yishu', a Christian of Baghdad, was a skilful physician and a true and tender man; and he was attached to the service of al-Ma'mün [the Caliph]. Now one of the House of Hāshim, a kinsman of al-Ma'mün, was attacked with dysentery, and al-Ma'mün, being greatly attached to him, sent Bukht-Yishu' to treat him. So he, for al-Ma'mün's sake, rose up, girt himself with his soul, and treated him in various ways, but to no purpose, and tried such recondite remedies as he knew, but to no advantage, for the case had passed beyond his powers. So Bukht-Yishu' was ashamed before al-Ma'mün, who, divining this, said to him, "O Bukht-Yishu', be not abashed, for thou didst fulfil thine utmost endeavour, and rendered good service, but God Almighty doth not desire [that thou shouldst succeed]. Acquiesce in Fate, even as we have acquiesced." Bukht-Yishu', seeing al-Ma'mün thus hopeless, replied, "One other remedy remains, and it is a perilous one; but, trusting to the fortune of the Prince of Believers, I will attempt it, and perchance God Most High may cause it to succeed."

Now the patient was going to stool fifty or sixty times a day. So Bukht-Yishu' prepared a purgative and administered it to him; and on the day whereon he took the purgative, his diarrhoea was still further increased; but next day it stopped. So the physicians asked him, "What hazardous treatment was this which thou didst adopt?" He answered, "The materies morbi of this diarrhoea was from the brain, and until it was dislodged from the brain the flux would not cease. I feared that, if I administered a purgative, the patient's strength might not be equal to the increased diarrhoea; but, when all despaired, I said to myself, 'After all, there is hope in giving the purgative, but none in withholding it.' So I gave it, relying on God, for He is All Powerful; and God Most High vouchsafed a cure and the patient recovered; and my opinion was justified, namely that if the purgative were withheld, only the death of the patient was to be expected; (νρ) but that if it were administered, there was a possibility of either life or death. So I deemed it best to administer it."

1 See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 17, No. 30, and Note XXVII, No. 1, at the end. Concerning this and similar names, see Nöldeke's Geschichte d. Artakhshir-i-Pāpakān, P. 49, No. 4.

2 I.e. "Put his whole heart into his task."
The great Shaykh and Proof of the Truth Abú ‘Ali ibn Síná (Avicenna) relates as follows in the “Book of the Origin and the Return” (Kitábu’l-Mabda’ wa’l-Ma’ád), at the end of the section on “the possibility of the production of exceptional psychical phenomena”:—He says “A curious anecdote hath reached me which I have heard related. A certain physician was attached to the court of one of the House of Sámán, and there attained so high a position of trust that he used to enter the women’s apartments and feel the pulses of its carefully-guarded and closely-veiled inmates. One day he was sitting with the King in the women’s apartments in a place where it was impossible for any [other] male creature to penetrate. The King demanded food, and it was brought by the hand-maidens. One of these who was laying the table took the tray off her head, bent down, and placed it on the ground. When she desired to stand upright again, she was unable to do so, but remained as she was, by reason of a rheumatic swelling of the joints. The King turned to the physician and said, “You must cure her at once in whatever way you can.” Here was no opportunity for any physical method of treatment, for which no appliances were available, no drugs being at hand. So the physician bethought himself of a psychical treatment, and bade them remove the veil from her head and expose her hair, so that she might be ashamed and make some movement, this condition being displeasing to her, to wit that all her head and face should be thus exposed. As, however, she underwent no change, he proceeded to something still more shameful, and ordered her trousers to be removed. She was overcome with shame, and a warmth was produced within her such that it dissolved that thick rheum and she stood up straight and sound, and regained her normal condition.

Had this physician not been wise and capable, he would never have thought of this treatment and would have been unable to effect this cure; while had he failed he would have forfeited the King’s regard. Hence a knowledge of natural phenomena and an apprehension of the facts of Nature form part of this subject. And God knoweth best!

1 The original passage is cited by Mírzá Muhammad (on p. ṛṭ ṛ of the Persian notes) from Add. 16,659 of the British Museum, f. 488.

2 Literally, “by reason of a thick rheum which was produced in her joints.”

3 This anecdote is told by al-Qíftí (p. ṛṣ) and Ibn Abí Usaybi’a (Vol. i, p. ṛy) of the physician Bukht-Yishu’ and the Caliph Harunür-Rashíd. A versified rendering of it is given in Jámil’s “Chain of Gold” (Silsilatu’l-Dhahab), composed in A.D. 1485. The text of this version is given in Note XXVIII at the end.
Another of the House of Sámán, Ámir Manṣúr ibn Núḥ ibn Naṣr, became afflicted with an ailment which grew chronic, and remained established, and the physicians were unable to cure it. So the Ámir Manṣúr sent messengers to summon Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rází to treat him. Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá came as far as the Oxus, but, when he reached its shores and saw it, he said, “I will not embark in the boat, for God Most High saith—‘Do not cast yourselves into peril with your own hands’; and again it is surely a thing remote from wisdom voluntarily to place one’s self in so hazardous a position.” Ere the Ámir’s messenger had gone to Bukhárá and returned, he had composed the Kitáb-i-Manṣúrí, which he sent by the hand of that person, saying, “I am this book, and by this book thou canst attain thine object, so that there is no need of me.”

When the book reached the Ámir he was grievously afflicted, wherefore he sent a thousand dínár and one of his own private horses fully caparisoned, saying, “Show him every kindness, but, if this proves fruitless, bind his hands and feet, place him in the boat, and fetch him across.” They did so, but their entreaties moved him not at all. Then they bound his hands and feet, placed him in the boat, and, when they had ferried him across the river, released his limbs. Then they brought the led-horse, fully caparisoned, before him, and he mounted in the best of humours, and set out for Bukhárá. So they enquired of him, saying, “We feared lest, when we should cross the water and set thee free, thou wouldst cherish enmity against us, but thou didst not so, nor do we see thee annoyed or vexed in heart.” He replied, “I know that every year twenty thousand persons cross the Oxus without being drowned, and that I too should probably not be drowned; still, it was possible that I might perish, and if this had happened they would have continued till the Resurrection to say, ‘A foolish fellow was Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá, in that, of his own free will he embarked in a boat and so was drowned.’ So should I be one of those who deserve blame, not of those who are held excused.”

1 That is Manṣúr I, who reigned A.H. 350–366 (A.D. 961–976). This anecdote is given in the Akhṭāq-i-Jaldí (ed. Lucknow, A.H. 1283), pp. 168–170. It is, however, a tissue of errors, for this Manṣúr came to the throne at least thirty years after the death of the great physician ar-Rází, who died either in A.H. 311 or 320 (A.D. 923–4 or 932). The Manṣúr to whom his Kitáb-i-Manṣúrí was dedicated was an entirely different person. See Note XXVII, No. 4, at the end, s.v. Al-Kitáb-i-Manṣúrí. This anecdote, as Mirzá Muḥammad has pointed out to me, appears to be based, so far as the refusal to cross the Oxus is concerned, on an incident in the life of the geographer Abú Zayd al-Balkhí. See al-Maqdisí’s Aḥsanull-Taqasim fi mar’ifat-i-Aqātim, p. 4.

2 Qur’án, ii, 191.
When he reached Bukhârâ, the Amir came in and they saw one another and he began to treat him, exerting his powers to the utmost, but without relief to the patient. One day he came in before the Amir and said, “To-morrow (vs) I am going to try another method of treatment, but for the carrying out of it you will have to sacrifice such-and-such a horse and such-and-such a mule,” the two being both animals noted for their speed, so that in one night they would go forty parasangs.

So next day he took the Amir to the hot bath of Jâ-î-Mûliyân, outside the palace, leaving that horse and mule ready equipped and tightly girt in the charge of his own servant at the door of the bath; while of the King’s retinue and attendants he suffered not one to enter the bath. Then he brought the King into the middle chamber of the hot bath, and poured over him tepid water, after which he prepared a draught, tasted it, and gave it to him to drink. And he kept him there till such time as the humours in his joints had undergone coction.

Then he himself went out and put on his clothes, and, [taking a knife in his hand], came in, and stood for a while reviling the King, saying, “O such-and-such, thou didst order thy people to bind and cast me into the boat and to threaten my life. If I do not destroy thee as a punishment for this, I am no true son of [my father] Zakariyyâ!”

The Amir was furious and rose from his place to his knees. Muhammad ibn Zakariyyâ drew a knife and threatened him yet more, until the Amir, partly from anger, partly from fear, completely rose to his feet. When Muhammad ibn Zakariyyâ saw the Amir on his feet, he turned round and went out from the bath, and both he and his servant mounted, the one the horse, the other the mule, and turned their faces towards the Oxus. At the time of the afternoon prayer they crossed the river, and halted nowhere till they reached Merv. When Muhammad ibn Zakariyyâ alighted at Merv, he wrote a letter to the Amir, saying, “May the life of the King be prolonged in health of body and effective command! I your servant undertook the treatment and did all that was possible. There was, however, an extreme failure in the natural caloric, and the treatment of the disease by ordinary means would have been a protracted affair. I therefore abandoned it in favour of psychical treatment, carried you to the hot bath, administered a draught, and left you so long as to bring about a coction of the humours. Then I angered the King, so as to aid the natural caloric, and it gained strength until those humours, already softened, were dissolved. But henceforth it is not expedient that a meeting should take place between myself and the King.”

1 See n. 2 on p. 35 supra, and Note XVI at the end.
2 This sentence, though omitted in the printed text, seems on the whole to be an improvement.
Now after the Amir had risen to his feet and Muhammad ibn Zakariyya had gone out and ridden off, the Amir at once fainted. When he came to himself he went forth from the bath and called to his servants, saying, "Where has the physician gone?" They answered, "He came out from the bath, and mounted the horse, while his attendant mounted the mule, and went off."

Then the Amir knew what object he had had in view. So he came forth on his own feet from the hot bath; and tidings of this ran through the city. Then he gave audience, and his servants and retainers and people rejoiced greatly, and gave alms, and offered sacrifices, and held high festival. But they could not find the physician, seek him as they might. And on the seventh day Muhammad ibn Zakariyya's servant arrived, riding the mule and leading the horse, and presented the letter. The Amir read it, and was astonished, and excused him, and sent him an honorarium consisting of a horse fully caparisoned, a cloak, turban and arms, and a slave-boy and a handmaiden; and further commanded that there should be assigned to him in Ray from the estates of al-Ma'mun a yearly allowance of two thousand dinârs in gold and two hundred ass-loads of corn. This honorarium and pension-warrant he forwarded to him at Merv by the hand of a man of note. So the Amir completely regained his health, and Muhammad ibn Zakariyya attained his object.

ANECDOTE XXXVI.

Abu'l-'Abbas Ma'mûn Khwârazmshâh had a Minister named Abu'l-Husayn Ahmad ibn Muhammed as-Suhayli. He was a man of philosophical disposition, magnanimous nature and scholarly tastes, while, Khwârazmshâh likewise was a philosopher and friend of scholars. In consequence of this many philosophers and men of erudition, such as Abû 'Ali ibn Sînâ, Abû Sahl-i-Masfî, Abu'l-Khayr ibn'l-Khammar, Abu Nasr-i-'Arraq and Abû Rayhân al-Bûrûnî, gathered about his court.

Now Abû Nasr-i-'Arraq was the nephew of Khwârazmshâh,
and in all branches of Mathematics he was second only to Ptolemy; and Abul-Khiyar ibnu'l-Khammar was the third after Hippocrates and Galen in the science of Medicine; and Abú Rayhán [al-Birúni] in Astronomy held the position of Abú Ma'shar and Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalil; while Abú 'Alî [ibn Sîná] and Abú Sahl Masîhî were the successors of Aristotle in the Science of Philosophy, which includes all sciences. And all these were, in this their service, independent of worldly cares, and maintained with one another familiar intercourse and pleasant correspondence.

But Fortune disapproved of this and Heaven disallowed it; their pleasure was spoiled and their happy life was marred. (yy) A notable arrived from Sultan Mahmud Yaminu'd-Dawla with a letter, whereof the purport was as follows. "I have heard that there are in attendance on Khwárazmsháh several men of learning who are beyond compare, such as so-and-so and so-and-so. Thou must send them to my court, so that they may attain the honour of attendance thereat, while we may profit by their knowledge and skill. So shall we be much beholden to Khwárazmsháh."

Now the bearer of this message was Khwája Husayn ibn 'Alî ibn Mîká'il, who was one of the most accomplished and remarkable men of his age, and the wonder of his time amongst his contemporaries, while the affairs of Sultan Mahmúd Yami'nu'd-Dawla were at the zenith of prosperity, his Kingdom enjoyed the utmost splendour, and his Empire the greatest elevation, so that the Kings of the time used to treat him with every respect, and at night lay down in fear of him. So Khwárazmsháh assigned to Husayn [ibn 'Alî] ibn Mîká'il the best of lodgings, and ordered him the most ample entertainment; but, before according him an audience, he summoned the philosophers and laid before them the King's letter, saying: "Mahmúd hath a strong hand and a large army: he hath annexed Khurasan and India and covets Iraq, and I cannot refuse to obey his order or execute his mandate. What say ye on this matter?"

Abú 'Alî ibn Sîná and Abú Sahl answered, "We will not go"; but Abú Naṣr, Abul-Khiyar and Abú Rayhán were eager to go, having heard accounts of the King's munificent gifts and presents. Then said Khwárazmsháh, "Do, you two, who have no wish to go, take your own way before I give audience to this man." Then he equipped Abú 'Alî [ibn Sîná] and Abú Sahl, and sent with them a guide, and they set off by the way of the wolves1 towards Gurgán.

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1 I imagine that a word-play is here intended between Gurgán (the old Hyrcanian, of which the present capital is Astarábâd) and as ráh-i-gurgán ("by the Wolves' Way"), i.e. "across the desert." This is the reading of C.; the other texts have "across the desert to Mázandarán."
Next day Khwárazmsháh accorded Husayn ibn 'Alí ibn Míká'il an audience, and heaped on him all sorts of favours. "I have read the letter," said he, "and have acquainted myself with its contents and with the King's command. Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl are gone, but Abú Nasr, Abú Rayhán and Abúl-Khayr are making their preparations to appear at [Mahmúd's] court." So in a little while he provided their outfit, and despatched them in the company of Khwája Husayn ibn 'Alí ibn Míká'il. And in due course they came into the presence of Sultán Yaminu'd-Dawla Mahmúd at Bálkh, and there joined his court.

Now it was Abú 'Alí [ibn Síná] whom the King chiefly desired. He commanded Abú Nasr-i-'Arraq, who was a painter, to draw his portrait on paper, (va) and then ordered other artists to make forty copies of the portrait, and these he despatched with proclamations in all directions, and made demand of the neighbouring rulers, saying, "There is a man after this likeness, whom they call Abú 'Alí ibn Síná. Seek him out and send him to me."

Now when Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl departed from Khwárazmsháh with Abúl-Husayn as-Suhaylī's man, they so wrought that ere morning they had travelled fifteen parasangs. When it was morning they alighted at a place where there were wells, and Abú 'Alí took up an astrological table to see under what Ascendant they had started on their journey. When he had examined it he turned to Abú Sahl and said, "Judging by this Ascendant under which we started, we shall lose our way and experience grievous hardships." Said Abú Sahl, "We acquiesce in God's decree. Indeed I know that I shall not come safely through this journey, for during these two days the passage of the degree of my Ascendant falls in Capricorn, which is the sector, so that no hope remains to me. Henceforth only the intercourse of souls will exist between us." So they rode on.

Abú 'Alí relates that on the fourth day a wind arose and stirred up the dust, so that the world was darkened. They lost their way, for the wind had obliterated the tracks. When the wind lulled, their guide was more astray than themselves; and, in the heat of the desert of Khwárazm, Abú Sahl-i-Máshí, through lack of water and thirst, passed away to the World of Eternity, while the guide and Abú 'Alí, after experiencing a thousand hardships, reached Báward. There the guide turned back, while Abú 'Alí went to Tús, and finally arrived at Níshápúr.

There he found a number of persons who were seeking for Abú 'Alí. Filled with anxiety, he alighted in a quiet spot, where he abode several days, and thence he turned his face towards

1 The term tasyīr is explained at p. r. of Van Vloten's ed. of the Masā'ilahu'l-'ubūm.
Gurgán, for Qábus, who was King of that province, was a great and philosophically-minded man, and a friend of scholars. Abú ‘Alí knew that there no harm would befall him. When he reached Gurgán, he alighted at a caravanseray. Now it happened that one fell sick in his neighbourhood, and Abú ‘Alí treated him, and he got better. Then he treated another patient, who also got better, and so people began to bring him their water in the morning for him to look at, and he began to earn an income, which continued to increase day by day. Some time elapsed thus, until an illness befell one of the relatives of Qábus ibn Washmgir, who was the King of Gurgán. The physicians set themselves to treat him, striving and exerting themselves to the utmost, but the disease was not cured. Now Qábus was greatly concerned about this, till one of his servants said to him, “Into such and such a caravanseray a young man hath entered who is a great physician, and whose efforts are singularly blessed, so that several persons have been cured at his hands.” So Qábus bade them seek him out and bring him to the patient, that he might treat him, seeing that the effort of one may be more blessed than that of another.

So they sought out Abú ‘Alí and brought him to the patient, whom he beheld to be a youth of comely countenance, whereon the hair had scarcely begun to shew itself, and of symmetrical proportions, but now laid low. He sat down, felt his pulse, asked to see his urine, inspected it, and said, “I want a man who knows all the houses and districts of Gurgán.” So they brought one, saying, “Here you are”; and Abú ‘Alí placed his hand on the patient’s pulse, and bade the other mention the names of the different districts of Gurgán. So the man began, and continued to name the districts until he reached one at the mention of which the patient’s pulse gave a strange flutter. Then Abú ‘Alí said, “Now give the streets in this quarter.” The man gave them, until he arrived at the name of a street whereat that strange flutter recurred. Then Abú ‘Alí said, “We need someone who knows all the houses in this street.” They brought such an one, who proceeded to give out the houses till he reached a house at the mention of which the patient’s pulse gave the same flutter. “Now,” said Abú ‘Alí, “I want someone who knows the names of all the household and can repeat them.” They brought such an one, and he began to repeat them until he reached a name at the mention of which that same flutter was apparent.

love with such-and-such a girl, so-and-so by name, in such-and-such a house, in such-and-such a street, in such-and-such a quarter: union with that girl is his remedy, and the sight of her his cure.” The patient, who was listening, and heard all that Abū 'Alī said, hid his face in shame beneath the bed-clothes. When they made enquiries, it was even as Abū 'Alī had said. Then they reported this matter to Qābūs, who was mightily amazed thereat and said, “Bring him before me.” So Abū ‘Alī ibn Sinā was brought before Qābūs.

Now Qābūs had a copy of Abū ‘Alī’s portrait, which Sulṭān Yaminū’d-Dawla had sent to him. "Art thou Abū ‘Alī?" enquired he. “Yes, O most puissant Prince," replied the other. Then Qābūs came down from his throne, advanced several paces to meet Abū ‘Alī, embraced him, sat beside him on a cushion before the throne, heaped favours upon him, and enquired of him graciously, saying, "That most illustrious and accomplished man and most perfect philosopher must without fail explain to me the rationale of this treatment.” “O Sire,” answered Abū ‘Alī, "When I inspected his pulse and urine, I became convinced that his complaint was love, and that he had fallen thus sick through keeping his secret. Had I questioned him, he would not have told me the truth; so I placed my hand on his pulse while they repeated in succession the names of the different districts, and when it came to the region of his beloved, love stirred him, the movements of his pulse altered, and I knew that she was a dweller in that quarter. Then I bade them name the streets, and when he heard the street of his beloved the same thing occurred again, so that I knew the name of the street also. Then I bade them mention the names of the households in that street, and the same phenomenon occurred when the house of his beloved was named, so that I knew the house also. Then I bade them mention the names of its inhabitants, and when he heard the name of his beloved, he was greatly affected, so that I knew the

1 Compare the precisely similar narrative in the first story of the first book of the Mathnawi of Jalālū’d-Din Rāmī, and also a passage in the section of the Dhakhira-i-Khindrasam-shahī (Book vi, Guftar 1, Juz’ 3, ch. 3) dealing with the malady of love, of which this is a translation: — "Now the lover’s pulse is variable and irregular, especially when he sees the object of his affections, or hears her name, or gets tidings of her. In this way one can discover, in the case of one who conceals his love and the name of his beloved, who is the object of his passion, and that in the following way. The physician should place his finger on the patient’s pulse, and unexpectedly order the names of those persons amongst whom it may be surmised that his sweetheart is to be found to be repeated, whereupon it will appear from the patient’s behaviour who his beloved is, and what her name is. Avicenna (upon whom be God’s Mercy) says: ‘I have tried this plan, and have succeeded by it in finding out who the beloved object was.’" Avicenna’s actual words are quoted from the Qānin on pp. 606-607 of the Persian notes.

2 We have it on Avicenna’s own authority that he arrived in Jurjān just too late to see Qābūs, who had been deposed and cast into prison, where he was soon afterwards put to death in 403/1012-1013. (See pp. 606-607 of the Persian notes.)
name of his sweetheart also. Then I told him my conclusion, and he could not deny it, but was compelled to confess the truth.

Qābūs was greatly astonished at this treatment and was filled with wonder, and indeed there was good reason for astonishment. "O most glorious, eminent and excellent one," said he, "both the lover and the beloved are the children of my sisters, and are cousins to one another. Choose, then, an auspicious moment that I may unite them in marriage." So Master Abū All chose a fortunate hour, and in it the marriage-knot was tied, and lover and beloved were united, and that handsome young prince was delivered from an ailment which had brought him to death's door. And thereafter Qābūs maintained Abū 'Alī in the best manner possible, and thence he went to Ray, and finally became minister to the Shāhinshāh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, as indeed, is well known in the history of Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā's life.

ANECDOTE XXXVII.

The author of the Kāmil u's-Sind'at was physician to 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla in Ārāf, in the city of Shirāz. Now in that city there was a porter who used to carry loads of four hundred and five hundred maunds on his back. And every five or six months he would be attacked by headache, and become restless, remaining so for ten days or a fortnight. One time he was attacked by this headache, and when seven or eight days had elapsed, and he had several times determined to destroy himself, it finally happened that one day this great physician passed by the door of his house. The porter's brothers ran to meet him, did reverence to him, and, conjuring him by God Most High, told him about their brother's condition and headache. "Show him to me," said the physician. So they brought him before the physician, who saw that he was a big man, of bulky frame, wearing on his feet a pair of shoes each of which weighed a maund and a half. Then the physician felt his pulse and asked for and examined his urine; after which, "Bring him with me into the open country," said he. They did so, and on their arrival there, he bade his servant take the porter's turban from his head, cast it found his neck, and twist it tight. Then he ordered another servant to take the shoes off the porter's feet and strike him twenty blows on the head, which he accordingly did. The porter's sons lamented loudly, but the physician was a man of consequence.

He was the son of Dushmanziyar, ruler over Isfahān from A.H. 398 to 433 (A.D. 1007–1041), and is commonly known as Ibn Kākawayhi or Kākūya.  
2 See Brockelmann's Gesch. d. Arab. Litte., vol. i, p. 237, No. 19. His name was 'All ibn'Abbās al-Majūsī, and he died in A.H. 384 (A.D. 994). For some account of his life and work see Note XXVII at the end, and also p. 79 supra, n. 2 ad not.

and consideration so that they could do nothing. Then the physician ordered his servant to take hold of the turban which he had twisted round his neck, to mount his horse, and to drag the porter after him round the plain. The servant did as he was bid, and made him run far afield, so that blood began to flow from his nostrils. "Now," said the physician, "let him be." So he was let alone, and there continued to flow from him blood stinking worse than carrion. The man fell asleep amidst the blood which flowed from his nose, and three hundred dirhams' weight of blood escaped from his nostrils ere the haemorrhage ceased. They then lifted him up and bore him thence to his house, and he never woke, but slept for a day and a night, and his headache passed away and never again returned or required treatment.

Then 'Aḍudu’d-Dawla questioned the physician as to the rationale of this treatment. "O King," he replied, "that blood in his brain was not a matter which could be eliminated by an aperient of aloes, and there was no other method of treatment than that which I adopted."

(AT) ANECDOTE XXXVIII.

Melancholia is a disease which physicians often fail to treat successfully, for, though all diseases arising from the black bile are chronic, melancholia is a pathological condition which is especially slow to pass. Abū’l-Hasan ibn Yahyā in his work entitled the "Hippocratic Therapeutics" (Mu’ḍala-i-Buqrāṭi), a book the like of which hath been composed by no one on the Art of Medicine, hath enumerated the leaders of thought, sages, scholars and philosophers who have been afflicted by this disease.

My master the Shaykh Abū Ja’far ibn Muhammad Abū Sa’d [al-Nashawi], commonly known as Sarakh, related to me, on the authority of the Imam Shaykh Muhammad ibn ‘Aqil al-Qazwini, on the authority of the Amir Fakhru’d-Dawla Abū Kālanjār the Būyid as follows:

"One of the princes of the House of Būya was attacked by melancholy, and was in such wise affected by the disease that

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1 Aydrāj or Ya’rā is a compound medicine of a purgative or alterative character. The kind called flqēd (from the Greek πτικός) has aloes as its principal active ingredient.
3 A. has Sa’dī.
4 This misba occurs only in L.
5 So all texts, خاص، a form hitherto unexplained.
he imagined himself to have been transformed into a cow. All
day he would cry out to this one and that one saying, 'Kill me,
so that a good stew may be prepared from my flesh'; until matters
reached such a pass that, he would eat nothing, and the days
passed and he continued to waste away, and the physicians were
unable to do him any good.

"Now at this juncture Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) was prime
minister, and the Sháhínsháh 'Alá'ud-Dawla Muhammad ibn
Dushmanziyar¹ favoured him greatly, and had entrusted into his
hands all the affairs of the kingdom, and left all matters to his
judgement and discretion. And indeed since Alexander the
Great, whose minister was Aristotle, no King had had such a
minister as Abú 'Alí. And during the time that he was minister,
he used to rise up every morning before dawn and write a couple
of pages of the Shifá.² Then, when the true dawn appeared, he
used to give audience to his disciples, such as Kiýá Rá'ís
Bahmanyár³, Abú Manṣúr ibn Zíla⁴, 'Abdu'l-Wáhid Júzjáni⁵,
Sulayman of Damascus, and me, Abú Kálanjáir. We used to
continue our studies till the morning grew bright, and then per-
form our prayers behind him; and as soon as we came forth we
were met at the gate of his house by a thousand mounted men,
comprising the dignitaries and notables, as well as such as had
boons to crave or were in difficulties. Then the minister would
mount, and this company would attend him to the Government
Offices. By the time he arrived there, the number of horsemen
(ār) had reached two thousand. And there he would remain
until the noon-tide prayer, and when he retired for refreshment
a great company ate with him. Then he took his mid-day siesta,
and when he rose up from this he would perform his prayer,
wait on the King, and remain talking and conversing with him
until the afternoon prayer; and in all matters of state importance
there was no third person between him and the King.

"Our object in narrating these details is to shew that the
minister had no leisure time. Now when the physicians proved
unable to cure this young man, the case was represented to that
puissant Prince 'Alá'ud-Dawla, and his intercession was sought,
so that he might bid his minister take the case in hand. So

¹ See Note XXX at end.
² One of Avicenna's most celebrated works. See the British Museum Arabic
Catalogue, p. 745, and the Supplement to the same, No. 711, pp. 48-485.
³ Abú'l-Hasan Bahmanyár ibn Marzubán al-Adharbayjáni al-Majúsí. He was
one of Avicenna's most notable disciples, and died about A.H. 458 (A.D. 1006). See
p. 70 of the Persian notes.
⁴ Abú Manṣúr al-Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn Zíla al-Iṣfahání. He
⁵ His kunya was Abú 'Ubáyd and his father's name Muhammad. He attached
himself to Avicenna in Jurja in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012-1013) and continued with him
as long as he lived, viz. for 25 years. He not only inspired and encouraged
Avicenna during his lifetime, but collected and arranged his works after his death.
'Ala‘u’d-Dawla spoke to him to this effect, and he consented. Then said he, ‘Give good tidings to the patient, and say, “the butcher is coming to kill thee!”’ When the patient was told this, he rejoiced. Then the minister mounted his horse, and came with his usual retinue to the gate of the patient’s house, which he entered with two others. Taking a knife in his hand, he said, ‘Where is this cow, that I may kill it?’ The patient made a noise like a cow, meaning, ‘It is here.’ The minister bade them bring him into the middle of the house, bind him hand and foot, and throw him down. When the patient heard this, he ran forward into the middle of the house and lay down on his right side, and they bound his feet firmly. Then Abū ‘Alî came forward, rubbing the knives together, sat down, and placed his hand on the patient’s ribs, as is the custom of butchers. ‘O what a lean cow!’ said he; ‘it is not fit to be killed: give it fodder until it gets fat.’ Then he rose up and came out, having bidden them loose his hands and feet, and place food before him, saying, ‘Eat, so that thou mayst speedily grow fat.’ They did as Avicenna had directed and set food before him, and he ate. After that they gave him whatever draughts and drugs Avicenna prescribed, saying, ‘Eat well, for this is a fine fattener for cows; hearing which he would eat, in the hope that he might grow fat and they might kill him. So the physicians applied themselves vigorously to treating him as the minister had indicated, and in a month’s time he completely recovered and was restored to health.”

All wise men will perceive (44) that one cannot heal by such methods of treatment save by virtue of extreme excellence, perfect science, and unerring acumen1.

ANECDOТЕ XXXIX.

In the reign of Maliksháh and during part of the reign of Sanjar there was at Herát a philosopher named Adîb Ismá‘íl, a very great, learned and perfect man, who, however, derived his income and livelihood from his receipts as a physician2. By him many rare cures of this class were wrought.

One day he was passing through the sheep-slayers’ market. A butcher was skinning a sheep, and from time to time he would thrust his hand into the sheep’s belly, take out some of the warm fat, and eat it. Khwája Ismá‘íl, noticing this, said to a

1 This story also occurs in a versified form in Jámí’s Šilsilatu’dh-Dhahab. The text will be found in Note XXVIII at the end.
2 This story in substantially the same form is told of Tháltib ibn Qurra in Al-Qiftí’s Tarîkhu’ll-Hukamá (ed. Lippert), pp. 120-121, and in the Tahqíqatu’l-Áthbá of Ibn Ábí Usyabí‘a (ed. Cairo), vol. 1, pp. 216-217. From the account there given Mirzâ Muhammad has restored (in brackets) a sentence which has fallen out in the Chahár Maqâla.
green-grocer opposite him, "if at any time this butcher should die, inform me of it before they lay him in his grave." "Willingly," replied the green-grocer. When five or six months had elapsed, one morning it was rumoured abroad that such-and-such a butcher had died suddenly without any premonitory illness. The green-grocer also went to offer his condolences. He found a number of people tearing their garments, while others were consumed with grief, for the dead man was young, and had little children. Then he remembered the words of Khwája Isma'íl, and hastened to bear the intelligence to him. Said the Khwája, "He has been a long time in dying." Then he took his staff, went to the dead man's house, raised the sheet from the face of the corpse, felt his pulse, and ordered some one to strike the soles of his feet with the staff. After a while he said to him, "It is enough." Then he began to apply the remedies for apoplexy, and on the third day the dead man arose, and, though he remained paralytic, he lived for many years, and men were astonished, because that great man had foreseen that the man would be stricken by apoplexy.

**ANECDOTE XL.**

The Shaykhul-Islám ‘Abdu’lláh Anşárí (may God sanctify his spirit!) conceived a fanatical hatred of the above-mentioned man of science, and several times attempted to do him an injury, and burned his books. Now this fanatical dislike arose from religious motives, for the people of Herát believed that he could restore the dead to life, and this belief was injurious to the common people.

Now the Shaykh fell ill, and in the course of his illness developed a hiccough for the cure of which all the methods of treatment tried by the physicians availed nothing. They were in despair, and finally sent a sample of his urine to the Khwája under the name of another, and requested him to prescribe. When Khwája Isma'íl had inspected it, he said, "This is the urine of so-and-so, who has developed a hiccup which they are unable to cure. Bid him tell them to pound together an *istár* of the skins of pistachio-kernels, and an *istár* of the sugar called 'askarí, and administer [the mixture] to him, so that he may recover; and give him also this message: 'You should study science, and not burn books.'

1 Concerning this celebrated mystic see pp. 492-5 of the Persian notes, and Note XXXI at the end. He was born in A.H. 396 (A.D. 1006) and died in A.H. 489(A.D. 1089). He was the author of numerous works, some of which are extant, including the well-known Persian quatrains in which he calls himself Pír-i-Anşár, Pír-i-Hérí, and Anşárí. Though a mystic, he was a fanatical Hanbali.

2 Instead of *وْمَّارْر* the reading adopted in the text, B. and L. have "to [his own] pretensions."

3 A weight consisting of 4½ mithqál.
So they made a powder of those two ingredients, and the patient ate it, and immediately the hiccough ceased, and the patient was relieved.

**Anecdote XLI.**

In the time of Galen one of the notables of Alexandria was attacked by pain in the finger-tips, and suffered great restlessness, being debarred from all repose. They informed Galen, who prescribed an unguent to be applied to his shoulders. As soon as they did as Galen commanded, the patient’s pain ceased and he was cured. The physicians were astonished, and questioned Galen, saying, “What was [the rationale of] this treatment which thou didst adopt?” He replied, “The nerve which supplies the aching finger-tips has its origin in the shoulder. I treated the root and the branch was cured.”

**Anecdote XLII.**

Some traces of leprosy appeared on the chest of Fadl ibn Yahyá al-Barmakí (the Barmecide), whereat he was greatly distressed, and put off going to the hot bath until night-time in order that no one might become aware of this. Then he assembled his courtiers and said, “Who is considered to-day the most skilful physician in ‘Iráq, Khurásán, Syria and Párs, (α) and who is most famous in this respect?” They replied, “Paul the Catholicos in Shiráz.” He therefore sent a messenger and brought the Catholicos from Párs to Baghdad. Then he sat with him privately, and by way of proving him said, “There is something amiss with my foot; you must devise some treatment for it.” The Catholicos said, “You must abstain from all milky foods and pickles and eat pea-soup with the flesh of chickens a year old, with sweets made of the yolk of eggs with honey. When the arrangements for this diet have been completely established, I will prescribe the proper drugs.” “I will do so,” said Fadl; but that night he ate everything, according to his custom. They had prepared thick broth flavoured with carroway seed, all of which he consumed; neither did he abstain from highly-flavoured relishes or spiced beans cooked in oil.

Next day the Catholicos came and asked to inspect the patient’s urine. When he looked at it his face flushed, and he said, “I cannot treat this case. I forbade thee pickles and milky foods, but thou dost partake of carroway broth and dost not

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1 This anecdote occurs only in C., but is given in the printed text, which is based on that MS.
2 The description of these dishes, so far as it goes, is given on p. 504 of the Persian notes.
avoid relishes and preserves, so that the treatment cannot succeed." Then Faḍl ibn Yahyā applauded the acumen and discernment of that great man, and revealed to him his real complaint, saying, "It was for this that I summoned thee, and what I did was for a proof."

Then the Catholicos applied himself to the treatment of the case, and did all that was possible in this matter. When some time had elapsed and there was no improvement, the Catholicos writhed inwardly, for this had appeared no great matter, yet it was thus protracted. At last one day when he was sitting with Faḍl ibn Yahyā, he said, "Honoured Sir, I have tried every available remedy without effect. Perchance thy father is displeased with thee. Satisfy him, and I will remove this disease from thee."

So that night Faḍl arose, went to [his father] Yahyā, fell at his feet, and asked for his forgiveness. His old father forgave him, [and the Catholicos continued to treat him after the same sort as before, and he began to improve, and ere long was completely cured].

Then Faḍl asked the Catholicos, "How didst thou know that the cause of my complaint was my father's displeasure?" The Catholicos answered, "I tried every known remedy without effect. So I said to myself, 'This great man has received a blow from some quarter.' (v) I looked about, but could find no one who lay down at night dissatisfied and afflicted through thee; on the contrary, many were those who lived in comfort through thy alms, gifts and marks of favour. At length I was informed that thy father was vexed with thee, and that there had been an altercation between thee and him, and I knew that [thine ailment] arose from this. So I adopted this treatment and it passed away, and my conjecture was not at fault."

After this Faḍl ibn Yahyā enriched the Catholicos and sent him back to Pārs.

**ANECDOTE XLIII.**

In the year A.H. 547 (=A.D. 1152–3)², when a battle took place at the gates of Awba³ between the King of the World Sanjar ibn Malikshāh and my master 'Alā’u’d-Dunya wa’d-Din al-Ḥusayn ibn’l-Ḥusayn (may God immortalise their reigns and domains!), and the Ghūrid army sustained so grievous a reverse, I wandered about Herāt in the guise of a fugitive, because I was suspected with the House of Ghūr, against whom enemies uttered all
manner of railing accusations, rejoicing malignantly over their reverse. In the midst of this state of things, I changed one night to be in the house of a certain great man. When we had eaten bread, I went out to satisfy a need. That nobleman by reason of whom I came to be there happened to praise me during my absence, saying, "Men know him as a poet, but, apart from his skill in poetry, he is a man of great attainments, well skilled in astrology, medicine, polite letter-writing, and other accomplishments."

When I returned to the company, the master of the house shewed me increased respect, as do those who are in need of some favour, and in a little while came and sat by me, and said, "O so-and-so, I have one only daughter, and, save her, no other near relative, and she is my treasure. Lately she has fallen a victim to a malady such that during the days of her monthly courses ten or fifteen maunds of sanguineous matter come from her, and she is greatly weakened. We have consulted the physicians, several of whom have treated her, but it has availed nothing, for if this issue be checked, she is attacked with pain and swelling in the stomach, and if it be encouraged, it is increased in amount, and she is much weakened, so that I fear lest her strength may wholly fail." "Send me word," said I, "when next this state occurs."

When ten days had passed, the patient's mother came to fetch me, and brought her daughter to me. I saw a girl very comely, but despairing of life and stricken with terror. She at once fell at my feet, saying, "O my father! For God's sake help me, for I am young, and have not yet seen the world." The tears sprang to my eyes, and I said, "Be of good cheer, this is an easy matter." Then I placed my fingers on her pulse, and found it strong, and her colour and complexion normal, while most of the ten indications were present, such as a robust habit of body, a strong constitution, a healthy temperament, a clear complexion, a favourable age, season and climate, suitable habit and propitious accessories and skill. Then I summoned a phlebotomist and bade him open the basilic vein in both her arms; and I sent away all the women. The bad blood continued to flow, and, by pressure and manipulation, I took from her a thousand dirhams' weight of blood, so that she fell down in a swoon. Then I bade them bring fire, and prepared roasted meat beside her, and put a fowl on the spit, until the house was filled with the steam of the roasting meat, and it entered her nostrils. Then she came to her senses, moved, groaned, and asked for a drink. Then I prepared for her a gentle stimulant agreeable to her taste, and treated her for a week until the loss of blood was

1 B. has *tirz.
made good, and that illness passed away, and her monthly courses resumed their normal condition. And I called her my daughter, and she called me her father, and to-day she is to me as my other children.

CONCLUSION.

My purpose in composing this treatise and inditing this discourse is not to flaunt my merits or recall my services, but rather to guide the beginner, and also to glorify my master, the august, divinely favoured, triumphant and victorious King Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, defender of Islām and the Muslims, Lord of hosts in the worlds, pride of kings and sovereigns, exterminator of heathens and infidels, subduer of heretics and innovators, guardian of the days, protector of the people, fore-arm of the Caliphate, b'auty of the church, glory of the state, organizer of the Arabs and Persians, noblest of the world, Shamsu'l-Mā'ālī, Malik'u-Umarā, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn (ṣ), Mas'ūd ibnu'l-Ḥusayn Naṣṭru Amīrī'l-Mu'minīn (may God continue his glory and increase his progress in prosperity!), by whose high station the Kingly Function is magnified, and for whose service Fortune hastens!

May God (blessed and exalted is He!) continue to embellish the Empire with his beauty, and the Kingdom with his perfection! May the eyes of my Lord's son, that divinely aided, victorious and triumphant Prince Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dīn be brightened by his excellent conduct and heart! May the Divine Protection and Royal Favour be as a buckler to the majestic statures and virtuous forms of both! And may the heart of my Lord and Benefactor, that august, learned, just, divinely-aided, victorious and triumphant King Fakhru'd-Dawla wa'd-Dīn, Bahā'u'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn, King of the kings of the Mountains, be gladdened, not for a period but for ever, by the continuance of both!

1 For an account of the House of Shamsab or Kings of Ghūr and their genealogy, see Note I at the end. Fakhru’d-Dīn Mas’ūd, whom the author praises in the concluding sentence of his book, was the first of the Kings of Bāmiyān and the father of Shamsu’l-Dīn Muhammad and Ḥusāmu’d-Dīn Abu’l-Hasan ‘Alī, of whom the latter was our author’s special patron.

FINIS.
NOTES

Mirzá Muḥammad has elucidated his critical edition of the Chahár Maqāla by copious and valuable Persian notes following the text (pp. 1–561). Instead of translating them in extenso, it has seemed better to incorporate the shorter ones as footnotes on the pages to which they refer, and to distribute the longer ones, with considerable rearrangement and condensation, under the topics of which they treat. A little fresh matter has been added by the translator, especially in the Fourth Discourse dealing with Medicine, and a great deal more by Mirzá Muḥammad, who carefully read and richly annotated the proofs in slip. For the astrological notes (XXIV and XXXII) contributed by Mr Ralph Shirley and Mr W. Gornold the translator desires to express his deep gratitude.
NOTES

I. The Dynasty of Ghur or House of Shansab.
(Text, pp. 1–2; Persian notes, pp. 90–2.)

The kings of Ghur, under whose patronage our author flourished, claimed descent from Dahhák (Dahák, Azhidaháká) the legendary tyrant of ancient Persia, who, after a reign of a thousand years, was finally overthrown by Firidún. Shansab, the more proximate ancestor from whom they derived their name, is said to have been contemporary with the Prophet’s cousin and son-in-law ‘Alí ibn Abú Ṭálīb, to have accepted Islam at his hands, and to have received from him a standard and recognition of his rule. It was a source of pride to the family that during the Umayyad period they refused to conform to the order for the public cursing in the pulpits of the House of ‘Ali.

Our principal source of information concerning this dynasty is the Tabaqát-i-Nāširi, but the history of Herat entitled Rawdatul-Jannát by Mu’inu’d-Din of Isfizar also contains a pretty full account of them. This, however, was composed nearly three centuries later (in the latter part of the fifteenth century), and, moreover, exists only in manuscript.

The independent sway of the House of Shansab endured only about 67 years (A.D. 1148–1215), from the time when they shook off the yoke of the House of Ghazna to the time when they succumbed to the power of the Khwarazmshahs. They were divided into two branches, who ruled respectively over Ghur with their capital at Firúz-kūh, and over Tukharistan with their capital at Bāmiyán. The relationship existing between the chief members of the dynasty mentioned in this book is shewn in the following table.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Izzu’l-Din Husayn} & \text{Bahá’u’d-Din Sám} & \text{Fakhru’l-Din Mas’úd} \\
\text{Husayn, called} & \text{Jahán-súz, the} & \text{World-consumer} \\
\text{“World-consumer”} & \text{Ghiyáthu’l-Din} & \text{Shihábu’l-Din} \\
& \text{Shamsu’l-Din} & \text{Husámu’l-Din} \\
& \text{Muhammad} & \text{‘Ali} \\
& \text{(or Mu’izzu’l-Din)} & \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Of these ‘Alá’u’d-Din Husayn of Firúz-kūh was the most powerful and important, and raised the glory of his House to its highest point. To avenge the death of his two brothers Qutbu’d-Din Muhammad and Sayfu’d-Din Súrí he made war on Bahramsháh, entered and occupied his capital Ghazna, and looted, massacred and burned it for seven days, thus earning the title of Jahán-súz, the “World-consumer.” He reigned from A.H. 545 to 556 (A.D. 1150–1161).

1 Published in the Bibliotheca Indica, and translated by Major H. G. Raverty with copious notes. Sections xvii–xix (pp. 300–507) of vol. i of the translation are devoted to this dynasty.

2 See Stanley Lane-Poole’s Mohammadan Dynasties, pp. 291–294.
Fakhrud-Din Mas'ud, first of the Bamiyan line, brother of Husayn Jahad-sz, and father of our author's special patron Husamud-Din 'Ali, outlived the year 558/1163, in which, according to the Tabaqdt-i-Nasiri, he made war on his nephews Ghiyathud-Din and Shihab ibn Mu'izzu'd-Din. The title Maliku'l-jibdJ ('King of the Mountains') given to him in the text was common to all the rulers of this dynasty.

Shamsud-Din Muhammad, son of the above-mentioned Fakhrud-Din and second of the Bamiyan line, survived at any rate until the year 586/1190, when he aided his cousins Ghiyathud-Din and Shihab [or Mu'izzu'd-Din] in their struggle against Sultan-shah ibn Il-arslan ibn Atsiz Khwarazm-shah.

Husamud-Din Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali, brother of the above-mentioned Shamsud-Din, was our author's patron to whom the Chahtar Maqala is dedicated, and who must therefore have been living in 531-2/1136-7 when it was written. He is only mentioned in the Tabaqdt-i-Nasiri (p. 104) amongst the children of Fakhrud-Din Mas'ud, and further particulars of his life are lacking.

II. The meaning of Tamghaj or Tapghach.

(Text, p. 9; Persian notes, pp. 92-4.)

Tamghaj is generally explained as the name of a city or district in China or Chinese Turkistan. In illustration of this view Mirza Muhammad cites three passages from Arabic writers and some verses by the Persian poet Mukhtari. An-Nasawi, the biographer of Sultan Jalalu'd-Din Khwarazm-shah, says that it is the custom of the Great Khan to spend the summer "in Tamghaj, which is the centre of China, and its environs"; and this statement is quoted by Abul-Fida (who, however, writes the word Timhaj or Tumkhaj) in his Geography. Al-Qazwini in his Atharul-Bilad describes Tamghaj as "a great and famous city in the land of the Turks, comprising many villages lying between two mountains in a narrow defile by which only they can be approached." Finally Mukhtari of Ghazna, in the course of a panegyric on Arslan Khan of the Khaniyya dynasty of Transoxiana, speaks of "nimble Tamghaji minstrels, quick at repartee."

It seems possible, however, that Tamghaj and Tapghach are merely variants of the Eastern Turkish word Tapghacht, meaning "worshipful," "renowned," and used repeatedly in the sense of "Chinese," in the Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century of our era. In this case the title "Tamghaj (or Tapghach) Khan" commonly assumed by rulers of the Khaniyya dynasty really signifies "the worshipful Khan," not "the Khan of Tamghaj"; and the prevalent belief that there was a country called Tamghaj arose from a misunderstanding, and from a false analogy with such titles as Khwarazm-shah, which does actually mean "King of Khwarazm." Mirza Muhammad, however, in a lengthy and learned

1 Ed. Calcutta, pp. 29 et seqq.
2 Ibnu'l-Athir (ed. Tornberg), xiii, 28; Tabaqdt-i-Nasiri, p. 52; Lubdu'l-Albab (ed. Browne), i, 321.
3 Ed. Houdas, pp. 45.
4 Ed. Wiesendfeld, p. 275.
5 For this form see the Persian notes to the text, pp. 151, l. 3, 189, l. 12, etc.
II. Writers adduced as models of style.

(Text, p. 13; Persian notes, pp. 95-101.)

The Şahib Abūl-Qāsim Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād at-Ṭalāqānī died in 385/995-6. Yaqūt, who consecrates a long notice to him in his Irshād 'al-Arīfī, or "Dictionary of Learned Men," says that there are two places called Ṭalāqān, one in Khūrāsān, and the other, from which the Şahib came, between Qābūn and Abbar. Mīrzā Muḥammad, however, in a long manuscript note on this passage, proves conclusively that he was a native of Isfahān.

Shamsu'l-Ma'āli Qābūs ibn Washmgīr ibn Ziyār, Prince of Ṭabarīstān, was put to death by his son Minūchīhr and nobles in 403/1012-3. Of him also Yaqūt gives a fairly lengthy notice. He corresponded with the Şahib above mentioned, and was very celebrated for his skill in this form of composition. Many of his letters were collected by Abūl-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Yazdādī, and extracts are given by Muḥammad ibn Isfandiyār in his History of Ṭabarīstān as well as by Yaqūt. I have recently acquired a MS. of Yazdādī's compilation entitled Kamālu'l-Balāgha (the "Perfection of Eloquence").

Abūl-Faraj Qudāma ibn Jafar ibn Qudāma ibn Ziyād al-Baghdādī was born and brought up a Christian, but was converted to Islam by the Caliph al-Muktāfi, and died in 337/948-9. A short notice of him also occurs in Yaqūt's Irshād, where some dozen of his works are enumerated, of which three, the Kitāb l-Khārj, the Naqd 'n-Nathr and the Kitābush-Shi'r are noticed by Brockelmann (vol. i, p. 228). Harṭī mentions him in his Maqāmāt as a model of eloquence.

The Maqāmāt-i-Hamīdī were composed in 551/1156-7 by the Qādī Abū Bakr 'Umar ibn Maḥmūd, entitled Hamīdu'd-Dīn al-Maḥmūdī al-Balkhī, who died in 559/1163-4. This work has been lithographed at Kānpūr (Cəwpore) in 1268/1851-2, and at Tihrān in 1290/1873-4. There is a very fine MS. of the 13th century of the Christian era in the British Museum (Add. 7620).

The mention of the Maqāmāt of Hamīdī in this place is of great importance in fixing the date of composition of the Chaḥar Maqāla as posterior to 551/1156-7, for since Sultan Sānjar, who is repeatedly (e.g. pp. 40 and 87 of the text) referred to as still living, died in 552/1157-8, it is evident that this date lies between these two limits (A.H. 551-552; A.D. 1156-1157).

2 Ibid., vol. vi, pp. 143-152.  
3 Ibid., vol. vi, pp. 203-205.
Abu 'Ali Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah at-Tamimi al-Bal'amí was minister to the Salhání King Mansur I ibn Nûh ibn Nasr (reigned A.H. 350–366; A.D. 961–976), for whom he translated Tabarî's great history from Arabic into Persian. This Persian version was lithographed at Lucknow in 1291/1874 (800 pages), and a French translation of it by Hermann Zohnberg was published in Paris in four volumes (1867–1874). This Bal'amí (Abu 'Ali) is often confused with his father Abu'1-Fadl, who also bore the name of Muhammed, was minister to Isma'il the Samani, and died in 329/940–1, while the son, with whom we are here concerned, died in 386/996. Bal'am, from which both derive their nisba, is said to be a town in Asia Minor. See Sam'âni's Ansâb (Gibb Series, vol. xx, f. 90a), where, however, an alternative statement represents Bal'am as a district in the village of Balâshjird near Merv.

Ahmad ibnu'l-Hasan al-Maymandi, entitled Shamsu'l-Kufát, was for twenty years minister to Sultan Mahmúd of Ghazna and his son Mas'úd, and died in 424/1033. He was a noted stylist, and caused all official documents to be written in Arabic, not, as had previously been the case, in Persian. His biography is given by al-'Utbi, Abu'l-Fadl Bayhaqi, 'Awi in his Lubâbû'l-Alhâb, Ibnu'l-Athîr, the Athâr of Sayfu'd-Din al-'Aqili and the Dastür of Khwandamir. For the references see the footnotes on pp. 98–9 of the Persian text.

Abú Nasr Muhammad ibn Mansúr ibn Muhammed al-Kunduri, entitled 'Amidu'l-Mulk, was for a long while Prime Minister to the Saljuq Tughril Beg and Alp Arslân, and was finally put to death at the instigation of his yet more celebrated successor the Nizâmûl-Mulk in 456/1064, or, according to Sam'âni (Ansâb, f. 488v), about 460/1067–8.

Muhammed [ibn] 'Abduh is mentioned again on p. 24 of the text as one of the secretaries of Bughrâ Khan of the Khâniyya (Turkish) dynasty of Transoxiana. He flourished in the latter part of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries of the hijra, and his poems are frequently cited in evidence by Rashidu'd-Din Watwat in his Hadîqat-Šîhr, or "Gardens of Magic," a well-known work on Rhetoric.

The 'Abdu'l-Hamíd here mentioned is probably 'Abdu'l-Hamíd ibn Yaḥyá ibn Saʿíd, who was secretary to Marwán II, the last Umayyad Caliph (a.H. 127–132; a.D. 744–750), and perished with his master in the year last mentioned. It is he to whom allusion is made in the Arabic proverb: "The art of polite letter-writing opened with 'Abdu'l-Hamíd and closed with Ibnu'l- 'Amíd."

By the Sayyidu'r-Ru'asá it is almost certain that allusion is made to Abu'l-Mahásin Muhammad ibn Faḍlullâh ibn Muhammed, who bore this title, and who was one of Malikshâh's under-secretaries and favourites. He was subordinate to Sharafu'l-Mulk Abú Saʿíd Muhammed ibn Mansûr ibn Muhammed, his chief in the same Ministry, and both were notable secretaries and officials of the Saljúq dynasty. See al-Bundâri's History of the Saljúqs (ed. Houtsma), p. 59.
**NOTE III. GREAT STYLISTS**


By Ghazzi is meant Abu Ḳišáq Ibráhím ibn Yaḥyá ibn Uthmán ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbí, a notable Arabic poet who travelled widely in Persia and sung the praises of the nobles of Khurásán, where his poetry, as Ibn Khalílkan informs us (de Slane’s translation, vol. i, pp. 38–43), thus obtained a certain circulation. He died at Balkh in 524/1130. Rashidu’d-Dín Watwat frequently quotes him in his Haddíqu’s-Síhr. There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a fine manuscript of his Diwán (Fonds Arabe 3126) transcribed at Karkh, a quarter of Baghdad, in 590/1194. Other more eminent poets of Ghazza in Palestine bore the nisba al-Ghazzi, but this one, being nearly contemporary with our author and well known in Khurásán, is to him the most famous.

Abu’l-Qásím ‘Alí ibn Muḥammad al-Iskáfí of Nishápúr, with whom Anecdotes II and III are concerned, completed his studies in his native town and at an early age entered the service of Abu’l-‘Alí ibn Muḥtáj-i-Chagháháí, one of the Amirs in the service of the House of Sáman, who made him one of his chief secretaries and held him in high honour. He achieved a great reputation as a stylist, and repeated but unsuccessful attempts were made to secure his services at the Samanid Court at Bukhárá. Finally, in 334/945–6, his master Abu’l-‘Alí rebelled against his over-lord Núḥ I ibn ‘Asr the Sámanid, but was finally defeated near Bukhárá and compelled to flee to his own country. Amongst those of his followers who were taken prisoner was Iskáfí, whom Núḥ imprisoned at Ḑuḥandíz near Bukhárá. Wishing to prove him and ascertain his real sentiments, Núḥ caused a forged letter, couched in the most flattering terms and purporting to be from a certain notable at the Court, to be sent to him, the letter expressing a hope that he would etter the service of Abu’l-‘Abbás i-Chagháháí, the brother of his late master Abú ‘Alí. Iskáfí, possibly suspecting a snare, simply wrote at the foot of the letter in Arabic: “O Lord! This prison is more acceptable to me than that whereunto they invite me!” When this was shewn to Amir Núḥ he was greatly delighted and at once released Iskáfí from prison, conferred on him a robe of honour, and made him chief assistant-secretary to Abú ‘Abdu’lláh in the department of Foreign Correspondence, of which he subsequently became chief. When Amir Núḥ died in 343/954–5, his son and successor ‘Abdu’l-Malik continued and even increased the honours conferred by Núḥ on Iskáfí, who, however, did not long survive the opening of the new reign. His death was

1 Qur’an xii, 33.
mourned by many poets, including Hazim of Abiward, three of whose verses are quoted in the Persian notes (pp. 102-3). Tha‘alib says in the Yatimatu‘l Dahr (vol. iv, pp. 29-33) that Iskáfi had much greater skill in official than in private and friendly correspondence, and that, like the celebrated writer al-Jáhiz, he was as strong in prose as he was weak in verse.

There can be little doubt that the anecdote of the forged letter mentioned above forms the historical basis of a well-known story in the Gulistán of Sa‘di (ed. Platts, pp. 35-6; Book I, Story 25). The same anecdote is given by Ya‘qút in his notice of Iskáfi in the Irshád al-`Arab (ed. Margoliouth, vol. v, pp. 329-331).

IV. Historical errors in Anecdote II.

(Text, pp. 13-15; Persian notes, pp. 103-105.)

This anecdote furnishes several striking instances of the glaring anachronisms and historical inaccuracies which too often deface the otherwise admirable work of our author.

(1) Iskáfi could not possibly have been secretary to Núh II ibn Manshúr, who reigned from A.H. 366 to 387 (A.D. 976-997), since, as we have seen, he died soon after the accession of ‘Abdu‘l-Malik in 343/954-5. Nor can we suppose that we are confronted with a mere scribe’s error as to the name of the reigning king, since the whole point of the story lies in the king’s name being Núh.

(2) Alptagín died, according to different authorities, in 351/962-3, 352/963, or 354/965, while Núh II ibn Manshúr did not ascend the throne until 366/976-7, so that to represent the former as living in the reign of the latter is an evident anachronism. The author has probably either confused this king with his father Manshúr I ibn Núh (reigned from 350/961-2 until 366/976-7), against whom Alptagín actually rebelled, and even conquered Ghazna (not Herát, as the author erroneously asserts); or (and this is perhaps more probable) has confused Alptagín with Abu ‘Ali Simjúr, who raised a formidable rebellion against Núh II ibn Manshúr.

(3) It is true that in 383/993-4 the above-mentioned Núh summoned Subuktagín from Zábúlistán to help him, but not against Alptagín, who at this date had been dead thirty years; and not in conjunction but against Abu ‘Ali Simjúr, who had long been in rebellion against him.

(4) It is almost certain that by “Abu‘l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Muhtáj al-Kashání…the Chief Chamberlain” our author means the famous general Amír Abu ‘Ali Ahmad ibn Muhtáj as-Saghání (i.e. of Chagháníyán), who, however, died in 344/955-6, i.e. 22 years before Núh II succeeded to the throne, and 39 years before Subuktagín led his army into Khurasán in 383/993-4.

According to that great scholar Abu‘l Rayhán al-Bírúní, the occasion when this verse of the Qur’dn (xi, 34) was so aptly quoted was quite different, viz. by Abu‘l Ahmad Khalaf ibn Ahmad the ruler of Sijístán  

1 Al-Áthárdal-`Báqiya (ed. Sachau), p. 332.
(or Sístán) in reply to a threatening letter addressed to him by Núh II ibn Mansúr the Sámání; and this is no doubt the correct version of the story, since al-Birúni was as remarkable for his accuracy as our author is for his carelessness, and, moreover, wrote more than a century and a half earlier.

V. Historical errors in Anecdote III.
(Text, pp. 15-17; Persian notes, pp. 105-106.)

In this anecdote also our author is guilty of two historical errors.

(1) He supposes that Mákán’s rebellion took place in the reign of Núh II ibn Mansúr, whereas it really occurred in the reign of his great-grandfather Naṣr II ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma‘īl, and Mákán was defeated and killed in 329/940-1, some 37 years before Núh’s accession.

(2) The general who defeated Mákán was not Tášsh, as our author states, but the Amir Abú ‘Ali Aḥmad ibn Muḥtāj.

VI. Anecdote V. The Šāhib Isma‘īl ibn ‘Abbád.
(Text, pp. 17-18; Persian notes, pp. 107-109.)

The Šāhib Isma‘īl ibn ‘Abbád is, as we have seen, described by the best authorities as “of Talaqán” (Talaqání), not “of Ray” (Rázi). Al-Máfarrúkhí, author of a notable but rare history of ʿIsfahán, claims him as a native of that city, and cites verses composed by him during a campaign in Jürján which lend colour to this assertion. Al-Máfarrúkhí wrote his history between A.H. 465 and 485 (A.D. 1072-1092) in Arabic, and there is a MS. of it (Or. 3601) in the British Museum, while I possess another from the library of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler. It was translated into Persian by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūr-Ridá al-Husaynī about 730/1329-30 and dedicated to Ghiyáthu’d-Dín Muhammad ibn Rashíd-ū’d-Dín Fadlu’lláh. Of this Persian version (of which I have since myself obtained a MS. formerly in the possession of Sir A. Houtum-Schindler) I published an abridged translation with extracts in the J.R.A.S. for 1901, also obtainable as a separate reprint.

VII. Fabrics and Materials mentioned in Anecdote VII.
(Text, pp. 19-21; Persian notes, pp. 110-111.)

Mírzá Muhammad has kindly communicated to me the following shorter version of this anecdote from the Kitáb‘ul Kínáya wa’t-Ta‘rid of ath-Tha‘alíbi (Berlin Arabic MS. No. 7337, Petermann II, 59, f. 146v), who wrote about a century and a half earlier than our author:

و يُروى أن بورة بن الحسن بن سهل ليما لوط إلى اليمام حاضت
من هيئة الخلافة في غير وقت الحرب فلما اخلا بها الهمامون ومن
يده التي كتبها قرأ أثني أمر الله فلا تسعجلوها فطلقها لما وتعجب
من حسن صحتها و آزاد إعجاب بها.

1 Cf. p. 103 supra.
Three of the precious fabrics mentioned in this story are included in the glossary added by Mirzâ Habib of Isfahan to his edition of the Divân-i-Albûsî (Constantinople 1303/1885–6) of Nizâmû’d-Dîn Mûhîmad Qârî of Yazd, the poet of clothes. Atlas “is called by the Franks ‘satin’.” Aksûn is “a black brocaded (dîbîd) like dâbîqi (a fine silken stuff) worn by the great for ostentation.” Nasîjî is “silk inwoven with gold.” See Yule’s Marco Polo (ed. 1875), vol. i, pp. 65, 67, 276 and 285.

Of the remainder the exact nature is more doubtful. Mirzâ Muhîmad makes the following remarks (notes, p. 110):

Mumazzaj appears to mean a garment made of gold ‘mixed’ with some other substance. This fabric is mentioned by Ibnû’l-Athîr sub anno 512/1120–9 (ed. Tornberg, vol. x, p. 382).

Miqrdî is some precious fabric of which the exact nature is not clear, but it is also mentioned, with the addition of the epithet Rumî (Greek or of Asia Minor) in a quaint passage in al-Mafarrûkhî’s History of Isfahan (see the last note), cited on p. 110 of the Persian notes, where a dying nobleman requests that his shroud shall be made of this material, not, as the bystanders suggest, of plain linen, because he is unwilling to appear before God less sumptuously clad than it had been his habit for sixty years to appear before his fellow-men.

On the nature of Mardînî and Malîkî no information is obtainable, nor on Tamîn, which the editor of the Tîhrân lithographed edition has seen fit to emend to Tûmam (pl. of Tûmma), meaning a handful of wool or hair plucked from a sheep or other animal, an emendation neither plausible nor appropriate to the context, although the aforesaid editor mentions it with especial pride and satisfaction in his concluding note.

VIII. Another historical error in Anecdote VIII.

(Text, pp. 21–2; Persian notes, p. 111.)

In this story the author has, according to Mirzâ Muhammed, confused Sultan Mas’ud with Sultan Sanjar, for all the historians agree that it was against the former, not the latter, member of the House of Saljûq that the Caliph al-Mustârshid marched forth from Baghdad. When the two armies met near Kirmânshâh most of the Caliph’s troops deserted to Mas’ud, and he himself was taken prisoner. On his arrival at Mâhâgha he fell a victim to the Assassins of Alamût in 529/1134–5.

IX. The Gûr-Khân and the Qârâ-Khitâ’î dynasty.

(Text, p. 22; Persian notes, pp. 112–113.)

The battle to which reference is here made took place in 536/1141–2, and is generally known as the Battle of Qatawân1, this place being a suburb or quarter of Samarqand. The Muslims are said to have lost 100,000 men (of whom 12,000 were “turbaned,” i.e. belonged to the learned or clerical classes), and Sultan Sanjar’s wife was taken prisoner. The power of this dynasty of unbelieving Turks, known as Qârâ-Khitâ’î and Gûr-Khânî, which endured for more than eighty years, dates from this battle. They were finally overthrown by Sultan Alâ’u’d-Dîn Muhammed in alliance with the Tartar Kûchłuk Khan in 607/1210–11.

1 See Ibnû’l-Athîr (ed. Tornberg), vol. xi, p. 57.
For more than two centuries which elapsed between the fall of the Samánid and the rise of the Mongol power there existed in Transoxiana a Muslim Turkish dynasty variously known as "Ilak-Khaní," "Khání" and "Afrásiyábí." These the Qarah-Khitájí's suffered to remain, only requiring of them the payment of tribute and the acceptance of a political resident (Sháhna) at their Court. From most of the Khwárazmsháhs also they received tribute until overthrown by them in 607/1210-11 as mentioned above.

This collapse of the Qarah-Khitájí power proved, in fact, to be a great calamity for the Khwárazmsháhs in particular and the Muslims in general, for thereby was broken down a barrier which had hitherto effectively protected them from the Mongols and other predatory heathens who dwelt further to the north and east, and so was prepared that great catastrophe which shortly afterwards laid waste the Muslim world; a fact emphasized by Ibnul-Athír (ed. Tornberg, xii, p. 235) in a passage translated in the second volume of my Literary History of Persia, p. 430.

The word Gür- Kháñ (otherwise Kür Kháñ, Kü Kháñ, Us Kháñ, Ür Kháñ or Or Kháñ) was a generic title of these Kings, not the proper name of any one of them. Ibnul-Athír says: "Ku in the Chinese language is a title given to the greatest of their Kings, while Kháñ is a title of the Kings of the Turks, so that it [the compound Ku-Khán] means 'Greatest of Kings.'" In the Tárikh-i-faháñ-gusháy (vol. ii, p. 86) and in the Tárikh-i-faháñ-ará also it is explained as Khán-i-Khánán, i.e. "Khán of Kháns" or "Great Khán"; and on the same authority the name of this particular Gür Kháñ is said to have been Qúsíqín Táyqú.

Dr Babinger has kindly called my attention to a note on Ibn 'Arabsháh's explanation of Gür Kháñ by S. de Sacy in the Memoires de l'Académie for 1822, p. 476.

X. Atmatigín, Amír Bayábání and Átsíz.

(Text, p. 22; Persian notes, p. 114.)

The correct form and signification of the first and second of these three names is uncertain, and the MSS. differ in their readings. The first has been found by Mirzá Muhammad in the History of Bukhárá of Muhammad ibn Zu'far ibn 'Umar, composed in 574/1178-9, only 38 years after the Battle of Qatawán, but here also the MSS. differ, the British Museum MS. (Add. 2777, f. 28a) having "Aymantigín" or "Imantigín," and the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. (Suppl. Pers. 1513, f. 23b) "Altigín." It is evidently one of the numerous Turkish names ending in tigín (like Subuktigín, Alptigín, etc.) but the first element remains doubtful. The same uncertainty affects "the son of the Amír Bayábání, on whose identity no satisfactory light has yet been thrown."

Mirzá Muhammad cites two passages which show, by the word-plays wherein lies their point, that by the Persians at any rate the pronunciation Gür Kháñ was adopted. Kháñání says:

\[\text{نه بر سنجر شیخون برد اوّل گورخانان آخر}
\]

\[\text{شیخون زد اجل تا گورخانه شهرت استانش}\]

See also vol. ii, p. 93 of the Tárikh-i-faháñ-gusháy:

\[\text{و گورخان را گور خانان شد}\]
The name Atsiz, also Turkish, is compounded of at (Western Turkish ad) “name,” and the privative siz “without,” and consequently means “nameless.” According to Ibn Khallikan it was customary amongst the Turks when a man lost several sons in childhood to give this name, which was supposed to be a protection, to a newly-born son in the hope that he might survive.

XI. The House of Burhan (Ali-i-Burhan).

(Text, p. 22, bis; Persian notes, pp. 114-121.)

The “Sons of Burhan,” or Banu Maza, were one of the great families of Bukhara, celebrated for their splendour and bounty, and were hereditary leaders of the Hanafi school of Sunni doctrine which prevailed in Transoxiana. During the later Qara-Khitai period they held an almost regal position, and paid tribute to that dynasty. Qazwini in his Athar al-Bilad (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 343), composed in 674/1275-6, mentions ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdu’l-‘Aziz ibn Marwan as the head of the house in his time, and it still flourished in the reign of Uljaytu (Khudâ-bârda) the Mongol (A.H. 703-716; A.D. 1303-1316), after which all trace of it is lost. Mirza Muhammad has collected from various sources a mass of information about fourteen of the most eminent members of this family, which he embodied in the notes contributed by him to my edition of ‘Awfi’s Lubâb il-Albâ (vol. i, pp. 332-6), and which he has reproduced in his notes to the Chahar Maqâda. These are as follows.

(1) The Imam Burhanu’d-Din ‘Abdu’l-‘Aziz ibn Maza of Bukhara, the first member of the family to attain celebrity.

(2) His son Husamu’d-Din ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdu’l-‘Aziz, born in Safar 483 (April 1090) and put to death in 536/1141-2 after the Battle of Qatawan by the Gur-Khan, as mentioned by our author, and hence called “the Martyr.” See Ibn Qutlubugha’s Tâju’l-Târijan fi Tabaqât-i-Hanâfiyya (ed. Flügel, Leipzig, 1862), p. 34, No. 139, where five or six of his works are enumerated.

(3) Tâju’l-Islâm Ahmad ibn ‘Abdu’l-‘Aziz, who succeeded his brother above mentioned, as recorded by our author, and enjoyed the favour and confidence of the Gur-Khan.

(4) Shamsu’d-Din Sadr-i-Jahan Muhammad, son of Husamud-Din “the Martyr,” who in 559/1163-4 saved Bukhara from being looted by the Qarluq Turks, and whose praises were sung by Siyâhî in verses of which seven are given as a specimen on pp. 116-7 of the Persian notes.

(5) Sadru’s-Sudr Sadr-i-Jahan Burhanu’bd-Din ‘Abdu’l-‘Aziz, another son of Husamud-Din “the Martyr,” to whom Muhammad ibn Zafar ibn ‘Umar in 574/1178-9 dedicated his Persian version of an-Narshakhl’s Arabic History of Bukhara, composed in 332/943-4 for the Samanid King Nûh ibn Naṣr. Instances of his magnanimity and generosity are given by ‘Awfi in his vast, but unfortunately unpublished, collection of stories, the Jawâmî’l-Hikâyât wa lawâmî’r-Riwâyât, of which two are given in the Persian notes (pp. 117-8).
(6) Burhanu'd-Din Mâhmu'd ibn Tâj'u'l-Islâm Âhmad, author of the Dakhîratul-Fâtîma (also called âd-Dakhîratul-Burhanîyya) mentioned by Hajji Khalifa.

(7-10) Burhanu'd-Din Muhammâd Sâdri-Jâhân ibn Âhmad, brother of the above; his two sons Malik'u'l-Islâm and 'Azizul-Islâm, and another brother, Ittîkhâr-i-Jâhân. The first of these four was practically King of Buhkârâ and paid tribute to the Khîtâ'is, as indicated by a passage in an-Nasawi's Biography of Sulîtan Jalâlu'd-Dîn Mankobirni1. In 603/1206-7, while on his way to Mecca, he was received with great respect at Baghâdâd, but on his return there, on account of his behaviour towards the pilgrims, he incurred such unpopularity that he earned for himself the nick-name of Sâdri-Jahannam (the "Chief" or "President of Hell"). In 613-614/1216-17, when 'Alâ'u'd-Dîn Muhammâd Khwârâzm-shâh set out on his campaign against the Caliph an-Nâsir li-Dîn'llah, as a precautionary measure he deported these four persons (Burhanu'd-Dîn Muhammâd and his brother and two sons) from Buhkârâ to Khwârâzm. Two years later (in 616/1219), when Khwârâzm-shâh's mother Turkân Khâtûn decided to flee thence for fear of the Mongol advance, she put all four of them to death, together with other hostages resident at her capital2.

(11) Sâdri-Jâhân Sayfu'd-Dîn Muhammâd ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azîz (son of No. 5), who is repeatedly mentioned as still living in 'Awfî's Lubâbû'l-Albû, which was written in 618/1221.

(12) Burhanu'l-Islâm Tâj'u'd-Dîn 'Umar ibn Mas'ûd ibn Âhmad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azîz ibn Màza (grandson of No. 3, nephew of Nos. 6, 7 and 8, and cousin of Nos. 9 and 10). He was one of the teachers and masters of 'Awfî, who makes mention of him also in the Lubâbû (ed. Browne, vol. i, pp. 169-174).

(13) Nizâmu'd-Dîn Muhammâd, son of the above, also mentioned by 'Awfî (i, 176), who spent some days with him at the town of Âmâ3 on the Oxus about 600/1203-4.

(14) Another Burhanu'd-Dîn (pedigree unspecified) is mentioned by 'Alâ'u'd-Dîn 'Atâ Malik-i-Juwaynî in connection with the rebellion of Târîbî in 636/1238-39.

The latest historical reference to any member of this family occurs in the Târikh-i-Jâhân-dâr of the Qâ'dî Ahamad-i-Ghaffâri, who states that Uljaytû (Khudâ-bandâ, reigned a.d. 1303-1316) was impelled to embrace the Shi'a doctrine by his disgust at the unseemly altercations of two Sunni theologians of different schools, Khwâja 'Abdu'l-Malik the Shâfi'i, and Sâdri-Jâhân of Buhkârâ the Hanâfi. The title, place of

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1 This passage is cited in the Persian notes, p. 118, fourth line from the end to p. 119, l. 6. It occurs on pp. 23-4 of the edition of M. O. Houdas (Paris, 1891), and on pp. 41-2 of his French translation (Paris, 1895).
3 See Vâqît's Mu'jamul-Buddûn, vol. i, pp. 69-70, and G. le Strange's Land of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 434. The town is also called Âmu't by the Arabs, like the better-known town of that name in Mâzandarân.
origin, and theological school of the last-named all point to the conclusion that he belonged to the Al-i-Burhán.

The following genealogical table indicates the relationship of the members of this family mentioned above. In each case the corresponding number is given for reference to what precedes, the proper name is given in full, and the title in an abbreviated form, where 'A. = 'Aziz; B. = Burhán; D. = Din; H. = Husám; Jf. = Iftikhar; Is. = Islam; F. = Jahám; M. = Malik; N. = Nizám; S. = Sayf; Ş. = Şadr; Sh. = Shams; and T. = Táj.

Máza

(1) B. D. 'Abdu'll-'Aziz

(2) H. D. 'Umar "the Martyr"

(3) T. Is. Ahmad

(4) Sh. D. Ş. J. Muhammad 'Abdu'll-'Aziz

(5) S. J. B. Muhammad

(6) B. D. Mahmúd

(7) B. D. Muhammad

(8) Hf. J. Mas'úd

(9) M. Is.

(10) 'A. Is.

(11) S. J. S. D. Muhammad

(12) B. Is. T. D. 'Umar

(13) N. D. Muhammád

XII. Bughrá Khan and Ílak Khan in Anecdote XI.

(Text, p. 24; Persian notes, pp. 121–3.)

Our author makes an error here in substituting the name of Bughrá Khan for that of Ílak Khan, who was Sultán Mahmúd's contemporary. Bughrá Khan was the first King known to history of the Afrásiyábí or Kháni Turkish dynasty of Transoxiana. The origin of this dynasty and the period at which they embraced Islam is involved in obscurity. Bughrá Khan's proper name is said by Ibnu'l-Athir1 to have been Harún ibn Sulaymán; but, by Ibn Khaldín, Harún ibn Farrúkhán (? Qará-Khán) 'Ali, and Sir Henry Howorth in his article on the Afrásiyábí Turks2 prefers the latter; but as Bughrá Khan appears to have struck no coins, the question remains uncertain. Bughrá Khan was his Turkish title; his Islamic title (probably conferred by the Caliph) was Shihábu'd-Dawla. His territories marched with China and included most of Eastern Turkistán, with the cities of Káschghar and Balasagún, which latter was his capital. He fought several campaigns against the Sámáníd Kings, in the last of which he took their capital Bukhárá, but died on his homeward march in 383/993–4, five or six years before Sultán Mahmúd ascended the throne of Ghazna.

He was succeeded by his nephew (or, according to Howorth, his brother) Ílak Khan, whose proper name appears to have been Náširúl-Haqq Naşr Ílak ibn 'Ali ibn Músá ibn Satuq, while his coins, bearing dates ranging from A.H. 390 to 400 (A.D. 1000 to 1010) were

1 Ed. Tornberg, ix, 68. 2 J.R.A.S. for 1898, pp. 467-502. 3 Ibnu'l-Athir, sub anno (ed. Tornberg), ix, 70.
struck at Bukhara, Khujand, Farghana, Uzkand, Sahaniyan, Sarmarqand, Usb and Ilaq, i.e. in all the chief cities of Transoxiana and Turkistan. He reigned for twenty years (A.H. 383-403 = A.D. 993-1013), overthrew the authority of the Samaritid in Transoxiana, and quarrelled with Sultan Mahmud over the partition of their territories, which were finally divided between them.

XIII. Ahmad ibn ‘Abdu’llah al-Khujistani.

(Text, p. 26; Persian notes, pp. 123-4.)

Khujistan is a district dependent on Bâqghis and situated in the mountains of Herât. This Ahmad was originally an Amir in the service of the Tahirids, but on their collapse he joined the Saffarids, and finally exercised authority over the greater part of Khurasan. Finally he fought and defeated the Saffarid ‘Amr ibn Layth at Nishapûr, struck money in his own name, and was contemplating the conquest of ‘Iraq, when he was murdered by some of his own servants after exercising more or less independent authority for eight years (A.H. 260-8; A.D. 874-82).

In the Ta’rikh-i-Guzida Samán, the ancestor of the Samanid Kings, is represented as the person thus affected by these verses; but, apart from the improbability that Persian verse existed in his time, at any rate in the form in which it is known to us, Hanzala, the author of these verses, flourished under the Tahirid dynasty, of which the founder was contemporary with Asad the son of Samân.

XIV. Poets and writers mentioned in Anecdote XII.

(Text, pp. 27-8; Persian notes, pp. 125-56.)

Sallâmi.—Abî ‘Ali as-Sallâmi al-Bayhaqi of Nishapûr died in 300/912-3. According to ath-Tha’âlibî (Yatima, iv, 29) he was attached as secretary to Abî Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Mu‘azzâr ibn Muhtâj and his son Abî ‘Ali Ahmad. He wrote many books, of which the most famous is the “history” referred to in the text, viz. the History of the Governors of Khurasan, which was used by Ibn Khallikân, especially in his notice of Ya'qûb ibn Layth the Saffarid. A short notice of Sallâmî occurs in Ibn Funduq’s History of Bayhaq, composed in 563/1167-8 in Persian, of which a good MS. (Or. 3587) exists in the British Museum.

The text of this article is given in the original by Mirza Muhammad on p. 125 of the Persian notes.

Sharif-i-Mujallidî of Gurgân.—This poet is mentioned in ‘Awfi’s Lubâb (vol. i, pp. 13-14), where he is called Abû Sharîf Ahmad ibn ‘Ali, and where this same verse is cited.

Rûdâkî (or -gî).—One of the oldest and most authentic notices of this ancient and celebrated Persian poet occurs in the Ansâb of Sam’âtî, who says that he derived his pen-name (takhallus) from his native place.
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Rūdak, a district situated near Samarqand. His full name was Abū 'Abdullāh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad; he was "the first to produce good poetry in Persian," and he died in 329/940-1. See the late Dr Hermann Ethis's monumental paper Rūdagi, der Sāmānidendichter. The vocalization Rawdhakī also occurs, with the addition of the names of the poet's grandfather (Hakīm), great-grandfather ('Abdu'r-Rahmān), and great-great-grandfather (Ādām). See my Hand-list of Muḥammadan Manuscripts (Cambridge, 1900), No. 701, pp. 125-6.

Abūl-'Abbās as-Ribanjani's full name was Fadl ibn 'Abbās. See 'Awfi's Lubdāb, vol. ii, p. 9. Ribanjan (the correct reading is due to the late Professor de Goeje) is a city near Sughd and Samarqand, given by Yāqūt in the corrupt form "Rabaykhan." It is also mentioned in the Ansāb of as-Sam'ānī (Gibb Series, vol. xx, ff. 23b and 248b) as Arbinjan and Rabinjan. Mīrzā Muḥammad has furnished me with a fresh reference to this Abūl-'Abbās in the Thimārul-Qulūb (Cairo ed., p. 147) of ath-Tha'alibī, where some Persian verses (a good deal corrupted in the printed text) from an unlucky qāṣīda which he composed on the occasion of a festival in the thirty-first and last year of the reign of his patron Naṣr ibn Ḥamd the Sāmānīd (A.H. 331 = A.D. 942-3) are cited.

Abūl-Mathal of Bukhārā is mentioned in the Lubdāb (ii, 26) and in Asadi's Glossary (ed. P. Horn, p. 28). The vocalization "Mathal" is proved by a verse of Minūchihrī's in which mention is made of ten old Persian poets, all of whom are identified by Mīrzā Muḥammad, who cites the verse (pp. 127-9 of the Persian notes). Of these the most interesting is Shahīd of Balkh, who resembles ʿUmar Khayyām in this, that his real fame as a philosopher has amongst his countrymen been eclipsed by his fame as a poet, though he was much more notable in the former than in the latter capacity. He is mentioned in the Fihrist, p. 299, as a doughty antagonist of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī (the great physician), who wrote a treatise in refutation of some of his opinions. Yāqūt also mentions him in his article on Jahāmhānāk near Balkh, the village in which he was born, while Tha'alibī reckons him as one of the four greatest men produced by that ancient city. The correct reading in this last case is given in the Paris MS. * of the Yatimar-ul-Fikrūyāt (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2676, f. 235b).

Abū Isḥāq-i-Jūybarī's personal name, according to the Lubdāb (ii, 11) and Asadi's Glossary (p. 17), was Ibrāhīm, and his father's name was Muḥammad. The Jūybar from which he derived his nisba was apparently situated near Bukhārā.

1 Göttinger Nachrichten, 1873, pp. 663-742.
Abu'l-Hasan Aghaji was one of the nobles of the Samanid Court whose praises were sung by Daqiqi. This celebrated poet, as appears from 'Awfi's Lubab (i, 31–2) and Asadi's Lughat (p. 17), was contemporaneous with Nuh II ibn Mansur the Samanid, who reigned from A.H. 366 to 387 (A.D. 976–997). Aghaji's full name was Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Ilyas al-Aghaji (or al-Aghji) of Bukhara. His title Aghaji (or one of its several variants) appears to be a Turkish word meaning a chamberlain or personal servant of a king, serving as an intermediary between him and his subjects. There is a notice of him in 'Ath-Tha'alibi's Supplement to his Yatimatu'd-Dahr, from which we learn that he was fond of translating his own Persian verses into Arabic verse. How he understood the art of verse-translation may be seen by comparing the Persian verses in 'Awfi's Lubab, i, 31, ll. 1–4 with the Arabic rendering on p. 130, ll. 5–6, of the Persian notes to the Chahâr Maqâla.

About Tahâwi (so in all three MSS.) nothing is known. For Khabbâzi of Nishâpûr, see 'Awfi's Lubab, ii, 27, where, however, except that he is included amongst the poets of the Samanid period, no particulars are given. The modern Majma'u'l-Fusahâd (i, 199) makes him a contemporary of Rûdagî, Kisa'i, etc., and gives the date of his death as A.H. 342 (A.D. 953–4), but on what authority is not stated.

Abu'l-Hasan al-Kisa'i was born, as stated by himself in one of his poems, on Wednesday, Shawwal 26, A.H. 341 (March 16, 953), and had attained the age of fifty when he wrote it. How much longer he lived is unknown. The late Dr Hermann Ethé wrote a valuable monograph on him (Die Lieder des Kisa'i) in the Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akad. (philos.-philol. Classe) for 1874, pp. 133–153.

Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali Bahrami of Sarakhs was not only a poet but composed several reputable works on Prosody and Rhyme, such as the Ghâyatul-Arûdayn, Kansul-Qdsya and Khujista, often cited by Shams-i-Qays in his Mu'jam fi Ma'diyi Ash'âri'l-'Ajarn. His date is not exactly known, and the statements of the Majma'u'l-Fusahâd (i, 173) tend rather to obscure than to elucidate it.

Zinati, called 'Alawi 'the descendant of 'Ali,' was one of the court poets of Ghazna under Sultan Mahmud and his son Mas'ud, and is twice mentioned by Abu'1-Fadl of Bayhaq in his Tarikh-i-Mas'udi (Tihiran, ed., pp. 125 and 276) as receiving a handsome present for his verse.

1 The only authority for this statement is the passage in 'Awfi's Lubab cited in the next line, and, as Mirza Muhammad now thinks, it is not certain that it will bear so precise an interpretation.

2 For the evidence for this see a note by Mirza Muhammad in my edition of 'Awfi's Lubab, i, 297–8.

3 There is a fine MS. of this Tatism, or Supplement, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fonds Arabes, 3308). Unfortunately it still remains unpublished.

4 He is, perhaps, identical with the 'Ukbârî (or native of 'Ukbâristân) mentioned in the Majma'u'l-Fusahâd as Khabâazi's contemporary.

5 The first eight verses are cited in the Persian notes, pp. 131–2. The whole qa'ida is given in 'Awfi's Lubab, ii, 38–9.

6 Vol. x of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series.
The full name of Buzurjmihr of Qayin was Amir Abû Mansûr Qasim ibn Ibrahim; and he flourished during the same period as the above-mentioned Zinati. Abû Mansûr ath-Tha'alibi mentions him in the Tatimma, or Supplement, to his Yatimatu'd-Dahr, as one of the bilingual poets, who wrote both in Arabic and Persian, and quotes some of his Arabic verses, including some very skrewd satires on a miser.

By Mużaffari is meant Mużaffar of Panjdh (see 'Awfi's Lubab, ii, 63–65). Dr Paul Horn in his edition of Asadi's Lughat has misread "Marwi" (of Merv) as "Hirawi" (of Herât), and has confused this poet with a later namesake who died in A.H. 728 (A.D. 1327–8).

The proper name of Manshûri was Abû Sa'id Ahmad ibn Muḥammad of Samarqand (see 'Awfi's Lubab, ii, 44–46). He is mentioned by Rashidu'd-Din Watwat in the Haddâ'iqu's-Siyâ as especially skilful in composing verses of the kind called Mulawwan, capable of being scanned in two or more metres.

Mas'ûdî was one of the court poets of Sultan Mas'tûd of Ghazna, whose anger he incurred, as we learn from Bayhaqi's history, by some admonitory verses in which he (with a foresight justified by subsequent events) warned his sovereign against the growing power of the Saljuq Turks.

Qasârâmî was one of the panegyrists of Sultan Abû Ahmad Muḥammad ibn Maḥmûd of Ghazna. He is mentioned by Asadi in his Lughat (p. 27). His name remains unexplained, nor is it known to what this nisba refers.

Abû Hanîfa-i-Iskâf was one of the court poets of Sultan Ibrâhîm ibn Mas'ûd of Ghazna (reigned A.H. 451–492 = A.D. 1059–1099), and is repeatedly so described, in terms of the warmest eulogy, by Abûl-Faḍl-i-Bayhaqi (ed. Tihrân, pp. 276–281, 387–391 and 633–636). 'Awfi, therefore, can hardly be correct in including him amongst the poets of Sultan Sanjar the Saljuq (A.H. 511–552 = A.D. 1117–1157). The account of him given in the Majmalul-Fusâhî is full of the most astonishing confusions and chronological errors, fully set forth by Mirzâ Muḥammad at the conclusion of his long note (pp. 136–140 of the Persian text) on this poet.

Râshidi is not mentioned by any of the biographers, but somewhat detailed references are made to him by his contemporary and rival Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'd-i-Salmân (see below) in two of his qaṣîdâs cited by Mirzâ Muḥammad in the Persian notes (pp. 140–142).

Abû'l-Faraj-i-Rûnî was a younger contemporary of the two poets above mentioned, for he survived into the reign of Sultan Ibrâhîm's son Mas'ûd III (A.H. 492–508 = A.D. 1099–1114), so that the biographer Taqîyyu'd-Dîn-i-Kâshi is evidently mistaken in placing his death in 115.
A.H. 489 (A.D. 1096). Rūnā, from which he took his nisba, was a place near Lahore, not, as asserted in the Ta'rikh-Gūzāda, in Khāwarzān of Khurāsān, nor, as the Majma'ul-Fusūd states, near Nishāpūr.

**Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān.**—On this poet Mirzā Muhammad wrote a long critical notice, based on a careful study of his poems, which I translated into English and published in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1905 (pp. 693-740) and 1906 (pp. 11-51). The substance of this, which he has summarized in the Persian notes (pp. 142-150 and 178-182) to this text, is here given in a still more condensed form. The poet’s family came originally from Hamadān in Persia, but he himself was born at Lahore, of which, in several passages in his poems, he speaks as his native place. Five Kings of the House of Ghazna were the objects of his panegyrics, to wit Ibrahim, Mas'ūd III, Shirzād, Arslān and Bahramshāh, whose reigns extended over a period of 96 lunar or 93 solar years (A.H. 451-547 = A.D. 1059-1152). His special patron was Sulṭān Ibrāhīm’s son Maḥmūd, who was made governor of India in A.H. 469 (A.D. 1076-7), an event which the poet asserts to have been foreshadowed fifty years earlier by the great astronomer al-Bīrūnī in his *Tafhim*. This is the earliest date explicitly mentioned by Mas'ūd-i-Sa’d. He was probably born about A.H. 440 (A.D. 1048-9) and died about A.H. 515 (A.D. 1121-2). In A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087-8) he shared the suspicion and disgrace into which his master fell and was imprisoned in different fortresses for ten years. At the end of this period he was set free at the intercession of Abū-Quʿāsim, one of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm’s courtiers, and returned to his father’s estate in India. In A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098-9) Sulṭān Ibrāhīm died and was succeeded by his son Mas'ūd III, who conferred the government of India on his son Shirzād, with whom he sent Qiwāmūl-Mulk Abū Naṣr Hibatu'lllah of Pars as commander-in-chief and adviser. This man, being an old friend of the poet, made him governor of Jalandar, a dependency of Lahore; but soon afterwards fell into disfavour in which his clients were involved, and Mas‘ūd-i-Sa’d was again imprisoned in the fortress of Maranj for another period of eight or nine years. Finally, about A.H. 500 (A.D. 1106-7), he was released at the intercession of Thīqatūl-Mulk Tāhir ibn ‘Alī ibn Mushkān. Being now sixty years of age and worn out by his long confinements, he retired from public life and spent the remainder of his days in seclusion. Many contemporary poets, such as ‘Uthmān Mukhtārī of Ghazna, Mu‘izzī and Sana‘ī (who first collected and edited his poetry) bear witness to his pre-eminence in their art.

Jamālu’d-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir al-‘Alawī and his brother Sayyid Ḥasan ibn Nāṣir of Ghazna were two well-known poets of the court of Bahramshāh, as was also Shīhābūl-Dīn Shāh ‘Alī Abū Rijā. See *Awfiṣ’s Lubābūl-Albāb*, vol. ii, pp. 267-282.

There is a faint probability that Aḥmad-i-Khalaf may have been the son of Khalaf ibn Aḥmad, the ruler of Sistan, a probability enhanced by the fact that the latter bore the kunya of Abū Aḥmad, although there is no other record of the existence of such a son.

1 See the verses from this interesting poem cited on pp. 144-5 of the Persian notes, and note 1 at the foot of the latter.
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Uthmán ibn Muḥammad Mukhtáří of Ghazna died in A.H. 544 (A.D. 1149-1150) or A.H. 554 (A.D. 1159). He was the panegyrist of Arslán and his brother and successor Bahramsháh of the House of Ghazna, whose reigns extended from A.H. 509-552 (A.D. 1115-1157); of Arslánsháh the Šaljúq of Kirmán (A.H. 494-536 = A.D. 1100-1141); and of Arslán Khán Muḥammad of the Turkish Kháníyya dynasty of Transoxiana (A.H. 495-524 = A.D. 1101-1130). Mirzá Muḥammad (p. 151 of the Persian notes) calls attention to some extraordinary chronological errors in the notice of this poet in the Majmá‘ul-Fusáḥáḥ, and some arbitrary alterations of the text of certain poems into which these errors have misled the author.

Abú‘l-Majd Majdúd ibn Ádām as-Saná‘í of Ghazna, the well-known mystical poet, author of the Hādithatul-Haqqá and an extensive Dīwán, died, according to the most correct statement, in A.H. 545 (A.D. 1150-1). The date given by Jāmí in his Našáhátul-Uns (p. 697), viz. A.H. 525 (A.D. 1131), is certainly much too early, since Saná‘í composed verses on the death of Mu‘izzí, which took place in A.H. 542 (A.D. 1147-8).

Najfí of Farghána (of whom further mention is made in Anecdote XIX) was one of the court poets of Khídhr Khán ibn Ta‘fgháj Khán (of the Kháníyya dynasty of Transoxiana) who succeeded to the throne in A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079-1080) and died after a brief reign. ‘Am‘aq of Bukhárá, poet-laureate of the same king, died, according to Taqiyyu‘d-Dín of Káshán, in A.H. 543 (A.D. 1148-9). Abú Muḥammad ‘Abdu‘l-láh (or ‘Abdu‘s-Sayyid) Rashdí of Samárqánd, Najjár-i-Ságharjí (from Ságharj, a village of Sughdistán), ‘Alí Pánídhí and Pízar-i-Darghúsh were poets attached to the same court, of whom little or nothing is known.


The Díhqán ‘Alí Sháṭrání of Samárqánd, another poet of Transoxiana, is said by the Majmá‘ul-Fusáḥáḥ to have been a pupil of the celebrated satirist Súzání, who died, according to Taqiyyu‘d-Dín of Káshán, in A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173-4).

Mánsúr ibn ‘Alí al-Mánțiqí of Ray, whose verses are repeatedly cited in evidence by Rashídu‘d-Dín Waţwat in his Haddá‘iq-s-Síhr, was one of the poets attached to the Sáḥíb Ismai‘l ibn ‘Abbá̀d (Lubá̀b, ii, 16-18).

Abú Zayd Muḥammad ibn ‘Alí al-Ghaḍá‘írí of Ray was a contemporary of ‘Unsúr and his circle, and died, according to the Majmá‘ul-Fusáḥáḥ, in A.H. 426 (A.D. 1034-5). His nisba, Ghaḍá‘írí, is explained1 as meaning “potter,” “tile-maker,” ghaḍá‘írí being the plural of ghaḍára, a kind of sticky, greenish clay used for making pottery. The form Ghaḍá‘írí (not Ghaḍá́rí, as the Majmá‘ul-Fusáḥá has it) is proved cor-

1 See the Anṣáb of as-Sam‘ání (Gibb Series, vol. xx), f. 409b.
rect by verses of the poet himself and of his contemporary 'Unsuri (see Persian notes, p. 153). Minúchihrí, it is true, uses the form Ghadári, but apparently only from the requirements of his metre.

Bundár of Ray, chiefly notable for his Fakhrawyýat, or verses in dialect, was a contemporary of the Sáhib Isma'il ibn 'Abbád and of Majdu'd-Dawla-i-Daylamí, and, therefore flourished between A.H. 387 and 420 (A.D. 997 and 1029).

Though all the MSS. have Farrukhi of Gurgán it seems probable that it should be Fakhri, i.e. Fakhru'd-Dín As'ad of Gurgán, author of the well-known romantic poem on the loves of Wis and Rámin. The only well-known Farrukhi, to whom Anecdote XV is devoted, was from Sístán.

Abú'l-Hasan Muḥammad ibn Isma'il al-Lámi'í al-Jurjání ad-Dihistání was one of the poets of Maliksháh the Saljuq and his celebrated Minister Niẓámü'l-Mulk, and was the contemporary of Burhání, the father of Mu'izzí.

"Bábá" Ja'far of Hamadán was a friend of Bábá Táhir, and contemporary with Sultan Tughril the Saljuq. See vol. ii of my Lit. Hist. of Persia, p. 260.

The only other mention of Dur-Fírúz-i-Fakhri at present noticed occurs in al-Máfarrúkhi's "Beauties of Isfahan," composed in the fifth century of the hijrá (eleventh of the Christian era), where he is described as contemporary and is given the kunya of Abú'l-Fa'íl.

Abú'l-Malik Burhání of Níshápúr, entitled Amir'ish-Shu'írard, who died at Qazwín early in the reign of Maliksháh, was the father of the more celebrated Mu'izzí, whose early struggles are described in Anecdote XVI and who was accidentally shot by Sultan Sanjar in A.H. 542 (A.D. 1147-8).

The Dih-Khuda Abú'l-Máláí of Ray was the panegyrist of Mas'úd ibn Muḥammad ibn Maliksháh the Saljuq (reigned A.H. 527-547; A.D. 1133-1152), and died, according to the Majma'u'l-Fusahá, in A.H. 541 (A.D. 1146-7). See 'Awfí's Lubáb, ii, 228-236.

The Amir 'Amid Kamálú'd-Dín of Bukhárá, known as Kamálí, was skilled in music as well as poetry, and was one of the favourites of Sultan Sanjar. See 'Awfí's Lubáb, i, 86-91.

By Shihábí Shihábu'd-Dín Aḥmad ibnu'l-Mu'ayyad an-Nasafi as-Samarqandi appears to be meant. The Majma'u'l-Fusahá quotes several of his qasídás in praise of Ruknú'd-Dín Qilij Tamgháj Khán Mas'úd, of the Kháníyya dynasty, who reigned from A.H. 488-494 (A.D. 1095-1101)

Abú'l-Qásím Ziyád ibn Muḥammad al-Qamarí al-Jurjání was a contemporary of Shamsú'l-Má'áli Qábús ibn Washmgír, who was killed in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012-1013). See 'Awfí's Lubáb, ii, 19-20.

1 See my edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 42-3; Majlâšú'l-Mu'mínín (Tibrán lith. ed., A.H. 1268); Táríkh-i-Guzdá (Gibb Series, xiv, 1), p. 816; and the Mu'jam of Shams-í-Qays (Gibb Series, 3), pp. 145 and 146.
The only other mention of Rafi' of Nishapur occurs in the Majma' al-Fuwahah, from which it appears that he was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (A.H. 388–421; A.D. 998–1030).

XV. The Vengeance of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Husayn Jahân-süz.

(Text, p. 29; Persian notes, pp. 156–9.)

By "those two Kings, the Prince-martyr and the Laudable Monarch" are meant Qutbu'd-Din Muhammad ibn 'Izzu'd-Din Husayn Maliku'l-Jibâl and his brother Sayfu'd-Din Sûrî, the brothers of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Husayn. Qutbu'd-Din, whose capital was Firûz-kûh, had quarrelled with his brothers and gone to Ghazna, where Bahramshah at first treated him as an honoured guest, but subsequently, his suspicion being aroused by intriguers, poisoned him. Sayfu'd-Din on hearing this marched on Ghazna with a large army. Bahramshah fled to India, and Sayfu'd-Din occupied the city, took possession of the throne, and soon disbanded a great part of his army. On the approach of winter, when the roads to Ghûr were blocked with snow and the arrival of reinforcements was impossible, Bahramshah, at the instigation of his subjects, suddenly returned to Ghazna, took captive Sayfu'd-Din and his followers, and put them to death in the year A.H. 544 (A.D. 1149–1150).

Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Husayn, furious at the loss of a second brother, sent a threatening quatrain1 to the Chief Judge of Ghazna, and, assembling a large army from Ghûr and Gharjistan, marched on Ghazna and proceeded to make good his threats. Having thrice defeated Bahramshah and compelled him again to retire to India, he occupied Ghazna, and for seven days and nights gave it up to slaughter, pillage and destruction. He killed the men, took captive the women and children, and caused the bodies of all the Kings of Ghazna, except those of Sultan Mahmûd, Mas'ûd and Ibâhîm, to be exhumed and burned. During the seven days of massacre and pillage he was drinking and making merry in the Royal Palace of Ghazna, and at the end of this period, when he put a stop to the slaughter, he ordered his minstrels to sing some rather fine and spirited verses which he had composed for the occasion2. After spending another week in mourning for his brothers, he returned to Ghûr with their effects, destroying on his way all the fine buildings erected by Sultan Mahmûd of Ghazna. On reaching Firûz-kûh he composed another fine but arrogant piece of poetry3 which he bade his minstrels sing. These events took place in A.H. 545 (A.D. 1150–1), the year of his accession to the throne, or in the following year. Two or three years later, in A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152–3), he was himself defeated and taken prisoner at Awba near Herât, by Sultan Sanjar the Saljiq, together with our author, who refers to this event in Anecdote XXXI.

The chief authority for the history of the Kings of Ghûr is the Tabaqdt-i-Nâširi of the Qâdi Minháju'd-Din 'Uthmán ibn Siráju'd-Din Muḥammadm, who was their contemporary (born 589/1193 and survived the year 658/1260). This valuable history has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, but the late Major H. G. Raverty's English

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1 Persian notes, p. 157, ll. 7–8.
2 Ibid., p. 157, l. 18—p. 158, l. 2.
3 Ibid., p. 158, l. 11—p. 159, l. 2.
Translation (2 vols., containing lxiv + 1296 + xxvi + 272 pp., London, 1881) is even more valuable, being based on a careful and extensive collation of fresh MSS., and furnished with numerous notes, critical, historical and geographical. The first six of the twenty-three sections comprised in the work are only given in brief epitome, but this is of little consequence, as they deal with matters which can be better studied in older Arabic histories.

**Note XVI. The Jú-yi-Múliyán of Bukhárá.**

Translation (2 vols., containing lxiv + 1296 + xxvi + 272 pp., London, 1881) is even more valuable, being based on a careful and extensive collation of fresh MSS., and furnished with numerous notes, critical, historical and geographical. The first six of the twenty-three sections comprised in the work are only given in brief epitome, but this is of little consequence, as they deal with matters which can be better studied in older Arabic histories.

This anecdote about Rudaki and his improvisation is very well known and occurs in nearly all the biographies of poets, but nowhere so fully as here. A very interesting point, to which I have elsewhere called attention, is the wide divergence of opinion as to the merit of the verses existing between the author of this work and Dawlatsháh, who lived some three centuries later, indicating a complete change in the canons of taste during this period, and, it must be admitted, a change for the worse. The late Dr Hermann Ehé's monograph, published in the Göttinger Nachrichten for 1873 (pp. 663–742), remains the best and fullest account of Rudaki, concerning whom some further particulars have already been given (pp. 113–114 supra).

The true explanation of the name of the stream Jú-yi-Múliyán has been discovered by Mirzá Muḥammad in Narshakhi's History of Bukhárá. This work, originally composed in Arabic in A.H. 332 (A.D. 943-4), was translated into Persian first by Abú Naṣr-i-Qabawi in A.H. 522 (A.D. 1128), and again by Muhammad ibn Zufar in A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178–9). It is this second translation which was published at Paris in 1892 by the late M. Charles Schefer, and from which the information in question is derived. In a section entitled “Account of the Jú-yi-Múliyán and its qualities” the author writes as follows:

“In old times these estates of the Jú-yi-Múliyán belonged to King Taqsháhádá, who gave a portion of them to each one of his sons and sons-in-law. Amir Isma’íl the Sámiání (may God have mercy upon him!) bought these estates from Hasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Taḥít, who was a captain of [the Caliph] al-Musta’in ibn’ul-Mu’tásim, and made palaces and gardens in the Jú-yi-Múliyán, most of which he conferred on the Mawdís, and which are still endowments. His heart was always preoccupied about his Mawdís (clients), until one day he was gazing from the fortifications of Bukhárá towards the Jú-yi-Múliyán. His father’s client, Símá’ul-Kabír, whom he greatly loved and held in high honour, was standing before him. Amir Isma’íl said, ‘Will it ever be that God Most High will bring it to pass that I may buy these estates for you, and grant me life to see these estates yours, for they are of greater value than all the other estates of Bukhárá, and pleasanter and of better climate?’ And God Most High vouchsafed to him to buy them all and give them to his Mawdís, so that the place was named Jú-yi-Mawdíyán, which was commonly called Jú-yi-Múliyán.”

1 Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol. i, pp. 16–17. See also my article on The Sources of Dawlatsháh, etc., in the J.R.A.S. for January, 1899 (pp. 37–69).
2 The original passage is quoted on p. 62 of the Persian notes.
3 Mawdís being itself the plural of Mawlá (a client), Mawdíyán, a Persian plural of an Arabic plural, appears to be a solecism.
XVII. Notes on Anecdote XIV.

(From Text, pp. 34-6; Persian notes, 151-2.)

Ali ibn Qarib, known as "the Great Chamberlain" (Hājīb-i-Buṣūr) was one of the principal nobles of Sultan Māhmūd of Ghazna. On the death of this monarch, he raised his younger son, the Amir Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad to the throne. A quarrel shortly arose between him and his brother Sultan Mas'ūd, who was then at Isfahān. The latter marched on Ghazna, and when he reached Herāt, Ali ibn Qarib deposed Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad and imprisoned him in the Castle of Kūshir near Ghazna. On Dhu'l-Qa'da 3, A.H. 421 (Nov. 2, 1030) he waited at Herāt on Sultan Mas'ūd, who, however, seized him and his brother the Chamberlain Mankitarāk and cast them both into prison, after which they were no more heard of.

XVIII. Note on the House of Muhtaj of Chaghāniyān.

(From Text, p. 36; Persian notes, pp. 163-6.)

The noble and influential House of Muhtaj, which had its home at Chaghāniyān in Transoxiana, produced many notable men during the Sāmānids and Ghaznawī periods. Concerning some of the most famous of these Mīrzā Muḥammad has collected from various sources the following particulars.

1. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muhtaj was given the chief command of the armies of Khurasān by the Amir Nasr II ibn Ahmad the Sāmānī in A.H. 321 (A.D. 933), which position he held until the latter part of his life, when, being attacked by a chronic illness, he resigned in favour of his son Abū 'Ali Aḥmad, died in A.H. 329 (A.D. 941), and was buried at Chaghāniyān.

2. This son, Abū 'Ali Aḥmad, defeated and killed Mākān ibn Kakīy the Daylamī in A.H. 332 (A.D. 944), and it was on this occasion that the celebrated despatch of his secretary Abūl-Qāsim Iskāfī (alluded to in Anecdote III, pp. 16-18 supra) was penned. He extended the Sāmānīd authority over Jurjān, Tabaristān, Zanjān, and Kirmānshāh. In A.H. 333 (A.D. 945) the Amir Nūh I ibn Nasr II ibn Ahmad dismissed him from the Government of Khurasān, whereupon he rebelled, deposed the Amir (who fled to Samarqand), overran Khurasān, and captured Bukhārā. Finally in A.H. 344 (A.D. 955-6) he fell a victim to the plague at Ray and was buried with his father at Chaghāniyān.

3. Abūl-'Abbās Faḍl ibn Muḥammad, brother of the above, who appointed him in A.H. 333 (A.D. 945) Governor of the Jaḥal province (modern 'Irāq-i-'Ajam). He subdued Dīnawar and Niḥāwand. When his brother rebelled against the Sāmānids, as above mentioned, he supported them, in spite of which he incurred their suspicion in A.H. 336 (A.D. 947-8) and was imprisoned at Bukhārā, after which all future trace of him disappears.

4. Abūl-Muẓaffar 'Abdu'llāh ibn Aḥmad, son of No. 2, who, in A.H. 337 (A.D. 948-9), when his father made peace with Amir Nūh I the Sāmānī, was sent as a hostage to Bukhārā, where he dwelt as an honoured guest until he was killed by a fall from his horse in A.H. 340 (951-2), and was buried at Chaghāniyān.
NOTE XIX. TUGHÁNSHÁH THE SALJÚQ

(5) Abú Mansúr ibn 'Abd, another son of No. 2, who appointed him Governor of Chaghániyán in A.H. 340 (A.D. 951–2) when himself was made Governor of Khurásán.

(6) Abu'l-Muẓaffar Táhir ibn Faḍl, nephew of No. 2 and son of No. 3, was Governor of Chaghániyán until his death in A.H. 377 (A.D. 987–8). He was himself a poet and a generous patron of poets, Manjik of Tirmidh being one of his protégés. See 'Awfā's Lubāb, i. pp. 27–29.

(7) Fakhru'd-Dawla Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ahmad ibn Muḥammad, the person to whom reference is here made in the Chahār Maqāla, is believed by Mirzā Muḥammad to have been a son or grandson of the above mentioned Abū 'Ali. Daqiqi preceded Farrukhi as his panegyrist, a fact to which the latter alludes in three verses not included in the portion of the qasida here quoted, but given on pp. 165–6 of the Persian notes.

Of Farrukhi’s “admirable description of the poetic art” six verses, besides the one given in the text, are cited on p. 166 of the Persian notes. The editor’s learned demonstration of the identity of Khuttal and Khatlán, of which place the former is the Arabic and the latter the Persian name, is mentioned in note 2 at the foot of p. 44 supra. The details of the proof must be sought in the Persian notes, pp. 166–8.

XIX. Note on Tughánsháh, and the arbitrary methods of some Persian editors.

(Text, p. 43; Persian notes, pp. 170–3.)

As pointed out in note 1 at the foot of p. 48 supra, this Tughánsháh the son of Alp Arslán the Saljúq is a totally different person from the Tughánsháh ibn Mu'ayyad Ay-Ába with whom the author of the Majma'ul-Fusahád and others have rashly identified him, regardless of the fact that Aẓraql (as shewn by three conclusive proofs on p. 173 of the Persian notes) must have been dead long before the latter ascended the throne in A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173–4). The curious thing about the first Tughánsháh (the Saljúq, to whom reference is here made) is that he is not mentioned by any of the historians of this period1 except our author Nizámí of Samarqand in this passage and in ‘Awfā’s Lubāb (ii, 87–8), and nearly all that we know about him is derived from Aẓraql’s poems in his honour. The author of the Majma'ul-Fusahád, starting from the misconception to which allusion has been made, has deliberately and arbitrarily falsified the text of Aẓraql’s poems to make it support his erroneous theory, and has changed (vol. i, p. 145) “Tughánsháh ibn Muḥammad” into “Tughánsháh ibn Mu'ayyad.” On these reprehensible methods Mirzá Muḥammad justly remarks (pp. 172–3 of the Persian notes ad calce):—

“Such arbitrary emendations are not only an encouragement to ignorance, but a betrayal of the trust committed to us by men of yore. For it is evident that their books, compositions, writings and harangues are a precious heritage which our forefathers have bequeathed to us

1 Dawlats̄hāh, Hájī Khalīfa and the Haft Iqtīm do, indeed, speak of an older Tughánsháh praised by Aẓraql, but all the statements they make about him are incorrect. See the Persian notes, p. 167, second paragraph.
in trust, and which we in turn should transmit to our descendants untampered with and unaltered. For should it once be allowed that from the time of Firdawsi until now, a period of nearly a thousand years, everyone should emend the verses of the Shâh-nâma in accordance with his own whims and fancies, no trace or sign would now remain of this Royal Treasure, this Mine of Jewels and Coral, which constitutes the greatest literary glory of Persia, and is the guarantee of the perpetuation of our national tongue.

"I actually heard a certain Persian scholar in Paris say: 'My late father, besides having no rival in all sciences and accomplishments, possessed a special talent wherein no one could equal him. This was that any manuscript work of an ancient writer, from the beginning, end or middle of which some leaves had been lost, used to be given to my father, who, in the course of one or two nights, would supply the missing portion with a composition of his own in the same style and cast as the rest of the book, and would add it to the original; and so closely resembled the other chapters and sections of the book that no scholar or savant could decide whether these leaves formed part of the original book or were an addition to it.'

"May God guide us into the Way of Rectitude!"

**Note XX. Azraqi (Anecdote XVII).**

(Text, p. 43; Persian notes, pp. 174-178.)

Abû Bakr Zaynu'd-Dîn ibn Isma'îl al-Warrâq ("the book-seller") of Herât, poetically surnamed Azraqi, would appear from a verse in one of his poems (p. 174 of the Persian notes) to have borne the proper name of Ja'far. His father Isma'îl was the contemporary of Firdawsi, who, when he fled from Sultan Mahmûd's wrath, was for six months in hiding in his house at Herât.

Most of Azraqi's panegyrics are in praise of two Saljuq princes, Tughânshâh ibn Alp Arslân, mentioned in the last note, and Amirânsâh ibn Qâwûrûd. This Qâwûrûd was the first of the Saljuq rulers of Kirmân, but, as his son Amirânsâh did not ascend the throne, the date of his death is not recorded, though he predeceased his brother Sultânshâh, who died A.H. 476 (A.D. 1083-4).

Taqiyyu'd-Dîn of Kashân gives A.H. 527 (A.D. 1132-3) as the date of Azraqi's death, which, however, must have taken place at least forty years earlier. For in the first place 'Awfi says that "he is antecedent to Mu'izzî," and secondly he makes no mention in his poems of Malikshâh or Sanjar or their nobles and ministers, which omission would be almost inconceivable if he lived in their time. Thirdly, Azraqi's father was the contemporary of Firdawsi, who died sometime before A.H. 421 (A.D. 1030), and it is evidently extremely improbable that he could have had a son who was still living a century later. It is probable that Azraqi died before A.H. 465 (A.D. 1072-3).

Rashîdû'd-Dîn Watwât in his Haddîqû's-Sîhâr ("Gardens of Magic") criticizes Azraqi for his far-fetched and fantastic comparisons, and especially comparisons to non-existent things, so that, for example, he compares burning charcoal to a sea of musk with golden waves.
Hájji Khalífa and many of the biographers ascribe to Azráqí the *Sindibád-ána* and the *Alfiyya wa Shalfiyya*. This is an error, for the former of these two books was of Persian or Indian origin, and was composed in pre-Islamic days, as clearly appears from the statements of Mas'údî in the *Murájíyád-Dhabab*¹ and of the *Fíhris*. Of this *Sindibád-ána* the Pahlávi text was extant in the time of the Amir Núh II ibn Mánstúr the Sámaníd (A.H. 366–387; A.D. 976–997), by whose command it was translated into Persian by Khwája 'Amíd Abú-l-Fáwáris-i-Qánáwázi, whose translation, however, appears to be entirely lost. This translation was, however, revised and re-edited in a more ornate form about A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203–4) by Báhá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad... az-Ẓáhirí of Samarqand, who was secretary to Sultan Táhmáh Kháán of the Khániyya dynasty of Tranoxiana. Of this recension one manuscript exists in the British Museum, from the preface of which Mirzá Muḥammad derived the information here given. It was apparently the older Persian prose translation of Qánáwázi which Azráqí versified or intended to versify; a task which he evidently found far from easy, for in a passage of a *qasída* addressed to Tughánsíhá (quoted on p. 177 of the Persian notes) he says:—

"O Prince, whoever regards the counsels of Sindibád
Knows well that to compose poetry thereon is difficult:
If thy fortune, O King, helps my mind."

This versified translation of Azráqí, if ever completed, seems to have been entirely lost, though a later anonymous verse translation composed in A.H. 776 (A.D. 1374–5) is preserved in the India Office Library². This, however, in Mirzá Muḥammad’s opinion, is of very poor literary quality.

The *Alfiyya wa Shalfiyya* is another ancient book which existed long before Azráqí’s time. The *Fíhris* mentions two recensions, a greater and a lesser; and the *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaqi*³ mentions a summer-house which Prince Mas'údî had built for himself secretly in the Bágh-i-'Adnáni on the walls of which were painted the pictures illustrative of the *Alfiyya*. This book may have been versified or re-edited by Azráqí, but was certainly not his original work.

**Note XXI. Another instance of the Author’s inaccuracy.**

(Text, p. 45; Persian notes, pp. 182–4.)

It is an extraordinary and inexplicable thing that Nízámí of Samarqand, in recounting what professes to be a personal reminiscence, should commit several grave historical and chronological errors. *First*, the real name and genealogy of Qútulmush were Shihábú'd-Dawla [not -Dín] ibn Isrá’il ibn Saljúq, and he was first cousin to Tughríl, the first of the Great Saljúqs, and father of Sulámán, the first of the Saljúqs of Rám. In A.P. 456 (A.D. 1064) he rebelled against Tughríl’s nephew Alp Arslán and was killed in battle near Ray. Súltán Muḥammad, the grandsons of Alp Arslán, was born in A.H. 473 (A.D. 1080–1), seventeen years after

¹ Ed. B. de Meynard, i, 162 and iv, 90.
³ See Dr H. Ethe’s *Catalogue*, No. 1136.
the death of Qutulmush, who therefore obviously could not have rebelled against him. Secondly, Qutulmush was not the son-in-law of Sultan Muhammad, but the cousin of his great-grandfather. Thirdly, the title of Qutulmush was Shihabu’d-Dawla, not Shihabu’d-Din. Fourthly, he did not bear the name Alp Ghazi. Fifthly, the battle in which he was killed was near Ray, not Hamadân, and sixthly, it took place nearly a century before Nizâmi of Samarqand wrote the Chahâr Maqdàla.

We are driven to suppose that in this passage the original text has been tampered with. The real Alp Ghazi was the nephew of Sultan Ghiyâthu’d-Dîn Muhammâd of Ghûr, and fell in battle with Sultan Muhammad Khwârazmshâh near Herât in A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203-4), fifty years after the Chahâr Maqdàla was written. There were two kings called Ghiyâthu’d-Dîn Muhammâd, one of Ghûr, mentioned immediately above, who died in A.H. 599 (A.D. 1202-3) and was actually related to the real Alp Ghazi; and the other the grandson of Alp Arslân the Saljûq, to whom this anecdote refers, and who died in, A.H. 511 (A.D. 1117-8).

Note XXII. The Kháqání, Khâni or Afrâsiyâbí Kings.

(Text, p. 46; Persian notes, pp. 184-189.)

This Turkish Muslim dynasty, also called Ìlak-Khâni, ruled for nearly 230 years (A.H. 380-609 = A.D. 990-1212) over Transoxiana, supplanting the Sámanîd and succumbing to the Khwârazmshâhí power. They were sometimes practically independent, while at other times they paid tribute to the Saljûq, Qârâ-Khitat’ís or Khwârazmshâhs. Their history is confused and obscure, nor is it precisely known when their power arose or when they embraced Islâm. Hárun ibn Sulaymân, better known as Bughrá Khán Ìlak, and entitled Shihabu’d-Dawla, conquered Bukhârâ in A.H. 383 (A.D. 993), and is the first of the dynasty mentioned in history. His lieutenant Shamsu’d-Dawla Naṣr ibn ‘Alî ibn Mûsá ibn Sutuq, better known as Ìlak Khán, again subdued Bukhârâ in A.H. 389 (A.D. 999) and finally extinguished the Sámanîd power in Transoxiana. The last of the line was Ñusratu’d-Dîn Qîlîq Arslân Kháqân ‘Uthmân ibn Qîlîq Tamghâj Khân Ibrâhîm, who was killed in A.H. 609 (A.D. 1212-3) by Sultan ‘Alî’u’d-Dîn Muhammâd Khwârazmshâh.

The first historian of this dynasty appears to have been the Imám Sharaâfu’z-Zamán Majdu’d-Dîn Muhammâd ibn ‘Adnân as-Surkhkhatî, uncle of Nûru’d-Dîn Muhammâd ‘Awfî, the author of the oft-quoted Lûbânu’l-‘Albâb and of the vast collection of anecdotes entitled Jawâmî’u’l-Hikâyât wa Lawâmî’u’r-Riwa’îyât. This history, dedicated to Sultan Qîlîq Tamghâj Khán, the last ruler but one of the dynasty, is mentioned by Hájjî Khalîfâ, and ‘Awfî quotes from it in the seventeenth chapter of the fourth part of his Jawâmî’u’l-Hikâyât, composed about A.H. 630 (A.D. 1232-3). Except for this (of which the text is cited on pp. 185-6 of the Persian notes) this work appears to be entirely lost. The chief extant sources of information about them are as follows:

(1) Scattered references in such Arabic general histories as Ibn’l-Athîr and Ibn Khalîdân.
(2) The Ta'rikh-i-Jahān-ard of the Qāḍī Ahmad-i-Ghaffārī has a short chapter on this dynasty, which, though it adds little to the particulars given by the above-mentioned historians, has the advantage of gathering the details under one head and giving them a connected arrangement.

(3) A rare general history in Persian, of unknown authorship, entitled Majma‘u‘l-Tawārikh, contains a chapter on this dynasty, here called “the House of Afrāsiyāb.”


(5) An article by Sir Henry Howorth on the Afrāsiyābī Turks in the J.R.A.S. for 1898, pp. 467-502. For this excellent article he obtained new materials from a Tūrktī MS. from Eastern Turkistān entitled Tadhkira-i-Bughrā Khān.

(6) Scattered references in such special histories as, Utbi’s Ta’rikh-i-Yamīnī, the Ta’rikh-i-Bayhaqī, Narshakhi’s Ta’rikh-i-Buhkhārā, Imādu’d-Dīn’s and Abū Bakr ar-Rawandi’s histories of the Saljuqūs, the Ta’rikh-i-Jahānpūshkhy of Juwaynī, ‘Awfī’s Lubābūl-Abḥāb and Jawdānī’s Hikāyāt, the Ta’baqāt-i-Nāṣirī, and this book, etc., the history of this dynasty being intermixed to some extent with that of the Ghaznaqīs, Saljuqūs and Khwārazmshāhs.

(7) The verses of certain contemporary poets who were their panegyrists, such as Rashīdī and Sūzanī of Samarqand, Mukhtārī of Ghazna, Raḍīyyu’d-Dīn of Nishāpūr, ‘A’māq of Buhkhārā, Shams-i-Tabāsī, etc. In none of these books, however, except ‘Awfī’s Lubāb, is mention made of Qilij Tamgaj Khan Ibrahim, the last ruler but one of the dynasty. He was a great patron of poetry and learning. Raḍīyyu’d-Dīn, the poet just mentioned, has especially celebrated his generosity to men of letters, and several notable prose works were dedicated to him, among others the Sindibād-nāma and the A‘rādu’r-Ri’yāsāt fi Aghraḍī’s-Siyāsāt of Bahā’u’d-Dīn az-Zahīrī of Samarqand, and another work by the same author entitled Sam’u‘z-Zahīr fi Jam‘i‘z-Zahīr.

Note X. Three. Five notable Astronomers.

(Text, pp. 54-5; Persian notes, pp. 193-206.)

Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (or Bērūnī or Bayrūnī) was born in a suburb or outer district (bīrūn) of Khwārazm

1 Or. 141 of the British Museum, ff. 133a–134b.
3 See p. 125 supra.
4 See Hājī Khalīfa, s.v., and ‘Awfī’s Lubāb, i, 91. There is a MS. of the work in the Leyden Library.
5 See H. Kh., s.v., and the Lubāb, i, 91.
6 Sachau quotes the Ansāb of as-Sam’ānī in favour of this latter pronunciation, but in the facsimile of this work published by the “E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” (vol. xx, f. 98b) the passage in question has bēl-kasri (with the i vowel) instead of bēl-fathi (with the a vowel).
(Khiva) on Dhu'l-Hijja 3, A.H. 362 (Sept. 4, A.D. 973), and died (probably at Ghazna) on Rajab 2, A.H. 440 (Dec. 11, A.D. 1049) at the age of 77 lunar years and 7 months. He was one of the greatest men of science produced by Persia, and in him, as Dr. Sachau says, "there is much of the modern spirit and method of critical research," in which respect "he is a phenomenon in the history of Eastern learning and literature." As a writer his industry equalled his learning. In A.H. 427 (A.D. 1035–6), when he had reached the age of 65 lunar (63 solar) years, he drew up for a correspondent a list of his writings, which has been fortunately preserved to us, and of which the original Arabic text is included by Sachau in the German Introduction to his edition of al-Āthār al-Bāqiya (pp. xxxviii–xlix). This list comprises over a hundred works, arranged in 13 classes as follows:—

I. Geometry, Astronomy, etc. .... 18 works
II. Geography .... 15 "
III. Arithmetic .... 8 "
IV. Light .... 4 "
V. The Astrolabe .... 5 "
VI. Times and Seasons .... 5 "
VII. Comets .... 5 "
VIII. Stations of the Moon .... 12 "
IX. Astrology .... 7 "
X. Persian and other tales .... 13 "
XI. Religion .... 6 "
XII. Books of which the author retained no copy .... 5 "
XIII. Unfinished books .... 10 "

Total: 113

He also enumerates 25 other works written by three other men of learning and ascribed to him, viz. 12 by Abú Naṣr Maṣūr ibn 'Alī ibn 'Arraq; 12 by Abū Sahl ʿIsā ibn Yahyā al-Masīhi; and one by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Jili. Further, Hajji Khalifa enumerates 15 more of al-Biruni's works not appearing in the above list, though some of them are no doubt included in it under slightly different titles, while others are probably wrongly ascribed to our author. In Europe he is chiefly known by his "Chronology of Ancient Nations" (al-Āthār al-Bāqiya 'anīl-Qurūnīl-Khāliya) and his work on India, editions and translations of both of which we owe to the learning and industry of Dr. Edward Sachau. The former, unfortunately, presents many serious lacunae: "Many most essential parts," says Dr. Sachau², "both large and small, are missing, e.g. the chapter on Zoroaster, a most deplorable loss, arising probably from Muslim bigotry." On Nov. 12, 1912, however, I received a letter from my colleague Professor Bevan in which he wrote:—"I have just received from Salemann in St. Petersburg an article which he has

¹ Mirzá Muhammad points out to me that the original capital city of Khwarizm was Kāth on the eastern bank of the Oxus. Later (and probably already in al-Biruni's time) its place was taken by Urgān or Gurğanj (called in Arabic Jurjaniyya) on the western bank. The modern city of Khiva is situated some distance to the south-west of the older Urgān.

² Preface to the English translation, p. xiii.
published in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale*. You will be glad to
hear that another Ms. of al-Biruni's *al-Atharul-Baqiya* has turned up
and enables us to supply most of the gaps in Sachau's edition, in par-
ticular the sections on Zoroaster and Bardaišân."

Al-Qifti has no article on al-Biruni in his "History of the Philoso-
phers,“ and only once refers to him. Ibn Abî Usaybi'a gives him a
short notice in his "Lives of the Physicians" (ii, pp. 20–21). The short
articles consecrated to him by Zahîru'd-Dîn Abû'l-Hasan ibn Abû'l-Qâsim
(wrote about the middle of the twelfth century of our era) and by
Sha'msu'd-Dîn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmûd ash-Shahrazûrî (early thirteenth
century) are quoted in full by Sachau. There is also a long notice of
him in the modern Persian *Nâma-i-Dânishwarân* (vol. i, pp. 37–49)
composed in A.H. 1294 (A.D. 877), which is of little authority and does
not add much to our knowledge.

Abû Maʿshar Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Balkhî
was one of the most celebrated astronomers of the third century of the
hijra (ninth of the Christian era), and, according to al-Qifti, the greatest
authority on the history of the ancient Persians. He dwelt in Baghdád,
in the western part, and was originally a traditionist; and his fanaticism
led him to insult and molest Yaʿqûb ibn Ishāq al-Kindî, the "Philosopher
of the Arabs," and to stir up the common people against him. Finally
al-Kindî induced some of his friends to draw his attention to, and
arouse his interest in Mathematics and Geometry, so that he came to
seek instruction from al-Kindî, and was reconciled with him. He soon
passed on (at the age of forty-seven) to the study of Astronomy. On
one occasion he was scourged by command of the Caliph al-Mustaʿın
(reigned A.H. 248–251; A.D. 862–5) because of a prognostication which
he had made and which proved too correct. Thenceforth he used to
say: "I guessed right and was punished." He died on Ramadan 28,
A.H. 272 (March 8, A.D. 886). Al-Qifti enumerates 38 of his works, of
which such as are still extant are enumerated by Brockelmann (i, 221–1).

Abû Saʿîd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdu'l-Jalîl as-
Saǰzî was a notable mathematician and astronomer of the fourth century
of the hijra. Amongst his numerous works is the *Jâmi'-i-Shâhi*, or "Royal
Compendium," containing 15 treatises on astronomical subjects; of
which there is a fine MS. in the British Museum. In the course of
this work, written at Shiráz, where he apparently spent most of his life,
he refers to the years A.H. 351 (A.D. 962) and A.H. 380 (A.D. 990). The
Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris possesses a beautiful MS., containing
41 mathematical and astronomical tracts, transcribed by him in Shiráz
during the years A.H. 358–361 (A.D. 969–972). The colophons of such
of these tracts as have them are given by Mirzâ Muḥammad on pp. 200–
201 of the Persian notes. Including the 15 tracts comprised in the
*Jâmi'-i-Shâhi*, 29 of his treatises are extant in European libraries, besides
the *Ṣad Bâb* mentioned in the text, and a dissertation on the
Astrolabe.

1 German Introduction to the text, pp. lii and liii.
2 Ta'rikhu'l-Hukmâ, ed. Lippert, p. 152.
3 See Rieu's *Arabic Suppl.*, pp. 528–530.
4 Fonds Arabe 2457.
5 See Brockelmann, i, 219.
Kiyá Abu'l-Hasan Kushyár ibn Labbán ibn Bá-shahrí al-Jiláni (of Gilán) was a notable astronomer who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century of the hijra. In his Mujmalif-ul-Uṣūl he alludes to the year 321 of Yazdiyird (A.H. 342 = A.D. 953-4), and in another passage of the same work to A.Y. 361 (A.H. 383 = A.D. 993-4), so that his active life appears to have lain between these two limits, and the date given by Hájjí Khalifa (A.H. 459 = A.D. 1066-7) under Ūjîl-Kushyár is certainly too late. See also Brockelmann, i, 222-3.

Abú Yúsuf Ya'qúb ibn Isháq al-Kindí, entitled "the Philosopher of the Arabs," traced his descent from Ma'dí-Karib, and belonged to an Arabian family equally notable for ancient and noble lineage and honourable achievements. How our author can have represented him as a Jew is incomprehensible. The story about him and Abú Ma’shar, however, derives some confirmation from the Fihrist. He composed some 270 works on Logic, Philosophy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, Astrology and Medicine, of which about a score are extant in European libraries. The date of his death is not known, but he flourished in the reigns of al-Ma’mún and al-Mutawakkil (A.H. 197-247; A.D. 813-861). It is not clear on what authority Dr Heinriö Suter gives A.H. 260 (A.D. 873-4) as the date of his death. He was noted for his parsimony, and a good many pages are devoted to him in the "Book of Misers" (Kitabu’l-Bukhāl) of al-Jāhiz. A number of his sayings in praise of this unattractive quality are quoted on p. 206 of the Persian notes from Ibn Abí Usaybi’a’s "Lives of the Physicians" (vol. i, pp. 208-9).

Note XXIV. Certain astrological terms.
(Text, pp. 56, 59 and 62; Persian notes, pp. 206-8.)

In these anecdotes about astrologers and their predictions there occur a few technical terms which can be properly understood only by those (few in these days) who have made Astrology the special object of their studies. Amongst such is Mr Ralph Shirley, editor of the Occult Review, who has most kindly supplied me with the valuable notes which I have placed after the explanations derived from Arabic and Persian works.

1. Khaby and Ḩamér (خاني و حمي).

The explanation of these terms, which I have translated by "divination and thought-reading," is given by Abú Rayhán al-Burúní in a passage of his Tafhim, quoted by Mírzá Muḥammad in the Persian notes, (pp. 206-7), of which the translation is as follows:—

1 Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 7490, f. 22b.
2 Ibid., f. 4². For a description of this fine MS. see Rieu’s Arabic Supplement, pp. 513-9.
3 Ed. Flügel, p. 277.
5 In his Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke (Leipzig, 1906).
6 Cairo ed., of 1323/1905-6, pp. 64-76.
NOTE XXIV. CERTAIN ASTROLOGICAL TERMS

Q. ‘What are khaby and ḍamīr?’

A. ‘Khaby is that which is hidden in the fist; and ḍamīr is that one should think of something and [that the operator should] find it out by questioning.

‘Herein are astrologers speedily put to shame, and their mistakes are more frequent than their successes.’

3. Sahmu’s-Sa’ddat and Sahmu’l-Ghayb

A full explanation of these terms, which I have translated “Part of Fortune” and “Part of the Unseen,” is given in vol. i of the Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmāns, pp. 698–9. After defining the pronunciation and ordinary meaning (“arrow”) of sahm, and its special sense in Geomancy and Geometry, the article proceeds:

With astronomers the term sahm means a definite portion of the zodiacal heaven. According to them, these ‘Parts’ (sahm-hā) are many, e.g. the ‘Part of Fortune’ (or ‘Happiness’: Sahmu’s-Sa’ddat), also called by them the ‘Part of the Moon’; and the ‘Part of the Unseen’ (Sahmu’l-Ghayb), the ‘Part of Days’ (Sahmu’l-Ayyām), the ‘Part of Men-servants and Maid-servants’ (Sahm-i-Ghuldān wa Kanīsākān), and so forth. So by day they compute the ‘Part of Happiness’ from the Sun to the degree of the Moon, and add to it (that is to the degrees between the Sun and the Moon) the degree of the Ascendant. Then from the Ascendant’s total they subtract thirty each [for the Sign of the Ascendant and the adjoining Sign], and what remains will be the degree of the position of the ‘Part of Happiness.’ And by night they compute from the degree of the Moon to the degree of the Sun, and add thereto the degree of the Ascendant.

Example. Ascendant 10° in Aries; the Sun 20° in Leo; the Moon 15° in Libra, leaving 45° [from the position of the Sun in Leo] to [the beginning of] Libra. [To this] we add the 15° [already] traversed by the Moon [in Libra], which gives us 55°. To this we add the degree of the Ascendant, which gives us 65°. Of these we give 30° to Aries and 30° to Taurus, and the 5° remaining to Gemini. So the place of the ‘Part of Happiness’ will be the fifth degree of Gemini.”

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pisces</th>
<th>Aries</th>
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<tr>
<td>Capricorn</td>
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<td>Sagittarius</td>
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<td>Scorpio</td>
<td>Cancer</td>
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<td>Libra</td>
<td>Leo</td>
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<td>Virgo</td>
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</table>

As for the ‘Part of the Unseen,’ by day they compute it from the Moon and by night from the Sun, adding thereto the degree of the Ascendant, and subtracting thirty each from the Ascendant, as before; then what remains over is the place of the ‘Part of the Unseen.’”

Then follow directions on similar lines for calculating the other ‘Parts’, viz. the ‘Part of Days’ (Sahmu’l-Ayyām), the ‘Part of Men-servants

Published in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1862.
and Maid-servants,' the 'Part of Wealth and Friends' (Sahm-i-Māl u Asīqā), the 'Marriage of Women' (Tāzwīj-i-Zawān), and the 'Parts' of the Five Planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury and Venus.

These terms are applied in Astrology to two indications of the length of life of the child. According to Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī, "the Haylāj is one of five things: first, the Master of the day- or night-shift (Ṣāhib-i-Nawbat-i-rūz yā shab); secondly, the Moon by day and the Sun by night; thirdly, the Degree of the Ascendant; fourthly, the 'Part of Fortune'; fifthly, the House of the Conjunction or Opposition which shall have taken place before birth. One of these five things they call the Haylāj when it is conjoined with its own proper conditions described in books on Astrology, and the sum total they call Haydlij or Hayldjat. "The Kad-khudd ('Master of the House') is the star which dominates the place of the Haylāj in this sense, that it is the Lord of the Mansion wherein the Haylāj is actually situated, or the Lord of its exaltation (Ṣāhib-i-Sharaf), or the Lord of some other of its Parts which stand in relation to that position. "If the Haylāj be one which has no Kad-khudd, then they leave it out and seek another of the five Hayldlij which has one; and if none of them has a Kad-khudd, then the quality of being a Hayldj belongs to the Degree of the Ascendant. "Example of the Haylāj and Kad-khudd. If at the time of the birth of the child (by day) the Moon be in 19° of Aries, then the Moon will be one of the five Haylāj (subject to the concurrence of the other proper conditions which are set forth in books of Astrology). Then, in this hypothetical example, the Kad-khudd will be the Sun, for the Sun dominates the place of the Haylāj, that is to say is the Lord of its altitude, for the exaltation (sharaf) of the Sun is in 19° of Aries. And if, in this hypothetical example, the degree of the Ascendant is in 19° of Aries, this degree of the Ascendant will be the Haylāj, and again the Sun will be the Kad-khudd, and so on. "So from the admixture and combination of the sum-total of the Haylāj and the Kad-khudd, they deduce (as they imagine) the duration of the child's life, its length or brevity, and its happiness or infelicity. "The derivation of the word Haylāj is unknown."

Mr Ralph Shirley's observations are contained in three letters, dated May 22, May 31 and October 25, 1920, the first addressed to Professor Margoliouth, to whom my enquiries were originally addressed, the others to myself, the last one after reading the proofs containing the anecdotes to which this note refers.

1 These particulars were derived by Mīrzā Muḥammad from the British Museum MS. of the Taṣḥīḥ, Add. 7697, ff. 146a and 154b, and from Kushyar's Mujmalu'l-Usūl, Add. 7490, ff. 28-9.

2 It is said to be from the Greek ούξις; see Sédillot's Prolegomena, p. 144 of the text. See also Schefter's Chrestomathie Persane, vol. i, p. 102 ad calc.
NOTE XXIV. CERTAIN ASTROLOGICAL TERMS

(Extracts from first letter.)

"The hyleg (hayldj) in astrology is the vital point, or 'giver of life.' This is considered to be either the sun, or the moon, or the ascendant. In order to be hyleg, the sun or moon must occupy either the 9th, 10th, or 11th houses, or else the ascendant or 7th house. If, e.g., the sun occupies one of these positions and the moon does not, then the sun is hyleg or life-giver. If, on the other hand, they both occupy such a position, then the one that is most predominant or most elevated, would be hyleg, i.e., if the sun occupied the 10th house and the moon the 11th, the sun would be hyleg, and vice versa. If neither sun nor moon occupy any of these positions, it is usual to take the ascending degree as hyleg, but some of the old astrologers would regard the dominant planet as hyleg under such circumstances. It must not be supposed from this that when the sun is hyleg the moon has therefore no influence on the constitution. The moon in any case has to do with the digestion and various matters of this kind, and the sun is in any case the ruler of the heart and therefore always important. The sun, however, might be violently afflicted though the health might not be seriously endangered, if it did not occupy the position of hyleg. The same would apply to the moon. I think, other things being equal, the moon is to be regarded as having more influence with a woman and the sun with a man. Alcohoden is merely another name for hyleg, but is not used nowadays.

"As regards the other words, I have never heard of them. I have however little doubt that the last, sahmu's-sa'ddat, is the Arabic term for the 'Part of Fortune.' Some old astrologers attached a good deal of importance to this, without, I imagine, much justification. The 'Part of Fortune' is that part of the horoscope where the moon would be if the sun were exactly rising. The 'Part of Fortune' was supposed to refer to the wealth and property of the 'native.' Ptolemy laid great stress on it, but the author of the Text-book of Astrology remarks that 'it must be rejected from a rational system of genethlialogy.'

"'Part of Mystery' (sahmu'l-ghayb) conveys no meaning, and I do not think anything can be found corresponding to this in the astrological books at present available. The only suggestion I can make is that it might conceivably be the opposite point in the horoscope to the 'Part of Fortune.' But this is pure conjecture and may be entirely on the wrong track. It looks as if the Arabs had some tradition here which does not find its place in any astrological books extant."

(Extract from second letter.)

"Thank you for yours of the 29th May. I think it might be a help if you sent me a copy of the book in question. I have, however, read so much on the subject of astrology that I question whether there is any likelihood of my being able to throw light on the 'Part of the Unseen.' I cannot think there is any reference to it in any known author on the subject. Astrologers of the present day look upon Neptune as the planet that gives psychic powers, and this is unquestionably correct. In the case of people who have clairvoyant gifts, etc., or are mediumistic
in temperament, one constantly finds Neptune and the Moon predominant in the horoscope. But it is of course impossible to suppose that the Arabian astrologers had any clue to the planet Neptune. The 'Part of Fortune' is merely the translation of the Latin Pars Fortunae. I cannot account for the origin of the idea, which seems quite fantastic.

"The Ascendant is the degree rising at birth; i.e., at sunrise the sun would be on the ascendant. The 'Lord of the Ascendant' is the planet that rules the ascending sign of the Zodiac. The two most important positions in the horoscope are the ascendant and the mid-heaven, and any planets here are considered more powerful than any others. The Ascendant has special relation to the individual, and the mid-heaven to the fortune."

(Extract from third letter.)

"I am sorry to have kept your proofs so long, but I have been a good deal away from the office lately, and consequently my work has got into arrears.

"With regard to the 'Part of the Unseen,' this is evidently something kindred in nature to the 'Part of Fortune,' and as the Part of Fortune (pars fortunae) is always so called by astrologers, I think it would be well to use the expression 'Part' and not 'Share.' I have not yet discovered what the 'Part of the Unseen' actually is. It obviously cannot be the opposite position to that of the 'Part of Fortune,' as I see that in one instance cited in your proofs the two are in conjunction on the Ascendant."

Note XXV. 'Umar-i-Khayyám.

(Text, pp. 63-4, 65; Persian notes, pp. 209-228.)

'Abu’l-Fath 'Umar ibn Ibráhím al-Khayyámi, commonly called 'Umar (or 'Omar) Khayyám, is so much more celebrated in the West, especially in England and America, than in the East that Mirzá Muḥammad has, for the benefit of his own countrymen, for whom he is primarily writing, added a very long note on his biography, the sources of our information about him, and the history of the "Omar Khayyám Club" founded in London in his honour in 1892. The information contained in this note is mainly derived from Professor Valentin Zhukovski's masterly article on the "Wandering Quatrains" of 'Umar-i-Khayyám, which appeared in the Festschrift published in 1897 at St Petersburg in honour of the late Baron Victor Rosen, by eleven of his pupils, and entitled, in allusion to his Christian name, al-Muṣaffāriyya. This article, written in Russian, was translated by Sir E. Denison Ross and published in the J.R.A.S. for 1898 (vol. xxx, pp. 349-366), and reproduced in its essentials by him in Methuen's edition of FitzGerald's Quatrains, and by me in vol. ii of my Literary History of Persia, pp. 246-9. It is therefore sufficient to summarize here the information which can be found in greater detail in those places.
NOTE XXV. 'UMAR-I-KHAYYÁM

Persian and Arabic Sources of Information arranged chronologically.

1. The Chahár Maqála.

This present work, the author of which was personally acquainted with 'Umar, and wrote only some thirty years after his death, contains the oldest account of him yet discovered.

2. The Kharidatu'l-Qasr.

(Addition to Persian notes, p. 197)


A single reference to him occurs in a verse of the Persian poet Kháqání, who died about A.H. 595 (A.D. 1198–9).

4. The Mirsádu'l-‘Ibád.

The Mirsádu'l-‘Ibád of Shaykh Najmu’d-Dín Dáya, composed in A.H. 620 (A.D. 1223–4), contains a passage in which 'Umar is denounced as an atheist, and two of his quatrains are cited with disapproval. The text of this important passage is quoted by Mírzá Muḥammad (Persian notes, p. 211) from Zhukovski's article. I have collated this with a fine old MS. of the Mirsád transcribed in A.H. 768 (A.D. 1367), which presents the following variants, generally improvements.

211, 1, inserts 'bádd' after 'máan'; reads 'máun' for 'náun'; inserts after 'qálib' صورت before 'kháqání'; and reads for خالك 'mára' 211, 5, inserts before 'mára' و before 'fí'; reads 'fí' after 'fí'; inserts 'mára' for 'náun'; and reads for خالك 'mára' 211, 6 after 'mára' substitutes for 'qálib' at the end of the line the following words:—

"And it will become apparent for what reason this pure, celestial and luminous spirit was drawn into the form of this lowly earthen mould, and also why it must part therefrom, why the spirit must sever its connection with this mould, why the form must perish, and what is the reason for the restoration of this mould at the Resurrection and the reinvestment of the spirit therewith. Then will he [i.e. the enquirer] come forth from the company of 'these are like cattle, nay, they are yet more misguided,' attain to the rank of [true] humanity, escape from the

1 Qur'án, xxv, 46.
veil of heedlessness of 'they know the outward appearance of this present life, but are careless as to the life to come,' and set his feet eagerly and joyfully in the Pilgrim's Path, so that what he acquires by vision he may translate into progress, seeing that the fruit of vision is Faith, while the fruit of progress is Wisdom. But those poor philosophers, atheists and materialists, who are debarred from these two stations, err and go astray, so that one of the most talented of them, who is known and noted amongst them for scholarship, philosophical knowledge and judgement, that is 'Umar-i-Khayyám, in the extreme of bewilderment must needs advertise his blindness in the desert of error by uttering the following verses:

'To that circle wherein is our coming and going
Neither beginning nor end is apparent!
No one breathes a true word in this world
As to whence is our coming and whither our going.'

'Since [God the All-] Holder arranged the composition of [men's] natures
Wherefore did He again cast them into decline and decay?
If these forms are ugly, whose is the fault,
And if they are good, wherefore their destruction'?

5. Shahrazúr's Tawárikhu'l-Hukamá.

This "History of the Philosophers," properly entitled Nuzhatu'l-Ardáw wa Rawdatu'l-Afrdh, composed by Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad ibn Mahmúd of Shahrazúr between A.H. 586 and 611 (A.D. 1190 and 1214), exists in two recensions, one Arabic and one Persian. Of the latter there exists, beside the MS. described by Rieu, another MS. (No. 97) in the Pote Collection in the library of King's College, Cambridge. Both versions are given in the original by Zhukovski, with a Russian translation of the Persian version, while Sir E. Denison Ross's English translation follows the Arabic, of which the text is reprinted on pp. 212-214 of Mirzá Muḥammad's Persian notes. The Arabic verses contained in it are, however, corrupt, and need emendation.

6. Ibnu'l-Athír.

Mention of 'Umar-i-Khayyám is made by this great historián, who wrote in A.H. 628 (A.D. 1230-1), under the year A.H. 467 (A.D. 1074-5), where he says:—

'And in it the Niẓámú'l-Mulk and Sultán Maliksháh assembled a number of the most notable astronomers, and fixed the Naw-rúz (Persian New Year's Day) in the first point of Aries; it having been hitherto at the passage of the Sun through the middle point of Pisces; and what the Sultán did became the starting-point of [all subsequent] Calendars. In it also was constructed the Observatory for Sultán..."
Malikshah, for the making of which a number of notable astronomers were assembled, amongst them 'Umar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī, Abū'l-Muzaffar al-Isfizārī, Māyānīn ibn 'n-Nājib al-Wāsītī, and others. A great amount of wealth was expended upon it; and the Observatory remained in use until the King died in A.H. 485 (A.D. 1092–3), but after his death it was disused."

7. Al-Qifti’s Ta’rīkhul-Hukamā.

The “History of the Philosophers,” composed between A.H. 624 and 649 (A.D. 1227 and 1248–9) by Jamālū’d-Dīn Abū’l-Ḥasan ‘Ālī ibn Yūsuf al-Qiftī, and edited by Dr Julius Lippert, also contains a notice of 'Umar-i-Khayyām, of which a French translation is given by Woepcke in his L’Algebre d’Omar Alkhayyámī, while later Russian and English versions are given by Zhukovski and Ross respectively.

8. Ta’rīkh-i-Jahān-gushā.

In the account of the massacre of the people of Merv perpetrated by the Mongols early in the year 618/1221 one of 'Umar’s quatrains is said to have been recited by Sayyid 'Īzzu’d-Dīn Nāṣīda when he had finished counting the bodies of the victims, of whom the number exceeded 1,300,000. This history was composed in 658/1260, and the passage in question occurs in vol. i, p. 128 (“E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series, vii, 1).

9. Qazwīnī’s Athārul-Bilād.

In his “Monuments of the Lands,” composed in A.H. 674 (A.D. 1275–6), Zakariyyā ibn Muhammad ibn Māḥmūd al-Qazwīnī gives, under his notice of the city of Nishāpūr, some account of 'Umar containing certain new materials which I have summarized in my Lit. Hist. of Persia (ii, 251–2).

10. The Jāmi’u’t-Tawārīkh.

I believe that I was the first to call attention to an important notice of 'Umar in Rashīdū’d-Dīn Fadlullāh’s great history, compiled about the beginning of the eighth century of the hijra (fourteenth of the Christian era). The importance of this notice lies in the fact that it professes to be copied from an Ismā‘īlī biography of Hasan-i-Sabbāh, entitled Sar-guzasht-i-Sayyid-nā (“the Adventures of Our Master”), found in the library of Alamūt, the Assassins’ chief stronghold in Persia, where it was destroyed by Hūlāgū and his Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century of our era; and that it affords a much more respectable authority than any previously adduced for the famous “Story of the Three Friends,” i.e. the Nizāmı’-Mulk, Hasan-i-Sabbāh, and 'Umar-i-Khayyām. The chronological difficulties involved in this story, how-

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3 See also my Lit. Hist. of Persia, ii, pp. 250–1.
4 P. 318 of Wüstenfeld’s edition.
ever, render its acceptance very difficult. Mírzá Muḥammad has communicated to me the ingenious suggestion that its historical basis is to be found in a passage in Yáqút’s *Muḥjama’l Uddawá* or “Dictionary of Learned Men,” where it is stated on the authority of Abú-l-Hasan ibn Abi-l-Qásim Zayd al-Bayhaqi, author of the *Masháribu’t-Tajdrib*, that in the year 434/1042-3 the poet ‘Ali ibnul-Hádís al-Bákharzi and Abú Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Mānsūr al-Kundúrí, who subsequently became famous under the title of ‘Amidu’l-Mulk as Minister to the Saljúq Sultáns Tughril Beg and Alp Arslán, were fellow-pupils of the same Imám Muwafaq of Níshápúr at whose lectures the “Three Friends” are supposed to have become acquainted. That the framework of a story should be preserved with the substitution of more interesting or more celebrated personalities as its heroes is a very common literary phenomenon. If this has happened in the present case, the poet al-Bákharzi has simply been replaced by the poet ‘Umar-i-Khayyám, and Alp Arslán’s earlier Minister ‘Amidu’l-Mulk by his later Minister Nízámu’l-Mulk, the Imám Muwafaq remaining in both versions.

11. *Ta’ríkh-i-Guzída.*

This well-known history, composed in 730/1329-330, also contains a brief notice of ‘Umar and cites one of his quatrains. (“E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series, xiv, 1, pp. 817-818.)

12. *Firdawsu’t-Tawárikh.*

This work, the “Paradise of Histories,” composed in A.H. 808 (A.D. 1405-6) by Mawláná Khusraw of Abarqu, contains an account of ‘Umar-i-Khayyám of which the Persian text is reproduced from Zhukovski’s article on pp. 217-219 of the Persian notes, and of which the substance is given in my *Lit. Hist.*, ii, 254.


This late work, composed, as its title implies, in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-2)² for the Emperor Akbar by Ahmad ibn Naṣru’llah of Tatta in India, contains a very entertaining anecdote concerning ‘Umar-i-Khayyám’s belief in Metempsychosis, which is given in English on pp. 219-220 of the Persian notes, and of which the text will be found on pp. 219-220 of the Persian notes.

The above list is far from exhaustive, but contains all the older and more authentic as well as the more interesting of the modern notices of this famous man.

‘Umar-i-Khayyám’s Scientific Works.

These include—

1. His treatise on Algebra, of which the Arabic text accompanied by a French translation was published at Paris in 1851 by F. Woepcke.

2. On the difficulties of Euclid’s Definitions, of which a manuscript is preserved at Leyden (No. 967). See also Brockelmann, i, 471.

1 “E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” Series, vi, 5, p. 124.
2 It extends, however, only to the year 997/1588-9.
(3) The Zij, or Calendar, of Malikshah, to which, as noticed above (s.v. Ibnul-Athir), Umar contributed.

(4) A brief treatise on Natural Philosophy.

(5) A Persian treatise on Being, composed for Fakhru'1-Mulk1 ibn Mu'ayyad, of which a MS (Or. 6572, f. 5r) is preserved in the British Museum. In another MS. (Suppl. Pers., 139, No. 7) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, described by M. E. Blochet in his Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans (Paris, 1905, vol. i, p. 108), the name of the person to whom this work is dedicated is given as Fakhru'd-Din Mu'ayyadu'l-Mulk, whom Mirza Muhammad is inclined to identify with the son of the Nizamul-Mulk who bore this latter title. This treatise, according to a manuscript note by M. Blochet, has been translated by M. Christensen and published in the Monde Oriental (Copenhagen, 1905).

(6) A treatise on Growth and Obligation (Kawn wa Taklif).

(7) Methods for ascertaining the respective proportions of gold and silver in an amalgam or admixture containing both. A MS. of this (No. 1158) exists in the library of Gotha.

(8) A treatise entitled Lawdsimu'l-Amkina on the Seasons and on the causes of the diversity of climate in different places.

The Quatrains.

How many of the Rubaiyyat or Quatrains attributed to Umar-i-Khayyam are really his it is impossible to determine, since no very ancient manuscript collection of them has yet been discovered2; but Zhukovski has enumerated more than fourscore which are ascribed on at least equally good authority to other poets3. Although they have repeatedly been lithographed in Persia and India, they enjoy, thanks to Edward FitzGerald’s translation, a far greater celebrity in the West, and especially in England and America, than in the land of their origin, where no one would think of ranking ‘Umar as a poet in the same category as Firdawsí, Sa’di or Hafiz. The causes of ‘Umar’s popularity in the West are manifold. First, he had the supreme good fortune to find a translator like FitzGerald. Secondly, the beauty of his quatrains depends more on their substance than on their form, whereas the converse

1 Perhaps Fakhru’1-Mulk ibn Nizamul-Mulk, the Prime Minister of Sultan Barkiyaruq.

2 The oldest MS. (Bodl. No. 525) was copied in A.H. 865 (A.D. 1460–1) nearly three centuries and a half after ‘Umar’s death. The text of this, in facsimile and in print, with literal prose translation, was published by Mr. Edward Heron Allen (London: H. S. Nichols, Ltd.) in 1898. Mirza Muḥammad informs me that a year or two before the War (i.e. in 1912 or 1913) there was offered for sale by an Armenian dealer in Paris a very fine autograph MS. of the Mu‘nisul-Ahrar of the Persian poet Muḥammad ibn Badr-i-Jájarmí, transcribed in the year 740/1339–1340. It comprised about 600 leaves, and contained extensive selections from the works of some two hundred of the most celebrated Persian poets from the earliest times down to the date of compilation. Amongst these poems were included some twenty of ‘Umar-i-Khayyam’s quatrains, which were copied by Mirzá Muḥammad into a note-book. I do not know what has become of this precious manuscript.

3 For a list of these see my Lit. Hist. of Persia, ii, 256–7.
NOTES ON THE FOURTH DISCOURSE

holds good of much Persian poetry. Thirdly, their gentle melancholy, half sceptical mysticism and graceful pessimism are congenial to an age which, like his own, has come to the conclusion that science can answer almost every question save that which most intimately concerns our own hopes and happiness.

The information given by Mirzā Muḥammad in the latter part of his note (pp. 222–7) about the European renderings of Ūmar-i-Khayyām and his admirers and imitators, and especially about the Club called by his name, though new to most Persian readers, is familiar to all in this country who take an interest in such matters, and may be found in great detail in Nathan Haskell Dole’s “Multi-Variorum edition” (Macmillan, London, 1898).

Note XXVI. On certain medical terms in the Preface to the Fourth Discourse.
(Text, pp. 68–9; Persian notes, p. 230.)

The Pulse (Naḏ), is very fully discussed in all Arabic and Persian works on Medicine, e.g. the Firdawsu’l-Ḥikmat of ‘Alī ibn Rabbah at-Ṭabarāni, Naw’ i, Maqāla xii, chs. 6–9 (Brit. Mus. Arundel Or. 41, ff. 103b–105b); the Kāmilu’s-Ṣina’at, also called al-Kitābu’l-Malikī, of ‘Alī ibnul-‘Abbās al-Majūsī, Part I, Maqāla vii, chs. 2–11 (Cairo ed. of 1294/1877, vol. i, pp. 254–281); the Qāнуn of Avicenna, Book I, Fatḥ ii, Ta’lim iii, Jumla i (19 sections), pp. 62–8 of the Rome edition of A.D. 1593 (= ff. 49b–53b of the Latin translation printed at Venice in 1544); and the Persian Dhakhira-i-Khwārazmshāhī, Book II, Gufār i, chs. 1–23.

As our author chiefly follows Avicenna, we may conveniently do the same, though indeed the general views of all these writers appear to be almost identical. Each pulsation consists of four factors or elements, two movements (harakaf), a diastole (inbišt) and a systole (inqibād), and two pauses (suktirū) separating the two movements. The ten kinds or genera (jins) of pulse are determined by consideration of the following features:

(1) The amount of the diastole (mīqaddu’l-inbišt), “genus quod est sumptum ex quantitate diastoles”). In this genus three elements are to be considered, length (tūl), breadth (‘arid) and depth (‘umq), each of which supplies three simple varieties of pulse, two extremes and a mean, besides composite varieties, which I shall not here enumerate. Thus we have the long (tawil), the short (qasir, “curtus”) and the intermediate (mu’tadil, “mediocris”); the broad (‘arid, “latus”), the narrow (dayyiq, “strictus”) and the intermediate; the depressed (mukhaffad, “profundus”), the ascending, elevated or prominent (mushrif, “apertus”) and the intermediate.

(2) The quality of the impact on the fingers of the observer (ṣayfīyyatu qar’i’l-harakat‘l-aṣābi‘a, “genus quod est sumptum ex qualitatis percussionis venæ in digitos”). This also has three varieties, the strong (qawī, “fortis”), the weak (da’if, “debilis”) and the intermediate (mu’tadil, “aequalis”).


• The time or duration of each movement (zamānu kulli harakat), “quod ex tempore cujuscunque motionis sumptum est”), This also comprises three varieties, the quick (sari, “velox”), the slow (bati, “tardus”), and the intermediate (“aequalis”).

• Resistance to the touch (qiwdmu’l-dīyat, “quod ex essentia instrumenti sumitur”). Here also we have three varieties, the soft (layyin, “mollis”), the hard (salb, “durus”) and the intermediate (“mediocris”).

• Emptiness or fulness (hālu mā yahṭawi ’alayhi min khalā’īhi wa ’mtildī’īhi, “quod est sumptum ex eo quod continetur”), three varieties, the full (mumtali, “plenus”), the empty (khālī, “vacuus”) and the intermediate (“mediocris”).

• Heat or cold (harru malmasihi wa barduhu, “quod ex suo tactu sumptum est”), three varieties, the hot (hārr, “calidus”), the cold (bārid, “frigidus”) and the intermediate (“temperatus”).

• The duration of the pause (zamānu’s-sukùn, “quod est sumptum ex tempore quietis”), three varieties, the continuous (mutawdtir, also called mutaddārik and mutakādhif, “frequens,” “consequens” or “spissus”), the differentiated (mutaṣaywit, also called mutarākhi and mutakhalakhkil, “rarus,” “lassus” or “resolutus”), and the intermediate (“mediocris”).

• The equality or diversity of the pulse (istiwd’u’n-nabdi wa ’khtildfuhu, “quod est sumptum ex aequalitate et diversitate,” “aut aequale, aut diversum seu inaequale”), two varieties, equal (mustaw™, “aequalis”) and unequal (mukhtalif, “diversus”).

• The regularity or irregularity of the pulse (an-nizdım wa ghayru’n-nizdım, “genus quod ex ordinatione et inordinazione sumptum est”), two varieties, regularly different (mukhtalif muntazim, “diversé ordinatus”) and irregularly different (mukhtalif ghayru muntazim, “diversé inordinatus”).

• Weight, harmony or measure (wazn, “quod ex pondere est sumptum”), which may be either good or bad, each of which comprises three varieties.

It will thus be seen that 37 primary varieties of pulse are recognized, but there are many secondary and composite types which it would take too long to enumerate. Speaking of the latter in the first group or genus mentioned above Avicenna says that some only are named, such as al-azîm (“magnus”) and as-saghir (“parvus”), al-ghalîs (“grossus”) and ar-raqiq (“subtilis”); and the next section but one (§ iii) treats of the different sorts of composite pulse which have proper names, such as al-ghazālî (“gazellan”), al-nawji (“undosus”), ad-dûdî (“vermiculosus”), an-namlî (“formicans”), etc. Very full treatment is accorded to the whole subject, and in particular it is explained why the pulse is felt at the wrist preferably to any other place, and what precautions should be observed in feeling it. The remarks about the observing of the systole ascribed by our author to Avicenna appear to be really quoted by him from Galen: “Galenus quoque dixit ‘longo tempore non fui sollicitus ex depressione: postea vero non quievi tangendo donec ex eo aliquid percepì, et postea illud complevi. Nam postea portae pulsus mihi apertae fuerunt.”
Next in importance to the examination of the pulse came the inspection of the urine as a means of diagnosis. This is called, as in the text, *Tafsira,* a word thus defined in the great *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmāns* (p. 1115): "This with the physicians is the vessel wherein is the patient's urine [intended] to be shewn to the physician; and it is also called *dāhil* (indication, guide). It is only called *tafsira* because it explains (*tufassir*) and makes manifest to the physician the patient's physical condition." The chief points to be observed in it are the colour (*laawān*), consistency (*qrāwān*), smell (*rā'īha*), froth (*zubd*), sediment (*rusūb*), and copious or scanty quantity (*kathra* or *qillat*). Twelve sections are devoted to this subject in the *Qānūn,* and twenty-nine in the *Dhakhira-i-Khwārazmshāhī.*

The word translated "delirium" in the text is *sarsān,* so explained by Schlimmer (pp. 179 and 460), with the equivalent of Phrenitis. This latter word appears correctly as *farrānītus* in a fine old twelfth or thirteenth century MS. of the *Qānūn* in my possession; but in the Rome edition of A.D. 1593 (p. 302) in the corrupt form *qarānītus,* and in the Latin version as "karabitus." It is defined by Avicenna as a "hot swelling (or inflammation) of the pia mater or dura mater not extending to the substance of the brain," and would therefore appear to be equivalent to meningitis.

The general doctrine of Fever and its Varieties taught by "Arabian Medicine" is most clearly and succinctly set forth in Book V of the Persian *Dhakhira-i-Khwārazmshāhī,* of which I possess a very fine MS. transcribed in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. This Book comprises six Gufārs, or Discourses, of which the first, divided into four chapters, treats of what Fever is, and of how many species, how it appears and how it passes away. The first chapter, on "What Fever is," may be translated in full on account of its brevity.

"You must know that Fever is an abnormal* heat enkindled in the heart, transmitted by the intermediary of the spirit and the blood to the blood-vessels and [thus] diffused throughout the whole body, which it heats and inflames with an inflammation whereof the harmful effects appear in all the natural functions." This sentence formulated above is the definition (*hadd*) of Fever; the word "Heat" is the genus, while the other words are the specific differentiations (*fassīl-hā-yi dhāll*) whereby the definition is completed. Further you must know that the, heat of Fever is not like the heat of anger, fatigue, grief and the like, because these heats harmfully affect the natural functions without the intervention, of anything else, even as when water descends into the eye the hurtful effect thereof on the vision becomes apparent without the intervention of anything else; and when the heat of anger, or the like thereof, reaches that point where it will be injurious to the natural functions, it is but the cause, and the injury thereof only becomes apparent by the intervention of something else. Even so is the putridity [*tufānaf*] of fever, for the

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1 This same corrupt form also occurs in most MSS. of the *Dhakhira-i-Khwārazmshāhī,* Book VI, Gufār i, Part i, ch. 1, where, however, the word is specifically recognized as Greek.

2 *Gharīb,* lit. "strange."
NOTE XXVI. FEVERS

Putridity is the cause, while the hurt thereof is through the intervention of that heat which is produced from it. And the natural functions, wherein the hurt of fever becomes apparent, are such as the appetite for food and wine, digestion, rising up, sitting down, going, eating, sexual intercourse, and the like thereof.

The next (second) chapter, deals with the different kinds of fever, and is too long (3 pages) to be translated in full here. The human Body is compounded of three sorts of substances; (1) basic tissues such as the bones, nerves and blood-vessels; (2) the marrow of the bones, the blood, and other liquids contained in the vessels and cavities of the body, such as the phlegm, bile and black bile, known as the ‘humours’; (3) the natural, animal or vital, and psychic spirits, and the vapours diffused throughout the body: This composite body the ancients have likened to a hot bath, whereof the walls, bricks and stones are represented by the bones, nerves and blood-vessels; the water by the marrow, the blood, and the humours; and the steam by the natural, animal and psychic spirits, and the vapours. When the heat of the fever attacks the basic tissues of the body, it is like the heat of the fire affecting the walls, stones and bricks of the hot bath; and this kind of fever is called ‘hectic’ (diqq). When it first attacks the humours and subsequently the basic tissues, it is like the hot water being let into the chambers of the bath and heating the walls; and this kind of fever is called ‘humoristic’ (khaltiyya). When it attacks the spirit and the vapours, which in turn heat the humours and the tissues, it is like the hot air in the bath heating in turn the water and the walls thereof; and this kind of fever is called ‘quotidian’ (Pers. tab-i-yak-rūsa; Arab. ḥummd yawm).

This is one classification. Another is into ‘simple’ (basif) and ‘compound’ (murakkab), according as one humour only is involved, or more than one. Thirteen kinds of fever are recognized, viz.:

1. That which is in itself an independent disease.
2. That which is the symptom of some other disease.
3. Very high fever called ‘acute’ (hadda).
4. The slower and heavier fever called ‘chronic’ (muzmina).
5. That which attacks by day.
6. That which attacks by night.
7. That which passes away easily.
8. Fevers which are fierce in their onset and accompanied by alarming symptoms.
9. Continuous fevers (lázim or mutbihqa).
11. Cold fevers.
12. Fevers accompanied by rigors (Pers. larsa; Arab. nāfṣ, ra’ta).
13. Fevers accompanied by ‘goose-skin’ (Pers. fardshā; Arab. gash’arīra).

These, says the author, are the broad general divisions, each of which contains subdivisions which will be treated of in subsequent chapters. Fevers of the type called “putrid” (‘afin, in Persian ganda or
Notes on the Fourth Discourse

The fevers are of four kinds, corresponding to the four humours (akhlāf) from the corruption of which they arise, and each of these is subdivided into two varieties, according as the corruption arises within or without the blood vessels. But since two or more of these kinds may co-exist or combine, a large number of compound or composite fevers (ṭab-hā-yi murakkab) arises, each presenting different and characteristic symptoms. Thus two types of intermittent fever may co-exist, or two types of continuous fever, or an intermittent with a continuous fever, so that the diagnosis may be very difficult. Generally speaking, quotidian fever (Arab. hummād kulli yawm, Pers. tab-i-har-rūsa) arises from corruption of the phlegm (balgham); tertian (Arab. ghibb) from that of the bile (ṣafra); quartan is atrabilious (sawdwi) in origin; and semi-tertian (ṣatru‘l-gibb) is from a combination of bilious and phlegmatic disturbance. Fevers arising from corruption in the blood, on the other hand, are continuous (muḥriga, or lázim). If the blood become overheated in the vessels without undergoing corruption, the resulting fever is called sūnākhs (? sūvephys). If there is corruption as well, it may affect half the blood, or less, or more, in which last case the resulting fever is called “burning” (Arab. muḥriga, Pers. sūzanda). But if all the blood be so affected, the patient will surely die. All fevers arising from the blood are continuous, whether the affection of the blood be primary or secondary. The latter may arise from a “bloody swelling” (āmds-i-khūnī) of one of the internal organs, such as the stomach, liver, spleen, gall-bladder, bowels, lungs, diaphragm, muscles or nerves. Such secondary fever is not an independent disease but a symptom, and the treatment must therefore be directed to the cause. The aetiology of corruption of the humours is discussed in a subsequent section of the book (Book V, Guftar iii, ch. 1).

It is to be noted that in the older Arabic medical treatises, such as the Firdawsu’l-Hikmat (composed in A.D. 850), there is a tendency to use the original Greek nomenclature transcribed into Arabic characters instead of the Arabic translations which subsequently replaced these foreign forms. Thus we find quotidian fever called ηύμμων (έγχυμερος) as well as शून्यक्ष (सुवेण्यस) as hectic fever called Εκτέκυδος (Εκτεκύδος) instead of जह्वनक्स (जह्वनक्स); tertian रात्रेटाओस (रात्रेटाओस) instead of न्यूररात्रेटाओस; and semi-tertian शत्रुग्येन (शत्रुग्येन) instead of यूνि-मारक्ताओस.

The student’s attention may also be directed to an excellent article on Fever (الحمى) in vol. i of the Dict. of Technical Terms, etc., pp. 381–3, where a fourfold classification is adopted having regard to (1) causation, primary or secondary (marad or 'arad); (2) point of attack, as explained above (quotidian, hectic and putrid or humōristic); (3) simplicity or complexity; (4) occurrence or non-occurrence of rigor (nāṣid).

Note XXVII. Physicians and their Works mentioned in Anecdote XXXII.

(Text, pp. 70–71; Persian notes, pp. 230–8.)

It will be convenient to arrange the medical works here mentioned under their authors, and these in turn, so far as possible, in chronological
order. For the authorities to which reference is most constantly made the following abbreviations are used. By Barhebraeus is meant the Mühktasaru’d-Duwah (Beyroud ed. of 1890) of Gregorius Abu’l-Faraj ibn Ahrin commonly called Ibnul’l-Ibri or Barhebraeus. The Fihrist of Abu’l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Abī Ya’qūb Ishaq an-Nadīm al-Warrāq is, of course, quoted from Flügel’s (the only) edition. Ibn Abī Usaybi’a means that author’s ‘Uyunul’-Inbá fi Ṭabaqāt’-l-Atibhá, Cairo edition of 1299/1882, two volumes. Qifti means Jamāl’ud-Dīn Abū’l-Hasan ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qifti’s Ta’rikhu’l-Hukamá, ed. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903). The chief European authorities quoted are Wüstenfeld’s Geschichte der Arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher (Göttingen, 1840), a small book but compact with useful information; Lucien Leclerc’s Histoire de la Médecine Arabe (2 vols., Paris, 1876); Max Neuburger’s Geschichte der Medizin (Stuttgart, 1908), especially vol. ii, pp. 142–228, “Die Medizin bei den Arabern,” and the complementary Literaturhistorische Übersicht; Pagel’s Einführung in die Geschichte der Medizin (Berlin, 1858), ninth lecture (pp. 146–160) on Arabian Medicine; Adolf Fonah’s Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin (Leipzig, 1910); E. T. Withington’s Medical History from the earliest times (London, 1894); and F. H. Garrison’s Introduction to the History of Medicine (London and Philadelphia, 1917). As a rule, however, in these brief notes reference will only be made to the original Arabic sources.

1. Bukht-Yishá’

Ten members of this great medical family, which for three centuries (eighth to eleventh of our era) produced some of the most eminent physicians of that time, are enumerated by Wüstenfeld (pp. 14–18, Nos. 26–35). They were Christians, as indicated by the family name, for the correct explanation of which (Bukht-Yishá’ = “Jesus hath delivered”) we are indebted to Nöldeke. The chief members of the family, with their affiliation, so far as it is known, were as follows:—

1. Bukht-Yishá’ I

2. Jurjis II (physician to al-Mansur, d. 153/769)

3. Bukht-Yishá’ II (physician to Mahdi, Hádi and Härinu’r-Rashid, d. 185/801)

4. Žibrail (physician to Härinu’r-Rashid, Amin and Ma’mún, d. 213/828–9)

5. Jurjis II

6. Bukht-Yishá’ III (physician to Mu’tazz, d. 256/870)

7. ‘Ubayyud’l-lah (physician to Mutaqqi)

8. Yakhd or Yuhanna

9. Žibrail (physician to ‘Adudu’d-Dawla, d. 397/1006–9)

10. Bukht-Yishá’ IV (physician to Muqladir, d. 329/940–1)

11. Abū Sa’id ‘Ubayyud’l-lah (d. 450/1058–9)

See p. 81 supra, n. 1 ad calc.

2 Wüstenfeld (p. 14), following Ibn Abī Usaybi’a (i, 123), inserts a Žibrail between Jurjis and Bukht-Yishá’, but Qifti (p. 158 etc.) represents Jurjis I as the son, not the grandson, of Bukht-Yishá’ I.
Concerning the original Bukht-Yishu' I can find out nothing, but it may be supposed that he, like his son Jurjis, was attached to the great hospital (Bimårístân) and medical school of his native town Jurdí-Sábúr. This once famous Persian city, of which hardly a trace now remains, though its site has been identified by Rawlinson as the modern Sháh-ábdád, about mid-way between Dizful and Shúshtar, was originally founded by Shápúr I, and named, according to Tabari, Beh-as-Andéw-t-Shápúr, or "Shápúr's 'Better than Antioch,'" a name gradually shortened to Gundé-Shápúr, or, in its Arabic form, Junday-Sábúr. It was enlarged into a great city," says Rawlinson, "by his seventh successor Shápúr II 'Dhu' l-Aktdif (A.D. 309-379). . .and during his reign became the see of a bishop of the Nestorian Church which had been instituted in Susiana a century before; and when Jundí-Sábúr soon afterwards rose to be the chief city of the province, the seat of the metropolitan, which had been formerly fixed at Ahwáz, or, as it is called by the Syrians, Béth Lápát, was transferred to it. The School of Jundí-Sábúr was renowned, during the reign of Anúsharwán (A.D. 531-578), through the East and West; and the city continued, to the time of the Arab conquest, one of the great capitals of Susiana. It appears to have sunk before the rising greatness of Shúshtar in the thirteenth century; and it is little mentioned in Oriental History after that time."

On the destruction of the great Persian school of Edessa in A.D. 488-9 by order of the Emperor Zeno many of its learned Nestorian professors and physicians sought refuge from Byzantine fanaticism under the more tolerant rule of the Sásánians at Jundí-Sábúr, and gave a fresh impulse to its activity. During the Arab invasion of Persia (A.H. 155-157; A.D. 636-8) it surrendered on terms to the Muslims, and its school apparently continued unmolested until the early 'Abbásid period, when the Caliph al-Manšúr (A.H. 136-158; A.D. 754-775), being grievously ill, summoned Jurjís I, son of Bukht-Yishu', I, to Baghdad, where he remained, greatly trusted and honoured, in spite of his refusal to forsake the Christian for the Muhammadan faith, until A.H. 152 (A.D. 769), when, being himself sick unto death, he obtained the Caliph's permission to return home. From that time onwards until the middle of the eleventh century some member of the family was always one of the chief physicians of the Court at Baghdad. Lengthy notices of most of those enumerated above, with lists of their medical and other works, are given by Qifti, Ibn Abí Usaybi'a and other medical biographers. For such as do not read Arabic the information given by Wüstenfeld (pp. 14-18) and Leclerc (i, pp. 95-103) will probably suffice. It is uncertain whether the Bukht-Yishu' mentioned in the text (Anecdote,XXXIII) is intended to be the father or the son of Jibrá'il. The former died twelve years before al-Ma'mún's accession, while the latter survived him thirty-seven years.

1 Notes on a March from Zohb to Khídsátán in the J.R. Geogr. Soc. for 1839, vol. ix, pp. 71-72. See also Layard's remarks in vol. xvi, p. 86, of the same Journal.
3 See Nöldeke, loc. cit.
4 See W. Wright's Syriac Literature, pp. 46-47.
An anecdote in the *Kitāb al-Bukḥālā* ("Book of Misers")
1
of al-Jāḥīz in which an Arab physician, Asad ibn Jānī, complains that patients will not consult him because, amongst other reasons, "his language is Arabic, and it should have been the language of Jund-Sābūr," shews how great was the repute of that famous school of Medicine in early 'Abbaḍ times. Exactly what this language was is uncertain. Ibn Ḥawqal
2
says that, besides Arabic and Persian, the people of Jund-Sābūr have another speech of Khūzistān which is neither Hebrew, nor Syriac, nor Persian; while in the *Manāḥij al-Fikār* it is said that they have a language peculiar to themselves, resembling a jargōn (*ratānā*), though the Persian language is prevalent amongst them.
3
Speaking of their religion al-Muqaddasi
4
says that in his time (middle of the tenth century of the Christian era) there were few Christians and not many Jews and Zoroastrians, and that of the Muslims many were Mu'tazilites, Shī'a (especially at Ahwāz) and Hanbalites.

2. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādi.

This was another Christian scholar, well known to mediaeval Europe under the name of Joannitius, who rendered signal services to Arabian science, together with his sons Dā'ūd and Ishāq and his nephew Ḥubaysh, all of whom were skilful and industrious translators of Greek books into Arabic. He was a Nestorian of Hīra, where his father was an apothecary, and early in the ninth century of the Christian era came to Baghdād, where he studied under the celebrated Yahyā (or Yuhannā) Māsawayh (Mesuē senior) of Jund-Sābūr, a pupil of Jibrā'il ibn Bukht-Yishū'.

Offended at some real or fancied slight, he went off to study Greek amongst the Greeks,
5
and some years later was seen by one of his former acquaintances in the guise of a long-haired wandering bard reciting Homer in the streets. Later he returned to Baghdād, having perfected his knowledge of Greek, and applied himself to the study of Arabic under Khalīl ibn Ahmad. He then became so excellent as a translator from Greek into Arabic that Jibrā'il ibn Bukht-Yishū' said of him, "By God, if his life be prolonged he will assuredly put Sergius to shame!"

He attracted the notice, and finally, after undergoing a cruel test of his professional honour,
6
won the confidence of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-851), but finally succumbed to the intrigues of his rivals, was excommunicated by Bishop Theodosius, and died in A.H. 260 (A.D. 873).

Wustenfeld (pp. 28-9) enumerates 33 of his original works and a number of his translations from the Greek, including the Aphorisms (*Fusūl*) of Hippocrates. His son Isḥāq died in A.D. 910 or 911, and his nephew Ḥubaysh about the same time.

1 Ed. Van Vloten (Leyden, 1900), pp. 109-110.
3 Ibn Abī Usaybi’a specially mentions that both Jurjīs I (vol. i, p. 124) and his son Bukht-Yishū’ (vol. i, p. 126), on being presented to the Caliphs al-Manṣūr and Hārūn-r-Rashīd respectively, prayed for them in Arabic and Persian.
5 Sergius of Ra’s Ayn flourished about A.D. 536, and translated the Greek sciences into Syriac. See Wright’s *Syriac Literature*, pp. 88-93.
6 Qiftī, p. 176.
NOTES ON THE FOURTH DISCOURSE

3. Thábit ibn Qurra of Harrán.

Thábit ibn Qurra was the chief of another group of non-Muslim scholars to whom Arabic science is deeply indebted. These were the so-called Sabeans (Ṣábí) of Harrán, a town so devoted to Greek culture that it was known as Hellenopolis. The following were the most notable members of the family:

Thábit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ibráhím I</th>
<th>Sinán</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d. A.H. 331; A.D. 942-3)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thábit II</th>
<th>Ibráhím II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d. A.H. 363; A.D. 973-4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

| Thábit ibn Qurra, to whom Qiftí devotes a long notice (pp. 115-122), was a most prolific writer on logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, medicine, etc. He was born at Harrán in A.H. 221 (A.D. 836) but spent most of his life at Baghdad, where he enjoyed the favour of the Caliph al-Mu'tadid (A.D. 892-902). Qiftí gives a very full and authoritative list of his writings compiled by Abu 'Ali al-Muḥassín ibn Ibráhím ibn Hilāl as-Sābī, including some in Syriac on the Sabean religion and on music which were never translated into Arabic. The almost miraculous cure of the butcher related in Anecdote XXXIX of this book is by Qiftí (pp. 120-1) and Ibn Abū Uṣaybi'a (i, 216) ascribed to Thábit ibn Qurra. The Dhakhira ("Thesaurus") mentioned in the text was, according to Qiftí (p. 120), declared by Thábit's homonymous grandson to be unauthentic, though a good book enjoying a wide circulation.


This famous Persian physician, known to mediaeval Europe as Bubikir, Abu-beter, Errasis, Rasis and Rhazes, was probably the greatest practitioner of the so-called Arabian Medicine who ever lived, and as a clinical observer far surpassed his later and more celebrated countryman Avicenna, whose reputation rests more on his philosophical than on his medical attainments, while the contrary holds good of ar-Rázi. Indeed Qiftí says (p. 271) that though he devoted a good deal of attention to Metaphysics he did not understand its ultimate aim, so that his judgement was disturbed, and he adopted untenable opinions and objectionable doctrines. In Medicine, on the other hand, he was incomparable, and,

1 The true Sabeans of Chaldaea are the Muğhtasíla of the Arabs, the so-called "Christians of St John the Baptist" of some European writers. The heathens of Harrán only adopted this name in the time of al-Ma'mún for a curious reason fully explained by Chwolson in his great work Sabier und Sabismus (vol. i, ch. vi, pp. 139-157).

2 This name, being unpointed, might equally be read "Muḥsín," but Mirzá Muḥammad, in the course of a long note, has pointed out to me that, though common in later times, Muḥsin was in early days a very rare name compared with Muḥassín; statement which he amply substantiates.

3 Compare the enthusiastic but judicious estimate of his talents given by Neuburger 168 et seqq.).
his great work the *Hawi* (or "Continens" of medieval Europe), so far as I can judge from the portions of it accessible to me in the original Arabic, stands on an altogether different plane from the *Qanun* of Avicenna or any other Arabic system of Medicine.

The year of Razi's birth is not recorded, but he seems to have spent the first thirty years of his life in his native town of Ray (situated near the modern Persian capital, Tihran), from which he derived the name by which he is generally known, without becoming famous for anything except an unusual skill in music and singing. He was then seized with a desire to study Medicine and Philosophy, went to Baghdad, and there became the pupil of 'Ali ibn Rabban, formerly physician to the unfortunate Persian rebel *Mazyar* and afterwards to the Caliph *al-Mutawakkil*, for whom in A.D. 850 he composed his remarkable work the "Paradise of Wisdom" (*Firdawsu'l-Hikmat*). Having completed his medical studies he became director first of the hospital at Ray and then at Baghdad. He also devoted some attention to Alchemy, on which he composed 12 books, but the study brought him no luck, for, being unable to translate his theories into practice, he was struck on the head by his disappointed patron *Manšûr*, governor of Ray, in consequence of which he became blind. He refused to undergo an operation on his eyes on ascertaining that the surgeon who was to perform it was ignorant of the anatomy of the eye, adding afterwards that he had looked on the world until he was tired of it.

The marvellous acumen displayed and the wonderful cures effected by him form the subject of numerous anecdotes similar in character to No. XXXV in this book in such collections of stories as the Arabic *al-Faraj ba'-da'sh-Shidda* ("Joy after Sorrow") of at-Tamikhi and the Persian *Jawdibi'l-Hikaydt* of 'Awfi.

Razi was a most prolific writer, and Qifti (pp. 274-7) enumerates more than a hundred of his works, most of which, unfortunately, are lost, while only a very few have been printed in the original, to wit his celebrated treatise on small-pox and measles, his work on stone in the kidneys and bladder, and the anatomical portion of the *Manšûr*.

Latin versions of the *Hawi* ("Continens"), *Manšûr* ("Liber ad Almansorem"), and various smaller works were made and widely read in mediaeval Europe, and were in many cases printed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They are enumerated by Dr Ludwig Choulant in *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die Ältere Medicin* (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 340-5. One of the most interesting of Razi's minor works, in which he discusses the reasons why quacks often enjoy success, is *De Variolis et Morbillis*, arabice et latine, cura John Channing (London, 1766).
greater popularity than properly qualified physicians, has been translated into German by the learned Moritz Steinschneider and published in Virchow's Archiv (vol. xxxvi, 1865, pp. 570–586). This is entitled "Wissenschaft und Charlatanerie unter den Arabem im neunten Jahrhundert," and appears to be identical with the tract described by Qifti (p. 274) as Kitâb fi'l-Asbâb'l-mumayyîla li-qiṣlî'n-Nâs ('an afâjîlî'l-Asbâbî ila akhâessî'îhim, on "the causes which incline men's hearts from the most eminent of physicians to the vilest of them.

1 Only four of Râzi's numerous works are mentioned in the Chahâr Maqâla. One of them, the Tuhfatu 'l-Mulûk (p. 71, l. 22 of the text), is nowhere else mentioned by this title, and cannot be identified. Another, here called the Murshid ("Guide"), is properly entitled al-Fusûl fi'l-Tibb ("Aphorisms in Medicine")

2 A great deal of confusion exists, even amongst Oriental writers, as to the identity of the Mansûr to whom Râzi dedicated this work, and at whose hands (as narrated above) he finally suffered such indignity. Yâqût alone correctly identifies him as Mansûr ibn Ishâq ibn Ahmad ibn Asad, who was appointed Governor of Ray in A.H. 290 (A.D. 903) by his cousin Ahmad ibn Isma'il ibn Ahmad ibn Asad ibn Sâmân, the second King of that Royal House, held that position until A.H. 296 (A.D. 908–9), and rebelled against Nâsir II ibn Ahmad ibn Isma'il in A.H. 302 (A.D. 914–915). All other authorities, even those generally most trustworthy, seem, as Mirzâ Muhammad points out (Persian notes, pp. 231–3 and 240–1), to have fallen into error. Thus the Fûrist (pp. 299–300), Qiftî (p. 272, ll. 21–2) and Ibn Abî Usaybi'a (i, p. 310, l. 29) call Râzi's patron "Mansûr ibn Isma'il," a person unknown to history; or (Ibn Abî Usaybi'a in another passage, viz. i, p. 313, l. 20) "Mansûr ibn Isma'il ibn Khâqân, lord of Khurásân and Transoxiana;" or (Ibn Abî Usaybi'a, i, p. 317, ll. 17–18) "Mansûr ibn Ishâq ibn Isma'il ibn Ahmad." Ibn Khallikân in one passage identifies him with Abû Sâlih Mansûr ibn Ishâq ibn Ahmad ibn Nûh (which is correct if we substitute "Asad" for "Nûh" in the genealogy), and in another falls into the same error as the author of the Chahâr Maqâla by identifying him with the sixth Sâmânîd ruler Mansûr ibn Nûh ibn Nâsir, who reigned from A.H. 350 to 366 (A.D. 961–976–7), long after the death of Râzi, which is generally placed either in the year A.H. 311 (A.D. 923–4), or in A.H. 320 (A.D. 932), though one MS. of Qiftî (p. 272) puts it as late as A.H. 364 (A.D. 974–5).

The Arabic text of the Mansûrî has, so far as I know, never been published in its entirety, nor are MSS. common. For his edition of the anatomical portion of the work Dr P. de Koning made use of a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (No. 2866 of de Slane's Catalogue). The Latin version, as already noted, has been repeatedly printed.

1 See Choulant's Handbuch, pp. 341 and 343.
2 Mu'jamü'l-Bintûn, vol. ii, p. 901. 3 See Choulant, op. laud., p. 343
This is the largest and most important of the works of Rāzī. It is, moreover, a posthumous work, for after Rāzī's death Muḥammad ibn-ul-ʿAmīd, the Minister of Sultan Ruknuʾd-Dawla ibn Buwayh, bought the materials and notes left by the author from his sister for a high price and placed them in the hands of a committee of his pupils to be arranged and edited. It therefore lacked the finishing touch of the Master's hand, which fact, perhaps, accounts for its somewhat inchoate character and confused arrangement. The original Arabic text has never been published; MSS. are rare and widely scattered, and it is doubtful if those which exist in the British Museum, the Bodleian, Munich and the Escorial represent in all more than half of the entire work. The Latin version, first published in 1486, and subsequently in 1500, 1506 and 1509, is rare, and has been accessible to me only in the copy marked XV. 4. 2 in the Library of King's College, Cambridge; nor do its contents agree well either with the account of the original given in the Fihrist (pp. 299-302) or with the manuscript volumes which I have examined in London and Oxford.

The Fihrist (p. 300) and Qīṭī describe the book as comprising twelve parts, thus enumerated by the former:

(i) The treatment of disease and of the sick.
(ii) The preservation of health.
(iii) Fractures, dislocations and surgical operations.
(iv) Materia medica and diet.
(v) Compound medicaments.
(vi) The Art of Medicine.
(vii) Apothecarium; colours, tastes and smells of drugs.
(viii) Bodies.
(ix) Weights and measures.
(x) The anatomical structure and uses of the different members.
(xi) Natural causes in Medicine.
(xii) Introduction to the study of Medicine: medical names and first principles of Medicine.

The Latin version, on the other hand (Brixiae, October 18, 1486), comprises twenty-five parts entitled as follows:

(1) De morbis cerebri.
(2) De oculis.
(3) De auribus, naribus, lingua et gula.
(4) De asmate, peripleumonia et pleuresi.
(5) De passionibus stomachi.
(6) De evacuationibus.
(7) De passionibus cordis et epatis et splenis.

But according to Choulant (p. 343) the Venice edition of A.D. 1509 is divided into 37 books. In the following table I have retained the original spelling, except in the case of ligatures and contractions.
(8) De passionibus intestinorum.
(9) De clisteribus et morbis matricis.
(10) De passionibus renum.
(11) De passionibus vesice, hernia, vermibus et cabbo(?) emorroidibus et spermate.
(12) De arthetica et varicibus.
(13) De squirros et aliiis apostematibus.
(14) De eo quod dissolvit saniem.
(15) De dislocatione et minutione.
(16) De prognosticis et summa febrium.
(17) De effimera et ethica (for ectica).
(18) De quotidiana, quartana, rigore et aliis.
(19) De crisi.
(20) De urina et venenis.
(21) De simplicibus medicinis, incipiendo a Camomille usque ad Dausar.
(22) De simplicibus medicinis, incipiendo a Dausar usque ad Cordumeni.
(23) De simplicibus medicinis, incipiendo a Cordumeni complet totum.
(24) De electionibus et sophisticationibus medicinarum simplicium tabulā.
(25) De regimine sanítatis.

Since the Ḥāvi or “Continens” must be regarded as the most important work of the greatest of “Arabian” physicians, access to the original text would be an essential condition of success in any detailed and comprehensive study of “Arabian” Medicine. This condition, unfortunately, is unlikely to be fulfilled, for who would undertake the labour of editing, or pay the cost of printing, for so large and so crabbed an exposition of an obsolete science? And even were the difficulty of finding an editor and a publisher overcome, it is doubtful if the manuscript materials are sufficient; if, indeed, more than half the work is still extant. Of the MSS. I have only been able to examine cursorily those in the British Museum and the Bodleian. Laud 289 in the latter is described as containing Part (or Book) I of the work; but since it deals not only with the diseases of the Brain, but also of the Throat, Lungs and Stomach it would appear to correspond with Books I-V of the Latin translation. Marsh 156 in the same library is described as containing Books VI and VII, but, to judge by the contents, appears rather to contain Books XVI and XVII. The third Bodleian MS., Or. 561, is described by Uri (ii, 162), apparently correctly, as containing Books XXIV and XXV, and deals chiefly with drugs and diet; but beginning with a glossary, alphabetically arranged, of the different organs and the diseases to which they are subject, followed by the Kitābu ḥullīr-Rumūz wa Sayadatī’-Ṭibb on Materia Medica, and “Rules for the use of foods and drinks for the preservation
of Health," etc. The British Museum MS. Arundel Or. 14 contains Books VIII, IX and X; while Books IV, V, VI and XI are said to be preserved in the Esdorial; Book XII (?XIX) at Munich; and another MS. of Book IV in the Khedivial Library at Cairo. Should these identifications prove correct, Books I–VI, VIII–XI, XVI–XVII, and XXIV–XXV (i.e. 14 out of the 25 Books) would appear to be extant, while others, still undescribed and unidentified, probably exist elsewhere.

One very important and interesting feature of the Bodleian MS. Marsh 156 is that six leaves of it (ff. 239b–245b) contain clinical reports of some two dozen of Razi's own cases which presented some unusual features rendering the diagnosis difficult. The name of the patient, the signs and symptoms of the disease, the initial and final diagnosis and treatment, with the termination of the case, are fully described with great clearness and acumen; and these cases, which certainly deserve publication, quite bear out Razi's high repute as a clinical observer.

5. Abūl-Khayr ibn Khammār.

This was another eminent philosopher, physician and logician, born at Baghdad in A.H. 331 (A.D. 942–3), with whom the author of the Fihrist was personally acquainted. The date of his death is unknown, but from Anecdote XXXVI it is clear that he survived the year A.H. 408 (A.D. 1017–8) in which Sultan Maḥmūd conquered Khwarazm. His full name was Abūl-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwar ibn Bahārām (or, according to Ibn Abī Ḫasybi'a, Bihānām), and he was a Christian, apparently of Persian ancestry. He made translations from Syriac into Arabic. Fifteen of his works are enumerated by Ibn Abī Ḫasybi'a, but it is uncertain whether any of them still exist.


He was another contemporary of al-Biruni, in whose name he composed twelve astronomical and mathematical tracts. His full name was Abū Naṣr Manṣūr ibn 'Alī ibn 'Arrāq Mawlā Amīrī'l-Mi'amīn. He was descended from the old kings of Khwarazm, who claimed descent from the legendary Kay-Khusraw, and who maintained a quasi-independent sovereignty until the tenth Christian century. The penultimate king or prince of this line, Abū Sa'id Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Arrāq, revised and corrected the Khwarazmian Calendar, while the last of them, Abū 'Abd'llāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Arrāq, is entitled by al-Biruni "Shahīd" ("the Martyr"). This, like so many other ancient and noble Persian families, seems to have been destroyed or dispersed by Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. There is no justification for our author's assertion that Abū Naṣr ibn 'Arrāq was the nephew of Khwarazmshāh.

1 Cf. Neuhurger, ii, pp. 168–175. 2 See pp. 245 and 265 of that work. 3 Op. cit., i, p. 333. 4 See p. xlviii of the Einleitung of Sachau's edition of the Athārū'l-Bāğiya, where they are enumerated; and also pp. 246–249 of the Persian notes to the Chahār Maqād. 5 Al-Biruni's references to these two kings occur on pp. 241 and 35–36 of al-Athārū'l-Bāğiya.

He was a poet as well as a physician, and is consequently mentioned by Thaʿalibī in his Yatimmāt ad-Dahr as well as by Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa in his Ṭabaqāt al-ʿĀṣibī. His brother Abū Ḥabbār al-Raḥmān was as eminent in Jurisprudence as he was in Medicine. Only two or three of his medical works (commentaries on Hippocrates and Galen, an epitome of Hunayn’s “Questions” or Masāʾil, and extracts from Rāzī’s commentaries) are mentioned.

8. ʿAlī ibnul-ʿAbbās al-Maǧūsī.

This notable physician, known to mediaeval Europe as “Haly Abbas,” and bearing, as well as al-Maǧūsī (“the Magian,” presumably because his father or grandfather was converted to Islam from the Zoroastrian religion), the nisbas of al-Ahwāzī and al-Ṭārīqānī, was the pupil of Abū Māhir Ṭūsī ibn Yūsuf ibn Sayyār and afterwards court-physician to ʿAḍudud-dawla, and died in A.H. 384 (A.D. 994–5). The notices of him given by Qiftī (p. 232) and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa (i, pp. 236–7) are very meagre, and he is chiefly known through his great work the Kāmil al-Sīnʿār (“Perfect Practitioner”) or Kitāb al-Malik (“Liber Regius”), of which there is a good edition of the original Arabic text printed at Cairo in 2 vols. in 1294/1877, besides an edition lithographed at Lahore in 1283/1866. This book enjoyed a great reputation, though it was, as Qiftī tells us, to some extent eclipsed by Avicenna’s Qānūn, which was deemed stronger on the theoretical, though less strong on the practical side. It was translated into Latin, and this translation was printed at Venice in A.D. 1492 and again at Lyons in A.D. 1523. The title-page of the latter edition bears the following legend:—

Liber totius Medecina necessaria continens quem sapientissimus Haly filius Abbas discipulus abimeher moysi filii seiar edidit : regique inscripsit. unle et regalis dispositionis nomen assumpsit et a Stephano philosophio discipulo ex arabica lingua in Latinam satis ornatam reductus nehon a domino Michcele de Capella, artium et medicinæ doctore, fecundis sinonimis a multis et diversis autoribus ab eo collectis illustratur, summâque cum diligentia impressus.  

Each volume, the first dealing with the theory and the second with the practice of Medicine, contains ten Discourses (Māqālāt), which are subdivided into numerous chapters. The anatomical portion of the first volume (Māqālāt ii and iii), comprising 53 chapters, has, as already been mentioned, been published with a French translation by Dr. P. de Koning in his Trois Traité d’Anatomie arabes (Leyden, 1903).


2 Mirzā Muhammad (Persian notes, p. 234) thinks that he himself was a Magian, but if so how could he have been called ‘Alī and his father al-ʿAbbās? In the Cairo edition of his Kāmil al-Sīnʿār “Maǧūsī” has been wantonly pointed as “Mujjawwisi” or “Mujawwasi,” in order, I suppose, to attempt to conceal his Zoroastrian origin. Mirzā Muhammad, however, after reading this note, has supplied me with many instances derived from such respectable authorities as as-Šābī, Qīṭī, Ibn Khāliṣān, Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa, etc., of Jews, Christians and other non-Muslims bearing Muhammadan names, titles and kunyas.
The *Kāmilū’s-Sin’d-a* is, in my opinion, far superior in style, arrangement and interest to Avicenna’s *Qāmūn*, and the author’s estimate of his predecessors, both the “Ancients” (i.e. the Greeks, especially Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius and Paul of Aegina) and the “Moderns” (i.e. the Syrians and Arabs, such as Ahrūn, Ibn Serāpion, Rāzī, etc.) is admirable, as is the model description of Pleurisy which he gives as a specimen of the method he proposes to employ in the description of each disease. Dr Lucien Leclerc (*Hist. de la Médecine Arabe*, vol. i, pp. 383–8) gives a French translation of the opening portion.


This writer’s full name is *Abū Sahl Ḥaṣā ibn Yaḥyā al-Masīḥi* (the Christian) al-Jurjānī (of Gurgān, Jurjān or Hyrcania), and his work, here called *Ṣād Bāb* (the “Hundred Chapters”), properly bears the Arabic title of *Kitābū’l-Mī’a fi-Tīb* (the “Book of the Hundred on Medicine”), or *al-Mi’ātu Maqāla* (the “Hundred Discourses”). Born in Jurjān, the author studied chiefly at Baghdad, and was one of Avicenna’s teachers, and one of the numerous men of learning who found patronage and protection at the Court of Ma’mūn ibn Muhammad Khwārazmshāh and his son *Abūl-‘Abbās Ma’mūn* ibn Ma’mūn, killed in 407/1016–7. His friend Abī Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī enumerates twelve books and treatises which Abū Sahl composed in his honour and dedicated or ascribed to him1. Wüstenfeld gives 390/1000 as the year of Abū Sahl’s death, but it is not clear on what authority.

10. *Avicenna (Shaykh Abū ‘Ali ibn Sin’d).*

So much has been written about this celebrated philosopher and physician that it will be sufficient here to recapitulate the chief facts of his life. These are particularly well authenticated by his autobiography, which carries the narrative down to the time of his father’s death, when he was twenty-one years of age, and its continuation by his friend and pupil *Abū ʿUbayd al-Jūzjānī*2. An excellent summary, together with a list of nearly one hundred of his books, will be found in Brockelmann’s *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, pp. 452–8, and there is an independent work on him (considered rather as a philosopher than a physician) by Baron Carra de Vaux3. Accounts of him, of varying degrees of completeness and accuracy, are naturally to be found in most Muhammadan biographical works composed subsequently to the eleventh century of our era. His intellectual influence, not only in the Islamic world, but, until the Renaissance, in Europe also, was immense. Brockelmann (*op. laud.*, i, 453) well says:—“He displayed an extraordinarily fruitful activity in the most varied fields of learning, especially in Philosophy and Medicine. His works, indeed, lack originality throughout; but, because they set forth in an elegant and easily intelligible form almost all the profane learning of his time, they have exercised an enduring influence on scientific studies, not only in the East, but also in Europe.”

1 See pp. xlvii–xlviii of the Preface to Sachau’s edition of al-Bīrūnī’s *Āthāru ‘l-Bāpjya* (Leipzig, 1876).

2 For the Arabic text of them, see al-Ǧīfṭī (ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903), pp. 413–436.

Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbdu’llāh ibn Sīnā (better known in the West by the Europeanized form of his name Avicenna, and commonly called in Persia, his native country, ash-Shavkhuṭ-Raʿīs, “the Chief Doctor,” or al-Muʿallimuʿth-Thānī, “the Second Great Teacher”) was born in August, A.D. 980, in a village near Bukhārā, where he received his earlier education, the philosopher an-Nāṭīfī and the physician ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbī Yaḥyā being amongst his teachers. At the early age of 15 he achieved medical renown by his successful treatment of the Šāmānīd prince Nūḥ ibn Mansūr (reigned A.D. 976–997). On his father’s death, when he was about 21 years of age, he went to Khwārazm, the circumstances of his departure from which are described in Anecdote XXXVI. Attracted to Tabaristān by the fame of Qābūs ibn Washmīgīr, he arrived there, as he himself says, only to find that the talented but unfortunate prince had been deposed and cast into prison, where he was soon afterwards murdered (403/1012–3). Avicenna subsequently became minister to Shamsu’d-Dawla at Hamadān, where he suffered disgrace and imprisonment, but presently escaped to Isfahān, and entered the service of ʿAlī u’d-Dawla Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Dushmanzīyar of the so-called Kākawayhid dynasty, for whom he wrote his Persian Encyclopaedia of the Sciences called in his honour Dānīsh-nāma-i ʿAlāʾ. He died of colic on the march to Hamadān (where his tomb still exists) in 428/1037, at the age of 58 lunar years, after a short illness for which he treated himself with less than his usual success, so that it was said of him by a contemporary satirist:—

"I saw Ibn Siná (Avicenna) contending with men, but he died in prison (or, of constipation) the most ignoble death; what he attained by the Shīfā (or, by healing) did not secure his health, nor did he escape death by his Najāt (or ‘Deliverance’)."

In these verses there are three ingenious word-plays, for ʿhabī means both “imprisonment” and “constipation,” while two of his most famous works are entitled Shīfā (“Healing”) and Najāt (“Deliverance”).

Besides his medical and philosophical works, Avicenna wrote a good deal of fine poetry in Arabic and a few quatrains (some of which are often ascribed to ʿUmar-i-Khayyám) in Persian. The latter have been collected by the late Dr Hermann Ethé, and of the former a considerable number are given by Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa. Of his beautiful Arabic gaṣīda on the descent of the soul into the body a translation will be found in vol. ii of my Literary History of Persia (pp. 110–111). Another remarkable gaṣīda ascribed to him foretells with extraordinary prevision the Mongol invasion, the sack of Baghdād, the murder of the Caliph,

1 See the note on p. 79, l. 23 of the text (Persian notes, pp. 250–251).
2 See S. Lane-Poole’s Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 145.
5 Avicenna als persischer Lyriker in the Göttinger Nachrichten for 1875, pp. 555–567.
7 Ibid., pp. 16–18.
and the victory of the Egyptians led by Qutuz al-Malik ul-Muzaffar over the Tartars at 'Ayn Jâlût in A.D. 1260, these predictions being based on astrological considerations connected with the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Capricorn "the Mansion of Saturn." Another poem contains medical advice as to the treatment of an ulcer on the forehead addressed to the Waizir Abû 'Tâlib al-'Alawi, who had consulted Avicenna on this subject, in similar verses. There are also some remarkable verses in praise of wine, which is compared to "blood of gold," the Christian Trinity, and the First Cause. His literary activity was prodigious and varied, extending to almost every branch of letters and learning, as may be seen by glancing at the lists of his works given by Ibn Abî 'Usaybi'a and Brockelmann. Of these only three are specifically mentioned in the Chahâr Maqâla, namely the Kitâb ul-Mabda'wa'l-Madd, quoted by Mirza Muḥammad from the British Museum MS.; the book entitled "How to guard against various mistakes in medical treatment," printed at Bûlāq in the margins of âr-Râzi’s Manâfi'ul-aghâdiyya wa daf'u ma'dâri'ul under the title of Daf'u'l-madamâr'ul-kulliyya 'anl-ul-abdâmi'l-iyâsâniyya; and the Qâmun, the largest and most famous of Avicenna’s medical writings. In the preparation of the FitzPatrick lectures on "Arabian Medicine" which I delivered at the Royal College of Physicians in November 1919 and 1920, and which will I hope be published in the course of 1921, I made use of the fine but not very correct edition printed at Rome in A.D. 1593, but there is also a Bûlāq edition in two volumes. A good account of the various editions and Latin translations will be found in Dr Ludwig Choulant’s Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die Ältere Medicin (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 359-368. See also Moritz Stein- schneider’s Die Europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17 Jahrhunderts in the Index s.v. "Avicenna."

In Anecdote XXXVIII the narrator, Abû Kalanjär, mentions four other disciples of Avicenna, concerning three of whom Mirzá Muḥammad gives some valuable information in the Persian notes on pp. 555-556. Bahmanyar’s full name was Abûl-Hasan Bahmanyar ibn Marzuðân al-Adharbayjânî al-Majûsî, and he died in 458/1066. A few of his writings exist in manuscript, and two of his metaphysical treatises were printed at Leipzig in A.D. 1851. Abû Mânûsîr al-Husayn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Zila’ al-Isfahânî died in 440/1048-9. The assertion that he was a Zoroastrian is unsupported by evidence, and, in view of the names of, his father and grandfather, appears very improbable. There exist in the British Museum MSS. of two of his treatises, one on Music, entitled al-Kâfî (Or. 2361), and the other a Commentary on Avicenna’s Story of Hayy ibn Yaqûtân.

Far more important than these two was Abû 'Ubayd Abûl-Wâhid ibn Muḥammad al-Jûzjânî, who first became acquainted with Avicenna in Jurjân in 403/1012-3. Avicenna was then about thirty-two years old, and

3 See p. 41. of the Persian notes.  
4 Ibid., p. 89v.  
6 Compare, however, note 2 at the foot of p. 154 supra.  
7 Mirzá Muḥammad has established this date from the writings of both Avicenna and al-Jûzjânî. See Persian notes, pp. 555-556, ad calc.
al-Jūzjānī was thenceforth constantly with him until his death in 428/1037, always urging him to record his knowledge in books while he lived, and preserving these writings from destruction after his death. For Avicenna, as recorded in the Chahār Maqāla (p. 92 supra), distracted by the rival claims of learning, pleasure and statecraft, enjoyed little leisure and tranquillity, and when he wrote a book would often give the original to the person who had asked him to write it without keeping a copy for himself. After his death al-Jūzjānī sought out these scattered writings wherever they could be found and arranged and edited them, while in other cases he actually assisted in their composition. Thus the Dāniḵ-nāma-i-'Alāʾ, Avicenna's most important Persian work, composed for and dedicated to 'Alāʾ-d-Dawla Abū Jaʿfar Kākūya, was designed to treat of Logic, Metaphysics, Natural Science, Mathematics, Astronomy, Music and Arithmetic; but after his death only the first three sections could be found. The missing portions were therefore compiled and translated by al-Jūzjānī from the Shiḥāṣī and other Arabic works of his master, and the lacuna thus filled. We also owe to al-Jūzjānī the continuation of Avicenna's autobiography from the time of their first meeting in Jurjān down to his death. The full text of this is given by Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa and an abridgement of it by al-Qīfī.

II. Sayyid Ismaʿīl Jurjānī.

This is probably the first Muslim physician who used the Persian language chiefly or exclusively in writing on scientific subjects, or at least the first whose works have come down to us. He gives his name and genealogy as follows in the Introduction to his Dakhīrāt-i-Khwārrasmskāhā:—Ismaʿīl ibn Abī-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥamād al-Ḥusaynī al-Jurjānī. Fonahn gives his father's name as Abī-Ḥamād instead of al-Ḥasan, his laqāb as Ẓaynuʿ-ʾDīn, and his kunya as Abū ʿIbrāhīm; while Rieu transposes Muḥammad and Abī Ḥamād in his pedigree; and Leclerc calls him Abī-ʿIfrīqī and Sharafuʿ-ʾDīn. Little is known of his life except that he came to Khwārazm (Khiva) and entered the service of Qutbuʿ-ʾDīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh in 504/1110–1111, composed the four medical works (Aghrād, Dakhīra, Khuff-i-ʿAidī and Yazgār) mentioned in the Chahār Maqāla, and died at Merv in or about the year 531/1136–7.

The contents of the Aghrād-uʿ-Ṭībī (“Aims of Medicine”), composed for the Minister of Atsiz Khwārazmshāh (reigned A.D. 1127–1156), and the manuscripts of it existing in different libraries are fully described by Fonahn, as are the Khuff-i-ʿAidī (composed in A.D. 1113) and the Yazgār-i-Ṭīb (“Medical Memoranda”), which deals with Pharmacology...

1 As already noted, the text was lithographed in India in 1309/1891–2, but is rare. Mr A. G. Ellis most kindly placed his copy at my disposal. Mirzā Muḥammad mentions two MSS. in the British Museum, viz. Add. 16,830 and Add. 16,659, ff. 25b–32b; and there is another, Or. 16,830. See Rieu’s Pers. Cat., pp. 433–434.
2 Tahāqāt-i-ʿAtibī, ii, pp. 4–9.
4 In an old thirteenth century MS. of Books I–III of this work in my possession.
6 Pers. Cat., p. 466.
9 Ibid., No. 39, p. 35.
10 Ibid., No. 38, p. 105.
logy and Therapeutics. These I have not seen, and they are completely overshadowed by his magnum opus the Dhakhira-i-Khwārazmshāh, or "Thesaurus of Khwārazmshāh," of which I have collected several fine manuscripts and which I have studied with some care. Before speaking of it, however, I must observe that the Khuffi was so called from khuff, a boot, because it was written in two elongated narrow volumes, one of which the traveller could carry in each of his riding-boots, and that its name is not Khafi ("Hidden," "Secret"), as stated by Fonahn and Léclerc.

The general contents of the Dhakhira-i-Khwārazmshāh are pretty fully stated by Fonahn, and in particular the contents of Book IX, dealing with poisons and antidotes, bites and stings of animals, etc. He also enumerates the MSS. of the work, which has never been published in the original Persian, though an Urdu translation has been lithographed in India. The complete work, of which I possess one manuscript, while another, wanting only a few leaves, and bearing the class-mark Mm. 2. 6, is preserved in the Cambridge University Library, originally comprised 9 Books, 75 Discourses, 1107 chapters, and 450,000 words. I also possess three fine old MSS., transcribed in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, containing portions of the work, viz. (1) Books I, II and part of III; (2) Book III, Maqāla iv, Bakhsh i to the end of Book V; (3) Book VI, Guftār xi to the end. I also possess a more modern MS. of the whole work, and another of the whole of Book VI, Guftārs i–xxi. I have discussed this book more fully in my FitzPatrick lectures, delivered before the Royal College of Physicians in November 1919 and 1920, which are now in the press, so that I need say no more of it in this place.

Note XXVIII. Jāmi's rhymed versions of Anecdotes XXXIV (Text, p. 73) and XXXVIII (Text, pp. 82–4) in the Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab.

(The text is taken from a MS. dated 997/1589 in my own possession, and Or. 425, ff. 75b and 76a in the Cambridge University Library.)

Anecdote XXXIV.

1 Mirzá Muḥammad has pointed out to me that, as we learn from Qifti (p. 80) and Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a (i, p. 201), one of Ishāq ibn Hunayn's works was similarly entitled Kunīlah-i-Khuff, and that Sayyid Isma‘īl probably got the idea from him.
آن بکنّه اصول طب بینا؛
شد ز ملخ‌الی بیرشان حال،
هجی گاوی بسان مین فرم،
کوده دیک سیر کیسه ز من،
بدرکان هریسه د پرپید،
با حرفان مقال او این بود،
به چه گاوان نبودیش بانگی،
بگشیدم همه می شوم لاغر،
خوردن از دست هیچ کس نه پوا;
استغفاه بجو علی، بردند;
مورد گویان الله تمامی پاگه،
با یا نا مجرمان از انجا یی،
نگاه آمد صبرکش چون ماه،
تا نبد خوان خوردئی بزمین،
الف قامتش چو دال بجاشد،
کر دندش که زور راست نشد،
کهند با آن حکیر شاه گرمی;
هر درین در کشا دست علاج،
مانند حیران حکیر چون اشاب،
دست زد معجرش ز فرق تکید،
از اراش گشد بند ازارد;
بنت زان خجالت اندر خوی،
قامت خود ز سرو بستان راست،
در طبیبی چو نیک ماهر بود;
چون بجاشد از علاج جعبان،

Anecdote XXXVIII.

واقعه صدرن شیخ ابو على سینا آن صاحب ماخولیارا که طبیبان از معالجه، وی عاجز بودند;

بود در عهد بو على سینا؛
ز آل بویه یکی سوده خصال،
بناک میزد چه خیر بود در ده،
آشیر کر پر زه هر دیسه ز من،
زود باشید و حلقی من برید،
صح ها شام حال، او این بود;
نکذنشی ز روز و شب دانکی،
که بزودی بکارید یا خنجر;
تا بیانی رسد گو نه یخا;
اهل طب راه عجز بسیرند;
نفت سویش قدس زنید ز راه؛
Note XXIX. The Ma’múni Khwárazmsháhs.

(Text, p. 76; Persian notes, pp. 194 and 241-4.)

This older dynasty of Khwárazmsháhs was originally tributary to the Sámáinids, but, during the interval (A.H. 380-407 = A.D. 990-1016) which separated the decay of these latter rulers from the final ascendency of the House of Ghazna, it enjoyed a quasi-independence. The following are those of its rulers whose names occur in history.

1. Ma’mún ibn Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh.

He was originally governor of Gurgánj (Jurjániyya), and in 385/995 captured and killed Abú ‘Abdilláh Khwárazmsháh, the lord of Kath, and annexed his realms. He himself died in 387/997. He was succeeded by his son—

2. ‘Ali ibn Ma’mún ibn Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh,

who succeeded his father in the year last mentioned and married the sister of Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna. Avicenna came to Khwárazm during his reign, and met with much honour at his hands. The date of his death is not exactly known. Abü’l-Ḥusayn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad as-Suhaylī, a great patron of learning, to whom Avicenna dedicated at least two of his works, was Minister to him and afterwards to his brother and successor—

1 Ibnu’l-Athír, vol. ix, pp. 76 and 93.
2 Al-Qiftí, p. 417.
3 See p. 141 of the Persian notes. He fled from Khwárazm to Baghdád in 404/1013-4 and died in 418/1027 at Surra-man-ra’á.
3. Abu'l-Abbás Ma'mún ibn Ma'mín ibn Mu'āammad Khwárazmsháh, the hero of Anecdote XXXVI, who was likewise a generous friend to men of learning, and, like his brother, was married to one of Sultan Maḥmúd’s sisters. He continued for some time on friendly terms with this ambitious potentate, who, however, finally ordered him to recognize him as his overlord and insert his name in the khutba. This Abu 'l-'Abbáṣ Ma'mún consented to do, but after the departure of the envoy to Ghazna his nobles rose and murdered him in 407/1016-7 when he was only thirty-two years of age.


He succeeded to the throne on the murder of his uncle, but no long while had elapsed when Sultan Maḥmúd, on the pretext of avenging his murdered brother-in-law, invaded and annexed Khwárazm and carried off as hostages or captives the survivors of the family. This happened in 408/1017-8, and the event was celebrated by 'Unṣúr in a "yasida" of which the opening lines are quoted by the editor. The historian Abu 'l-Faḍl-i-Bayhaqí in his Tārikh-i-Mas'údí gives an account of these events based on a lost work of Abú Rayhán al-Birúnì's on the "Notables of Khwárazm" (Mashhár-i-Khwárazm). From this it appears that al-Birúnì spent seven years (A.H. 400-407 = A.D. 1010-1017) at the Court of Abu'l-'Abbás, where he held various offices, and was conversant with all the circumstances which led up to his death.

In conclusion Mirzá Muḥammad observes that the Qádi Aḥmad-i-Ghaffári, probably misled by the Tṛīrikh-i-Guzída (p. 389 of the Gibb facsimile), in his Nusaḳāt-i-Jahān-dárá confuses the dynasty discussed in this note with the Faríghúní family who acted as viceroy first for the Sámanids and then for the Ghaznavís in Júzján.

Note XXX. Sháhínsháh 'Alá'u'd-Dawla.

(The text, p. 82; Persian notes, p. 251.)

The Amir 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Ḥusámud-dín Abú Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Dushmanzíyár ruled over Isfahan and the adjacent districts from 398/1007-8 to 433/1041-2, in which latter year he died. His father Dushmanzíyár was the maternal uncle of Sayyida, the spirited mother of Majdu'd-Dawla3 ibn Fakhru'd-Dawla, the Daylamí or Buwayhí prince, and since in the Daylamí dialect "Kákú," or "Kákúya," signifies "uncle," he is often called by this title, and his son 'Alá'u'd-Dawla by the title of "Ibn Kákúya," while the dynasty to which they belonged is called by S. Lane-Poole4 "Kákwayhíd."

1 Persian notes, p. 251.
2 Tīhrán lith. ed., pp. 663-677; Cairo ed. of 'Utbi's history with Maníni's commentary, p. 258. Yaqút in his "Dictionary of Learned Men" (vol. vi, p. 311 of the Gibb edition) mentions amongst al-Birúnì's works a Kitábl Muşmārā fi Akhšār Khwárazm, which, as Mirzá Muḥammad points out, is probably identical with this work. He suggests, indeed, with great probability, that Bayhaqí's Mashhár (مشاہیر) is probably a corrupt reading for Músāmārā (مصارف).
3 See pp. 43-44 of my edition of Dawlatsháh.
4 Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 145. See also the references at the foot of p. 251 of the Persian notes.
In this Anecdote (XXXVIII) two errors occur, for Avicenna acted as Minister to Shamsu'd-Dawla ibn Fakhrud-Dawla (brother of the above-mentioned Majdu'd-Dawla) at Hamadán, not to 'Ala'u'd-Dawla, whom he never served in this capacity, and who, moreover, lived not at Ray, but at Isfahan, whither Avicenna went to attach himself to his Court in 412/1021–2 on the death of Shamsu'd-Dawla and the accession of his son Samá'u'd-Dawla.

Note XXXI. The Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Ansári.

(Text, p. 84; Persian notes, pp. 255–8.)

The Shaykhul-Islám Abú Isma'il 'Abdu'lláh ibn Abí Ma'úsür Muḥammad...al-Ansári al-Khazraji al-Hirawi traced his pedigree to Abú Ayyub, a well-known companion of the Prophet. He was born on Sha'bán 2, 396 (May 4, 1006), and died towards the end of A.H. 481 (March, 1088). He was a notable traditionist and theologian, and, in spite of his fanatical attachment to the narrow and anthropomorphic doctrines of the Ḥanbali school and his hatred of philosophers, who stood in terror of him, was accounted a leading Şúfí. In Persia he is generally known as Khwájá 'Abdu'lláh Ansári. In his Persian poems and quatrains, which are highly esteemed and have been repeatedly lithographed in Persia, he calls himself Ansári, Pir-i-Ansári, and Pir-i-Hirí. The prayers (Munáját) which he composed in Persian are also greatly admired. He used to lecture on the lives of the Saints, taking as his text the Tabaqátu's-Sáfíyya of as-Sulami, and adding observations of his own. One of his disciples took down these lectures in the ancient language of Herát, and on this version Jámí based his well-known Hagiography the Nafahátu'l-UNS. Of his numerous works there still exist, besides those already mentioned, a condemnation of Scholastic Philosophy (Dhammú'l-Kaldám) in Arabic, a less rare treatise in the same language entitled Manážílu's-Sá'írin ila'l-Ḥaqiq'il-Mubín, and in Persian a tract entitled Zádú'l-'Arifín; and another, of which extracts are preserved, called the “Book of Mysteries” (Kitáb-u-Asrár).

Mirzá Muḥammad gives, on the authority of the historian adh-Dhahabi, two narratives of attempts to discredit the Shaykh made by the philosophers whom he persecuted. On one occasion, when Sultan Alp Aislan the Saljuq and his great Minister Nizamú'l-Mulk visited Herát, they asked him why he cursed Abú'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari, whose doctrines the Nizamú'l-Mulk professed. After some hesitation he replied, “I do not recognize al-Ash'ari; him only I curse who does not believe that God is in Heaven.” On another occasion they produced a little copper image, which, as they told the King, Ansári's anthropomorphism led him to worship, but he, being summoned and accused, so vehemently denied this calumny that the King, convinced of his innocence, dismissed him with honour and punished his detractors.

1 See pp. 1–3 of Nassau Lee's edition of this work. Mirzá Muḥammad informs me that a MS. of these lectures in their ancient original form exists in the Nür-i-Uthúníyya Library at Constantinople, and that M. Louis Massignon shewed me the copy he had made of the portion referring to the celebrated Şúfí al-Ḥalláj. I suppose that this is the MS. (No. 2500) to which M. Massignon refers in his striking work on the Kitáb-u-Tawdôtin of al-Ḥalláj (Paris, 1913), p. 94, n. 4 ad calc.
2 Add. 27,520 of the British Museum.
NOTE XXXII. THE "PART OF THE UNSEEN"

XXXII. Additional Note by Mr W. Gornold on the "Part of the Unseen" and other Astrological terms.

"It appears to me quite patent that all theories as to what the Part of the Unseen may be are dispelled by the text of your work which clearly gives the rule (p. 131 supra):

"As for the Part of the Unseen, by day they compute it from the Moon and by night from the Sun, adding thereto the degree of the Ascendant, and subtracting thirty (for) each (whole sign) from the Ascendant, as before: then what remains over is the place of the Part of the Unseen."

"In the case cited, 28 Safar, A.H. 511 (1 July, A.D. 1117), the time of birth being New Moon (here shown to be at 5.32 p.m. local mean time) when both the luminaries were above the horizon, we have to deal with a day horoscope. Therefore we count from the Moon's place to that of the Sun, which is twelve whole Signs and nothing over. The Part of the Unseen must therefore be on the Ascendant, and this must be the case at the time of every New Moon, whether it happens by day or by night. Only we have to note that as the Moon separates from the Sun the Part of Fortune is carried from the Ascendant downward to the nadir, while the Part of the Unseen is carried upward towards the midheaven, and this converse motion goes forward in each case at the rate of about 12 degrees per day until they meet again, this time in opposition to the Ascendant, at the full of Moon.

"I had the pleasure of seeing Mr Shirley yesterday and conferred with him in regard to his use of the term 'Alcochoden' as synonymous with 'Hyleg' or Haylót, and he informed me that he derived his information from Wilson's Dictionary of Astrology, a work of which I am extremely suspicious, as on many occasions I have found that he treats of subjects about which he has evidently no practical experience. But I think the matter must be settled by reference to some of the Arabic or Persian works in which the term is used. The context would undoubtedly give any astrological student the clue to interpretation. If, as I think, Alcochoden is Ruler of the 12th House then its influence would be associated in the text with enemies, capture, imprisonment, etc., which would clearly indicate its evil repute, while Almuten, conversely, would be associated with friends and supporters, favours and wishes granted, etc., indicating its beneficent influence. Probably you can turn up some reference in support, or otherwise, of this view. I hope so."

"P. 6, l. 4. 'The four subservient forces' appear to answer to mental as well as physical processes thus:

The 'Force Attractive' = Absorption = Perception,
'Force Retentive' = Circulation = Cogitation,
'Force Assimilative' = Secretion = Memory,
'Force Expulsive' = Excretion = Expression.

"P. 63, ll. 1 and 3. The Almagest of Claudius Ptolemy appears, from observations recorded by him, to have been compiled about the year A.D. 140, for it contains no account of observations made after the
year A.D. 138. It was translated into Arabic in the ninth century by command of the Caliph Al-Ma'mun. Persian, Hebrew, and Greek versions are also mentioned. The best English translation is that of Ashmand. Ptolemy's astrological work, the *Tetrabiblos*, or *Quadrapartite*, is a standard work on the subject in general use among modern students. The *Almagest*, *Syntaxis* and *Tetrabiblos* are works of extreme interest to astronomers and students of astrology.

"P. 67, l. 23. The 'Part of Fortune,' depending on the elongation of the Moon referred to the Ascendant of the horoscope, would of course be on the Ascendant at the time of New Moon. At First Quarter it is on the nadir, at Full Moon on the descendant, at the Last Quarter on the midheaven. Some authors compute its place by longitude in the Zodiac and others by oblique ascension or descension. The rule of Ptolemy is that it corresponds with the place held by the Moon at the time of sunrise, but he does not say whether it is local or equatorial sunrise, nor whether the 'place' of the moon is to be taken by longitude, right ascension, or oblique ascension.

"P. 67, l. 21. July 1st, A.D. 1117 is equivalent to Safar 28, A.H. 511. This appears evident from reference to other dates occurring in the course of your pages.

"This date, July 1st, is O.S. and corresponds with July 8th N.S.

"By adding 760 years (or 40 cycles of 19 years each) to the date 1117 we get equivalent year of cycle A.D. 1877, and to the date we must add two days due to the omission of leap year days in the 12th and 16th century-years, which brings us to July 10th, 1877, when it is seen that there was a New Moon. Hence the date is correctly taken.

"As to the 'Part of the Unseen,' this appears from the context to be derived from a reversal of the method employed for the 'Part of Fortune.' The former is counted from the Moon to the Sun, and the latter from the Sun to the Moon, and the distance in the Zodiac is set off from the Ascendant.

"Unlike all the planetary Points to which I have drawn your attention, and which are determined by their solar elongations, the 'Part of the Unseen' appears to be a lunar Point, determined from the Sun's elongation in respect of the Moon.

"The date of birth having been fixed, we are left to find the time of birth by the reference to the positions of the Sun and Moon, which it is said were so situated that there was no space at all between them. It is not presumed that this was an observation made at the time of birth, but one that was afterwards calculated and found to be correct. The New Moon of Safar 28, A.H. 511, took place locally in longitude 68° E. at 5:32 p.m. (G.M.T. 1 o'clock) when the luminaries were in ecliptic conjunction in Cancer 15° 8'. The Moon was then only about 11 past the S. Node, and therefore had about 57' of S. latitude. It was a partial eclipse of the Sun. The fact that this is not mentioned goes to prove that the calculation was retrogressive and that the observation was not made at the time of birth.

"The following is the horoscope set for lat. 35° N. and long. 68° E. The planets' places are put into the nearest whole degree. I do not
know what symbol was used for the 'Part of the Unseen,' and if it occurs in any of the works to which you have access, I should be glad to have it. The others, belonging to the planets, I have put in according to their traditional use among the moderns. To these we have recently added the Lightning Flash, due to Uranus, and the Web or Grille due to Neptune. They are found in the same way as the others, by the planet's distance from the Sun in the order of the signs.

The symbol for the 'Part of the Unseen,' when found, should be placed on the Ascendant with Fortuna, and the figure will then be complete. I do not think that it will be found very far out of the true, but I am of course relying on Lunation Tables which are not quite up to date. The secular equation due to these may be as much as 5 minutes for seven centuries, as they were constructed about A.D. 1800, and are here applied to a date about 700 years previous.

"P. 64, l. 22, and pp. 130-131. Khaby and Damir—The Hindus have systems of horary astrology, called Salyana and Arudha, by which they are able to determine what is hidden and where lost property may
be found. Things held in the hand concealed have often been well described to me by Indian Jyoshis.

"Hyleg" or Haylāj—This term is in common use among astrological students, and the rules for finding it are contained in Ptolemy's work on Astrology, and also in Placidus de Titus' "Primum Mobile." Both these authorities differ from the Arabic authors in their method of location.

"P. 132, l. 17. 'Exaltation.' The planets, also the Sun and Moon, are held to be 'exalted' in certain Signs, and especially in certain degrees of those signs. Thus the Sun is 'exalted' in the sign Aries and the 19th degree thereof. 'Altitude' is an astronomical term which signifies distance above the horizon and should preferably not be used in this connection.

The term Almuten refers to the Planet which has dominion in the 11th House, or the House of Friends and Allies. Alchocoden or Alcochoden (whichever may be the correct form) refers to the planet which has dominion in the 12th House, or House of Enemies. It has not any connection with the Hyleg, as Mr Shirley seems to think.

"The term Kad-khudā (Lord of the House) refers to the Planet which rules the Sign in which the Hyleg is found at birth. Thus if the Sun were so qualified as Hyleg and were in the sign Scorpio, then the planet Mars would be the Kad-khudā.

1 Mr Gornold sends me the following note: "Of Placidus de Titus, who first rendered a studied version of Ptolemy's work on Astrology, we have very little information. It appears that he was known as Didacus Placidus, and was a native of Bologna, became a monk, and was appointed mathematician to the Archduke Leopold of Austria. He wrote in the early part of the seventeenth century a work entitled the "Primum Mobile," in which he gives a thorough digest of the teaching of Ptolemy. The best English translation is by Cooper. Placidus showed that Ptolemy recognized two sets of directions arising out of two sets of planetary positions, one in the Zodiac and the other in the World, i.e. in the prime vertical. To Placidus remains the credit of having elaborated that part of directional Astrology which has regard to all directions in mundo."

2 I originally translated Sharaf by this term, but have corrected it according to Mr Gornold's suggestion.
GENERAL INDEX

In this Index I have followed the same plan as that adapted in my Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion. Where numerous references occur under one heading the more important are printed in Clarendon type, which is also used for the first entry under each letter of the alphabet, and for headings under which two or more homonymous persons are grouped together, either in chronological order, or in order of importance, or in classes (rulers, men of learning, poets, etc.). The letter b. between two names stands for Ibn (“Son of...”) and Ibn (“Son of...”) in Muhammedan, and de, le, von in European names are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement, so that names like Aбу Sab'id, Ibn Sinä, le Strange, de Sliance, etc., must be sought under S, and von Kremer under K. Titles of books and foreign words are printed in italics, and an asterisk is prefixed to the former when they are quoted at any length in the translation or notes. A hyphen preceding a word indicates that the Arabic definite article al- should be prefixed to it.

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OTHER WORKS, INCLUDING TRANSLATIONS, BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK


A Year amongst the Persians: Impressions as to the Life, Character and Thought of the People of Persia, received during twelve months' residence in that country in the years 1887-8. Pp. x+594. Published at 21s. London: A. and C. Black, 1893. (Out of print.)


A Hand-list, arranged alphabetically under the titles, of the Turkish and other printed and lithographed books presented by Mrs E. J. W. Gibb to the Cambridge University Library. Pp. vii + 87. Price 5s. net. Cambridge University Press, 1906.


Arabian Medicine, being the FitzPatrick Lectures delivered at the College of Physicians in 1919 and 1920. Pp. vii + 138, with Frontispiece. Cambridge University Press, 1921.