

# THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

NEW EDITION

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF  
LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

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# I

## CONTINUATION

### IRAN

#### I.—GEOGRAPHY

1. The geological background: The alignments of Iran's principal topographic features, represented by the Kūhhā-yi Alburz and the Zagros Chain, are west to east and north-west to south-east, respectively. In broad context, the Alburz is a continuation of the European Alpine structures, while the Zagros chain has been linked through Cyprus with the Dinaric Alps (Fisher, 1956). The structure of the mountain rim of the country has been influenced strongly by tectonic movements which have not only caused considerable folding, giving rise to the mountain ridges, but have also resulted in overthrusting of the anticlines and complex step-faulting, particularly in the east and north-east. Lying between the two mountain systems of the north and south is the block of the central Iranian plateau, though even here large areas have been affected by the powerful movements which created the Alpine Himalayan orogenic systems.

Structural characteristics have an appreciable influence on the extreme regionalism of Iran. The Caspian basin may be regarded as a down-faulted area in sharp contrast to the adjacent main Alburz range, itself discerned as a main northern range, a southern range or Anti-Alburz (Rivière, 1934) with an internal tertiary basin between the two. The Zagros exhibits two structurally characteristic regions including the area of large-scale over-thrusting, as exemplified in the zone between 'Ali Gūdarz and Shahr-i Kurd, and the area of lower altitude, where elongated anticlines and synclines are arranged in sub-parallel lines as for example around Do Gunbadān.

The main period of earth movements has been established for the Alburz and the north-east region as belonging to the pre-Cretaceous era, when the permocarboniferous beds were widely affected. Further movement began in post-Eocene times and continued through to the end of the Miocene, while the close of the Cretaceous saw increased volcanic activity. The major period of folding is attributed to the Pliocene, especially the late Pliocene (Gansser, 1955). The Zagros was influenced considerably by epeirogenic movements dated to Paleozoic and early Mesozoic times with orogenic disturbances beginning in the Upper Cretaceous (Lees and Richardson, 1940). Prolonged folding in the late Miocene and Pliocene saw the emergence of elongated anticlines and synclines compressed against the resistant Arabian Shield.

2. Location and frontiers: Covering some 164 million hectares, Iran stretches from Bāzārgān (39° 20' N-44° 20' E) in the north-west to Sarākhs (36° 30'

N-61° 10' E) in the north-east and from Abādān (30° 20' N-48° 15' E) in the south-west to Gvātar (25° 05' N-61° 30' E) in the extreme south-east.

The land frontiers of Iran total approximately 4,400 kilometres much of which is aligned along natural features and the subject of established international agreements with the notable exception of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab boundary with 'Irāk. The 460-kilometre border with Turkey runs south from the Rūd-i Aras through the eastern foothills of the Büyük Ağrı Dağı and thence roughly along the watershed between the Reżā'iyeh basin and the Van Golü basin. Of the 900-kilometre frontier with 'Irāk, the northern section follows the watershed of the Zagros and then the low-lying foothills of Mesopotamia before cutting across on arbitrary alignments to the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab upstream of the confluence with the Rūd-i Kārūn. Iran's border with the U.S.S.R. in Ādhārbāydjān is coincident with the Rūd-i Aras over much of its length except for the eastern extremity, where from approximately 48° E it swings southwards through the Dašt-i Moghān to the foothills of the Kūh-i Tālish, which it follows to the Rūd-i Āstārā which forms the boundary to the Caspian Sea (Daryā-yi Māzandarān). The Trans-Caspian border with the U.S.S.R. follows the line of the Rūd-i Atrāk upstream from the Caspian Sea to the confluence with the Rūd-i Sūmbār and then crosses the Kopet Dāgh to arc round to the Hari Rūd along the north facing slopes of the northern Alburz ridges including the Golül Dāgh and the Kūh-i Hazār Masdjed. Although the Irano-Afghān border runs south along the Hari Rūd over the first section of its 800 kilometres length, the rest of the boundary is more arbitrarily aligned, traversing the inland drainage sumps east of the Kāyin-Birdjand highlands and the western rim of the Dašt-i Nā Umid before cutting east through the Daryāčeh Sistān to include much of the lowland around the Daryāčeh Hāmūn-i Šābari before swinging south-west towards Zāhidān. After following the watershed of the hill range east of Zāhidān, the frontier with Pakistan is coincident with the Tahlāb Rūd south to the Hāmūn-i Mashgel. Thereafter the frontier trends more or less due south with an abutment eastwards to take in the valley of the Rūd-i Mashgel as far as Kūhak, from whence it swings south-west, in parts along tributaries of the Nehang Rūd, to the coast of the Gulf of Oman at the Khalidj-i Gvātar.

3. Physical geography: The heartland of Iran is regarded by geographers as a plateau defined in the north by the Alburz system and to the south-west and south by the Zagros Mountains, though continuing eastwards into Afghānistān without firm

delineation. This vast triangular plateau is far from homogeneous and includes not only the extensive desert lands of the *Dasht-i Kavir* and *Lūt* but also large, though discontinuous, areas of well watered and fertile soils lying between the enclosing mountains and the desert basins which are the centres of the introspective drainage systems. Whereas the great deserts contain few, if famous, settlements, many of the country's richest agricultural areas are located in the lands bordering the plateau, including among others the *Dasht-i Kāzvin*, *Dasht-i Varāmin*, the extended oases of *Mashhad*, *Sabzavār*, *Nishābūr*, *Simnān*, *Tehran*, *Qumm*, *Yazd* and *Kirmān* and the rich valleys of *Arāk* and *Hamadān*.

The two principal mountain systems add further regional diversity. The *Alburz Mountains* dominate the topography of northern Iran even in their eastern extensions where many subsidiary ranges give rise to local micro-climates and permit specialised agricultural activities. No less important, the *Zagros* chain imposes its own regional influences throughout its length from *Kurdistān* to *Balūčistān*, with altitudes sufficient in the west and for a considerable distance south-east to give rise to reliable orographic rainfall capable of supporting forest cover and, in places, a rich agriculture.

Outside the plateau and its surrounding rim lie limited but economically significant lowlands including the *Caspian Plain*, the *Turkoman Shaḥrā*, the inland sumps of the *Hari Rūd* and *Rūd-i Hirmand* and the great plain of *Khūzistān*.

In view of the very considerable regional diversity of the country, detailed review of the main geographic areas is necessary.

### 3.1. The Plateau:

(a) The Central deserts: The central deserts of Iran fall naturally into two groupings separated by the mountain range running from the south-east of the highland belt of *Khurāsān* from *Dastgerdān* to *Ardestān*, the northern section known as *Dasht-i Kavir* and the southern as *Dasht-i Lūt*. Both areas are themselves slit into a series of sub-basins, separated by hill ridges, many rising to over 1,500 metres. *Dasht-i Kavir* is often presented as a series of ten basins (British Admiralty, 1944), the largest known as *Kavir-i Buzurg*, in which the main characteristics are clayey, salty soils and extremely brackish groundwater in parts giving rise to ooze flows (Fischer, 1968), *namakzar* and temporary salt lakes (Mostofi, 1970). Most settlements are located on higher ground about 1,000 metres in altitude and represent for the most part staging posts on the ancient caravan routes linking northern *Khurāsān* and even the *Caspian* area via *Simnān* and *Djandaq* (MacGregor, 1871) with *Yazd* and *Iṣfahān*. Agricultural life is primarily based on oasis cultivation in which the date palm, other fruits and grains and fodders play a major role. The supply of dyes for the carpet industry, formerly of some importance, is now in decline. Mining for lead and other non-ferrous metals retains an albeit smallscale industrial base in the *Anārak-Nā'in* area.

*Dasht-i Lūt* forms an elongated basin set between the *Kirmān* and the *Qāyin-Birdjand* highlands and contains many complex geographical features, some only recently studied (Mostofi, 1970). The so-called high northern *Lūt* lies between the *Dastgerdān-Yazd* axis and the *Dehūk-Nayband-Rāvar* col and is sometimes taken to include the highlands around *Anārak*. The southern *Lūt* or *Lūt-i Zangi Aḥmad* is defined in the south by the line of the *Bam-Zāhidān* road and traditionally and economically excludes *Narmāshūr*,

the *Kirmān Desert* and *Rigān*, though physically this zone, extending up to the *Kūh-i Taftān*, is included within the *Lūt* proper. Among the characteristic features of *Dasht-i Lūt* is the extensive *namakzar-i Shāhdād* occupying a long trough extending on a serpentine 170-kilometre alignment from north-west to south-east, though formerly of greater extent (Gabriel, 1938). In the shallow centre of the *Lūt* adjacent to the *namakzar* complex fluvial and later aeolian erosion has produced areas of spectacularly dissected country having much the appearance of ruined towns called *Shahr-i Lūt*. In addition to a series of hill, valley and plain areas, of which six separate units have been recognised (Mostofi, 1970), the other dominating feature of the *Lūt* is the dune mass of the east running from *Dih Salm* on a NNE-SSW axis almost to *Kahūrak* on the *Bam-Zāhidān* road and in parts exceeding 80 kilometres in width.

Production from the region of *Dasht-i Lūt* is small and poor communications discourage active export of most goods. Agricultural output from the oases tends to be subsistence orientated, though oranges from *Shāhdād* and dates from *Shāhdād* and *Dih Salm* do find their way to markets in *Kirmān* and *Birdjand*. Mining has more than local importance with lead at *Nayband*, *Kūh-i Garmāb* and *Seh Čangi* and copper at *Qal'a Zari* and *Qollehā* (Bariand et al., 1965).

(b) The plains of the *Zagros Slopes*: A series of fertile plains and basins surround the central deserts lying along the north-eastern edge of the *Zagros Mountains*. The most extensive areas are those surrounding *Iṣfahān*, *Yazd* and *Kirmān*, though many other smaller centres exist with prosperous agricultural bases. Throughout the zone the principal means of water supply is the *kanāt* [q.v.], with river water retaining local importance especially in the *Iṣfahān* region. Drainage within the basins is largely internal and a number of salt-lake basins altitudinally and physically accordant with the *Dasht-i Kavir* (Fischer, 1968) stretch from *Sirdjān* via *Gāvkhūni* to *Iṣfahān*. Outside the *namakzar* soils are generally deep and fertile, supporting a varied agriculture mainly irrigated but with a significant area of dryland grains and a rich associated livestock economy. Traditional craft industries are still important employers of labour in this region, with the hand-made carpets of *Iṣfahān*, *Nā'in*, *Kāshān* and *Kirmān* accounting for a major portion of Iran's non-oil exports.

One of the factors permitting the early growth of sophisticated urban centres in this area of Iran has been the existence of readily accessible and varied mineral deposits, particularly the lead-zinc occurrences associated with the *Jurassic* and *Cretaceous* limestones around *Iṣfahān*, *Kāshān* and *Yazd* and orientated with the line of the *Zagros* overthrusting (Bariand, 1965). It is an interesting fact that many of the modern mine enterprises in the area represent new workings on ancient sites. Copper mining also has ancient origins in this area, the deposits to the south of *Kirmān* at *Kūh-i Bahr Āsmān* and *Tal-i Ma'dan* near *Rafsandjān* both having been exploited at an early date. More recently, the *Sar Čashma* copper deposit has been proved and developed. Although iron deposits were not valued so highly or subject to such early exploitation as copper, iron workings dating from *Archemenian* times have been recorded in this area. Among the largest known ironfields in Iran is the magnetite iron bearing area around *Bafq* occurring along the contact lines of the *grano-dioritic* intrusions with the *Upper Cretaceous* sediments.

(c) North-West Iran: North-west Iran including East and West *Ādhārbāydjān*, *Kurdistān* and *Hamadān* with its geological continuation through the regions of *Malāyer*, *Golpāyegān*, *Shahrezā* and *Balūčistān* is considered at the present time to be an integral part of central Iran. The area was intensely folded and faulted during the Alpine orogeny and intrusive processes, localised metamorphism and widespread volcanism are characteristic throughout the zone. Despite the underlying geological similarities, the north-west remains geographically distinct from the areas further east. Topographically, the area has been likened to a series of irregular tablelands (Fisher, 1968), where altitudes attain between 4,811 metres in the main peak of the *Sapālān Dāgh*, 3,700 metres in *Kūh-i Sahand* and 3,306 metres in the *Kūh-i Boz Ghūsh*. Drainage of the north-west area is intricate in pattern. The *Rūd-i Aras* drains the north-flowing tributaries running from the *Qareh Dāgh* and the *Büyük Ağrı Dağı* as well as the *Khūy* and *Ardabil* basins. Much of the south-west of the area is drained by the tributaries of the *Rūd-i Zandjāncāy*, which eventually joins the *Kizil Uzon* and the *Safid Rūd* system. Other radial drainage lines include those streams west of *Mahābād* which link in the *Āb-i Zāb*, cross the 'Irāqī frontier, and link with the *Zāb al-Asfal*. Introspective drainage in Western *Ādhārbāydjān* centres on the *Daryāčeh-i Rezā'iyeh* fed by the *Zarīneh Rūd* and *Simīneh Rūd* from the south and the *Adji Čay* from the east.

*Ādhārbāydjān* is among the better watered areas of Iran and average annual rainfall at *Tabriz* is 285.6 millimetres, though the surrounding highlands receive heavier rainfall, much of it in the form of winter snows. Dryland grain cultivation is possible over large areas and deciduous fruits are universally important together with the vine and almond. Irrigated culture is found throughout the region, with the most productive areas located in the major river valleys around the towns of *Ardabil*, *Khūy*, *Mahābād*, *Miyāneh*, *Rezā'iyeh*, *Tabriz* and *Zandjān*, where soils are rich and deep and where some shelter is available from harsh winds, frosts and prolonged snow cover.

*Ādhārbāydjān* is extremely mineral rich in two main areas including the *Ahar-Gūlān-Marand* area, where large and medium scale deposits of lead-zinc, copper, gold, arsenic and molybdenite exist and the southern *Ādhārbāydjān* region lying in the *Angūrnā-Takāb-Marāghēh* area, where large and medium-scale deposits of lead-zinc, copper, arsenic, gold, bismuth and other minerals have been located. Small-scale iron fields are worked at *Afshārābād* and *Goldjūk*, while lead-zinc and copper deposits are found between *Zandjān* and *Firūzābād*.

The southern rim of the central Iranian plateau land running south-east from southern *Ādhārbāydjān* through *Kurdistān* and *Hamadān* to *Shahrezā* is geologically similar to *Ādhārbāydjān*, as noted above, though here a larger element of Mesozoic and Tertiary metamorphism is apparent, especially in the *Hamadān-Dārān* belt. The rim takes the form of a broken mountain system beginning in the west with the *Kūh-i Čehel Časmeh* (3,163 metres) and continuing in the *Kūh-i Alvand* (3,548 metres) and in *Ashfarān Kūh* (4,176 metres). South-west of *Nadjafābād* the ridge is less distinct. The areas as far east as *Nadjafābād* are agriculturally well-endowed with deep soils in the valleys and reliable rainfall (*Hamadān* 385.2 millimetres annual average). Both *kanāt* and river water irrigation supplies are utilised for sedentary agriculture, especially favoured

centres for which are *Malāyer*, *Arāk*, *Golpāyigān*, 'Ali *Gūdarz* and *Nadjafābād*. Livestock is generally important, with a strong transhumant tradition affecting mainly the *Kurdistān* area. Sizeable mineral deposits occur in the area of Mesozoic and Tertiary metamorphism and lead-zinc is found at *Lākān*, *Husaynābād* and *Darreh Nokreh* south-east of *Arāk* and at *Andjireh*, *Viđin*, *Khāneh Sormeh* and *Shāhkūh* in the area west and south of *Işfahān*.

(d) *Balūčistān*: The mountains of *Balūčistān*, formerly regarded as continuations of the main *Zagros* system, are now recognised as a south-east limb of the central Iranian zone. To the north, the area is clearly defined by the *Kūh-i Bazmān* which, reaching its greatest elevation at 3,489 metres, effectively separates the depression of *Dasht-i Lūt* from the *Djaz Moriyān Hāmūn*. The mountains of *Kūh-i Bazmān* are made up of extrusive material with a series of geologically youthful volcanic peaks dominating the range. A north-south syncline running from north of *Irānshahr* to the region of *Nuṣratābād* divides the *Kūh-i Bazmān* from the *Kūh-i Taftān*, a geologically mixed region, with extrusive igneous and metamorphic rock in the area of *Kūh-i Taftān* volcanic peak, a complex zone of ophiolite-radiolarite rocks with ultrabasic masses located west of *Taftān* and a surrounding mass of Cambrian to Paleogene sedimentaries. Topography throughout the region is irregular and mainly above an altitude of 1,000 metres. In addition to the mountain ridges traversing the area, and noted above, two plateaux lie to the north and south of the *Kūh-i Taftān* centred on *Zāhidān* and *Khāsh*, respectively, though the former is not endowed with sufficient soil or water resources to offer a base for a strong sedentary agriculture. The *Khāsh* plateau presents a strong contrast, with settled cultivation developed over large areas dependent upon adequate if not abundant subterranean water resources and rich and deep soils, where grains, fodder crops, vegetables and orchard fruits give generally reliable returns (Plan Organisation 1960).

Although the Iranian *Makrān* shows geological similarities with western *Balūčistān*, intense overthrusting along a roughly west-east alignment has given the northern *Makrān* distinctive topography, extremely broken in places and difficult of access and agricultural utilisation. Separating the *Djāz Moriyān Hāmūn* from the *Makrān* is the *Kūh-i Bashāgerd*, the main west-east ridge of which rises to over 1,500 metres, where the ophiolite-radiolarite areas form a more resistant mass than the surrounding sedimentaries. Coastal *Makrān*, beginning from *Rā's al-Shir* in the west and continuing into *Pakistan* in the east, forms yet another distinctive zone of relatively regular anticlines and succeeding synclines aligned more or less parallel with the coastline. The area is pre-eminently one of sedimentaries, geologically forming a depression zone of which the larger part lies below the Gulf of *Oman*, though the regular folding of the anticline structures gives coastal *Makrān* a character much different from other major depressions and internal basins in the country. Rapid and intensive erosion of the ridges near the coast by fast-running north-south streams has dissected the anticlines into small hill groups of low elevation except where the geologic outliers of the Cambrian-Paleogene series are exposed to stand out as resistant blocks occasionally attaining more than 1,000 metres in altitude. Despite the occurrence of monsoon rainfall in coastal districts and the existence of ancient *kanāt* systems, agricultural devel-

lopment has been inhibited by the unreliability of rainfall, the poor condition of the *kanāts* and, not least of all, by the low levels of technical knowledge of the predominantly Balūc population in both water utilisation and cultivation skills (Spooner, 1968).

Lying between the mountain rims of Balūcistān is the *Djāz* Moriyān depression, structurally an internal basin and now filled with recent alluvial deposits brought from the hills by numerous streams seasonally flowing to the centre of the basin where *kavir* and swamp lands cover a considerable area. Away from the Hāmūn itself, the plains of Bampūr and *Djiruft*, and particularly the latter, offer scope for settled agriculture, though geographic isolation and preoccupation with livestock herding have been constraints on effective use of available land and water resources. Nonetheless, the Bampūr-Irānshahr area produces grains, including rice, fodders and tree crops utilising *kanāt* water supplies and temporary 'bands' or earth dams across the major drainage channels to trap water and silt for cultivation purposes. *Djiruft* has been developed in the very recent period as a major crop and livestock area under government auspices.

Large deposits of chromite have been located in Balūcistān and the adjacent areas between Bāft and *Djiruft*, occurring in the area of ultrabasic rocks where magmatic segregation has taken place. The most important deposits are established at *Shahriyār* and Amīr, north-east of Mināb, though scattered sites as distant as *Ābdašt* and *Khāsh* are known.

(e) The East Persian Highlands: The East Persian highland system runs from the Kūh-i Surkh south of *Mashhad* and links up with the Kūh-i Taftān in northern Balūcistān. Kūh-i Surkh is separated from the hill area to the south by the Great Kavir Fault, which arcs across from west to east fading out near *Ālamdār*. The Kūh-i Surkh attains an altitude of 3,020 metres north-west of Turbat-i Ḥaydari, though much of its continuation east in the Kūh-i Bizak and Kūh-i *Khvāf* rises to over 2,000 metres. South of these highlands a large depression forms a west to east trough, through the foothills of the highlands between *Kāshmar* and *Ālamdār* including the Turbat-i Ḥaydari region which act as an intermediate zone, where areas of good soils and fair underground water resources permit cultivation of grains, vegetables and mixed tree crops. In years of above average rainfall, dayin, or dryland, cultivation is important and some villagers augment their irrigated lands by damming small streams. South of the foothills, soils are poor and namakzar formations characterise the basin bottom from Kavir-i Namak to the *Afghān* borders, where marshes are also found. Drainage from the Kūh-i Bizak, the northern *Kāyin-Birdjand* highlands and the *Dastgerdān* flows to the namakzar formations.

West-east faulting in the north *Kāyin-Birdjand* highlands separates the Kūh-i Kalāt from *Kāyināt* proper by a high col. *Gunābād* village group and its related *yaylāk*, *Kākḥk*, form a relatively prosperous agricultural area on the foothills and north-facing slopes of the Kūh-i Kalāt reliant on *kanāt* water supply. Crustal instability is marked both here and in the areas as far south as *Birdjand* and many settlements suffer periodic earthquakes of which the last occurred in 1968 affecting *Kākḥk* and *Ferdaus* particularly.

The *Kāyin-Birdjand* Mountains achieve their greatest height in the Kūh-i *Āhangerān* at 2,877 metres, while the north-west to south-east ridge east of

*Birdjand* also runs for some 100 kilometres at altitudes above 2,000 metres. Drainage of the highlands is to the namakzar in the north and to the small western basins and the *Dašt-i Lūt* in the west. Southwards the situation is more complex and the line of the hill ranges and the major streams is strongly affected by faulting trending north-west to south-east in the south-east sector and north to south in the south-west sector, with drainage fed to the *Daryāča-i Hāmūn-i Hirmand* in the former and to the *Dašt-i Lūt* in the latter case. Agriculture in the *Kāyināt* and *Birdjand* is based on *kanāt*, pump and earth dam systems with subterranean aquifers replenished by the irregular, though at times heavy, rainfall and snows on the mountain ridges. Some hill villages are famous for saffron and vegetable dye cultivation on small artificial terraces, and there is a considerable export of these products from the region to other parts of the country. The southern col reaching from the main mountain area around *Khūsf* to *Nusratābād* is faulted to both west and east and carries little settlement or cultivation with the exception of the lower east-facing slopes around *Neh* which sustain minor pockets of cultivation where shelter from the 120-day wind (*bād-i šad-u-bist rūz*) is possible. Further west, oasis date palm culture is found on the fringes of *Dašt-i Lūt*.

(f) The *Sistān* Depression: Centring on *Zābul* is a large depression clearly marked in the east by north-south faults and running east to the foothills of the *Hindu Kush* ranges. The principal features of the lowland within Iranian territory are the two permanent lakes of the *Hāmūn-i Hirmand* and *Daryāča-i Hāmūn-i Šābari*, which seasonally link with the *Hāmūn-i Pūsak* in *Afghānistān* to form a single sweet water lake. The lake is fed by the *Rūd-i Hirmand*, having its catchment in *Afghānistān*, while drainage is to the south via the *Shalāk Rūd* to *Gūd-i Zarra* on the *Afghānistān-Pakistan* frontier. Despite the ample supplies of water available for irrigation, settled agriculture is poorly developed, not least of all as a result of structural problems affecting ownership and tenancy of land in the area (Lambton, 1953 and 1969). Distance from urban markets and poor roads have also inhibited development, though severe constraints on summer cropping are imposed by the *bād-i šad-u-bist rūz*, which tends to have a scorching effect on crops. Main products of the area are grains and some vegetables and cotton.

### 3.ii. The Bordering Mountain Ranges:

(a) The *Alburz*: Comprising one of the world's greatest mountain systems, the Kūh-i *Alburz* has an average height estimated at 3,100 metres, the highest point being the volcanic cone of Kūh-i *Damāvand* overlooking *Tehran* at an altitude of 5,654 metres. Although strongly related to Central Iran and affected by the faulting and thrusting of the *Alpine* orogeny, the *Alburz* Mountains were little involved in the phase of late *Jurassic-early Cretaceous* folding. Folding intensity decreases appreciably in the northern foothills of the range (Bariand, 1965). The range carries a heavy snow cover through the winter and the northern slopes attract heavy orographic rainfall throughout the year with the seasonal maximum varying with altitude. Abundant water maintains a dense and self-regenerating forest cover on the north slopes of the *Alburz* above the *Caspian Plain*, though extremely narrow valleys and absence of broad and well-watered plains in the intermontane basins has limited agricultural life in the mountain areas to small valley defiles and terraces. Drainage patterns in the *Alburz* are aligned to the *Caspian* coast or to the central

basins, with streams mainly falling in torrents down the deep slopes. A more intricate pattern exists in the case of the Safid Rūd, where the north-south stream has captured the Kizil Uzon and the Shahrūd which occupy an elevated trough in the central basin of the Alburz. Land communications across the Alburz are difficult and hazardous even at the present time. Except for the Kazvin-Mandjil-Rasht route using the Safid Rūd gap, all other routes are subject to temporary closure in winter as a result of snow-blockage, flooding and landslips. The Tehran-Āmul crossing using the Rūd-i Harāz valley is especially notorious in this respect.

Although the Alburz tend to be of lower altitude in the east, there is a large element of geological continuity between the main Alburz and the eastern ranges of Kūh-i Hazār Masjdīd and Kūh-i Binālūd than specialists formerly believed, the basic folded sedimentaries of the Cambrian to Paleogene of the Alburz system giving an underlying unity (Bariand, 1965). As noted, however, intensity of folding declines in the northern foothills and has given rise to a more regular series of hill ranges and intervening troughs with topography rather different, therefore, from the main Alburz. The main lines of drainage run along the central valley lying between the northern ranges, including the Kūh-i Golūl, Kūh-i Allāh Akbar and Kūh-i Hazār Masjdīd and the southern ridges of Kūh-i Alā Dāgh and Kūh-i Binālūd. From a watershed in the Kūcān-Kalāteh area, the region is drained westwards by the Rūd-i Atrāk and its tributaries towards the Turkoman Şahrā, while the Kashāf Rūd drains to the south-east joining the Hari Rūd north of Garmāb 'Alīyā. Livestock herding is important in the hill areas of northern Khurāsān, while the major areas of settled agriculture occur both in the lower Atrāk region and the broad plain around Mashhad and in the extended oases of Nishābūr and Sabzavār. The vast but poorly watered and isolated Djuvayn plain supports a number of formerly prosperous but now depressed villages reliant on *kanāt* and spring water supply for agriculture and on livestock herding.

The Alburz is poorly endowed with minerals compared to other areas of the country, though exploration is far from complete. In addition to lead-zinc deposits at Donā, Kalār Dašt, Sarbišeh, Rezāābād and Tūyeh, barite is found at Sirā, while small deposits of iron ore have been located at Simnān. Old-established coal workings are still actively exploited by addit mining in the high Rūd-i Harāz valley north of Polūr. East of Damghān, the Alburz proper offers no mineral wealth. The sedimentaries of the central Iranian group and the internal Neogene basins between Miyāndašt and Nishābūr are better endowed, with copper deposits at Dāman Djalā, Buzurg and Čoghondar Sar and turquoise found in the Nishābūr district.

(b) The Zagros: The Zagros Mountains bound the Iranian plateau on the south, running from the Irānī border at Kaşr-i Şhirin to the Tangeh-i Hurmuz. A clear boundary marks the break between the Zagros and the plateau on the continuous north-west to south-east line of the main Zagros thrust zone which runs in a roughly 50-70 kilometre belt. The belt may be regarded as the deep central trough of the Zagros basin of former times and exhibits areas of thinbedded red cherts containing radiolaria (Harrison, 1968) in the west around Kirmānshāh and southern Kurdistān and in the east around Niriz. Considerable areas lie above 3,000 metres with Zard Kūh at some 4,540 metres and Kūh-i Kalar at some 4,300 metres.

The main Zagros is distinguished from the zone of overthrusting and its associated imbricate zone (Oberlander, 1965) by a discontinuous major line of overthrusting running from slightly south of Kirmānshāh in the north-west to Kūh-i Čashma north of Mināb in the south-east and including a 200-kilometre wide zone taking in the whole of south-west and south Iran as far east as Rā's al-Şhir with the sole exception of the Plain of Khūzistān. In the main Zagros, conformably laid Cambrian to late Tertiary sedimentary rocks have been folded during Plio-Pleistocene times into extended parallel folds now much eroded and dissected by deep gorges through which the major rivers flow to the Persian Gulf in a complex longitudinal/transverse pattern. The major rivers, all of them perennial, include the Karķha, Kārūn, Hendīdīān, Helleh, Mond and Mihrān systems, though several small streams make a direct but seasonal route to the Persian Gulf.

Although few minerals other than hydrocarbons have been found in the main Zagros, oil and gas fields abound, especially in the dome formations of the Asmari and Cretaceous limestones, which have been the basis for the development of the Iranian oil industry since the early twentieth century, first in the northern fields of Masjdīd-i Sulaymān and Lāli and later in the more prolific structures such as Āghā Djāri, Ahwāz, Gač Sarān and Mārūn further to the south. Overlying the Asmari limestone in the oilfield zone are the lower Fārs beds which contain plastic evaporite deposits acting as a seal for the oil-bearing structures (Harrison, 1968).

Despite a relatively heavy and reliable rainfall in the area of the western Zagros (Khurramābād, 504.0 and Şhirāz 384.6 millimetres) sedentary agriculture is not well developed except around Şhirāz, most of the area falling under tribal group herding systems of land utilisation. Central government control in the area was tenuous until comparatively recent years since access was difficult and tribal control absolute outside the major towns. The main tribal groups occupying this vast area include Kurds, Lūrs, Bakhtiyāri, Kūhgīlu, Boyer Aħmad and Kashkāy, all of which are still concerned with transhumant herding, though growing government pressure on the tribes to settle through enforced security, the establishment of agricultural extension services and a road construction programme is having some effect towards increasing the area under sedentary cultivation. Protection of the extensive oak forests on the higher ridges and valleys of the Zagros is helping to conserve timber resources in tribal areas of the zone. The eastern Zagros is an area of poorer rainfall than the west but a prosperous sedentary agriculture is developing in the major river valleys and plains, particularly around Işahbānāt, Fasā and Niriz, with grains, including millet, and sugar beet of importance. Livestock, often under a nomadic regime, remain the basis of the economy of the area, exploiting seasonal grasslands of the Garmsir and Sardsir.

The long coastline of the Persian Gulf permits of widespread smuggling activity of luxury goods from the trade entrepôts of the Gulf for the Iranian market. Fishing, on the other hand, is little developed and is of only local significance. Of the ports of the coast between Bandar Daylām and Bandar 'Abbās, none has yet risen to national importance other than the oil terminals of Djazira-i Khārg, Bahregān and Djazira-i Lavān. The agriculture of the coastal strip is extremely poor, limited to grazing and shifting cultivation with the exception of the oases around Bandar 'Abbās and Mināb.

### 3.iii. The Iranian Lowlands:

(a) The *Khūzistān* Lowlands: The lowlands of *Khūzistān* have been described by Fisher (1968) as the largest single expanse of true lowland in Iranian territory and the area does present a sharp contrast to the rest of the country where mountains are rarely out of view. Structurally, the plain is regarded as part of the Arabian platform with a deep cover of Paleozoic-Mesozoic-Tertiary sedimentary rocks under more recent layers of alluvial material making up a continuation of the Mesopotamian region to the foothills of the Zagros (N.I.O.C., 1959). A high rate of deposition of alluvium still exists in the headwaters of the Persian Gulf dependent on the silt load brought down by the Tigris-Euphrates and *Kārūn* systems. De Morgan's (1905) classical theory on the infilling of the headwaters of the Persian Gulf and the gradual advance of the land surface there has been widely accepted though Lees and Falcon (1952) have offered an alternative hypothesis on the assumption that the lowlands represent a gradual down-warping of the land surface under the weight of accumulated sediments and that the coastline is therefore more or less in stable equilibrium.

Topographically, the plain is virtually unbroken with a slow rise in altitude from the coast to the abrupt slopes of the Zagros foothills. Not until *Andimeshk* is reached, 130-kilometres north of *Ahvāz*, do altitudes rise above 150 metres. The area is drained by the *Rūd-i Karḵha* in its north-west sector towards the *Rūd-i Kārūn*, which is not reached before the *Karḵha* peters out in salt and mud flats. The north and north-east is served by the *Rūd-i Kārūn* and its tributaries, while the east is drained by the *Rūd-i Djarrāhi* system. Although much of the water is fed to the Persian Gulf through the *Shaṭṭ al-'Arab*, a number of narrow creeks known as *khūr* also distribute the river waters of both systems. The largest of these creeks, the *Khūr Mūsā*, serves as a sea-way to the ports of *Bandar Shāhpūr* and *Māh Shahr*, the former rising to importance as a major Gulf port and the latter acting as a terminal for oil product exports from the *Ābādān* refinery. *Khurramshahr* lies at the junction of the *Rūd-i Kārūn* and *Shaṭṭ al-'Arab* (the latter officially referred to as the *Arvand Rūd* in Iran) and is the major commercial goods port for international trade. *Ābādān* lies downstream from *Khurramshahr* and is the former oil products port for the *Ābādān* refinery. The city retains its position as an oil processing centre but is no longer a port of any significance. *Ahvāz*, situated on the *Rūd-i Kārūn* 125 kilometres from *Ābādān*, is the provincial capital and an expanding centre of the oil industry from which most administration and servicing of the field areas is carried on. Until the early 1950s, the agricultural state of the *Khūzistān* lowland was extremely poor, contrasting sharply with the former prosperity of Archaemenid and Sasanian times. Much of the plain was cultivated by tribal groups under shifting agriculture with only minor pockets of sedentary agriculture in the palm groves around *Ābādān* and *Khurramshahr* and the gardens fed by the waters of the *Kārūn* around *Ahvāz*. Control of the *Āb-i Diz* following construction of the *Muhammad Reżā Shāh* dam above *Dezfūl* has permitted rapid growth of newly reclaimed agricultural areas on the plain of which *Haft Tappeh* sugar cane plantation is an important early example.

In addition to the activities associated directly with oil production and export, a number of modern industries utilising natural gas have grown up in *Ābādān* and *Bandar Shāhpūr*, while new industries

processing heavy and bulky imported raw materials, particularly steel, have developed near *Ahvāz*. The region is favoured by the existence of excellent rail links which run through the *Diz-Sehzar* gap in the *Zagros* to *Tehran* and northern Iran.

(b) The Caspian Lowlands and *Turkoman Shāhrā*: The Caspian Lowlands and the *Turkoman Shāhrā* reach from the Irano-Soviet frontier at *Āstārā* in a belt of radically varying width (from two to three kilometres to 50 kilometres) to the east of *Gunbad-i Kābūs*. The lowlands are seen as the southern edge of the Asiatic foreland (Harrison, 1968) or as areas of young depressions (Bariand, 1965). Much of the Caspian lowland represents the area left by the recession of the Caspian Sea and the characteristic soil cover is nonsaline alluvial soils and, in the *Bandar Pahlavi-Lāhidjān* region, peat and grey soils (Dewan, 1961). In the *Gurgān-Gunbad-i Kābūs* area of the Caspian piedmont, soils are extremely fertile and include deep horizons of podzolic soils. Such fertility combines with heavy rainfall over much of the plains, with the *Bandar Pahlavi-Lāhidjān* area receiving an annual average of no less than 1,800 millimetres, though precipitation amounts decline very steeply southwards and more gradually to the east, *Bābulsar* receiving 819.7 millimetres and *Gurgān* 649.8 millimetres.

Drainage is highly variable in type. Many short streams run down to the Caspian Sea between *Āstārā* and *Rizvāndeh* and between *Rūdsar* and *Nūr*. The plain is also traversed by the braided distributaries of the *Safid Rūd*, some water of which is diverted artificially by tunnel to the *Fūmenāt* district. Flooding of the *Safid Rūd* delta was a usual occurrence until the construction of the *Safid Rūd (Shāhbānū Farāh)* dam and its associated re-regulation works and present-day river levels are only fractionally below those of the plain itself, thereby permitting direct off-take of irrigation water for the inundation of rice-paddies which form the major item of land use in this zone. Further east, the rivers tend to be more incised, making irrigation more difficult, though rice remains the dominating crop of the lowlands proper as far east as *Galūgāh*.

Although rice has become increasingly important in the modern period, often on land reclaimed from the sea, swamps and lower slopes of the *Alburz*, and tea plantations have taken over the undulating land above the Caspian plain, other crops have considerable national importance, including tobacco, citrus fruits (particularly in the *Shahsavār-Čālūs* region), and sunflower seeds. Mulberry trees are present in large numbers and a small-scale silk industry survives as a fractional legacy of the former traditional economic basis of the area. The *Gurgān* and *Gunbad-i Kābūs* plains produce large quantities of cotton and grains on lands only recently reclaimed to arable use. Forestry activity on the higher slopes of the *Alburz*, where the *Hyrcanian* forest survives over a considerable acreage, is economically important, though the timber resource has been abused in the past by random cutting for construction and charcoal burning purposes. A flourishing fishing industry exists in the small Caspian ports and coastal villages and along the rivers of the region. The state-controlled caviar interest has had international significance for many years and is of continuing importance despite rigorous supervision of sturgeon fishing made necessary by fears of over-rapid depletion of the species. Local and *Tehran* markets are supplied with fresh-water fish caught in the rivers, particularly the *Safid Rūd*. Although the Caspian

ports suffered eclipse following the end of World War II as a result of restrictions on trade with the U.S.S.R., the many problems posed by the silting up of the harbours and the recession of the coastline, the expansion of the Irano-Soviet trade since 1965 has led to the reinvigoration of trade and communications sectors in the area. Bandar Pahlavi handles both Irano-Soviet exchanges and an increasing volume of international transit trade.

4. Summary: Geology, soils and climate combine to give Iran an extremely varied face. Within the broad regions of the Plateau, the Mountain Chains and the Lowlands, very considerable contrasts in land, water and mineral resource endowment are to be found between localities even in close geographical proximity. Differing responses to these underlying variations in natural conditions and isolation of areas from the mainstream of the nation's life caused by strong physical barriers to movement between the regions have accentuated Iran's regional diversity.

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(K. S. McLACHLAN)

#### ii.—DEMOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

The distribution of population in Iran, and the ways in which its peoples make their livings, are to a considerable extent a function of its geography (see above). A horseshoe-shaped arc of varying width containing habitable mountains and other arable and pastoral lands, encloses the nucleus of a desert. Because this arc points northwestward, where it

merges into the highlands of Irāk and Turkey, the bulk of the Iranian population is concentrated near its borders. Since Achaemenian times this habitation pattern has posed an administrative problem to the successive Iranian governments.

Geography has thus also contributed to a diversity of peoples, a problem which the Achaemenians solved by creating the first empire, one in which minorities were allowed local autonomy in dress, religion, speech, and other aspects of culture within a single political framework. This diversity has continued until modern times. To the southwest, Iran touches Arab country, with many Arabs living on contiguous Irākī soil, as well as on Baḡrayn Island (which Iran once claimed). To the northwest the crest of the Zagros splits the Kurdish people, and the northwestern corner of Iran, bordering on Turkey and Soviet Ādharbāyḡdīān, contains populations speaking Āzari Turkish, while other Turks are found on Iranian territory east of the Caspian Sea as well as in the southern Zagros. To the east, Iran's borders with Afghānistān and Pakistan are overlapped by Persian-speaking Čāhār Lang Mongols, Balūčis, and a few Brāhūis.

The population of Iran, most recently (1967-9) estimated at 26,284,000 persons, may be divided as follows (see Table I):

4,783,000 inhabitants of cities of over 50,000, or about 18% of the total; 1,110,000, or about 4%, living in smaller cities; and 18,660,000, or about 71%, living in more than 40,000 villages; plus about 1,742,000 "others", including tribal nomads and Gypsies.

As Table II indicates, one sixth of the population of Iran is still tribally organized, whether nomadic or sedentary. In the tribes designated by (f) on Table II the count was made by families, households, or tents, rather than by individuals. Because most tribal "families" are extended households, the number of such units has been multiplied by ten in each case. Although most of these counts were made over twenty years ago, if the number of houses has increased and the number of persons per household has decreased, the tribal populations may not have changed much, especially as some of the tribal people have been lost to the cities.

TABLE I  
Population by types of settlement

<i>Cities</i>		
Tehran	2,317,116	
Tabriz	387,803	
Iṣfahān	339,909	
Mashhad	312,186	
Ābādān	302,189	
Shirāz	229,761	
Hamadān	114,610	4,003,574
<hr/>		
Kirmānshāh		
Ahvāz	said to be over 100,000 in 1964.	
Rasht		ca. 330,000
<hr/>		
Arāk		
Ardabil		
Dizfūl	said to be between 50,000 and	
Ḳazvīn	100,000 in 1964.	
Yazd		
Ḳumm		ca. 450,000
<hr/>		
Total urban = ca. 4,783,357 = 18.2% of population		



<i>Towns</i>	
Towns of 5,000—50,000, ca.	1,109,000 = 4.2% of population
<i>Villages*</i> , numbering over 40,000	
	ca. 18,661,640 = 71.0% of population
<i>"Others"***</i>	
	ca. 1,740,860 = 6.6% of population
<i>Total</i>	
	ca. 26,284,000 = 100%
* Includes tribal and non-tribal, sedentary and seasonally nomadic.	
** Probably includes full nomadic.	

TABLE II  
*Tribal Peoples*

<i>Zagros</i>			
Kurds (Kurdistan)	600,000		K
Lurs	300,000		P
Bakhtiyāris	300,000		P
Kuh Galus	150,000	f	P
Mamassanis	55,000	f	P
Kāshghāi	625,000	f	T
Khāmseh	525,000	f	PTA
<i>Northwest, Alburz, and East Caspian Plain</i>			
Shāhsavans	200,000		T
W. Elburz	30,000	f	KT
E. Elburz	280,000	f	KT
Turkomans	100,000	f	T
Kirghiz	500		T
<i>Southern Coast and Southeast</i>			
Arabs	1,200,000		A
Balūčis	120,000		B
Brāhūis	10,000	f	D
Sistān	42,000	f	PBD
<i>Total</i>			
	4,537,500 or 16.5%		of whole
K = Kurdish	P = Persian	T = Turkish	
B = Balūči	A = Arabic	D = Dravidian	
f = count by families.			

Except for about 15,000 Zoroastrians remaining in and about Yazd and Kirmān, the ethnic Persians, including the tribal ones, are Shi'ī, and so are most of the Arabs living in Iran. Over two million more of the Shāh's subjects are Sunnis, particularly the migratory Kurdish tribes of the northwest, the Turkomans, and the Balūčis. Ismā'īlis and Bahā'īs still persist in Iran, and the Lur tribesmen were, and may secretly still be, 'Alī Ilāhīs.

In 1960 there were still some 60,000 Jews in Iran, engaged mostly in the professions and trade, whereas many of the Kurdish Jews of Sanandaj and Saqqiz had already migrated to Israel. Almost equally scattered were over 50,000 Armenians, although some had left Iran for Soviet Armenia. Armenian villages may still be seen in the northwest, and the entire suburb, or half-city of Djulfā-Isfahān is Armenian.

Armenians and Georgians, both used to cold weather, occupy throughout the year villages in the summer pastures of the Kāshghāi. Like the Jews, the Armenians specialize in the professions, in trade, and also in truck-driving. A colony of Nestorian Christians who call themselves Assyrians and speak Syriac are concentrated in and about Režā'iyye. They number over 20,000. Many others have migrated to

the United States. Both the Armenians and the Assyrians have undergone strong American and British missionary influence.

Except for the addition of a certain amount of modern industry, the cities of Iran are essentially commercial. In them handicrafts flourish and imported as well as local products are sold in modern shops and in covered bazaars. During the last thirty or forty years Tehran has replaced Tabriz as the largest city, and has drawn to itself persons from all over the nation, including gardeners from Zabol, Turkoman truckdrivers, an intellectual élite educated mostly abroad, the absentee owners of thousands of villages, and a host of public servants. In summer those who can afford it move to the mountain slopes north of the city or to resorts on the Caspian shore.

The usual Iranian village is an assemblage of mudbrick or pisé dwellings roofed with poplar poles covered with earth. The poles are cut from the closely packed rows of quick-growing poplars that line nearly every canal and stream. In regions lacking such watercourses a row of circular mounds, like hollow molehills, stretches from the hills across the sloping plain to the village. These mounds mark the course of a deep, manmade, underground stream called a *kanāt* [q.v. & see MĀ']. Sheltered from evaporation, it is the product of highly skilled labour. *Kanāt*-diggers are specialists from the Gurgān region who go wherever their services are needed.

Apart from the aforementioned poplars and fruit trees, the typical landscape is almost bare of vegetation taller than short grass, for the goats and sheep keep it down and every day women and children go out to collect low bushes and twigs for fuel. There is usually one carpenter in the village, but most of the men are engaged in agriculture, while the boys tend the flocks.

In the absence of the landlord, whom many of the villagers may never have seen, the community is run by his agent, the *kakkhudā*, who allocates the land, provides most of the tools, and collects the rent. This usually consists of four-fifths of the grain produced by each man, unless he is the lucky owner of an ox used in ploughing, in which case he may receive the share of five men and may not need to work.

In tribal territory the village may belong to the tribe as a whole, and in non-tribal territory there were, even twenty years ago, a few "free" villages owned by the villagers themselves, and ruled by their own headmen who paid taxes directly to the government. Under the current land reforms instituted by the present Shāh, the number of such villages has increased.

The principal respites from the dreary, impoverished routine of most villagers' lives come from weddings and other rites of passage, from the celebration of the 'āshūrā [q.v.], and particularly from *Nawrūz*. Beginning at the vernal equinox, this holiday lasts twelve days. In the balmy spring weather, families move out to the fields to picnic and to disport themselves. Each family collects seven plants and foods whose Persian names begin with S, as does the word for green, the colour of spring. They are apples, malt, sweet biscuits, chives, garlic, vinegar, and hyacinth. These offerings are placed in a prominent place in each house, and thrown out on the thirteenth day.

The Persians are fond of athletic competitions such as wrestling and weight-lifting, and in the cities specially clothed men in need of exercise practise with Indian clubs and dumb-bells, in special gymnasia, to the beat of drums and recitations from the *Shāh-nāma*. Such a gymnasium is called a *sūrkhāna* [q.v.].

The northern Kurds live in villages ruled by their own chiefs during the winter, but in spring it was their habit, until forbidden by the government, to migrate each spring to high pastures across the 'Irāqī border, and return before snowfall. They are Sunnis and prefer the type of marriage common among Arabs, in which a young man marries his paternal uncle's daughter. They have three cities, Mahābād, Sanandāji, and Saqqīz, of which the third, until recently, included a considerable Kurdish-speaking Jewish population. Around Kirmānshāh the local Kurds have become detribalized tenant farmers and Shi'ī.

In the mountains south of the Kurds live the Lurs, who speak an aberrant form of archaic Persian. Although nominally Shi'ī, they were formerly openly 'Alī Ilāhīs. Like the Zoroastrians, they revere bread and fire. Being split up into numerous tribes and sections, they migrate to their summer pastures as separate bands without overall command. In 1936 Rezā Shāh's army conquered them, with much bloodshed and starvation, forcing many of the survivors to settle in villages under landlords.

Next to the south are the Bakhtiyāris, who speak a dialect similar to that of the Lurs. They are a powerful confederation under the command of a paramount chief called the *Ilkhāni*. In their annual migrations they move simultaneously over five routes from their winter to their summer pastures, crossing the Shustar River partly by fording and partly on inflated skins. Their winter pasture lies on the lowlands and foothills of the lower course of the Kārūn river in Khūzistān, their summer pasture in the long alpine valley of the Upper Kārūn. In both places they have permanent villages, the summer ones occupied by Armenians and Georgians. In between, the Bakhtiyāri chiefs own many of the villages through which they pass. Their migrations require much organization, accurate planning, and exact timing, and armed horsemen police the migrants and their flocks on the way. Kinship ties are strong and succession to the chieftainship is by primogeniture.

Very little is known about the Kuh Galus, who live south and east of the Bakhtiyāris, except that they are organized into some six tribes, some sections of which speak Turkish, the others Persian. They are under the control of four families which, unlike the ruling élite of the Bakhtiyāris, include (or did so until recently) few if any men with modern education. The same generalizations may be made of the Mamassanis, about whom even less information is to be found in the pertinent literature.

Beyond the Mamassanis are the Kashghāys, members of a powerful confederation divided into twelve tribes. Their Turkish-speaking ancestors moved out of the Central Asiatic grasslands about 700 years ago, crossing Iran to their present home in the southern Zagros. About half are still nomadic. Every year the latter make the longest biennial migration in Iran, some 350 miles in each direction. They winter between the Fahlian River on the north and the encircling Mand River on the northeast, east, and south; westward it reaches the coast. It is split into two sections by a tongue of Mamassani territory on the Upper Shāhpūr River. Their summer pastures lie in two adjoining regions. One is in the Niriz basin, the hills flanking the headwaters of the Upper Pulvar River and the great bend of the Upper Kūr River. The other is on the western side of the Zagros watershed on the plateau between Abādeh and Shāhrezā. These summer pastures are verdant but

treeless, ideal country for breeding horses, in which the Kashghāy specialize, importing stallions from Arabia.

Although they follow several routes on the lower and upper parts of their migration, all must converge at a place called Guyum some twenty miles north of Shirāz, and a vulnerable spot. In Shirāz is their tribal headquarters, a palace occupied by four brothers who rule the tribe, and who can reach Guyum in less than hour by jeep. On the march the Kashghāy ride both horses and camels along the valley bottoms, while along the ridges to either side mounted men drive their seven million or so sheep, mostly fat-tailed.

Although nominally Shi'ī, the Kashghāy rulers govern by the Turkish *'ādat*, or customary law, instead of by the *shari'a*. The four brothers hold their power in common because, in order to survive, the confederation needs tight organization, run like clockwork. The brothers must constantly make the rounds of the followers, listen to complaints, administer *ad hoc* justice, officiate at ceremonies, and make their presences known and felt. Like that of the Bakhtiyāri, their ruling family includes men educated in Europe and America. As might be expected, from time to time their autonomy has been challenged by the central government.

The easternmost of the Zagros nomads are the Khamsehs, so-called because they consist of five units, brought together over 100 years ago under the leadership of the Kavām family of merchants in Shirāz. One unit, the Bāširi tribe, is Persian-speaking. A second, consisting of the Jebbara and Shaybāni and other Arab tribes, all speak Arabic, while the third is made up of the Turkish-speaking Aynalu, Baharlu, and Nafar. The first two are now settled while the third has joined the Bāširi. In winter the Khamseh nomads live on the coastal plain east of the Kashghāy. They move to and from their summer pastures, also located east of the Kashghāy's, via the Persepolis plain and over different routes. On both migrations, but not in winter or summer quarters, the Bāširi are accompanied by Gypsies who provide them with services in return for protection.

Returning to northwestern Iran, in the country bordering Soviet Ādharbāydzjān, we are next concerned with the Turkish-speaking Shāhsavans, or King's Guards. North of Menab and near Khūy, they occupy about 100 villages with about 100,000 inhabitants, and an equal number of seasonal nomads are organized into four main tribes, living farther east. These tribesmen are seasonally nomadic, living during the summer in felt-covered yurt-like portable dwellings, with their roofs reaching a peak rather than being domed. They are first-rate horsemen, and long served the Shāhs as guardians of the Russian border.

The two northernmost tribes spend their summers on the Savālān Dāgh between Ahar and Ardabil, and winter on the Mughān Steppe, a lowland area shared by the Ādharbāydzjān SSR and Iranian Ādharbāydzjān. The other two summer in the hills north of Sāwa and Hamadān and move in winter to the inner side of the central plateau, on the northern edge of the Dasht-i Kavir, which is snow-free at that season.

In the western Alburz mountains live a few other tribes, both Turkish and Kurdish speaking, who dwell in black tents in high pastures during the summer, and winter lower down, but not far enough down to avoid deep snow; in winter some of their sheep freeze and wolves devour them.

In the eastern Alburz, east of a line between

Gurgān and Dāmghān, the crest of the range divides, forming the walls of a valley whose waters flow into both the Atrak River and the canals of Mashhad. Both Kurds and Turks have lived in this valley ever since Shāh ‘Abbās moved them there from the Zagros in about 1031/1622. While the Turks have since become sedentary, the Kurds are still partly pastoral, and live in black tents.

A different type of pastoral nomadism is practised by the Yamut Turkomans who live in domed, felt-covered yurts north of Gurgān from the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea to Gunbad-i Kābūs. Beyond the Russian border, more than 600,000 more Turkomans are found in the Turkmen SSR and in Afghanistan. The Turkomans are typical Central Asiatic nomads, who raise horses, cattle, sheep, and hardy one-humped camels. They drive four-wheeled wagons, as well as riding horseback, and many now drive cooperatively-owned trucks. Their women weave the famous rugs known to the trade as Bokharas.

On the outskirts of Gurgān city is a refugee camp of about 500 Kirghiz who fled from the Soviet Union in 1935 and 1936. They are mostly employed by the Highway Department in moving earth in their high, two-wheeled carts.

Moving to the Persian Gulf, we find Arabs scattered all the way from the ‘Irāki border to Pakistan, except for a stretch of shore held by the Kashghāy and the Persian port of Bushire, out of which Persian dhows sail as far afield as Aden and the African coast. Most of the Arab population of Iran is tribally organized, whether sedentary or nomadic, and Shī‘ī, although one tribe, the Banū Tamim, is Sunnī. The two largest tribes are the Āl Kathīr and the Banū Lam.

Most of the semi-settled tribes keep cattle, sheep, and camels, cultivate rice and other cereals, and either own or work in date groves. This mixed economy sets complicated time-tables for some of them. For example, the Muḥaysin leave their palm groves on the east bank of the Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab in November to sow their grain fields along the banks of the Kārūn River, return in February to pollinate their date-palms, and are off again in May to reap their grain, going back once more to harvest their dates in July and August. Like their brethren west

of the Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab, they are in every sense unacculturated ethnic Arabs, although none are full-time camel nomads like the bedouin.

Farther east along the coast are maritime settlements of Arab seamen who ply their dhows and *būms* to both sides of the Indian Ocean. Lingeh is their principal port. Nomadic, tentdwelling Arabs also live in small groups scattered along the eastern edge of the Dasht-i-Lūt and beyond Mashhad into Soviet territory.

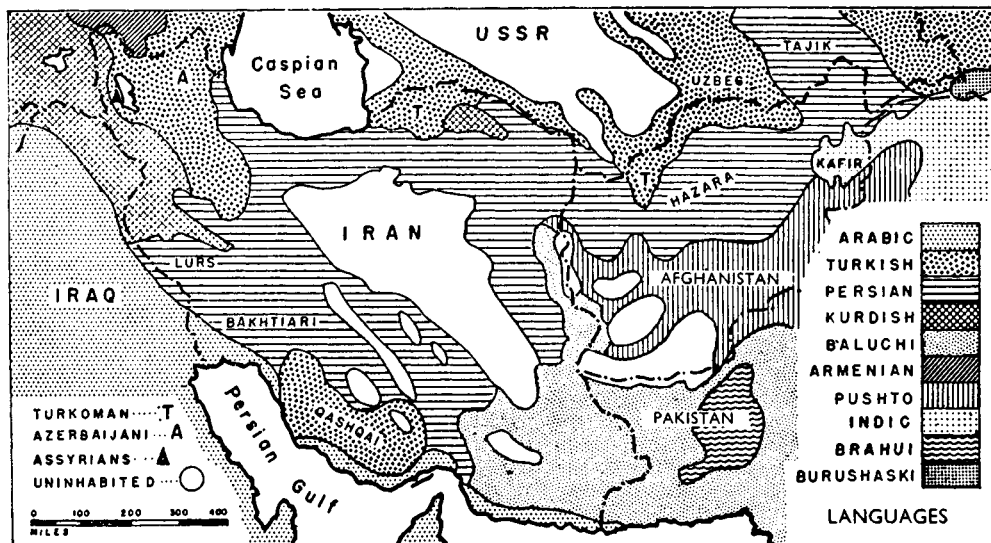
Except for the coast, the southeastern corner of Iran is principally occupied by Balūčīs, whose territory also extends northward between the edge of the desert and the Afghān border to Lake Hāmūn, fed by the Helmand River. Others live in Afghānistān and Pakistan; in the latter country they are most numerous. Their economic adaptation is to desert country where grass grows in winter. In summer they camp near permanent water; along *kanāts* serving dependent Persian villages and along the banks of the Helmand and Hari Rūd. Divided into more than a dozen tribes, the Balūčīs are Sunnīs, but they also revere the graves of *pīrs*, or holy men.

Like the Kurds, they speak an Iranian language of their own. They breed horses, asses, mules, camels, and sheep. Considering themselves a warrior caste, the Balūčīs used to keep the caravan roads open for a fee, to draw rent from villages that they own, and to raid each other for slaves.

Scattered among the Balūčīs are Dravidian-speaking Brāhūīs, whose home is in Kalat in Pakistan. They live in small groups of families all the way up the eastern side of Iran to Mashhad and Sarakhs. Many of the Brāhūī men serve in the police and the national gendarmerie.

Near Lake Hāmūn in Sistān live four tribes of nomadic Persians, the Sarbandīs, Shārekīs, Khimars, and Herātīs, totalling about four thousand families. About them we have no detailed information. In the swamps and along the aquatic labyrinth of the mouths of the Helmand is a small population of fishermen and fowlers called Šayyād (“hunters”). They catch both fish and ducks in nets, and appear to be the residue of an earlier hunting people.

Viewing the demography and ethnography of Iran



Languages of Iran and Afghanistan

From *Caravan, the Story of Middle East*, by Carleton S. Coon, London 1952.

as a whole, it would be hard to find another Islamic country of its size as decentralized as Iran is geographically and containing as many different peoples and languages. Yet since Achaemenian times it has remained, with a few interruptions, a nation, the world's oldest empire, and with the help of modern transportation and communication, it seems so destined to remain.

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(C. S. COON)

iii.—LANGUAGES—[see suppl.]

iv.—PRE-ISLAMIC MYTHOLOGY

The chief sources for Iranian mythology are the *Avesta* and the deeds of kings and heroes collected by the historians and poets of the early centuries of Islam. Their information doubtless came from the "ancient annals" of Iran, the *Khudāy-nāmak*. The longest of these works is the famous *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi (330/941-411/1020 [g.v.]). The evidence of ancient Greek historians, rock inscriptions and some Mazdaean books and literary works, rich in pre-Islamic materials but often compiled in Islamic times, are also very valuable. Besides the *Avesta* attributed to Zoroaster, there may be mentioned the *Denkart* (a vast commentary on the *Avesta*, completed in the 3rd/9th century), and the great *Bundahishn* (Book of the Creation). Numerous Mazdaean works written in Pahlavi, the bearers of the ancient tradition, have in large measure only been known for less than two centuries, and the Islamic Iranian world was dependent on traditions recorded in Persian and Arabic by early Muslim writers for its knowledge of a history that was partly only mythology. Ancient Iran continued for a long time to elaborate its mythology from pre-Mazdaean and Mazdaean sources. In the course of centuries chivalrous exploits and an exalted human dignity were grafted on to them. This elaboration in its popular form, written down in Persian, came to an end in the 5th/11th century when the pre-Islamic sources and the oral traditions gave birth to several "books of kings" and historical summaries culminating in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi.

Iranian mythology, rich as it is, has some common features and some undeniable affinities with that of India, but the power and preponderant role of some Indian gods are relegated to a secondary level in Iran.

The analogies and differences between the myths

of Iran and those of the Indo-European world are particularly worthy of interest and reveal some relationship between their systems of thought. The tripartite idea of society (priests, warriors and cattle-breeders/agriculturalists) which G. Dumézil remarkably demonstrated in the mythology of India and the Indo-European peoples is at present held in great favour. These three hierarchical functions which are confirmed in the *Avesta* (Y. xi, 6, xiii, 3; Yt xiii, 88-9, xix, 8, xxiv, 16; Vt iv, 28, 57-8, xiii, 44-6, etc.) and to which the *Yasna* xix, 17, adds a fourth, that of the artisans, continued with some slight modifications (priests, *dabirān* officials, warriors and artisans-peasants) to make up the social order of Iran until the end of the Sasanid period. There is every reason to believe that the tetramorous division of society, whether it was due to the *Yasna* or to the social reorganization of the Sasanid period, follows this triad of hierarchical functions.

Certain memories preserved in the *Gathas* (the oldest part of the *Avesta*) and several *Yashts* of the *Avesta* betoken a pre-Mazdaean mythology. The two primordial spirits, Spēnta mainyu (Holy Spirit) and Ahra mainyu (Spirit of Evil) correspond to the two antithetic aspects of *Vayu*, at the same time the good and the bad wind which is the breathing-spirit and the motive force of the Universe. The Indian counterpart of *Vayu* is *Vāyu* who stands at the head of a series of functional divinities. In the same manner, but by a reversal of the Indian position, the Iranians contrasted the nature of the ahura (Indian asura) with that of the daēva (Indian déva). These latter, whom the Indians considered as good, take on a malignant character in Iran, while the malignant asura make way for the benign Iranian ahura. The Indian god Indra, who is assigned the function of a warrior, sees his role reversed in Iran where he becomes a demon in the *Vīdēvdāt* (the part of the *Avesta* dealing with canonical law and exorcism) x, 9 and xix, 43.

The series of the great Mazdaean divinities is made up of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god, and six entities called Amasha Spēnta (Holy Immortals) who surround him: 1) *Vahu Manah* (Good Spirit), an entity protecting the conscience of just men and to whom the ox is connected. Her auxiliaries are *Māh* (the Moon), *Geush Urvan* (the spirit of the primordial ox) and *Rām*, a helping divinity which guides the soul after death. 2) *Asha* (Order-Justice), an entity guaranteeing cosmic and moral order. She is seconded by *Atar* (the divinity of Fire), *Vīragna* (a god who embodies the victorious attack) and *Sraoṣha* (a god of Vigilance and Obedience). 3) *Khshathra* (Kingdom), the entity presiding over metals and thus over arms and the army. She fills the role of warrior or rather of defender of the poor, and she is helped by the Sun, the Sky and *Mithras* whom a remarkable rise made a rival of Ahura Mazda and who became the object of a cult in the west, the cult of Mithraism. 4) *Armaiti* (Moderation), the goddess of fecundity and mercy, to whom the earth is linked. The secondary divinities accompanying her are *Ardivisura Anahita* (the waters) and in second place *Daēna* (or *Dēn* in Pahlavi), Religion. 5) *Haurvatāt* (Integrity) whose associated divinities are *Tishtriya* (Sirius), *Vāta* (the Wind), and the *Fravashī* (protective spirits). 6) *Amərətāt* (Immortality), the guardian of plants, around whom are gathered *Rashnu*, the infernal Judge, and the two divinities who lead dead souls over the bridge of *Činvat*: *Ashātāt* and *Zām*. Finally, considered as seventh, there is again *Sraoṣha* who is added to this but who does not strictly belong to the category of the holy Immortals. In addition, a

multitude of Yazata and Fravashī, who are considered as divinities with less well defined roles, fill out the Iranian pantheon, and hence the idea arises that the origin of angels might be linked to them and to the holy Immortals. A malignant spirit belonging to the train of Ahra Mainyu is opposed to each divinity in the cortege of Ahura Mazda.

If the tripartite division of G. Dumézil is borne in mind, the entities Vahu Manah and Ašha correspond to the Indian gods Mitra and Varuṇa and they fulfil, along with Ahura Mazda, the first function—the priesthood and sovereign order. The function of warrior is incumbent upon the Iranian *Khshathra* as it is upon the Indian Indra. Finally, the function of production and wealth is shared between Armaiti (goddess of fertility, the Earth) and the Haurvatāt and Amərətāt who are related to the Indian divinities, the goddess Sarasvati, the twins Nāsatyas, and others.

The Mazdaean holy Immortals are at the same time abstract representations giving Ahura Mazda his fullness and beings who, although superior to creatures, remain inferior to Ahura Mazda. They are shown both as personal Agents and personified Powers. The antagonism which sets the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil in opposition, the basis for Iranian dualism, is the metaphysic and the morality of this mythology. According to the great *Bundahishn* (ch. 1), the Upper World, spiritual and luminous, has been the domain of Hormazd (Ahura Mazda) since the beginning of creation, while the nether region is the shadowy world of Ahriman (Ahra Mainyu). An intermediate space divides these two worlds, a mixed world in which good and evil do battle. In this continuous conflict the force of Ahriman faces the army of Hormazd and finally the Spirit of Good triumphs over the Spirit of Evil. Each being must take part in this struggle and it is thanks to his meritorious actions, his good thoughts and words, that Man participates in the final victory.

Ahura Mazda has gradually taken the place of Spənta Mainyu, his own emanation, so as to confront the Spirits of Evil himself. He has granted Ahra Mainyu a respite of 12,000 years and knows his plans in advance.

Alongside this divine mythology, there is a human mythology related to it. In large measure it is presented in the form of historical epics situated (with some exceptions such as the longevity of certain heroes) on the human plane. They tell of a succession of events which are linked together by their own chronology. The first man, Gayomart, directly succeeding the creation of the primordial ox, his source of food, gives birth to an androgynous plant which divides into two, *Mashya* and *Mashyāni*, the ancestors of human beings. According to the *Avesta* the first sovereign is not Gayomart, as the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī states, but Yima (or *Djamshīd* in Persian). A latent force, described as a victorious light (*Khvarnah*), a witness of celestial favour, protects Iran and numerous sovereigns and ancient heroes. The *Khvarnah* abandons Yima who has committed a sin (falsehood or pride) and thus Azhi Dahāka, a foreign tyrant, defeats Yima and steals his kingship. *Θraitauna* (= Faridūn), an Iranian hero who has become king thanks to the protection of *Khvarnah*, triumphs over Azhi Dahāka (Y. ix, 8; Yt xiv, 40, xix, 92; Vt i, 17) and puts him in chains on mount Damāvand. He is at the beginning of the universal genealogy of races and human peoples since he shared out the world among his three sons: to Irādī went Iran and India; to Salm the countries to the west of

Iran, *i.e.*, the lands of the Semites and the blacks; and to Tūr the countries to the east of Iran, the lands of the Turks (Central Asia) and the Chinese (the Far East). This division of the world is not without echoes of Noah's giving the country of the Turks to Japheth, the tropical countries to Ham, and the lands of the Semites to Shem.

Several kings of this Pēshdādi dynasty, the descendants of Irādī, reign in succession in Iran and then make way for the second mythical dynasty, that of the Kayāni (Kayānids). *Yasht* xix (*Zamyad Yasht*) and *Yasht* xiii (*Farvardīn Yasht*) of the *Avesta* mention a list of Pēshdādi and Kayāni heroes and kings on the occasion of praises addressed to their *Khvarnah* and their Fravahr (or Fravashī), *i.e.*, their protective spirits. Among them may be mentioned the Kayānids Kavi Usan (Persian Kay Kāvūs), Kavi Haosravah (Kay *Khosraw*), and Kavi Višhtāspa (Kay *Goshasp*). It was under Višhtāspa that Zoroaster preached his doctrine. The Pēshdādi and Kayāni kings are personal-types of Iranian mythology. Moreover, it is to be noted that, if the figures of the first dynasty are common with those of India, the Kayānids who make up the second dynasty are specifically Iranian heroes.

These historicised myths recount the main facts which occurred in an era without archives. This human mythology mingles with the other divine one and, by a cyclical conception of time, the Pahlavi Mazdaean books explain the reappearance of certain ancient heroes and kings, Pēshdādids and Kayānids, who are to play their definitive role at the end of time. The three sons of Zoroaster are to succeed each other every three thousand years from the beginning of the fourth millennium. The last of these sons, Saoshyant, will, together with Kay *Khosraw*, put an end to the corruption and iniquity of the world. The champion Saoshyant will finally give way to Zoroaster, and the king Kay *Khosraw* to *Goshasp*. Thus there will be established eternal life and the return to cosmic origins.

An apocalyptic literature, enriched by elements of myth and folklore, flourished in the Mazdaean books and expressed the hopes of believers.

On the margin of Mazdaean orthodoxy was to be found the belief in a god of time, Zurvān, who engendered two sons, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, whose struggle began even in the womb. Ahriman, conceived of doubt, struggled to come into the world before Ohrmazd, but Zurvān made his plans miscarry. The cult of Mithras (propagated about the beginning of the Christian era) and Manichaeism (preached after the 3rd century A.D.) preserved the dualist nature of Iranian religious thought, and it was not until its encounter with Islam that the mythical antagonism of Mazdaism was directed towards an absolute monotheism by the accentuation of its moral and transcendental values.

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#### v.—HISTORY:

##### (a) TO THE TURKOMAN INVASIONS

The history of Persia is marked by a number of breaks in political continuity. The most significant is, perhaps, the Islamic conquest, which brought Persia's existence as an independent state to a temporary end. She did not become an independent political unit again until Šafavid times. During the intervening period she formed part of the Umayyad and then the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, and when that fragmented, after the period of the minor dynasties, she became the centre of successively the Great Saldjūk, İlkhān, and Timūrid empires, the frontiers of which extended beyond the geographical frontiers of Persia. In this article attention will be concentrated on events in Persia, but reference will inevitably be made frequently to a wider area, and in particular to 'Irāk and Transoxania.

The Arab conquest swept away the political framework of the Sasanian empire. The ruling family, the territorial princes and feudal magnates disappeared, and the power of the Zoroastrian clergy, which had been closely associated with the Sasanian empire, was broken. Nevertheless, the new civilization which grew up in the eastern provinces of the caliphate owed much to Sasanian Persia and the Persians played an important part in its development. There was, indeed, a two-fold movement of change, which took some time to work out. On the one hand Islamic theory reacted upon and influenced the development of Persian political, social, and economic institutions, while on the other hand Islamic theory was itself in part moulded and modified by the institutions and attitudes of mind which prevailed in Persia.

When the prophet Muḥammad was born the Sasanian empire under Anūshīrawān (A.D. 531-79) had every appearance of strength, but it no longer preserved its original form. Consequent upon the suppression of the revolt of Mazdak it had become a military despotism. The social discontent manifested by that revolt had been suppressed but not allayed. The prolonged wars with Rome and inroads by nomads from Central Asia had greatly weakened it. The rule of the later Sasanian monarchs was marked by anarchy and the persecution of Christian, Jewish,

and Sabeian minorities. The disappearance of the Lakhmids, a dynasty of Southern Arabian origin who were Persian vassals, moreover, left the western border of the Persian empire unprotected.

The first attack on the Sasanian empire by the Muslim Arabs began as a raid. Al-Muḥannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī, after the *riḍā* wars on the Eastern Arabian coasts, led an expedition into the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates. He encountered little opposition and won much booty. Abū Bakr then sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd with reinforcements to join him. By 13/634-5, when Khālīd was recalled to Syria, several towns, including Ḥīra, had capitulated or been captured. No permanent administration was established by the Arabs. Tribute was fixed upon the town and freedom of worship accorded. In return the people agreed not to commit hostile acts or aid the Persians. Similar terms were made with some other towns, but in the case of those taken by war, some of the inhabitants were killed, others sold into slavery, and tribute was exacted from the remainder.

The Persians, mounting a counter-offensive, defeated the Arabs at the battle of the Bridge and retook Ḥīra. In 14/635 al-Muḥannā temporarily reoccupied it. Yazdigird III, the last of the Sasanian kings, had meanwhile succeeded to the throne. With the defeat of Heraclius at the battle of the Yarmūk (15/636) and the collapse of Byzantine resistance in Syria, a large body of troops was made available for operations against the Sasanians. 'Umar sent these east under Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās. The Persians were defeated at the battle of Kādisiyya and the Arabs occupied Ḥīra for the third time. They then took Madā'in, one of the Sasanian capitals, and shortly afterwards again defeated Yazdigird's army at Djalūlā (16/637).

The conquest of Persia which followed was undertaken mainly from the garrison cities of Baṣra and Kūfa. The area to the north of Nihāvand, taken by the Kūfāns, was known as Māh Kūfa, while the territory further south round Dinavar was taken by their Baṣran rivals and known as Māh Baṣra. The occupation of Khūzistān (17/638—21/642) was organized by the governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, who also took part in the conquest of Mesopotamia (18/639—20/641). Expeditions also set out towards Ādharbāyḍjān from Mawsil. Ardabil capitulated about 20/641. The final defeat of the Persian army took place at Nihāvand in 21/642. Hamadān made peace and further conquests were made in the direction of Ādharbāyḍjān (variously recorded under the years 18/639—22/643). Expeditions were also sent against Kāzwin, Abhar, and Zandjān, and efforts made to take Daylam and Gilān. Hamadān appears to have broken the terms of the peace, for it is recorded as being stormed in 24/645. Rayy and Qumis fell also about 24/644-5.

Although the battles of Kādisiyya, Djalūlā and Nihāvand were decisive in the overthrow of the Sasanian empire, the conquest, which took place piecemeal, was not completed for many years and the conversion of its people took much longer. The conquest was carried out mainly from the garrison cities by Muslim Arabs, who were by this time far removed from their nomadic background. There was some settlement of Arabs chiefly in the towns; and also of some nomadic groups mainly in southern Persia and Khurāsān. Much of the former system of administration continued in operation. The tax records were kept in Pahlavi by local scribes until the time of Ḥādīdjādī [q.v.], and many of the *dahāqīn* continued to carry out on behalf of the Arabs the

functions they had fulfilled under the Sasanians (see also M. Sprengling, *From Persian to Arabic*, in *A. J. S. L.*, lvi-lvii (1939-40)). From the account of Ṭabarī it appears that prior to Anūshirawān the land tax was assessed on a crop-sharing basis. This led to abuses, and Anūshirawān replaced crop-sharing by measurement as the basis for assessment. He also reformed the poll-tax, grading it according to the taxpayer's income. The seven great families (including the royal family), the leading officials, soldiers, priests, and officials in the service of the king were exempt. The payment of poll-tax was, therefore, regarded as degrading.

After the defeat of the Persian army at Djalūla, 'Umar was faced with the problem of the administration of the conquests in the Sawād. He could not conclude treaties as Khālid had done, because large areas had been abandoned by the ruling classes and had remained without a government. He therefore decided to immobilize the land and to levy land and poll taxes on the inhabitants, the revenue therefrom to be *fay'* for the profit of the Muslim warriors and those who came after them. In the name of the Muslim state, he assumed full ownership of the estates and villages which had formerly belonged to the Sasanian royal family and the nobility who had been killed or fled, leaving the peasants on the land, and of deserted and "dead" lands. This assumption of ownership carried with it the right to cultivate the lands for the state, give them away, sell them, or grant them as assignments, and to impose on the holders *kharađi* or *'ushr*. In the case of estates and villages still in the possession of their former owners, 'Umar considered that the legal title belonged to the Muslim state, on the grounds that their holders had resisted conquest, but he allowed them to remain in possession on condition that they paid to the Muslim state the taxes which had formerly been paid to Anūshirawān, and acted as the agents of the Muslim state in their collection. This category of land was probably the largest. Alterations were later made in the rates of taxation paid and the crops on which taxes were levied. This arrangement differed from the case of Hira and other towns which had treaties providing for the payment of a fixed sum. In such cases the population raised this sum by whatever means they wished, and after its payment were released from further interference by the Arab government.

In addition to land tax, the non-Muslims paid a graded poll-tax, except that in towns which had treaties they paid such tax only as their own officials assessed it. In 20/641 a *diwān* on the Persian model was set up, and in it were recorded receipts, expenditure, and stipends. It was not, however, until the reign of Mu'āwiya that the foundations of the future bureaucratic system were really laid, when Ziyād, the governor of Baṣra (45/665—50/670) and of 'Irāk (50/670—53/673), established *diwāns* and appointed Arabs and *mawālī* as secretaries. Several *dahāqin* became Muslims after the battle of Djalūla and various groups in south Persia joined with the Arabs, but there is no evidence of widespread conversion after the early conquests. It also seems that some of those who were exempt from the payment of poll-tax in Sasanian times became Muslims rather than pay poll-tax to the Muslims, since to pay such was considered degrading.

The circumstances of conquest varied in different provinces and from this stemmed differences in the tax administration. Towns which did not capitulate before conquest, but asked for an armistice after resistance had seemed hopeless, were required to pay

a poll-tax in money and a contribution in kind, which could be increased or decreased as the population changed. The land, having been taken by force, was placed at the disposal of the *imām*, but in contradistinction to land which had capitulated before conquest ('*ahd* land) the terms of the agreement (*ṣulḥ*) could be changed. *Ṣulḥ* and '*ahd* lands had their own local administration, whereas *kharađi* lands were closely regulated by the Arab *diwāns*. (For a discussion of these problems see D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam*, Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 1950).

Although Yazdigird's supporters were still active in northern Fārs, organized resistance ceased with the defeats suffered by the royal army. Some local communities and *marzbāns* with their troops continued to resist. Others concluded treaties with the Arabs on their own account. Many of the Persian captives became *mawālī* and some of Yazdigird's army joined the Arabs. About 23/643 'Uḥmān b. Abi 'l-Āṣ Ṭhaḳafi made advances into southern Fārs from Baḥrayn, supported by Abū Mūsā from Baṣra. Tawwāđi fell and raids were made on other towns in Fārs. Further advances were made during the caliphate of 'Uḥmān and between 25/644 and 27/647-8 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir, who had been appointed governor of Baṣra, took Arrađiān, Shāhpūr, Shirāz, Siniz, Dārābdjird, and Fasā. Iṣṭakhr fell in 28/648-9 and Gūr (Firūzābād) shortly afterwards. In the following year 'Abd Allāh set out for Khurāsān. Yazdigird, pursued by a Muslim force, had meanwhile fled via Kirmān to Marv. Sirdjān, Bam, and Djitrūt were conquered, and Hurmuz fell in 30/650-1. Skirmishes with the inhabitants of the mountain districts of Kirmān continued for many years.

From Kirmān the Arabs under Rabi' b. Ziyād al-Hārithi pushed north-eastwards into Sistān. His successor was expelled from the country, but another expedition was sent by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir under 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, who penetrated to Zamin Dāwar, Bust, and Zābul. 'Abd Allāh had meanwhile reached Ṭabasayn and sent Aḥnāf b. Ḳays to take Kūhistān, whence he pressed on to Marv, which surrendered. Yazdigird fled to Balkh and over the Oxus to Tirmidh. In 31/651-2 he was murdered in flight near Murghāb. The Muslims under Aḥnāf took Djūzdjān and Balkh and advanced to Khwārazm. 'Abd Allāh had meanwhile set out for Nishāpūr, which surrendered. Bayhaḳ, Nisā, and Sarakhs also fell. Another group went to Harāt (32/653). 'Abd Allāh then returned, leaving Ḳays b. al-Hayṭham as governor of Khurāsān.

'Uḥmān died in 35/656. The conquests in Persia were not yet secure, and during the civil war the Arab advance was stayed. In Khurāsān fighting broke out between Muḍar and Rabi'ā. The disorders spread throughout the province and enabled the Trans-oxanian leaders to regain their independence which had been on the point of being extinguished. Balkh for a brief period fell under Chinese control. Numerous outbreaks of resistance also occurred in other parts of Persia. In 42/662 Mu'āwiya reappointed 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir governor of Baṣra and the east. He sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura to restore Arab rule in Sistān and Khurāsān. Balkh was reconquered in 43/663, Sistān reoccupied and Kābul taken. The reconquest of Khurāsān, begun by Ḳays b. al-Hayṭham, was continued under Ziyād b. Abi Sufyān, who established a strong Arab garrison in Marv and shortly afterwards settled 50,000 Arab colonists in Khurāsān. Bukhārā was captured in 54/674 and Samarkand fell in 56/676.

In Khurāsān the local leaders had mainly capitulated by treaties (*'ahd*) which stipulated that a fixed sum should be paid annually to the Arabs. Local administration remained in the hands of the local leaders. The inhabitants, for the most part, continued to pay land, trade, and poll taxes as they had under the Sasanians; local officials kept the registers and collected the taxes, paying the stipulated amount to the Arabs and keeping the remainder. Conversion in Khurāsān, partly because of the large number of Arabs who had migrated there, was probably higher than elsewhere. Large numbers of *mawālī* are mentioned as accompanying the Arabs on their campaigns against the Turks of Central Asia. The local tax-collectors do not appear to have released all converts from poll-tax, or, if they did, they increased the converts' other taxes to compensate for the loss to the revenue of their poll-taxes. This led to discontent and rebellion. (See further Dennett, *op. cit.*).

'Irāk meanwhile had been reduced to a state of turmoil by the activities of the Khāridjites and the Shi'ā. In 66/685 Mukhtār, launching a revolt in the name of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, seized Kūfa. There were *mawālī*, many of whom were Persians, among his followers but his main support came from the dissatisfied Arabs of Kūfa. They were not defeated until 67/687. (See M. A. Shaban, *The 'Abbāsīd Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 145-6.) In 65/684-5 the Azāriḳa branch of the Khāridjites withdrew from 'Irāk to Khūzistān, and created many disorders in the territory between Baṣra and Ahwāz. After Muhallab b. Abi Ṣufra defeated them in 66/686 they retreated to Fārs. Regrouping themselves, they returned to 'Irāk and sacked Madā'in, but on the advance of an army from Kūfa they withdrew. They next attacked Iṣfahān, but were defeated and fled in disorder to Fārs and Kirmān (68/687-8). Once more they reassembled, reoccupied Ahwāz and advanced on Baṣra. 'Abd al-Malik had meanwhile recovered control of 'Irāk and appointed Ḥadjidjādī governor of the province in 75/694. Al-Muhallab, whom Ḥadjidjādī sent against the Azāriḳa, forced them to retreat to Kāzīrūn and then to evacuate Fārs. Retiring to Djiruft, they maintained themselves there for some years, but finally split among themselves. One group took refuge in Ṭabaristān, where they were defeated in 78-9/698-9, while a second remained in Kirmān, to be extirpated by al-Muhallab. The last remnants of the Azāriḳa were finally rooted out near Ḳūmis.

Civil war broke out in Khurāsān among the Arabs after the death of the caliph Yazīd in 64/683. In 78/697, after a renewed outbreak of disorder, 'Abd al-Malik added Khurāsān and Sistān to Ḥadjidjādī's government. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash'ath [see IBN AL-ASH'ATH], who was sent by Ḥadjidjādī from Kirmān to Sistān, recovered part of the province. After Ḥadjidjādī had reproached him for not pushing his advance with greater vigour, he returned to 'Irāk, and attacked Ḥadjidjādī in Baṣra, but was defeated in 82/701. Khurāsān was then entrusted to al-Muhallab, but it was not until Ḥadjidjādī sent Ḳutayba b. Muslim to Khurāsān as governor in 85/705 or 86/705 that the Muslim advance was resumed. Lower Tukhārīstān was recovered in 86/705, Bukhārā between 87/706 and 90/709, and Arab authority consolidated in the Oxus valley and extended to Sughd between 91/701 and 93/712. Finally from 94/713 to 96/715 expeditions were sent into the Jaxartes province. (See further H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, and W. Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*<sup>3</sup>, London 1968). In 98/716, Yazīd b. Muhallab, who

had succeeded Ḳutayba as governor of Khurāsān, took Gurgān and invaded Ṭabaristān.

It appears that the status of '*ahd*' land in Khurāsān had meanwhile been altered to *khārādī* land, though exactly when this happened is not entirely clear. Converts were thus freed from the poll-tax, but this reform was not extended to Transoxania, where the tax system was probably not identical with that of Khurāsān. In 110/728-9 Abū Ṣaydā' b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf was sent to Transoxania by al-Ashras, the governor of Khurāsān, to summon the people to Islam. He appears to have promised exemptions from land and trade taxes to converts. When al-Ashras disregarded these promises and ordered these taxes to be taken from everybody regardless of their religion and position, revolt broke out. (The details of these events are not entirely clear. See further Shaban, *op. cit.* 111-2). The next ten years or so were occupied by military operations of a somewhat confused nature (see Bartold, *op. cit.*, 189 ff.). Arab dominion was not fully restored until the governorship of Naṣr b. Sayyār (121/738—131/748). He decreed that Muslims and non-Muslims must pay *khārādī* but only unbelievers poll-tax. To enforce this without damage to the revenue, he reclassified *khārādī* and assessed the stipulated tribute according to the treaty of capitulation. (See further Dennett, *op. cit.*) Although Naṣr b. Sayyār brought a measure of prosperity to the province and corrected some of the abuses in the tax administration, he failed to restore order fully or to remove the grievances of the Arab settlers, while the resentments of the *mawālī* were also not entirely removed. It was among these two groups in Khurāsān that 'Abbāsīd propaganda achieved its success.

Umayyad rule, for different reasons, antagonized various groups of people. The hegemony of the Syrians was resented by the 'Irākīs and others, pious Muslims were alienated by the profanity and worldliness of the Umayyads, the Shi'at 'Alī, whose alleged wrongs culminated at Karbala, were disaffected, as also were the Khāridjites and many of the *mawālī* because of their position of inferiority. Persians, however, were to be found mainly only amongst the last named group. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, a grandson of al-'Abbās, the prophet's uncle, who had become the leader of the Hāshimīyya on the death of Abū Hāshim in 98/716, sent missionaries from Kūfa to the Persian provinces. The first to have any considerable success was Ḳhidāsh (first mentioned under the year 109/727-8). He obtained a following in Marv among Arabs, *mawālī*, Khurramiyya, and Rāwan-dīyya, uniting these disparate groups by the wish to overthrow the Umayyads. He was executed in 118/736 and disavowed for his extremist views by Muḥammad b. 'Alī. The latter died in 125/743 and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm, who sent Abū Muslim, a *mawālī* from Kūfa, to Khurāsān. His main appeal was to the Arab settlers in Khurāsān and his movement was primarily directed against Umayyad and Syrian rule. But he also won support from the Persian *mawālī* and some Zoroastrian and Buddhist *dahākīn*. In the new society promised by the revolution all members were to be regarded only as Muslims with the same rights and responsibilities regardless of their racial origins and tribal connections (Shaban, *op. cit.*, 153 ff.). Revolt broke out in 130/747. The Arabs, preoccupied with their inter-tribal feuds, made little effort to check it. Marv was seized and the whole of Khurāsān fell. Advancing via Rayy and Nihāvand, 'Abbāsīd forces crossed the



Euphrates and defeated the Umayyads near Kūfa (132/749). Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh was proclaimed caliph shortly afterwards. Another 'Abbāsīd army had meanwhile defeated an Umayyad force near Shahrāzūr in 131/749, and the fate of the Umayyads was sealed by a second engagement, the battle of the Greater Zab, in 132/750. 'Abbāsīd troops advanced to Syria, occupied Damascus and pursued Marwān to Egypt, where he was killed (see further Shāban, *op. cit.*).

The 'Abbāsīd victory was followed by the transfer of the centre of the caliphate from Syria to 'Irāk. With this the importance of Persia and the Persians in the development of Islamic civilization greatly increased. Syrian *mawālī* in the entourage of the caliph were replaced by *mawālī* from Persia and 'Irāk. Whereas the Umayyads had been first and foremost representatives of the Arabs, the 'Abbāsīds succeeded to a much greater extent in creating an amalgam of the diverse ethnic and social elements included in their empire. The concept of the universal empire of the Sasanians had already made its influence felt under the Umayyads. Under the 'Abbāsīds, Sasanian traditions of government and administration were increasingly in evidence. (Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *Evolution of government in early Islam*, in *SI*, iv, 5-17). As warriors, merchants, and 'ulamā' travelled along the great trunk roads which fanned out through Persia, there grew up, in due course, among its people a sense of sharing in a common heritage. This had two components, Islam and *irāniyyat*, and was handed down on the one hand by the 'ulamā' and on the other by the *udabā'*. This reassertion of Persian consciousness first found expression in the Shu'ūbiyya movement [q.v.], which was in Persia primarily a literary movement, and in due course the Persian language and Persian literature played an important role in keeping it alive.

'Abbāsīd propaganda only temporarily united the heterogenous elements which were opposed to the Umayyads. Once victory had been achieved, the responsibilities of government prevented the 'Abbāsīd leaders from satisfying the aspirations of all their followers (cf. Bartold, *op. cit.*, 194). Rebels arose on every side. In Khurāsān Abū Muslim had to contend with movements of unrest among both Arabs and Persians. In Nishāpūr Bih'āfrīd led a movement against the Zoroastrian priesthood and Abū Muslim aided the Magians in suppressing him. In Bukhārā, Sharik b. Shaykh al-Mahri headed a revolt of Arabs in favour of the 'Alids (133/750-1); Abū Muslim sent Ziyād b. Šālīh to suppress this revolt. Ziyād also frustrated an attempt by the Chinese to reassert their authority in Transoxania in 133/751. Meanwhile, Abū Muslim's success in Khurāsān aroused the apprehension of the 'Abbāsīds. In 135/752-3 Al-Saffāh secretly ordered Sibā' b. Nu'mān and Ziyād b. Šālīh, whom Abū Muslim had appointed governors in Transoxania, to revolt against him. They were defeated. Eventually, Abū Muslim was induced by Manšūr to come to Baghdād, where he was treacherously murdered in 137/755. This, together with the suppression of the Rāwandiyya, alienated the extremist followers of the 'Abbāsīds.

Between 137/755 and 163/780 there were five uprisings in Persia against 'Abbāsīd rule connected with the name of Abū Muslim. The first was led by Sinbād in Nishāpūr (137/755), the express purpose of which was to avenge the death of Abū Muslim. It spread from Nishāpūr to Rayy and was eventually stamped out near Hamdān. The second, an outbreak under Barāz in 142/759 in Khurāsān, was more easily

quelled. A third rising, which started almost simultaneously in Transoxania, was led by Ishāk the Turk (so-called because Abū Muslim had sent him on a mission to the Turks); it had a semi-secret organization devoted to the cult of Abū Muslim and proclaimed the imminent return of Zoroaster. Its followers wore white garments and were therefore known as the *safid-djāmagān* (or *al-mubayyaḍa*). A fourth rising was led by Ustād Sis in Harāt in 150/767. He obtained a large following in Sistān and Khurāsān but was defeated. The fifth, that of al-Muḳanna' in 159/776, was the most serious. He declared that he had succeeded Abū Muslim under whom he had previously served, and that Abū Muslim had succeeded Jesus as the incarnate deity. The movement, which was inspired by extremist Shi'i ideology and also had 'social' aspects, won many followers in eastern Khurāsān and Transoxania. It was not put down until 163/780. This was not all. There was also a series of Kharijite disturbances in Khurāsān, Sistān and Transoxania, notably that led by Yūsuf al-Barm in Bukhārā about 160/777. On the other hand, in Ṭabaristān the Arabs made considerable advances and from about 141/758 appointed governors over the province.

Meanwhile it was not only in Khurāsān that there was turmoil. In 'Irāk there was intellectual ferment and social unrest. This was expressed in a movement generally known by the term *zandaqa* [q.v.]. Its general purpose appears to have been partly at least to curtail the range of Islam and to keep alive Persian cultural traditions. The *zindiqs* were thought to have retained, in spite of conversion, their former Manichean convictions and to wish to encompass the downfall of Islam (*Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge 1971, i, 114). The movement also spread among the lower classes as a revolutionary movement. By the time of the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786), the Persian provinces were in a state of unrest, and 'Abbāsīd authority was challenged in Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces. Harūn made his secretary and tutor, Yaḥyā b. Khālid (whose father had served al-Saffāh and al-Manšūr) his vizier. For some seventeen years until their fall in 187/803 Yaḥyā and his two sons played a prominent role in the affairs of the caliphate, and continued the work started under al-Manšūr of creating a balance between the two main elements in the empire, the Arab and the Persian.

In the east, the rapacity of the governor of Khurāsān, 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhān, had meanwhile caused considerable discontent, and in 180/796-7 Hārūn set out himself to investigate affairs. 'Alī b. 'Isā came to meet him at Rayy and secured his position by gifts. Hārūn returned to Baghdād, leaving the causes of discontent unremedied. Rāfi' b. Layth, the grandson of Naṣr b. Sayyār, put himself at the head of the malcontents, made an agreement with the Turkish tribes and killed the son of 'Alī b. 'Isā (191/807). Hārūn then sent Harthama b. A'yān to seize 'Alī b. 'Isā and confiscate his possessions, and dispatched a free pardon to Rāfi' in the vain hope that he would submit. Rāfi', who had won support in Khwarazm, Bukhārā, Farghāna, and among the Ghuzz, remained to all intents and purposes master of Transoxania. In 192/808 a revolt also broke out in Āḡharbāyḡiān, to be followed later by widespread and prolonged disorders by the Khurramdinis under Bābak [q.v.].

Finally, Hārūn, having sent Ma'mūn in advance to Marv, set out against Rāfi', but died *en route* at Tūs in 193/809. Civil war broke out almost at once

between al-Amin, Hārūn's son by an Arab wife, who had been declared *walī 'ahd* in 175/792, and al-Ma'mūn, the son of a Persian slave-girl, who had been made the next heir to al-Amin in 183/799, and whose sovereignty over the eastern part of the empire had been recognized by al-Amin in 186/802 [see AL-AMĪN]. Hārūn's vizier, Faḍl b. Rabi', led the troops back to Baghdād and read the *khutba* in the name of al-Amin first and then of al-Ma'mūn. In the following year al-Amin introduced the name of his son Mūsā after that of al-Ma'mūn. The latter, apparently on the advice of his vizier, Faḍl b. Sahl, a convert to Islam from Zoroastrianism, refused to be inveigled by his brother into going to Baghdād and remained in Marv. In 195/810 Faḍl b. Rabi' induced al-Amin to drop al-Ma'mūn's name from the *khutba* and substitute for it that of Mūsā, and to send an army against al-Ma'mūn. The latter made peace with Rāfi' b. Layth, leaving him virtually master of Transoxania, struck coins in his own name, took the *Shi'i* title, *imām al-hudā*, and sent his general Ṭāhir b. al-Husayn against al-Amin.

After defeating al-Amin's forces near Hamadān, Ṭāhir marched on Baghdād and laid siege to the city. It fell in 198/813. Al-Amin was murdered; Ma'mūn then appointed Ṭāhir over the whole of 'Irāq. Later Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother of Faḍl, was entrusted with the governorship of the *Djibāl*, Fārs, *Khūzistān*, and 'Irāq, and Ṭāhir was given the *Djazira* with the frontier regions, Syria and Egypt. Ḥasan b. Sahl had to contend with various revolts. One of the most serious was in 199-200/815 in Kūfa led by Abū Sarāyā, who raised the standard of revolt in the name of an 'Alid, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (whom he poisoned in due course). There were also increasingly frequent riots in the city of Baghdād. In 201/817 al-Ma'mūn, on the advice of Faḍl b. Sahl, and probably in the hope of putting an end to 'Alid movements of revolt, declared 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā the eighth *imām*, his *walī 'ahd* and married him to his daughter. In the following year, the people of Baghdād, who had already supported an abortive movement in favour of Maṣ'ūr b. al-Mahdi, read the *khutba* in the name of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi. Rebellion meanwhile had broken out in Egypt, and the disturbances of the *Khurramdinis* under Bābak in *Ādharbāyḍjān* and *Arrān*, which had begun in 201/816, were assuming threatening proportions.

It was now clear that al-Ma'mūn, if he was to control his empire, must move from Marv to the centre. In 202/818 he set out for Baghdād but did not enter the city until 204/819. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi fled. Faḍl b. Sahl had meanwhile been murdered at al-Ma'mūn's instigation and 'Alī b. Mūsā poisoned near Ṭūs (203/818). In 205/821, al-Ma'mūn appointed Ṭāhir governor of *Khurāsān* and *Sistān*. He succeeded in making himself virtually independent in *Khurāsān* and founded the first of the semi-independent dynasties in Persia after the Islamic conquest. Ṭāhir's son 'Abd Allāh was given Ṭāhir's government in the *Djazira* and remained in the western provinces until about 213/828-9. Other members of the family also held office in Baghdād until 270/883-4, which facilitated the rise of the family to semi-independence as governors of *Khurāsān*. It was not only in *Khurāsān* that al-Ma'mūn's power was shrinking. Riots occurred in the *Djibāl* in 210/824 and rebellion in Mesopotamia in 214/829 and in *Ḳumm* in 216/831. Repeated efforts to suppress the rebellion of Bābak also failed and his revolt had spread to the *Djibāl* by the end of al-Ma'mūn's reign.

A new period was now beginning in the history

of Persia. By this time she had been fully incorporated into the Islamic world. The Arab settlers had been largely assimilated to the local population. Conversion had proceeded throughout the country, though Zoroastrianism was still, to some extent, tolerated. The former ruling classes, so far as they had survived, had been converted to Sunni Islam, as too had the mass of the people, though there were enclaves of *Shi'ism* from an early period in some districts, notably *Ḳumm*, *Ahwāz*, *Kāshān*, *Rayy*, and *Sāva*. As the central government in Baghdād declined old political and social tendencies began to reassert themselves more strongly and new centres of power began to emerge.

In the field of political thought, there was a strong continuity. The Sasanian concept of the universal empire was greatly strengthened under the 'Abbāsids. The caliph came to be regarded as the Shadow of God upon earth (though the strictly orthodox never accepted this view). In the course of time this concept was transferred to the temporal rulers, with consequences detrimental to the freedom and dignity of the subject. Similarly, the *imām's* rights in regard to the ownership of land passed tacitly to the temporal rulers, and his power to delegate authority. Other Sasanian concepts, such as the identification of the state with the social order and the hierarchical nature of society, also came to be increasingly accepted. *Dīn* and *dawla* were two sides of one coin, with the result that non-conformity and political opposition were inseparable. Hostile movements against the government and the ruling classes thus tended to manifest themselves under the guise of *Shi'ism*.

Most of the dynasties which arose as the caliphate fragmented came to power within the general political framework of the Muslim world and accepted the prevailing administrative traditions and political concepts, or if they did not before their assumption of power, they rapidly conformed once they had seized power—as in the case of the 'Abbāsids, who quickly abandoned any messianic or extremist tendencies they may have entertained before their victory over the Umayyads. There was, it is true, alongside the "conservative" tendency of society and government a messianic tendency, but its manifestations were usually fleeting. Its most striking expression in 'Abbāsid times was the *Ismā'ili* movement, which at one time threatened the existence of the Great *Saldjūk* empire and was only finally extinguished as a political movement by *Hūlāgū*. Broadly speaking, however, the rise of new dynasties did not materially alter the structure of society, but merely the composition of the ruling class and, sometimes, the relative importance of the different classes. From *Saldjūk* times onwards the balance between the settled and semi-settled elements of the population was a delicate one. After the Mongol invasion there was a widespread expansion of nomadism accompanied by a dislocation of rural and urban life.

By the death of al-Ma'mūn in 218/833 the balance between the civil and military arms of the administration had been upset. In an attempt to increase the revenue, the tax-farm became increasingly common, but the money received from the farming of the taxes soon ceased to be sufficient to pay the army leaders and their troops. The practice then arose of assigning the taxes not to taxfarmers but to the military themselves, a practice which made it easy for the military, when the central government was weak, to establish their semi-independence. The result of this was, on the one hand, the ruin of the land, and

on the other the failure of the military to support or defend the central government. This militarization of the state and the growing tendency of the military to be occupied not only with the arts of war but also with administration became marked not only in 'Irāq and the western provinces but also in the east under the Sāmānids and more especially the Ghaznavids.

Under the Būyids the military did not normally live on their assignments or *ikhṭā's*, but sent their agents to collect the revenue. In return for his *ikhṭā'* the soldier had to perform military service and was in theory subject to detailed regulations and inspection. A provincial governor could distribute the area under his jurisdiction as *ikhṭā's* but he did this as an official of the state. Legally the possession of an *ikhṭā'* did not give the holder rights of jurisdiction over the inhabitants, but in practice it contributed to the spread of patronage and under the Būyids there were widespread acts of usurpation by the military. Further, the tendency for the function of the provincial governor, provincial military commander, tax collector, taxfarmer, and *muḥṭa'* to be combined in one person led to the emergence of large properties virtually independent of the central government. Under the Būyids the military *ikhṭā'* was the dominant type. Under the Great Salḍjūks there took place an assimilation of the military *ikhṭā'* to the governorate or administrative *ikhṭā'* and the tendency was for the *ikhṭā'* to be defined not by fiscal value but by service and to become by usurpation a hereditary domain over which the *muḥṭa'* had governmental prerogatives (see further, A. K. S. Lambton, *Reflections on the iqtā'*, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965 and C. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iqta' du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* in *Annales*, E.S.C., 1953).

Throughout, though especially from Salḍjūk times onwards, four strands were closely interwoven: administration, taxation, tenure, and military service (though society was *not* feudal in the technical sense). The main burden of supporting the government rested upon the peasantry. Agriculture, especially in the pre-Mongol period, showed an astonishing recuperative power. This is probably to be explained in part by the fact that the local village communities formed relatively stable and, to some extent, self-governing communities under their own *hadḥhudās*, and in part to the fact that in the pre-Mongol period, although wars were frequent, the numbers engaged were, on the whole, small and the destruction which accompanied campaigns was, for the most part, localized and as such was incidental to the movement of armed bands through the countryside.

In spite of the succession of empires, Salḍjūk, Ilkhān and Timurid, there was a persistence of administrative tradition from the 'Abbāsīd period and more especially from Salḍjūk times onwards. This is not to say that there were no changes or new developments: of course, there were, but the element of continuity is more striking than that of change. The Mongol conquest caused a temporary break, but after the conversion of the Ilkhāns to Islam there was a reassertion of Islamic government, though the spread of administrative practices based on custom continued under the Ilkhāns and the Timurids, perhaps to a more marked extent than formerly.

One of the reasons for the persistence of administrative tradition is that the conquerors, whether Arab, Salḍjūk Turk, Mongol, or for that matter Ṣafavid or Qādjār, lacked administrative experience; the original basis of their power was, in all cases, tribal, the

officials of the bureaucracy had the "expertise" and so successive dynasties relied upon them. The great families of viziers, the Barmakids under the 'Abbāsīds, the *Djāyhānīs*, Bal'amīs and 'Uṭbīs under the Sāmānids, Ṣāḥīb b. 'Abbād under the Būyids, Niẓām al-Mulk and his sons and grandsons under the Salḍjūks, and the *Djuwaynis* and Raṣḥīd al-Dīn and his family under the Ilkhāns, played a significant role in the transmission of this tradition, as also did the families of *mustawfis*. The religious classes, at another level, also played an immensely important part in the maintenance of continuity. The '*ulamā'*', as the guardians of tradition, enjoyed high status and prestige, and were a stabilizing force. In times of political upheaval they carried on as local administrators and often acted as peacemakers. This was particularly true of the *kādīs*, among whom there was a strong hereditary tendency.

Alongside this conservatism and continuity, there was also a marked provincial particularism, partly because difficult communications tended to foster isolation, and partly because ethnic differences made for a different ethos of society. The successive empires tended to fragment broadly along similar geo-political lines. *Khurāsān*, the Caspian provinces, *Sistān*, *Fārs*, *Kirmān*, *Kurdistān*, and *Aḥḥarbayḍjān*, all tended at one time or another to become centres of local power, though it must not be supposed that within these different provinces there was necessarily uniformity. Some of these local movements had special and distinguishing characteristics. At the same time, the various movements arising in the different parts of Persia did not develop in isolation, but often reacted upon each other.

Under the Umayyads the Central Asian frontier was re-established broadly where it had been under the Sasanians. They handed on their function as wardens of the marches to the 'Abbāsīds. With the decline in the power of the caliphate, the local dynasties which governed *Khurāsān*, first the *Ṭāhirids*, then the Sāmānids, and later the Ghaznavids, took over this task. The first two, broadly, represented the landowning classes and orthodoxy. Although they established virtually independent dynasties, they sought the authorization of the caliph, as did later dynasties, and there was no implication of revolution in their rise to power. Maḥmūd of Ghazna also ruled within the previously existing Muslim political framework. In the latter half of the 4th/10th century the Ilak *Khāns* broke into Transoxania while the Ghuzz moved into Transcaspiā, and finally into the *dār al-islām*. The Salḍjūks, who established themselves as the leaders of the Ghuzz, in due course found themselves in possession of an empire centred on Persia, and became themselves the wardens of the marches. Towards the end of the reign of Sandjar those Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia overran *Khurāsān*. The *Kh'wārazmshāhs*, who succeeded the Salḍjūks in the east, failed to hold the marches against the Mongols in the 7th/13th century.

Although the maintenance of a stable border in the north-east was a condition for the stability of the interior of Persia, *Khurāsān* was not itself a suitable centre from which to exercise dominion over the whole area. Al-Ma'mūn was forced to move from Marv back to Baghdād, and the Salḍjūks transferred their capitals progressively westwards and southwards, from *Niṣhāpūr* to Rayy and *Iṣfahān*. Sandjar, the only one of the Great Salḍjūk sultans to attempt to rule permanently from *Khurāsān*, was unable effectively to control 'Irāq. In Ṣafavid and Qādjār

times the maintenance of the north-east frontier against encroachments by the Uzbeks and Turkomans was a perennial problem. The frontier finally established in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was far to the south and west of the mediaeval frontier.

The Caspian provinces with their forests and mountain valleys and difficult communications proved hard to conquer. During the early Islamic period Qazvin remained a frontier district. From the reign of 'Umar to that of al-Ma'mūn, seventeen expeditions are recorded against Daylam. From about 250/864 the mountain fastnesses of Daylam served as a refuge for the 'Alids against the 'Abbāsids, where they formed a new centre of resistance hostile to both Baghdād and Khurāsān, the governors of which sought to extend their dominion over the Caspian provinces. Conversion in the Caspian provinces had been slow. In 259/873 a large number of Zoroastrians were converted by Nāṣir al-Ḥaḳḳ Abū Muḥammad in Daylam, and in 299/912 Ḥasan b. 'Alī is said to have converted the inhabitants of Ṭabaristān and Daylam, who were still partly idolators and partly Magians, to Islam (Mas'ūdi, viii, 279). Many of the movements which originated in the Caspian provinces were characterized by Shi'i tendencies. Here, as elsewhere, the Shi'i movement tended to be associated with social movements and to draw into its ranks the discontented. It was not a clear-cut anti-Arab movement supported by Persians. Shi'ism was rather a convenient banner under which to unite in hostility to the ruling class, whether this was Arab in the person of governors appointed by the caliphs, or local rulers who had retained their Zoroastrian faith and who, when they did not feel strong enough to throw off control, either out of fear of local rivals or of rebellion by their subjects, co-operated with the caliphs. The Būyids, who came from Daylam, professed Ithnā-'Ashari Shi'ism, though the earlier 'Alid movements in the province were Zaydi. The Caspian provinces were not only difficult to conquer: they were also difficult to unite. Numerous local dynasties flourished, often simultaneously, sometimes paying tribute to the central government, but more often withholding it, and sometimes extending as far as Ādharbāyḍjān (see also V. Minorsky, *La domination dailamite*, in *Soc. des études iraniennes*, iii (1932), and DAYLAM).

The neighbouring province of Gurgān, of a rather different physical character, had been a frontier province in Sasanian times over against the nomads from the north. In the 3rd/9th century the 'Alids of Ṭabaristān extended their influence over it, but in 316/928 Mardāwīḍj b. Ziyār, by origin a Gilakī in the service of the Daylamite leader Asfār b. Shīrūya, whom he overthrew in 319/931, founded a kingdom, which lasted for about a hundred years, nominally dependent, first on the Sāmānids and then on the Ghaznavids. In Saldjūk times Gurgān came more fully under the control of Khurāsān and one of the main concentrations of Ghuzz was to be found in its steppes with their plentiful grazing. In the late 18th century it became of importance as the province from which the Kādḳārs [q.v.] drew their main support.

Sistān (which included much of the modern Afghānistān), partly surrounded by a desert barrier, tended to be isolated from the developments in other parts of Persia, except for a brief period under Ya'qūb b. Layṭh and 'Amr b. Layṭh. The special characteristic of political movements in Sistān in the early centuries of Islam was their Khāridjite tendency. Under the Ghūrīds [q.v.] Sistān tended to look east. After the break-up of the Ilkhān empire, Harāt

became the centre of the Karts, who had acted as governors on behalf of the Ilkhāns in the heyday of their power. Still later, after the death of Timūr, it became the centre of the eastern Timurid empire. (See also C. E. Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffarids*, 30-250/651-304, Rome 1968).

Fārs, which had been the original seat of power of both the Achaemenids and the Sasanians, tended to be somewhat isolated from the rest of Persia in the early years of the Islamic period. This was perhaps partly due to the fact that much of it was difficult mountain country occupied by a tribal population, which formed an obstacle to its conquest and control [see ILĀT]. Conversion appears to have been slow. Iṣṭakhri, writing in the 4th/10th century, states that the *madjūs* were more numerous in Fārs than in any other province. Under the Būyid 'Aḳud al-Dawla (338/949—372/982), Fārs enjoyed prosperity and importance. After the break-up of the Great Saldjūk empire Fārs was ruled by the Salgharid dynasty (543/1148—686/1287). Later in the 8th/14th century Fārs became the centre of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, and in the 18th century of the short-lived Zand dynasty.

Kirmān was bounded on the north and east by the great desert. The mountain districts of the province stubbornly resisted the Arab advance and gave much trouble to later rulers also [see ILĀT]. Under the Saldjūks of Kirmān it formed a prosperous and semi-independent kingdom but suffered in the disorders committed by the Ghuzz at the end of the Great Saldjūk period.

Kurdistān was ethnically separate from the rest of Persia. Both the physical configuration of the country and the tribal nature of society there militated against political unity. It looked to Mawṣil. Like the Caspian provinces, parts of Fārs and Kirmān, it was difficult campaigning country, and proved a "thorn in the flesh" of the caliphate and the subsequent empires. Few of their rulers succeeded fully in controlling it, and it tended to break away the moment there was a weakening of the central government. The Arab Dynasty of the Ḥamdānids in the 4th/10th century (see M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Ḥamdānides de Jaxtra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers—Paris, 1951), the Kurdish dynasty of the Marwānids who superseded them in Diyār Bakr in the 5th/11th century, and the 'Ukaylids, who held Mawṣil from 380/991 to 489/1096, attained some importance and exercised influence beyond the borders of Kurdistān. Under the Saldjūks Mawṣil looked increasingly westwards. It became under the Zangids one of the most important states of Western Asia, but with little influence on the history of Persia. With the rise of the Ottoman and Ṣafavid empires, Kurdistān became disputed frontier territory.

The neighbouring province of Ādharbāyḍjān was also partly inhabited by Kurds. It was the scene of the Khurramdīni disorders in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. Subsequently a number of minor local ruling families held sway: first the Sādḳids (276/889—317/929), then the Kurd, Daysam, who was a Khāridjite, followed by the Muṣāfirids, who had Bāṭini leanings, and others. In 513/1136, towards the end of the Great Saldjūk period, the atabeg Ildiguz established himself and founded one of the succession states to the Saldjūk empire. Under the Mongols, after the destruction of Baghdād, the political and economic centre of the empire shifted from 'Irāḳ and the Dḳībāl, where it had been under the Buyids and Saldjūks, to Ādharbāyḍjān. Iṣfahān,

which had been the main city of Persia under the Great Saldjūks, although it became one of the centres of power of the Indjuids, one of the succession states to the Ilkhān empire, did not fully recover its importance until the reign of Shāh 'Abbās. Numbers of Ghuzz had settled in Ādharbāydjān in Saldjūk times, and from Mongol times onwards it was inhabited predominantly by Turkish tribes. On the break-up of the Ilkhān empire, the main centre of activity tended to move from Ādharbāydjān to Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Irāk-i 'Adjam, perhaps partly because Ādharbāydjān was becoming at this time subject to raids by the Kipchaks. A succession state was established by the Djalā'irids, who ruled intermittently over Ādharbāydjān and 'Irāk.

In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ādharbāydjān became the centre of the rising Šafavid power, and Tabriz became the capital in the early years of the 10th/16th century. Just as the Saldjūks moved their capitals westwards from Khurāsān to the centre of Persia, so also the Šafavids moved progressively eastwards, from Tabriz to Qazwin and Işfahān. In the 19th century Ādharbāydjān, with the advance of Russia through the Caucasus, succeeded Khurāsān as the crucial frontier area. Here, too, the frontier eventually established after Persia's defeat by Russia in 1828 was considerably inside the mediaeval border.

The period from the death of al-Ma'mūn up to the Mongol invasion falls into three periods, those of the minor dynasties, the Great Saldjūk empire (447/1055—552/1157), and the Kh'wārazmshāhs, ending with the sack of Baghdād by the Mongols in 656/1258. During the first of these, the western provinces dominated by Baghdād developed along rather different lines from Khurāsān and the east, although there was a certain influence of the one on the other. This was partly because of the difference in society in the two areas and partly because of differences in political development. Baghdād and the neighbourhood had experienced all the vicissitudes of the political and economic decline of the caliphate after the death of al-Ma'mūn. In Khurāsān, on the other hand, the old structure of society had maintained itself to a greater extent: the local ruling families still retained a good deal of their former influence and there was a rich merchant class engaged in the caravan trade with China and other countries. On the other side of the frontier there were still a number of independent principalities, often at war with each other. Under the Tāhirids, who came to power in the east, and their successors the Sāmānids, there was a reassertion of old social tendencies, whereas under the Būyids, society was in an advanced stage of disintegration. The Ghaznavids, the successors of the Sāmānids, were in due course overthrown by the Saldjūks, under whom the lands of the eastern caliphate were re-integrated and a new system of government worked out, combining features found in both the eastern and western provinces in a new symbiosis.

The Tāhirids during their fifty or sixty years' rule based their power on a community of interest of the *dihkāns*, though the influence and rights of this class were not so rigidly enforced as they had been in Sasanian times. Externally their main problem was to hold the frontier against the nomad Turks from Central Asia and prevent their intervention in the disorders which occurred in Transoxania. Tāhir, whose father and grandfather had been governors of Bushang, reached Khurāsān as governor in 206/821-2. His rule, apart from some Khāridjite disturbances, was brief and uneventful. By 207/822 he had con-

solidated his power. In that year he omitted al-Ma'mūn's name from the *khufba*, but providentially died the same night (or shortly afterwards) (see D. Sourdel, *Les circonstances de la mort de Tahir*, in *Arabica*, 1958). In spite of this act of overt rebellion, al-Ma'mūn recognised Ṭalhā b. Tāhir as his successor. Khāridjite disturbances, especially in Sistān, continued during his governorate. On his death in 213/828-9 al-Ma'mūn, perhaps with a view to regaining some of his lost authority in the eastern provinces, appointed his favourite, 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir, who was at that time conducting operations against the Khurramdinis in Dinavar, to succeed Ṭalhā. He advanced to Nishāpūr and put down the Khāridjite disturbances which had become widespread. Al-Mu'tašim, who succeeded to the caliphate in 218/833, confirmed 'Abd Allāh in his government.

Unrest meanwhile spread throughout the 'Abbāsīd empire. The Turks, whom al-Mu'tašim had enrolled in greater numbers in his bodyguard than had former caliphs, increased in power and violent quarrels between them and the people of Baghdād occurred repeatedly. In Ādharbāydjān Bābak and the Khurramdinis were still in a state of rebellion. In 220/835 the Afshin [*q.v.*] was placed in charge of the campaign against them and eventually defeated them in 222/837. In Ṭabaristān Māziyār b. Kārin, the last of the Kārinwand dynasty, who, after being deprived of his possessions by the Bāwand, the Ispahbud Shāhriyār, had taken refuge with al-Ma'mūn, embraced Islam and been sent back to Ṭabaristān as governor, apostasized and rebelled. The Afshin, who was sent against him, appears to have encouraged him to rebel. Al-Mu'tašim then sent 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir from Khurāsān against him; Māziyār was captured and executed in 226/841, and 'Abd Allāh made his uncle, Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn, governor of Ṭabaristān.

'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir's rule in Khurāsān and Transoxania appears to have been enlightened. There are indications that he encouraged agriculture and fostered the spread of learning. He was succeeded in 230/844-5 by his son Tāhir, who had become governor of Ṭabaristān in 228/842-3 in succession to his great uncle. Tāhir II received diplomas from successive caliphs. He ruled until 248/862-3. Trouble from the Khāridjites in Sistān continued, and during his reign the *ayyār* under Ya'qūb b. Layth, the Šaffārid, increased in power. Under Tāhir's successor, Muḥammad, Ṭabaristān was lost to the Tāhirids, when the Tāhirid governor, after being defeated in 250/864 by Ḥasan b. Zayd, the 'Alid, abandoned the province in 252/866. Family quarrels also broke out among the Tāhirids, and one branch made common cause with the Šaffārids in Sistān.

Ya'qūb b. Layth, the son of a peasant of Qarūn, who became apprenticed to a coppersmith — hence the name of the dynasty he founded — subsequently, with his brothers, joined a band of *mutaṭawwi'a* led by the Tāhirid governor, Dirham b. Naṣr b. Šāliḥ, and took part in operations against the Khāridjites. He was then made amir of Bust, but in 247/681 drove out the Tāhirid governor and made himself master of Sistān. Ya'qūb's relations with the Khāridjites are not entirely clear. According to some accounts he was a Khāridjite at the beginning of his career. Later attributions of Shī'i sympathies to the Šaffārids would appear to be unfounded. He extended his rule to the Kābul valley, Sind and the Mikrān, and in 253/867 he conquered Harāt and Bushang from Tāhir b. Ḥusayn b. Tāhir.

Meanwhile al-Mu'tazz, who had succeeded to the caliphate in 252/866, was unable to control his go-

vernors in the east, and was threatened by the Zandj rebellion in lower 'Irāk in 254/868. Hoping to rid himself of at least one of his troublesome governors, he granted a diploma for Kirmān to both Ya'qūb and the governor of Fārs, 'Alī b. Ḥusayn. Ya'qūb was the victor and took not only Kirmān but also Fārs. In 257/871 al-Mu'tamid, following a somewhat similar policy, appointed Ya'qūb over the Ṭāhirid provinces of Tukhārīstān and Balkh. According to another group of sources, however, Ya'qūb had already taken Tukhārīstān and Balkh together with Ghazna, Gardiz, and Kābul in 256/870, when the caliph gave him a diploma for Tukhārīstān, Balkh, Fārs, Kirmān, Sistān, and Sind. Finally in 259/873 he marched on Khurāsān, took Nishāpūr, and made Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir prisoner.

Ya'qūb then turned his arms against Hasan b. Zayd, the 'Alid, in Gurgān. The latter fled without giving battle. In 261/874-5 Ya'qūb went again to Fārs, and in 262/875-6 he sent an envoy to the caliph al-Mu'tamid. Alarmed by Ya'qūb's growing power, al-Mu'tamid, or the regent al-Muwaffaq, had given in that year a diploma for Transoxania to the Sāmānid, Naṣr b. Aḥmad, no doubt in the hope that he would counter the spread of Ya'qūb's influence. Weakened by the rebellion of the Zandj, who by 264/877 were raiding within seventeen miles of Baghdād, the caliph now gave Ya'qūb a diploma for Transoxania, Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, Fārs, Kirmān, Sind and Hind, and made him military governor of Baghdād, and titular governor of the holy cities. Ya'qūb, nevertheless, continued his advance on Baghdād, but was worsted by the caliph in an engagement outside the city (265/879). Ya'qūb's defeat, however, was not decisive. By the terms of the peace the Ṣaffārids were recognized as the rulers of the provinces mentioned in the diploma already given to Ya'qūb, and in return they were to pay an annual tribute of 20 million *dirhams*.

Ya'qūb died shortly after this. He was succeeded by his brother 'Amr, who made 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir his deputy in Baghdād, perhaps in the hope of enlisting Ṭāhirid support against the growing power of the Sāmānids. 'Amr's succession was contested by his brother 'Alī. He was defeated and held captive by 'Amr. The provincial governors also began to throw off their allegiance, while in the holy cities 'Amr's rights of precedence were challenged by the Ṭūlūnids. 'Amr's life, like that of Ya'qūb, was largely spent in expeditions from one part of the empire to another, to deal with rebellious governors, and in particular in wars on the eastern frontier of Sistān.

With the defeat of the Zandj in 269/883 by al-Muwaffaq, pressure on the caliphate began to lessen and intrigues against 'Amr at the caliph's court began. An envoy was sent to him to demand the tribute due and the despatch of his son to Baghdād as a hostage. 'Amr retired from Fārs to Kirmān, followed by al-Muwaffaq. In 271/885 Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was again declared governor of Khurāsān and was represented by Rāfi' b. Harthama, who had conquered Nishāpūr in 268/882. Matters did not yet reach breaking-point. In 275/888-9 'Amr agreed to pay 10 million *dirhams* tribute for Kirmān, Fārs and Khurāsān, sent presents to al-Muwaffaq, and retired to Fārs. About this time 'Alī b. Layth escaped from captivity and joined Rāfi' b. Harthama in Khurāsān against 'Amr. In 276/889-90 al-Muwaffaq seized the occasion offered by this embarrassment to 'Amr to withhold from him the privileges of the military governor of Baghdād, to which office he had ap-

pointed him earlier that year. 'Amr in retaliation dropped al-Muwaffaq's name from the *khutba* in Shirāz in 277/890-1 and advanced on Khūzistān. Al-Muwaffaq meanwhile died in 278/891. His son al-Mu'taqid, who became caliph on the death of al-Mu'tamid in 279/892, made peace with 'Amr, confirmed him in his governorships and ordered him to set out for Khurāsān against Rāfi' b. Harthama in 279/892-3. After a long-drawn out campaign Rāfi' was eventually put to flight, and 'Amr entered Nishāpūr in 283/896-7. Rāfi', after briefly joining the 'Alids in Ṭabaristān, fled to Khwārazm, where he was killed in the same year. With his death disturbances in Khurāsān subsided.

Not much is known of the civil administration of Ya'qūb and 'Amr, but their military organization is reputed to have been excellent. A distinction seems to have been made between public and private revenue. 'Amr apparently had three treasuries, one for revenue from land and other taxes, which was utilized for the upkeep of the army, a second for revenue from the personal property of the ruler, which was expended upon the upkeep of the court, and the third for revenues from occasional taxes (*ahdāth*), and confiscations, the proceeds of which were largely used to reward faithful servants, followers and envoys. The army was the object of special care, and paid every three months through the *'arīd* (see Bartold, *op. cit.*, 220-22; and C. E. Bosworth, *Armies of the Saffarids*, in *BSOAS*, 1968).

In origin the Ṣaffārid movement seems to have been a "popular" movement and to have been regarded by the landowners and merchants of Khurāsān and Transoxania as a threat to the established order. Opposition was directed against Ya'qūb's alleged Khāridjite tendencies, but it may be that the real grounds for it was the "popular" nature of the movement. Once Ya'qūb, and after him 'Amr, had extended their power beyond Sistān it seems probable that the "popular" nature of their movement was to some extent lost. They retained their influence in Sistān, however, and reappeared after the death of Maḥmūd of Ghazna and still existed as a local ruling house when the Mongols invaded in the 7th/13th century.

The Ṣaffārids were faced not only with a revival of the power of the caliphate under al-Mu'taqid, but also by the rise of a new power in the east, the Sāmānids, who were extending their influence in Transoxania. Their ancestor, Sāmān, appears to have been a small landowner from the neighbourhood of Bukhārā. During the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, the sons of Asad b. Sāmān were ordered to help Harthama against the rebellious Rāfi'. In return they received governorships in Khurāsān. Under the Ṭāhirids Nūh b. Asad was in Samarqand and in 261/874-5 the caliph al-Mu'tamid gave Naṣr b. Aḥmad a diploma for Samarqand. When Bukhārā was sacked by Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭā'ī from Khwārazm in 260/873-4, Naṣr b. Aḥmad, in response to an appeal from the people of the city, sent his brother Ismā'īl to their aid. In the same year the caliph gave Ismā'īl a diploma for Bukhārā. Having restored order in Bukhārā, Ismā'īl turned his army against Naṣr. Ismā'īl is represented as the victor and as acting with great moderation in victory. This may or may not be true. What probably happened is that they arrived at a deadlock, neither able to defeat the other. In any case, Naṣr remained governor of Transoxania until his death in 279/892, when he was succeeded by Ismā'īl, who received a diploma from the caliph in 280/893.

In 285/898 'Amr demanded a diploma as governor of Transoxania, in return for which he offered to overthrow the 'Alid ruler of Ṭabaristān. Al-Mu'taqid, anxious for the decline of 'Amr, probably saw in his demand an opportunity to weaken him by playing him off against Ismā'īl. Whether 'Amr was overconfident of his ability to overthrow Ismā'īl, or whether he feared that Ismā'īl would, as his power grew, intervene in Khurāsān, and thought it better to forestall him, is not clear. In 286/899 'Amr's commander Muḥammad b. Baṣḥar was defeated by Sāmānid forces, and in the following year 'Amr himself was captured and sent to Baghdād. His sons retired to Sistān. For some years they continued operations against the Sāmānids in Sistān and the local rulers in Fārs, but were unable to restore Ṣaffārid fortunes.

By 289/902, when al-Muktafi succeeded to the caliphate, the Sāmānids had gained the whole of Khurāsān, and in the diploma which Ismā'īl received from al-Muktafi Rayy, Kazwin, and Zandjān were added to Khurāsān. The Sāmānids were, however, unable to establish effective control over the western regions and disputed them with the Sādjids, who had come to power when al-Muwaffaq had appointed Muḥammad Afshin Abū 'Ubayd b. Abī'l-Sādjī governor of Ādharbāyḍjān in 276/889-90. The rapid extension of Sāmānid territory put a certain strain on Sāmānid organization, although this was not immediately felt. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, who succeeded in 295/907, established his claim by force of arms. He extended the Sāmānid domains still further by temporarily occupying Sistān in 298/910-11. Ṭabaristān, on the other hand, was lost to the 'Alids when Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Uṭrush (al-Nāṣir al-Kabir) staged a successful revolt, making skilful use of the discord existing among the local rulers in the Caspian provinces.

The Sāmānids, like the Ṭāhirids, had a certain affinity with the *marzbāns* on the eastern frontiers of the Sasanian empire. Theirs was the last attempt to maintain the old social system against the general levelling tendencies of Turkish military government. The two centres of their kingdom were Samarqand and Bukhārā; on the periphery there were a number of states which acknowledged Sāmānid overlordship and in some cases paid a nominal tribute. Among them were Khwārazm, Ḡhardjistān, al-Shār, Djūz-djān, Isfidjāb and Ṣāghāniyān. The bureaucracy under the Sāmānids was well-developed and on a somewhat similar model to the bureaucratic administration of the caliphs at Baghdād. Narshakhi mentions nine government offices or *diwāns*, those of the vizier, *mustawfi*, *sāhib shurt*, *sāhib mu'ayyid*, *mushrif*, and *muhtasib*, and the *diwān-i mamlaka-i khāss*, the *diwān-i awkāf*, and the *diwān-i ḥadā* (*Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Riḍawī, p. 31). According to Bartold there was a tenth *diwān*, the *diwān-i barid*. The chief civil official was known as the *khawāḍja-i busurg*. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Djayhāni, who held this office under Naṣr. b. Aḥmad, was, perhaps, a more important figure than his sovereign.

The army was composed of a nucleus of Turks, mainly purchased or captured on the frontiers and brought up as slaves, and levies supplied by the *dihkāns*. The leading military commander had the title *sipahsālār* and from Niṣhāpūr administered Sāmānid territories south of the Amū Daryā. The chief military offices and provincial governments were held by members of local ruling families and by Turkish slaves. The court was elaborately organ-

ized with a hierarchy of officials. The main offices were held by the military classes. The domestic affairs of the court were under an official known as the *wakil*. In the provincial governments many of the same offices and departments were found as at the centre, though there was no uniformity throughout the empire. In the early period of Sāmānid rule, the civil power held the upper hand: the army was subordinate and the troops were paid in cash, but were not debarred from acquiring land. Ibn Hawḳal states that taxes were lower in the Sāmānid empire than anywhere else and wages higher. The taxes, levied in two instalments, totalled some 40 million *dirhams*. Officials were paid quarterly and their pay amounted to about half the revenue. This favourable position of income in relation to expenditure allowed considerable mildness to prevail in the tax administration. Trade and industry were highly developed. Muḥaddasi gives an extensive list of exports from the various towns. Trade with the nomads of Central Asia was also important (ii, 468 ff.; see further, Bartold *op. cit.*, 235 ff.).

Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, after a reign of nearly six years, was murdered by his Turkish guards in 301/913. His 8-year-old son Naṣr succeeded. During his reign the spirit of revolt entered the Sāmānid house itself and Naṣr spent much of his long reign, which lasted until 331/942, in putting down the revolts of his cousins and brothers. About 318/930 three of his brothers, who were imprisoned in Bukhārā, were liberated with the help of seditious elements in the city, including Shi'īs and Khārīḍjites, and one of them, Yahyā, proclaimed amir. The movement was abortive.

In the west the Sādjids had maintained themselves against further Sāmānid advance. In 305/917-18 Yūsuf b. Abī'l-Sādjī defeated a force sent against him by the caliph al-Muktadir, but was forced, in spite of this, to give up Rayy, and some two years later, although he defeated an army led by the caliph's general Mūnis, retired to Zandjān. Mūnis followed him, defeated him near Ardabil and brought him to Baghdād. In 310/922, he was set free and given the government of Rayy and Ādharbāyḍjān. Later he was defeated and killed by the Carmathians (314/926). Ādharbāyḍjān was then disputed between the Khārīḍjite Kurd, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm, and the Muṣāfirids, who in the end prevailed.

More important than the attempts by provincial governors to seize the opportunity to establish their independence was the spread of the Carmathian movement, which was eventually captured by the Ismā'īlis, who founded the Fāṭimid anti-caliphate in 297/910. Between 318/930 and 328/940 Fāṭimid propaganda made great strides in Khurāsān and Transoxania. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafi (al-Nakshabi), a Fāṭimid missionary, won over a number of prominent officials and eventually Naṣr himself. The 'ulamā' and the Sunnī notables were unable to meet this challenge alone and were forced to turn for help to the Turkish nucleus of the army. Naṣr, following a plot to overthrow him, abdicated in favour of his son Nūḥ and was thrown into prison in 330/942. Al-Nasafi and his supporters were massacred. Henceforward the army decided the course of events. Joining in the struggles for supremacy between the rival claimants, they eventually brought the state to ruin.

Khwārazm revolted in 332/943-4 and in the following year Abū 'Alī Ḡaghāni, governor of Khurāsān, rebelled. By this time also, the favourable financial position which had prevailed earlier had changed for

the worse. There were acute shortages of funds and the army's pay was often in arrears. There were desertions to Abū 'Alī, who also obtained support from some of the tributary states. Nūḥ fled to Samarkand and Abū 'Alī entered Bukhārā in 335/947 with Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, Nūḥ's uncle. Abū 'Alī was unable, however, to maintain himself in Bukhārā and returned to Ṣāghāniyān, whence he encouraged the tributary rulers along the Amū Daryā to rebel. Sāmānid prestige declined rapidly and the Sāmānid princes played less and less part in the struggles which ensued between the rival amirs and governors.

With the decline of the Sāmānids and the failure of the caliphate to maintain its temporary revival under al-Mu'taḍid, the northern provinces of Persia became the scene of the exploits of a series of Daylamite leaders who were little more than robber barons, the common characteristics of whose rule were love of money, extortion, and cruelty. In 308/920 Laylā b. Nu'mān seized Nishāpūr from the Sāmānids on behalf of Ḥasan b. Kāsim, the 'Alid, who succeeded Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Uṭrush in 304/917. He failed to hold it. Some years later Kāki took Rayy, but, unable to establish his independence, entered Sāmānid service. Meanwhile Asfār b. Shīrūya had proclaimed himself in Sāri but was defeated by Mākān b. Kāki. He then took refuge with the Sāmānid governor of Khurāsān, Abū Bakr b. Ilyās. When the latter died, Asfār received the allegiance of his troops and seized Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Kazwin, Kūmm, Kāshān, and Lur-i Kūčik. He was overthrown in 319/931 by one of his own generals, Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty. Mardāwīdj, who, according to Ibn Miskawayh, appears to have had visions of restoring the old Persian empire (vii, 5, 489; cf. also Ibn al-Aḥṡir, viii, 226), took Kazwin, Rayy, Hamadān, Kangavar, Dīnavar, and Burūdjird, and then turned back to invade Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, which had been seized by Mākān. Among Mardāwīdj's followers were the three sons of Būya, 'Alī, Ḥasan, and Aḥmad. They had originally been in the service of Mākān, but had deserted him for Mardāwīdj. When the latter extended his conquests southwards, he appointed 'Alī b. Būya governor of Karādj.

At first 'Alī appears to have considered entering the service of the caliph, who was by now a puppet in the hands of the *amīr al-umara'*, but his overtures were ignored. He then took Iṣfahān, but retired to Arrādīn when Mardāwīdj sent his brother Wuṣḥmḡir against him, and seized Fārs in 321/933, while his brother Aḥmad occupied Kirmān in 322/934. Mardāwīdj, on receipt of this news, set out himself for Iṣfahān and sent another army from Khūzistān to march on the Būyids. 'Alī thereupon renewed his allegiance to Mardāwīdj and sent his brother Ḥasan to him as a hostage. Mardāwīdj meanwhile appears to have conceived the plan of conquering Baghdād, but before he could put the plan into operation he was assassinated by his Turkish slaves in 323/935. He was succeeded in part of his domains by Wuṣḥmḡir, who spent his reign in a constant state of war with the Sāmānids, Būyids, and others and eventually accepted Sāmānid overlordship.

Ḥasan b. Būya rejoined 'Alī on the assassination of Mardāwīdj and they occupied Iṣfahān. Mākān had meanwhile taken Kirmān and acknowledged Sāmānid overlordship. Later he left Kirmān in an attempt to regain Gurgān and Ṭabaristān. About 329/940-1 he threw off Sāmānid allegiance and when the Sāmānid governor of Khurāsān sent an army against him he appealed to Wuṣḥmḡir for help. Ḥasan b. Būya, prof-

iting from the preoccupations of his rivals, seized Rayy and made himself master of the surrounding district.

In Baghdād the struggles between the Turkish amirs and between the Turks and Daylamites had reduced the city and the neighbourhood to anarchy. In 334/945 Aḥmad b. Būya, encouraged by Ināl Kūsha, governor of Wāsiṭ, (Ibn al-Aḥṡir, viii, 337) set out for Baghdād and took it without battle. The caliph al-Mustakfi welcomed him and gave him a diploma and bestowed *laḡabs* on the three brothers: 'Alī became 'Imād al-Dawla, Aḥmad, Mu'izz al-Dawla, and Ḥasan, Rukn al-Dawla. Mu'izz al-Dawla treated the caliph with the greatest contempt. Eleven days after his arrival in Baghdād, he accused him of seditious correspondence with the Ḥamdānids and made al-Muṭi' caliph in his place. Although the caliphate reached its lowest ebb during the period of Būyid supremacy, the Būyids did not attempt to overthrow it altogether. There were probably two main reasons for this. In the first place, they may have hoped to use for their own political ends such prestige as the 'Abbāsids still possessed, and secondly, the existence of a Sunni caliphate left them with a free hand: had they set up a Shī'i caliph their troops might well have supported the caliph against them [see further BUWAYHIDS or BŪYIDS]. The consequence of the retention of the caliphate under their dominion was important: it discredited Iḥna 'Ashari Shī'ism as a serious alternative to it with the result that it was the Ismā'ilis to whom the discontented turned in the 5th/11th century in the hope of overthrowing the existing order (see further B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, London 1967, especially 29 ff.).

The main Būyid centres were Shīrāz, Rayy and Baghdād. 'Alī during his lifetime was looked upon as the head of the family. He ruled Fārs and the area extending to Iṣfahān and Ahwāz, while Rukn al-Dawla ruled in the west from Rayy to Hamadān and Iṣfahān, and Mu'izz al-Dawla in 'Irāk. On the death of 'Imād al-Dawla the rest of the family deferred to Rukn al-Dawla, who proved totally unable to control his Daylamite troops, who robbed and plundered wherever they went. After his death there was a repeated subdivision of Būyid territories and their partial reunification by force of arms by one member of the family or another. An abortive attempt was made by the Muṣāfirids to regain Rayy in 336/947-8. The Muṣāfirid Marzbān was defeated near Kazwin in 338/949, but the Būyid force then sent to Aḡhar-bāyḡdīn was unable to make permanent gains and returned to Rayy.

The rule of Mu'izz al-Dawla in 'Irāk did nothing to improve conditions. He had no care for the local population and introduced the custom of quartering the troops on the local population, which caused them serious annoyance. He also made a practice of giving lands to his troops, the result of which was to bring agriculture into a hopeless state of disorganization (*Eclipse*, ii, 96). Quarrels between Daylamites and Turks continued. In every Būyid army there was a bitter feud between the Turks and the Daylamites, to which much of the indecisive fighting of the period is due. From the time of Mu'izz al-Dawla onwards, however, the Turkish element became increasingly important. Mu'izz al-Dawla, not surprisingly in these circumstances, found himself in constant difficulties for money. Confiscations of the property of officials on death or dismissal were common, and offices were put up to the highest bidder. His reign was largely occupied by internal rebellions and a series of expeditions against the Ḥamdānids, the last of



which was in 353/964. The balance of these was in his favour, and from time to time he exacted tribute from them, but he failed to crush them entirely. When finally the Ḥamdānids became increasingly engaged in Syria in a struggle with the Fāṭimids, pressure on the western flank of the Būyids ceased. Mu'izz al-Dawla also undertook various operations against the Barīdis [q.v.] in Khūzistān, and finally extinguished them in 349/960-1. He was succeeded in 356/967 by his son Bakhtiyār 'Izz al-Dawla, who was an ineffective ruler.

When Bakhtiyār's Turkish mercenaries revolted and seized power, 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the son of Rukn al-Dawla, who had been ruling in Shīrāz since 338/949, set out for Baghdād in 364/974 to restore order. He forced Bakhtiyār to abdicate, but because of the protests of Rukn al-Dawla he re-established Bakhtiyār and returned to Shīrāz. In 366/976 Rukn al-Dawla died and was succeeded by his son Mu'ayyid al-Dawla in Rayy and by another son Fakhr al-Dawla in Hamadān. Bakhtiyār took the opportunity to march on Shīrāz and provoke a conflict with 'Aḍud al-Dawla. He was defeated. 'Aḍud al-Dawla occupied Baghdād in 367/977 and seized Fakhr al-Dawla's territories also, but allowed Mu'ayyid al-Dawla to rule as his subordinate.

Under 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who ruled first in Fārs (338/949—366/977) and then in Fārs and 'Irāk (366/977—372/983), the Būyids reached their height. Būyid troops occupied Balūcistān and the Mikrān and even operated in 'Omān. On the Khurāsān border, where there had been constant conflicts with Sāmānid governors usually ending in a Sāmānid victory, there had been a sudden weakening of the Sāmānids, who were defeated towards the end of 371/982. 'Aḍud al-Dawla's death at the critical moment prevented any further Būyid advance into Khurāsān. 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the only real figure of a ruler among the Būyids, established an effective administration. He reorganized the postal system, put down brigandage, and fostered commerce. He followed a policy of religious toleration and suspended the public celebration of sectarian ceremonies which had been introduced by Mu'izz al-Dawla in Baghdād. He was a great builder and patronized men of learning and theologians. He did not, however, entirely lose the characteristics of his race: old taxes were increased and new ones introduced. (See further H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969).

After the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawla the Būyid dynasty declined rapidly. Until the reimposition of orderly government by the Saljūqs the western provinces were torn by internecine strife and almost interminable conflicts. The administration was completely broken up, agriculture ruined, and the old money economy destroyed beyond repair. A contributory factor in this decline was the change in the flow of trade connected with the rise of the Fāṭimids (see 'ABBĀSIDS, and B. Lewis, *Fāṭimids and the route to India*, in *Istanbul Thtsāt Fak. Mecm.*, 1950, 355-66).

In due course Khurāsān fell, not to the Būyids, but to the new power rising in the east, the Ghaznavids. Two favourable circumstances attended their rise: first the absence of any strong power in western Persia able to fill the vacuum created by the decline of the Sāmānids, and secondly the existence on their frontier of the decaying empire of the Hindū Shāhīs, which offered to them a new field of operations. Alptakīn, the commander of the Sāmānid forces in Khurāsān, after an abortive rising in favour of 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ in 350/961, withdrew to the eastern frontiers and took Buṣṭ and Ghazna. After an inter-

regnum following his death in 352/963, Sebuktegin, one of his *ghulāms*, assumed power in 366/977. He regarded himself as governing on behalf of the Sāmānids but paid no tribute to them. In 383/993 Nūḥ b. Naṣr summoned him to Transoxania to aid him against rebels. After a successful campaign Sebuktegin was given the governorships of Balkh, Tukhārīstān, Bāmiyān, Ghūr, and Ghardjīstān in 384/994, and his son Maḥmūd was made commander of the army with his headquarters in Nishāpūr. When the Karakhānids invaded Transoxania in 386/996, Nūḥ again appealed to Sebuktegin for help. By the peace which was concluded with the Karakhānids the frontier was established on the Kaṭwān steppe.

Sebuktegin died in 387/997. He left his domains to various members of his family, but by 388/998 Maḥmūd, temporarily abandoning Khurāsān, had made himself master of the territory held by his father. In the following year he seized Khurāsān and read the *khutba* in the name of al-Kādir, whose succession the Sāmānids had not recognised, continuing to read the *khutba* in the name of his deposed predecessor, al-Tā'if. In return Maḥmūd was granted a diploma by al-Kādir for Khurāsān (389/999). In 390/1000 Maḥmūd made an expedition into India, capturing some fortresses near Lamghān. The following year he invaded India again, defeated Jaipal, and took a great quantity of booty. Subsequently he made several successful expeditions into India, the most famous of which was in 416/1025-6 when he destroyed the idol temple at Sumnath. The attempts made by the last of the Sāmānids, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl (d. 395/1005) to recover Khurāsān were in vain. The former Sāmānid territories were now divided between the Ghaznavids and the Karakhānids. In 398/1008 Maḥmūd defeated Ilig Naṣr and Kādir Khān Yūsuf near Balkh. He then extended his authority over Ghardjīstān, Khwārazm, Sistān, Ghūr, Ṭabaristān and Gurgān. The conquest of Khwārazm in 408/1017 gave him a preponderance over the Karakhānids, and when civil war spread in the Karakhānid kingdom, he invaded Transoxania in 415-16/1025, but does not appear to have made permanent gains. In 417/1026 Maḥmūd received a diploma from the caliph al-Kādir for the conquered provinces. The caliph moreover bound himself not to enter into relations with the Karakhānids except through Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd was a strict Sunnī, and since at the time of his rise the Fāṭimids were pressing in through Syria towards Baghdād, where the caliph was a puppet in the hands of the Būyids, considerable glamour attached to him as the first ruler who came to the rescue of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, though in fact it was not until Tuḡhrīl Beg arrived in Baghdād that it was relieved of tutelage to the Būyids. So far as Maḥmūd's administration is concerned there was outwardly little change, but the spirit of the imperial organization was changing. The state was no longer a civil power which maintained an army. The court was to a greater degree than had formerly been the case military and tribal. The army had become the state and its commander the sultan, and the only function and duty of the people was to pay taxes. Maḥmūd did not, however, solve the problem of how to support the army: the new system was to be worked out, not by the Ghaznavids, but by the Saljūqs. In 420/1029 Maḥmūd entered Rayy, which had been in the hands of the Būyid, Maḥmūd al-Dawla, and left his son Mas'ūd there with orders to complete the conquest of Būyid territories. Hamadān and Iṣfahān fell, but in 421/1030 Maḥmūd died and

Mas'ūd hastened back to *Khurāsān* to claim the throne. The early years of Mas'ūd's reign were occupied by struggles for power between rival factions. With his withdrawal from Rayy, the local branch of the *Būyids*, the *Kāktūyids*, threw off their allegiance. The real threat to the *Ghaznavids*, however, was to come from elsewhere. During the reign of Maḥmūd, groups of *Ghuzz* had passed into *Khurāsān* and the interior of Persia. The first considerable movement was in 420/1029, when Maḥmūd ordered the tribes under Isrā'īl b. Saldjūk, whom he had seized, to migrate into *Khurāsān*. In 425/1033-4, two brothers, Tuḡhril Beg and Čaghri Beg Dā'ūd, the sons of Mikā'īl b. Saldjūk, and their uncle Yabḡū b. Saldjūk moved from Transoxania to the borders of *Kh̲wārazm*, but were obliged to move again in 426/1034-5 on the death of Hārūn the *Kh̲wārazmshāh*. A number of them crossed the Oxus into *Khurāsān* and asked permission to live under Mas'ūd's protection. During the next few years they were constantly on the move in search of new pastures, harried by and harrying the *Ghaznavids*, until finally they met in battle at Dandankān in 431/1040. Mas'ūd was decisively defeated. *Ghaznavid* rule was brought to an end in *Khurāsān*, though the *Ghaznavids* continued to rule in *Ghazna* until dispossessed by the *Ghūrids* [q.v.] in 569/1173-4. Further weakened, they retired first to Kābul and then to Lahore.

The Saldjūk period in some ways represents a culmination of previous developments, in others a new departure. There had been from the 3rd/9th century onwards much recruitment of Turkish slaves in western and eastern Persia, and the *Ghaznavids* were, by origin, a slave dynasty. During their rule there was an increased militarization of the state, but no major change in its structure. The *Ghuzz* movement was different: it was a tribal migration, and the Saldjūks who emerged as its leaders became, almost by chance, the rulers of a vast empire. This, at its height, stretched from Transoxania to Syria and Anatolia, though the last two were never under the effective control of the Great Saldjūk sultan, and included *Khurāsān* and the rest of Persia, 'Irāk-i 'Arab, and the *Djazira*. The numbers involved in this migration were not large: those taking part were to be counted, perhaps, in tens of thousands. They seem to have caused remarkably little dislocation economically [see *ILĀT*]. Small though their numbers were, they altered the balance of the population in two ways: henceforward the two main elements were Persian and Turkish—the dichotomy of the early centuries between 'arab and 'adjam was replaced by that between *turk* and *tādjik*, and secondly there was an expansion of nomadism and a more strongly marked dichotomy between settled and semi-settled. This dichotomy, in the early period of Saldjūk rule, coincided, to some extent, with that between Turk and non-Turk, and this in turn corresponded, in large measure, with the dichotomy between the military and the rest of the population.

The Saldjūk leaders were not simply the leaders of a nomad tribal group. They were also familiar with urban life, and from the very beginning of their transformation into the rulers of an empire they had settled capitals. As heirs to an empire and to the civilization which had developed in the lands of the Eastern Caliphate, they became the defenders of Sunni Islam and under them a great revival took place, which made possible the unification of the Sunni world, against which the Crusaders were unable to achieve lasting success. As heirs to an empire it was not long before a conflict developed between

them and the Turkoman nomads, whose main concern was for new pastures and who, in religion, had the attitude of the *ghāzī*. Since many of the Turkomans pushed on to the Georgian, Armeno-Byzantine and Caucasian frontiers to undertake the activities of *ghāzīs*, it was in Anatolia rather than Persia, however, that this Islam took root. Support for Sunnism was imposed upon the Saldjūks by political circumstances: opposition to the *Būyids* dictated a pro-Sunni and an anti-Shi'i policy. From the time of Malikshāh onwards, i.e. after the *Būyids* had been deprived of their political power, the strict orthodoxy of the Saldjūk sultans was modified. A pro-Sunni attitude was also imposed upon them by their need to win the support of the 'ulamā' in order, in turn, to gain the support of the masses—though they failed to carry with them those who were discontented with the established order, and who were to be found among all classes.

Under the Saldjūks, al-Ghazālī [q.v.] worked out a new relationship between caliph and sultan, from which stemmed a series of interconnected jurisdictions, whose stability depended upon orthodoxy or right religion, and the personal loyalty of the sultan to the caliph, and of subordinate officials to the sultan. The power of the Saldjūks was thus given a *shar'ī* basis and differed from that of the *Būyids*, which had been usurped. Since Islam still had relevance to the daily life of the people this reformulation was of more than theoretical importance: it made possible the preservation of the religious life of the community and enabled political life to run its course within the framework of Islam. That the sultan's rule was given a *shar'ī* basis did not, of course, stop the arbitrary use of power, but it tempered its use and, generally speaking, prevented it reaching lengths which were felt to be intolerable by the people.

The Saldjūk theory of state, as well as its primary Islamic basis, had another basis, which derived its inspiration from Sasanian theory and was expressed by Niẓām al-Mulk, the vizier of Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. According to this theory the sultan was directly appointed by God. His power was absolute and required no justification, and against it the population had no rights and no freedom. This theory, like the Islamic theory, also emphasized the interdependence of kingship and religion, and of stability and right religion. It rested, however, on justice rather than right religion. This was to be achieved by the maintenance of each in his rightful place. To these two bases the Saldjūks brought a third, which derived from the practice of the steppe: the practice of consultation. This was, perhaps, never very strong, and as the power of the central government was strengthened and the Saldjūks came to rely less on the Turkoman tribes and more on an army composed of slaves and freedmen, so the Islamic theory tended to be superseded by the conception put forward by Niẓām al-Mulk, while the element of consultation weakened and virtually disappeared.

The establishment of a strong central government provided order and discipline, secured the defence of the Muslim community and Muslim lands, and created conditions in which Muslim life could be lived and the various classes carry on their occupations in relative security. But it failed to remove the underlying dissatisfactions, and the Saldjūk period is also marked by the appearance of a new phase of the Ismā'ill movement, known to Arab historians as the "new propaganda" (*al-da'wa al-djādīda*) in contradistinction to the "old propaganda" (*al-da'wa al-kadīma*) of the Fāṭimids, and its followers as the Bāṭiniyya.

In the field of administration there was a long continuity of practice stretching back beyond the Saldjūks, but, consequent upon the changed political, economic, and social circumstances which prevailed, certain developments which had begun before their arrival took definite shape and provided a pattern which was to persist in its essentials down to the 20th century. The two main aspects of the sultan's administration were the *dargāh* or court and the *diwān* [q.v.], which was the chief department of the bureaucracy. The former was essentially military, composed of amirs, slaves, and freedmen, though it was also frequented by the chief officials of the bureaucracy, the religious classes and learned men. The relations between the *dargāh* and the *diwān* were not clearly formulated. The vizier, the chief bureaucratic official, bridged the gap between the two. In the reigns of Alp Arslān (455/1063—465/1072) and Malikshāh (465/1072—485/1092), the vizirate reached its height under Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.], who supervised all aspects of the administration. Later the vizier declined in importance and there was an increased militarization of the state and a contraction in the area of its direct operation. (See further A. K. S. Lambton, *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, ed. J. A. Boyle, 1968, v, 203-82).

This was accompanied by the emergence of what tended to become a "hereditary" domain or *ikhṭā'* over which the *mukṭa'* had governmental prerogatives, which included the collection of taxes (in the details of the local arrangements for the assessment and collection of which there is a striking continuity), the holding of the *maẓālim* court, and the general supervision of security and religious affairs. This development coincided with and was partially the consequence of the change in the military forces of the state. As the army became composed not of Turkoman tribes but mainly of slaves and freedmen, the problem of providing their pay and of financing the administration in general became urgent. The *ikhṭā'* was simply a device to solve the problem. Under a strong ruler it did not necessarily involve a relaxation of the control of the central government or decentralization, but in the long run it made for a decline in the power of the sultan relative to that of the amirs and finally under the series of weak rulers who succeeded Muḥammad b. Malikshāh contributed to the political disintegration of the empire.

This tendency was further aggravated by the atabegate, an institution peculiar to the Saldjūk period, which had a social and a political aspect. The atabeg [q.v.] was placed in charge of a prince's education and normally married to his mother. If the young *malik* was assigned a province, the atabeg attached to him was responsible for its administration. Politically one of the objects of the atabegate was to control the *malik* and prevent his rebellion, but as the power of the amirs increased relative to that of the sultans, the atabegate was used, not so much to prevent the rebellion of a Saldjūk *malik* as to retain the nominal allegiance of a powerful or rebellious amir (see further *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, *op. cit.*). This was the origin of the various atabeg dynasties which arose on the decline of the Great Saldjūk empire.

After the battle of Dandankān, as the Saldjūks consolidated their conquests in Khurāsān and moved westwards, the majority of the Ghuzz became associated with them, though full control was never established over the movement as a whole. Outlying groups, although acknowledging the nominal over-

lordship of the Saldjūks, continued to act independently. Many of them pushed on into Syria and Asia Minor. The geographical extent of the operations of the Ghuzz was thus wider than the area over which the central government exerted control. Politically the Great Saldjūk empire was a loose confederation of semi-independent kingdoms. Of these, the Saldjūk kingdoms of Rūm and Syria broke away at an early date and developed along more or less independent lines, while the Saldjūk kingdom of Kirmān, whose founder Kāwurd b. Čaghri Beg was appointed governor of the province by Tuğhril Beg in 433/1041, also became virtually independent and exerted little influence on the general course of events. During the reign of Tuğhril Beg (429/1037—455/1063) the power the Saldjūks was based on the Turkoman tribes. Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, during whose reigns the Great Saldjūks were at the height of their power, relied increasingly on armies composed, not of Turkomans, but of Turkish slaves and freedmen. After the death of Malikshāh, these slaves and freedmen as *mukṭa'*s and *atabegs*, became the dominant class, and eventually, as the power of the central government waned, set up virtually independent kingdoms.

Under Tuğhril Beg there was on the one hand an expansion northwestwards, which was facilitated by the weakness of the Byzantine empire, and on the other a consolidation of the gains made in Persia. Čaghri Beg remained in Khurāsān and ruled in the east until his death in 452/1060. In 440/1048 Ibrāhīm Ināl, Tuğhril's half-brother, undertook a campaign into Armenia, and in 446/1054 Tuğhril captured Ardjiṣh and besieged Manzikert. In the following year Tuğhril entered Baghdād. Already in 429/1038, when the Saldjūks had first entered Nishāpūr, al-Kā'im had sent an envoy to them, and in 431/1040 after Dandankān, when they had written to the caliph asking him to bestow upon them the sovereignty of the lands they had already conquered, the caliph in reply had invited Tuğhril to Baghdād. Other preoccupations prevented his coming until 447/1055-6. Shortly after his entry, al-Raḥīm, the Būyid general, was seized and the rule of the Būyids brought to an end, although a branch of the family continued to rule in Yazd as Saldjūk governors for several years. On this occasion, however, Tuğhril was not granted an audience by the caliph: this honour was reserved until his second visit to Baghdād in 449/1058. Meanwhile in 448/1056 Arslān Khātūn, Dā'ūd's daughter, was betrothed to the caliph.

Al-Basāsiri, the Shi'ī Turkish general, to whom power had passed in Baghdād on the fall of the Būyids, fled on Tuğhril's entry. He was joined by many of the Arab Shi'ī tribes on the Syrian border, and appealed to the Fātimids for help. Tuğhril followed him and operations took place between them in northern 'Irāk in 450/1058. Ibrāhīm Ināl seized this opportunity to rebel a second time—the first had been in 441/1049-50, when he had refused to hand Hamadān over to Tuğhril. The latter was forced to leave Mesopotamia to deal with Ibrāhīm Ināl. Al-Basāsiri thereupon marched on Baghdād and proclaimed the Fātimid al-Mustanshir caliph. Al-Kā'im, who had sent an urgent message to Tuğhril to return to Baghdād, took refuge with Kuraysh, the 'Uḳaylid, who entrusted him to Muhārish b. Badrān. Tuğhril, after he had overcome Ibrāhīm Ināl's revolt with the help of Dā'ūd's sons, Yāḳūti and Kāwurd, retook 'Irāk. Al-Basāsiri was killed and the 'Abbāsīd caliph restored, but the administration of Baghdād was taken over by Tuğhril.

The caliph's function was henceforward to occupy himself with religious leadership: temporal affairs were delegated to the sultan, though in Baghdād itself there was, to some extent, a conflict of authority.

By 451/1059 Ṭuḡhril was master of Mesopotamia up to Syria and the Byzantine frontier, though on his death there were outbreaks of disorder by the bedouin of 'Irāk. His ambitions were meanwhile growing and in 453/1061 he demanded the hand of the caliph's daughter in marriage. This caused the caliph great annoyance—even the Būyids had not demanded this of him—but after negotiations and threats the marriage contract was eventually ratified in 454/1062 outside Tabriz. When Ṭuḡhril came to Baghdād in the following year the caliph's daughter was taken to his residence, and when he left Baghdād in 456/1064 she accompanied him.

So far as the relations of the Saldjūks with local ruling families were concerned, in the early period of their expansion, the local rulers probably looked upon them as a reserve of mercenaries to draw upon in their quarrels. The payments received by them were not tribute (as they are often represented in the sources) but payments to mercenaries for their services, and when the Ghuzz left the district these payments naturally ceased. As the Saldjūk conquests spread in some cases the local rulers were driven out, but in many cases they were confirmed in all or part of their possessions in return for tribute. By the end of Ṭuḡhril's reign, however, administration by Saldjūk officials was becoming increasingly common. In due course the former ruling families were merged into the Saldjūk imperial structure. Marriage alliances were made with them and hostages were often taken to lessen the likelihood of rebellion.

The loose confederation over which Ṭuḡhril had established some kind of central control was far from being firmly united at his death in 455/1063. In accordance with his will, Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd was declared his successor by his vizier al-Kunduri. Seeing, however, that the amirs opposed his accession, al-Kunduri proclaimed Alp Arslān, another of Dā'ūd's sons, who had been his father's chief lieutenant in the east. Yabḡhū b. Saldjūk, governor of Harāt, and Kutulmīsh, a grandson of Saldjūk, both rebelled and were defeated in 456/1063-4. These events probably mark a turning point in the position of the sultan: if control of the empire was to be retained, it was clear that a standing army loyal to the sultan was necessary. As the conception of an autocratic ruler replaced that of the ruling khān, and the moral basis of Saldjūk authority weakened, some substitute had to be found for the former tribal loyalties. To some extent the central government supplied an element of unity, but this could be effective only as long as it was supported by a strong central army. This condition was fulfilled under Alp Arslān (455/1063—465/1072) and Malikshāh (465/1072—485/1092), and the latter in particular succeeded in imposing a measure of control throughout the empire.

Under Alp Arslān conquests in the northwest continued. Partly to co-ordinate and partly to control the various groups operating on the Byzantine frontier, Alp Arslān intervened himself and took Ani in 457/1065 and laid waste Cilicia and stormed Caesarea in 459/1067. Romanus IV Diogenes mounted a counter-offensive and had some success in campaigns in 460/1068 and 461/1069, but a third campaign ended in a crushing defeat at Manzikert and his capture in 463/1071 (see C. Cahen, *La campagne de Manzikert d'après les sources musulmans*, in *Byzantion*,

ix (1934), 613 ff.). In 465/1072 Alp Arslān was assassinated while on an expedition against the Karakhānids. He had appointed Malikshāh his *walī 'ahd* in 458/1066 and with a view to safeguarding his accession had allocated different parts of his kingdom in the form of *ikhā's* to various of his relatives. Nevertheless Malikshāh's accession was disputed by Kāwurd, the Saldjūk ruler of Kirmān. He was defeated and killed, but his descendants continued to rule in Kirmān. In 466/1073-4 Malikshāh marched east and turned the Karakhānids out of Tirmīdh and assigned Balkh and Ṭukhārīstān to his brother Tekīsh. The latter rebelled in 473/1080-1 and again in 477/1084-5. In 470/1077-8 Malikshāh assigned Syria to another brother, Tutuḡh. Although Malikshāh's nominal authority appears to have been recognized in Syria, he twice had to intervene in person (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932, 20-1), but in 484/1091 Tutuḡh came to Baghdād to pay homage to him. In 482/1089-90 Malikshāh made an expedition to the east to deal with disturbances there. During this he received the submission of the Khān of Kāshghar. Further consolidation took place inside Persia. The Shabānkāra [q.v.] of Fārs were subdued, the states of northwestern Persia, except Shirwān, were annexed, and the Kurdish dynasty of the Marwānids, which had played an active role in the earlier struggles between Ṭuḡhril, Ibrāhīm Ināl and the Būyids, was brought to an end in 478/1085-6, although the last Marwānid possession was not finally lost to the Artuqid, Husām al-Dīn Taymūrtāsh b. Ilghāzi, until 532/1137-8. Various operations were undertaken against the 'Uḡaylids, with whom earlier Ṭuḡhril's relations had been marked by a spirit of compromise. They had by this time begun to expand westwards, but with the death of Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Quraysh at Antioch in battle with Sulaymān b. Kutulmīsh in 478/1085 their power disappeared.

The decline of the 'Uḡaylids facilitated the rise of another Arab dynasty, that of the Mazyadids in Hilla. They were Shi'is, as were the majority of the Arab tribes in the region, and were, generally speaking, ready to support 'Alid movements against the Saldjūks, as were the Kurds of this region, who also had Shi'ic leanings. Moreover, it was the natural tendency of the tribes to support a distant ruler, in this case the Fātimid, rather than a near one. The Mazyadid ruler, Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa b. Dubays, who succeeded his father in 479/1086, became a powerful figure in 'Irāk, and became the leader of an Arab revolt against the Saldjūks.

An attempt to exercise a stricter control over the caliph was made by Nizām al-Mulk, who sought to control him through the appointment of his own nominee to the caliph's vizirate. Relations with the caliph became further strained when Malikshāh's daughter, who was betrothed to al-Muḡtādī, complained of his neglect after being taken to the caliph's residence in 480/1087-8. In 484/1091 when Malikshāh came to Baghdād, he ignored the caliph's presence and demanded that he should revoke the nomination of his eldest son in favour of his son by Malikshāh's daughter and retire to Baṣra (or according to some accounts to Damascus or the Ḥijāz). The caliph demanded a delay and was relieved of Malikshāh's demand by his assassination in 485/1093.

An important step towards strengthening and regimenting the religious institution—apart from the reaffirmation of the caliph's position as the head of the Islamic community by the early sultans, and

the limitation of his functions to the religious sphere—was the development of the *madrasas* [q.v.]. The initiator of this movement was Nizām al-Mulk, whose intentions were presumably to provide government officials trained in the tenets of orthodoxy to implement his political policies and to use the ‘*ulamā*’ educated in the *madrasas* to control the masses and combat the spread of the Ismā‘īlis. He did not found the *madrasas*, as is sometimes claimed, but he was responsible for the era of brilliance which began for them in the reign of Malikshāh and caused the new *madrasas* to eclipse all other contemporary institutions of learning. Numerous *madrasas* were built by Salḍjūk rulers, their ministers, and others, partly for the reasons mentioned above, but partly also to gain the support of the ‘*ulamā*’, in order, through them, to gain the support of the masses (see further *The interval structure of the Saljuq empire, op. cit.*)

With the failure of al-Basāsiri to establish Fāṭimid power in Baghdād, Shi‘i propaganda apparently ceased or was carried on in secret, and when the Salḍjūks invaded Syria, the Fāṭimids went on the defensive. In the reign of Malikshāh a revival of the Ismā‘īli movement took place, not, perhaps, unconnected with the vigorous steps taken to strengthen the orthodox institution. His reign had brought a measure of order but it had not removed all the old discontents, and by its stricter control and insistence on greater uniformity of thought had probably brought new ones. The “new propaganda” broke away from the old over a dynastic dispute (see further B. Lewis, *The Assassins*). Its founders regarded Nizār as the successor of al-Mustansir instead of al-Musta‘īl. A grandson of Nizār, who with his son was murdered in prison in Egypt, was allegedly brought up at Alamūt by Ḥasan-i Sabbāh (see M. G. Hodgson, *The order of the assassins*, the Hague 1955, 66-7). The latter and his two successors, Kiyā Buzurg Umid (518/1124—532/1138) and Muḥammad (532/1138—557/1162) claimed only to be emissaries of the imām, but the fourth grandmaster, al-Ḥasan ‘alā Dhikrihi ‘l-Salām (557/1162—561/1166), proclaimed himself to be the son of the infant brought from Egypt and the first of a new cycle of imāms. Politically the methods of the new propaganda were marked by extreme violence. The first assembly of the followers of the new propaganda took place, according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, in Sāva in the reign of Malikshāh. In 483/1090 they gained possession of Alamūt, in the neighbourhood of Kazwin, which became their headquarters. In the following year they established themselves in Kūhistān in east Persia. Malikshāh in 485/1092 sent expeditions against them in both districts. The one despatched against Alamūt was routed by a sally by the garrison. Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated by a Bāṭini shortly afterwards. When Malikshāh’s death followed a few weeks later, the expedition withdrew. The other sent to Kūhistān also failed to make headway and on Malikshāh’s death broke up.

Malikshāh and the sultans after him all left young, or fairly young, boys to succeed them, and the death of the sultan was almost always followed by struggles for supremacy among his surviving uncles, brothers, and cousins. The size of the sultan’s standing army after the death of Malikshāh decreased, whereas those of the amirs increased. This change in their relative strength was an invitation to the amirs to assert their independence, and especially from the death of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (525/1131) onwards the internal political history of the Salḍjūk empire consists largely of a series of struggles by the

amirs and atabegs to establish their supremacy over the sultan and set up virtually independent governments. Further, since the road to Asia Minor had become blocked by the Turkomans already there, and a stable Christian kingdom had been established in Georgia, the Turkomans had fewer outlets for their activities and were the more ready to join in the struggles for the throne. The incorporation into the state of the Turkoman tribes, to whom the Salḍjūks for family reasons were under special obligation, had proved an intractable problem. Some had been enrolled in the service of the sultan, but the majority continued to live a semi-nomadic existence, with a general tendency to move westwards. As the basis of the power of the Salḍjūk state shifted from the Turkomans to slaves and freedmen, the position of the Turkomans in relation to the rest of the population worsened. Apart from Syria and Anatolia, the main concentrations of Turkomans were to be found in Gurgān, the Ḍjazira, ‘Irāk and Ādharbāyḍjān, and to a lesser extent Khūzistān. The weakening of the Great Salḍjūk empire on the death of Malikshāh and the subsequent dissolution of the kingdom created by Tutuḥ in Syria to some extent restored the freedom of the Turkomans and several of them succeeded, within a few years, in founding independent principalities. The fact that some of them, such as Ilghāzi b. Artuḥ [see ARTUKIDS] were officers of the sultan, helped them to transform themselves quickly into small territorial princes when the central authority declined.

On the death of Malikshāh, his wife Turkān Khātūn succeeded in putting her son Maḥmūd on the throne. He was nominally sultan for some two years (485/1092—487/1094), but Turkān Khātūn was ultimately unable to defeat the opposition which gathered round Barkyāruḥ. Ismā‘īl b. Yāqūti, Barkyāruḥ’s maternal uncle, in response to an appeal from Turkān Khātūn, marched against Barkyāruḥ with an army from Ādharbāyḍjān and Arrān, of which provinces he had been governor under Malikshāh. He was defeated. Turkān Khātūn’s death in 487/1094 was followed shortly afterwards by that of Maḥmūd. Tutuḥ also made a determined effort to obtain the sultanate, but was finally defeated and killed by Barkyāruḥ in 488/1095. This was the last attempt to unite Syria with Persia and the eastern provinces. The Great Salḍjūk sultan continued for a time to be recognized nominally in Syria, but the control he exercised was negligible. By 490/1097 Barkyāruḥ had obtained possession of Khurāsān, of which his uncle, Arslān Arghū, had made himself master on the death of Malikshāh, and was recognized over the whole of Persia except Kirmān, and in ‘Irāk. In 492/1098-9 his brother Muḥammad rebelled. After many vicissitudes, in 497/1103-4, Barkyāruḥ established a slight superiority but at the cost of disorder throughout the country and a decline in the prestige of the sultanate. By the terms of the peace Muḥammad’s status was virtually that of an independent ruler in Arrān. Ādharbāyḍjān, Diyār Bakr, the Ḍjazira, Mawṣil and Syria. Sandjār in Khurāsān was also to read the *khutba* in his name.

The internecine strife between the Salḍjūk princes on the death of Malikshāh enabled the Bāṭinis to strengthen their position. In 489/1096 they obtained possession of Girdkūh, situated near Damghān on the main route from Khurāsān to western Persia. About the same time they also seized Shāhdiz just outside Iṣfahān, whence they threatened the capital itself. About 493/1100 they infiltrated Barkyāruḥ’s court and army. Eventually the sultan (who had him-

self been accused of Ismā'īl sympathies) gave permission for measures to be taken against them. In 494-5/1101 he came to an agreement with Sandjar, who had been governor of Khurāsān since 492/1098, for combined action against them, and an expedition was sent by Sandjar to Kūhīstān, which achieved some success, as did another expedition three years later.

On the death of Barkyāruk in 498/1105, although he had nominated his son Malikshāh as his successor, his brother Muḥammad soon established himself as sultan. The Great Saldjūk sultanate once more extended over the whole of Persia with the exception of Kirmān, which continued under the Saldjūks of Kirmān. Muḥammad's reign did something to restore the prestige of the sultanate, but the unity of the empire was never again effectively imposed. Fārs was pacified by Čawli Saḡao, who was governor from 498/1104—500/1106 and 502/1109—510/1117. Sandjar nominally governor of Khurāsān on behalf of Muḥammad, was, in fact, all but independent, and engaged in consolidating his position, which was to enable him to make himself sultan after the death of Muḥammad. Šadaḡa b. Dubays, who had encouraged the internal dissensions of the Saldjūk empire in order to establish his own independence, rebelled in 501/1107 but was killed in battle. With his death the Arab revolt collapsed. That his son Dubays was appointed to succeed him, although in keeping with the Saldjūk policy of toleration and compromise, is, perhaps, also indicative of the inability of the Saldjūks to administer the Arab tribal districts except through their own leaders.

Operations against the Bāṭinis, which under Barkyāruk had not been seriously pressed, were prosecuted vigorously. In 500/1106-7 Muḥammad undertook in person successful operations against them in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān. Šhāhdiz was captured after a prolonged siege. Muḥammad then sent an expedition to Alamūt. Operations continued for eight years and the castle was on the point of falling when it was saved by Muḥammad's death. Ismā'īl fortresses near Arradjan in Fārs were also taken.

On the death of Muḥammad, although he had nominated his son Maḥmūd as his successor, Sandjar was generally regarded as the head of the family. Maḥmūd ruled in the west from 511/1118 to 525/1131, but his rule was disputed at different times and in different districts by his brothers, Mas'ūd, Tuḡhril, and Sulaymān Shāh and their atabegs, and in 513/1119 Sandjar intervened and defeated him at Sāva. Sandjar, however, returned to Khurāsān and allowed Maḥmūd to rule in the west. Although he and his successors used the title sultan, their status was that of *maliks*. Various Saldjūk princes on their own initiative, or on the initiative of different amirs and atabegs, rebelled against Maḥmūd and his successors. Sandjar was forced to interfere on a number of occasions, but proved unable to restrain the increasing ambitions of the amirs and atabegs or to prevent the ultimate fragmentation of the empire, preoccupied as he was by the increasing pressure on the eastern frontier from the Karā Khitāys and the growing strength of the Kh'wārazmshāh. He suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the former in 536/1141, and 'Alā' al-Din Atsiz, who had succeeded his father Muḥammad b. Anūsh Takin as governor of Kh'wārazm in 521/1127, temporarily occupied parts of Khurāsān after Sandjar's defeat.

The caliphs also took part in the family quarrels

of the Saldjūks, and as the caliph emerged again as a military power the amirs began to join him as they joined the other temporal leaders. After the death of Muḥammad b. Malikshāh a triangular struggle took place for the possession of 'Irāk between the caliph and al-Bursuḡi against Dubays, who was later joined by the atabeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, ruler of Mawṣil since 521/1127, with the sultan playing an uneasy part in the background. The first caliph to assemble an army and lead it in person in Saldjūk times was al-Mustarshid (512/1118-529/1135). Finally, on the death of Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad in 547/1152, al-Muktafi established himself as the dominant power in 'Irāk, exercising both temporal and religious power.

During the disorders which followed the death of Muḥammad, the Ismā'īlis were to some extent able to recover their position in Kūhīstān and northern Persia, though Ḥaṣan-i Sabbāh died in 518/1124. In 520/1126 Sandjar resumed operations against them in Kūhīstān. These were only partially successful, and the Ismā'īlis, benefiting from the preoccupations of Sandjar on the eastern frontiers and with the Ghuzz in Khurāsān, were able again to increase their power. The fact that the Ghuzz became increasingly restive and intractable towards the end of Sandjar's reign was partly due to an increase in their numbers brought about by a southward movement of the Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia, which was occasioned by the expansion of the Karā Khitāy into Transoxania. The control of the frontier against the inroads of the Ghuzz became increasingly difficult, and in 548/1153 battle was joined with them. Sandjar was defeated and held captive for over two years, during which the central government in Khurāsān broke down and the province was overrun by the Ghuzz. Sandjar escaped in 551/1156 but died the following year.

With the death of Sandjar, the Kh'wārazmshāh II Arslān, who succeeded his father Atsiz in 551/1156, emerged as the most powerful ruler in the eastern provinces. He was, however, unable to establish his undisputed rule against the Ghuzz who had defeated Sandjar, and was nominally a tributary of the Karā Khitāy. In the west the Saldjūk empire had split into warring principalities. In Mawṣil the Atabegs looked west and were largely occupied in a struggle with the Crusaders. In 'Irāk the caliph was disputing supremacy with the Saldjūks of 'Irāk, while in Luristān and Ādharbāyḡdīān atabeg dynasties were establishing themselves, and in Fārs the Salgharids came to power. The last named, whose rule in Fārs began about 543/1148, were descended from Salghar, a Turkoman chief who had been one of Tuḡhril Beg's *hādīb*s. They were a successful and popular local house under whom considerable prosperity prevailed.

II Arslān's death in 567/1172 was followed by civil war. His son, Tekiṣh, finally established himself as Kh'wārazmshāh and when the power of the Karā Khitāys weakened towards the end of the 6th/12th century, he became independent. About 588/1192 the caliph al-Nāṣir appealed to Tekiṣh for help against Tuḡhril, the last of the Saldjūk sultans of 'Irāk. They defeated him in 590/1194 near Rayy. Tekiṣh proved a more formidable rival to the caliph than Tuḡhril, and towards the end of his reign he demanded that the *khutba* should be read in Baghdād in his name. In 592/1196 fighting took place between the Kh'wārazmshāh's army and the caliph's to the disadvantage of the latter and skirmishes continued between them for the next few years until Tekiṣh's death in 596/1200.

This conflict with the caliph played a part in alienating the religious classes and the population from the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*.

Muhammad b. Tekish, who succeeded, came into collision with the *Qh*<sup>h</sup>*ūrīds*, who invaded *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*urāsān* about 597/1200-1. They were eventually worsted and by 612/1215-16 their territories had been annexed by the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*. Some years earlier, about 607/1210-11, the *Karā Kh*<sup>h</sup>*itāy* were turned out of Transoxania, and in 612/1215-16 the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh* undertook a campaign against the Kipchaks. On this occasion Muhammad came into contact with the Mongol vanguard for the first time. Meanwhile Muhammad reiterated Tekish's demand that the *khufba* be read in Baghdād in the name of the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*, but met with an uncompromising refusal. He then declared the caliph a usurper and marched on 'Irāk. In 614/1217 he defeated successively the Salgharids of Fārs and the atabegs of *Ādharbāydjān*, but in the winter of that year an army sent from Hamadān to Baghdād was annihilated by the Kurds. The threat of trouble in *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazm*, led by the religious classes, forced Muhammad to leave the west before he could make good his defeat. After his return to *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazm*, hostility between him and his mother, Turkān *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*ātūn*, who had placed herself at the head of the opposing faction, became open. The army, composed largely of Kipchaks and Kangli Turks (who were not, as had been the slave troops of the *Saldjūks*, thoroughly familiar with Islam), was also riddled with faction, and there was a standing opposition between them and the Persian element.

In, or about 615/1218 Čingiz *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*ān* sent a body of merchants to gather information about the empire of the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*. When they reached Uṭrār they were plundered and put to death by the local governor with the connivance of the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh*. Čingiz sent envoys to Muhammad's court to protest, threatening war if satisfaction was not given. One of the envoys was murdered and the other two were sent back with their beards shaved off. This action precipitated the Mongol invasion. In the subsequent operations the *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazmshāh* retreated before the Mongols, and many of his troops deserted to the Mongols. Uṭrār, Bukhārā, Uzkand, *Djand*, Banākat, *Khudjand*, Samarkand, *Balkh*, and Marv were sacked and their inhabitants massacred. *Nishāpūr* fell in 618/1221. Muhammad had meanwhile retired to Qazwīn, and thence to Gilān and Māzandarān. He eventually fled to the island of Abasgūn in the Caspian where he died in 617/1220-1.

Dissension and faction prevailed in *Kh*<sup>w</sup>*ārazm*. Muhammad's son, *Djalāl al-Dīn Mengubirdī*, was unable to establish himself. Fighting a rearguard action, he eventually crossed the Indus (618/1221). The Mongols pushed on through northern Persia and left through the Caucasian Gate near Darband in 620/1223. *Djalāl al-Dīn*, having failed to deprive the slave kings of Delhi of their kingdom, returned some three years later from India to Kirmān, and thence to Fārs and the *Djibāl*. He clashed with the caliph and the atabeg of *Ādharbāydjān*, and having defeated the latter made a foray into Georgia, and embarked on a struggle with the Ayyūbids, who were split by internal dissensions. He seized *Akhlāt*, but was defeated in 627-8/1230 near *Erzindjān*. With the accession of Ogedei in 626/1229 the respite given by the death of Čingiz in 624/1227 came to an end and a new Mongol attack was launched in 627/1230. *Djalāl al-Dīn*, unable to regroup his forces, fled to *Diyār Bakr*, and was murdered by a Kurdish peasant in 628-9/1231.

By the death of Ogedei in 638/1241 the Mongols had overrun northern Persia and had made further conquests in northern Mesopotamia, Georgia, Arrān and Armenia. After his death, the Mongol advance was temporarily held up by dissensions. At the *kuriltay* in 649/1251 Hülāgū (Hülegü) was appointed to lead an expedition to occupy all the territories between the Oxus and the extreme limits of Egypt, and entrusted with hereditary rights of sovereignty as the representative of the Great *Kh*<sup>h</sup>*ān* in the conquered lands. After lengthy preparations he set out and crossed the Oxus in 653/1256. He was joined at *Kish* in 654/1256 by *Arghūn Ākā*, who had been appointed governor of Persia by Mōngke. One of the Hülāgū's first steps to consolidate Mongol domination in Persia was to exterminate the *Ismā'ilis*, who had by this time become virtually territorial princes, and as such made and changed alliances with other local rulers. He overthrew their strongholds in *Kūhistān* and in 654/1256 took *Alamūt* and sent *Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh*, the grandmaster, to *Karakorum*, where he was put to death. Thenceforward the *Ismā'ilis* survived in Persia only as a minor sect (see further B. Lewis, *op. cit.*).

From Hamadān Hülāgū called upon the caliph al-Mu'tašim to surrender to the Mongols. His reply was considered unsatisfactory, and Hülāgū marched on Baghdād. After a siege of some fifty days it fell and was sacked. The caliph and those of his family who could be found were put to death. Hülāgū then pushed on to *Ādharbāydjān* and made his headquarters at *Marāgha*. In 657/1259 he set out for Syria and took Aleppo in 658/1260, and Damascus surrendered. On news of the death of Mōngke (657/1259), Hülāgū returned to Mongolia, leaving an army in Syria. Its defeat at 'Ayn *Djālūt* by the Mamlūks in 658/1260 stayed the Mongol advance on Egypt. The Mongol empire now split up. Berke, who ruled in the Kipchak steppe, sought to assert his supremacy over Hülāgū and invaded Persia via Darband and *Shirwān*, but was defeated in 660/1262. In the following year *Abākā*, Hülāgū's son, invaded Berke's territory but was defeated and retired to *Dāghistān*. Hülāgū meanwhile died in 663/1265 (for details of the Mongol invasion see Bartold, *op. cit.*, and J. A. Boyle, *Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v).

The Mongol invasion was carried out by a horde organized for war with the deliberate intention of imposing political domination. Its immediate effect was the devastation and depopulation of the eastern provinces of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. 'Irāk, once the metropolitan province of the 'Abbāsīd empire, did not recover for centuries. (See further I. P. Petrushevsky, *The socio-economic condition of Iran under the Il-Khāns*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v). Only Fārs partially escaped by the timely payment of tribute. The invasion also altered the balance of population by introducing new Turkish tribes, brought about a widespread extension of nomadism leading to the destruction of agriculture and urban life, and sharpened the dichotomy between *turk* and *iādjik* and between settled and semi-settled. In the early period of Mongol domination the conquerors lived apart from the local population in tents and encampments. The Mongol leaders and their ministers owned large flocks, which were placed under the care of officials called *khā'amīs*. Their depredations were a constant source of anxiety to the settled people. The practice of reserving pasturage for the Mongol army was also a burden on the local people. A new feature of society was the extent to

which the Mongol leaders personally indulged in trade (cf. *Dastūr al-Kātib*, 203 ff.). The Yāsā of Čingiz Khān was followed by the early Ilkhāns, as the rulers of the dynasty founded by Hūlāgū were called, and quoted by the later rulers. New practices and taxes, notably *kubčūr*, originally a cattle tax and later a fixed tax on peasants and nomads, *kalān*, a land tax, possibly levied partly in the form of labour service, and *šamghā*, a tax on trade and urban crafts, possibly originally a poll-tax on urban dwellers and merchants, were introduced. The Mongol leaders, or some of them, and their wives, and the religious leaders enjoyed certain immunities from taxation. The administration was largely in the hands of officials who had served preceding dynasties, and the new customs were in due course to a large extent assimilated to existing Islamic and customary usages. With the conversion of the Mongols to Islam there was a reassertion of the traditional theory and practices of government. The head of the bureaucratic administration was known as the *šāhib dīwān*, whose duties were similar to those of the traditional vizier.

As Persian rulers, the Ilkhāns were subject to the same limitations as other dynasties which ruled in Persia. They were faced with the problem of defence against the peoples of Central Asia and Turkestān in spite of the fact that there were now Mongols on both sides of the Oxus. They were also confronted with a second problem of defence, namely the maintenance of the Caucasus frontier. This region formed a bulwark in the defence of the region to the north and the south of it and was repeatedly fought over by the Ilkhāns and the Golden Horde, and later from the 10th/16th century to the 12th/18th by the Šafavids, and in the 19th century was disputed by Russia, the heir to the Golden Horde, and finally obtained by her (see further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1955). In the west the Ilkhāns sought to expand by overthrowing the Mamlūks in Syria and Palestine, but they were unable to establish their domination outside the western frontier of Mesopotamia, which became the geo-political boundary of Persia.

The reign of Abāqā, who succeeded Hūlāgū, was spent in ceaseless campaigns against the Golden Horde, in repelling attacks from Transoxania, and operations against the Mamlūks, which ended in a Mongol defeat at Marǧī al-Safar in 680/1281. Abāqā's successor, Tegüder, the seventh son of Hūlāgū, announced his conversion to Islam after his accession and took the name Aḥmad. It is possible that this was a political gesture to be seen against the failure of the Mongols to take Syria (see Spuler, *op. cit.*, 78). Whether this is so or not, Tegüder Aḥmad's policy of favouring Islam caused unrest among the Mongol leaders to whose support he owed his accession. Civil war broke out and Arghūn seized the throne in 683/1284. During his reign, an abortive attempt was made to enlist support in Europe for a common crusade against Islam. Internally there was a marked improvement in the position of the Christian and Jewish communities and an increase in their influence. Arghūn was succeeded by his brother Gaykhātū in 690/1291. His reign, which is marked by numerous rebellions and losses to the Mamlūks, is chiefly remarkable for growing financial stringency, and the disastrous attempt to solve this by the introduction of paper money known as *čao*. Baydū, a grandson of Hūlāgū, governor of 'Irāq, seized power in 694/1295, but was eventually overthrown by Ghāzān, who was then governor of

Khūrāsān, in 694/1295. Ghāzān made a public profession of Islam after his victory.

Under Ghāzān (694/1295—703/1304) the Ilkhāns reached their height. The links between them and the Great Khān, which had already been greatly weakened though still borne witness to on the coinage and in documents, were finally broken. This was partly because of Ghāzān's conversion and partly because of the disintegration of the Mongol empire on the death of Kubilay in 694-5/1294. In 695/1295-6 the Čaghatay Khān Duwa b. Baraḳ invaded Khūrāsān from Transoxania. Financial stringency had not been relieved and a compulsory loan had to be made on the inhabitants of Tabriz to enable a force to be sent to expel the invaders. Duwa subsequently seized Ghazna and part of Sistān and Balkh, whence he invaded India. In 698/1298-99 he invaded Fārs and penetrated to Kāzīrūn. An attack by the Mamlūks on Asia Minor in 697-8/1298 was followed by a Mongol invasion of Syria. The Mamlūks were defeated near Ḥimš in 699/1299 and Damascus temporarily occupied. In 700/1301 the Mongols of the Golden Horde attacked from the Caucasus via Darband but were repulsed. In 703/1303 another expedition was made against the Mamlūks, ending in defeat at Marǧī al-Safar. This was the last attempt by the Ilkhāns to extend their borders to include Syria.

Ghāzān's reign, although a period of military expeditions, was also a period of reform and reorganization, but his reign was too short fully to subordinate the Turko-Mongol tribal element to settled government or to repair the ravages committed during the rule of the earlier Ilkhāns, which had brought about the ruin of agriculture. During the reign of Arghūn there had been an increase in maladministration and extortion. By the accession of Ghāzān, the administration had fallen to a low ebb and the finances of the state were in a critical condition. Farming of the revenue was common, as also were confiscations, extraordinary levies (*nemari*), and the demand of taxes in advance. Peculation was widespread. Officials of all kinds lived on the country, and the requisitions by *ilāis*, *i.e.*, envoys and officials despatched by the central government on official business, who travelled through the country with large trains, were a crying evil. Owing to the fact that the treasury was usually empty, the practice of writing drafts on the country had reached unprecedented proportions, and as their realization became increasingly difficult it became the custom to send military expeditions to collect them. Public order also fell to a low ebb: large numbers of fugitive slaves and disaffected elements roamed the countryside (Rashīd al-Dīn in the *Ta'rikh-i Ghāzānī* gives a vivid account of contemporary conditions).

Realising the difficulty of altering established habits, Ghāzān attacked abuses gradually. He first prohibited the writing of drafts on the peasantry, and reorganised the assessment and collection of taxation. Rashīd al-Dīn, who in all probability played an important part in initiating these policies, claims that as a result the revenue came in and civil and military expenses were paid. The improvement, however, did not last after Ghāzān's reign (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nushat al-Kulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, pp. 32-3). The Mongol invasion had brought about great insecurity in matters of tenure and a new expansion of crown lands in the form of *dalāy* lands, *i.e.*, lands which were the property of the ruler, and *indjū* lands, *i.e.*, the appanages of his relatives and the Mongol leaders. Ghāzān attempted to give security of tenure to those in undisputed



possession of land by obtaining a *fatwā* giving validity to the provision in Čingiz *Khān's yāsā*, by which all land claims lapsed after thirty years, and by putting a stop on transactions in land the tenure of which was disputed. The pay of the army was also reorganized and in 703/1303 he reintroduced with modifications the old system of land assignments (*iḥtā's*) to the soldiery (see further *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, and I. P. Petrushevsky, *op. cit.*).

With the death of *Ghāzān* in 703/1304 decline set in. There were no more expeditions to Syria. The Turkish rulers in Asia Minor began to throw off Mongol rule. Fārs and Kirmān became increasingly independent. *Öljejtü* (703/1304—716/1316), who transferred his capital to *Sultāniyya*, failed to complete the reforms of *Ghāzān*. The empire was divided into rival factions, the most powerful of which were the *Čüpānids [q.v.]* and the *Djalā'irs [q.v.]*. *Ghāzān* was succeeded by a child, *Abū Sa'īd* (716/1316-736/1335), after whose reign the *İlkhān* empire broke up, various amirs and provincial governors asserting their independence. (For details of the rule of the *İlkhāns* see further J. A. Boyle, *op. cit.*). A period of restless strivings and repeated expeditions by the different leaders to extend their domains at the expense of their rivals ensued. In the east in *Harāt* there were the *Karts [q.v.]* and in *Luristān* the *Atabegs*, also called the *Hazarāspids [q.v.]*, both of whom pre-dated the *İlkhāns* and acted as their governors in the heyday of *İlkhān* power. In 'Irāk and *Ādharbāyḍjān* there were the *Djalā'irs*, whose founder *Hasan-i Buzurg* first attempted to rule through a series of puppet *khāns*, and in Fārs and 'Irāk-i 'Adjam the *Inḍiūds q.v.* and the *Muzaffarids [q.v.]*, who were perhaps the most successful of the succession states, although internecine strife eventually caused their decay. Their main centres of power were Fārs, Yazd and Kirmān. In the last-named province they succeeded the *Kutluḡ Khāns* (the *Qarā Khitāyiān*), whose founder, *Baraḡ Hāḍjib*, had established himself in Kirmān after the overthrow of the *Kh'wārazm-shāh* by the Mongols. He and his successors ruled as Mongol governors. The last of the *Kutluḡ Khāns*, *Kuṭb al-Din Shāh Djalān*, died in 703/1303-4. One of the most interesting of the succession states was the *Sarbadārid* in *Sabzawār*. They, like the *Sayyids* of *Mar'ash*, who also established themselves as small local rulers, appear to have based their power partly on a "popular" movement (see further, I. P. Petrushevsky, *Sarbadārids*, translated by *Muḥammad Karim Kishāvarz*, in *Farhang-i Irān Zamin*, x, 1-4 (1962). All of these local rulers, except the *Djalā'irs*, who survived in Lower Mesopotamia until 835-6/1432, were extinguished by *Timūr*, if they had not already disappeared.

The *Čaghatāy khānate*, which bordered the *İlkhān* kingdom on the north-east, had been temporarily usurped by *Qayḍū*, *Ogedei's* grandson. It was recovered by *Duwa b. Baraḡ* on *Qayḍū's* death in 700-1/1301. It consisted of two parts: the western part formed by the oases of the *Oxus-Jaxartes* basin, excluding the lower course of the *Oxus* in *Kh'wārazm* which belonged to *Dioči's khānate*, and the eastern part, comprising the *Zungarian* steppes and known as *Mughulistān*. In the former the Mongols ruled over a sedentary Muslim population, but in the latter the *Čaghatāy khāns* were the leaders of pagan nomads. In *Mughulistān* the Mongol *khāns* retained their domination, but in *Transoxania* power passed into the hands of the local Turkish amirs, the most influential of whom in the 9th/14th century was *Qazaghān*, who seized power in 747/1346-7 and ruled some twelve

years. His death was followed by an uninterrupted period of war and strife between the Turkish and Mongol *khāns* of western *Turkistān*. About 761/1360 *Tughluḡ Timūr*, the newly converted Eastern *Čaghatāy khān*, sought to assert his dominion over the western as well as the eastern part of the *Čaghatāy khānate*.

Among the conflicting parties and interests, *Timūr* gradually established himself as the defender of the Islamic borderlands against these renewed attacks from Central Asia. At first, not strong enough to show uncompromising resistance to the invaders, he made terms with *Tughluḡ Timūr*, who gave him *Kish* as a *suyūrghāl*. He then entered into an alliance with *Amir Ḥusayn*, the ruler of *Balkh*. The next few years (763/1362—769/1367) were a period of great confusion, in which the struggle between the Mongol and Turkish leaders ebbed and flowed. In 766-7/1365 *Timūr* and *Amir Ḥusayn*, after being defeated by *Ilyās Khwādja Tughluḡ Timūr's* successor, abandoned *Samarḡand*, which was, however, successfully defended by the townspeople under the leadership of the '*ulamā*'. When they eventually returned to *Samarḡand*, conflict broke out between them. *Timūr* was forced to retire to *Khurāsān*, but when a new Mongol attack threatened, *Amir Ḥusayn* was reconciled to him. The Mongol threat proved to be only temporary, and *Timūr* now turned against his erstwhile ally and took *Balkh* in 771-2/1370. Although *Timūr's* military power was based on the nomads of western *Turkistān*, since they were closely linked to the settled population through commercial interests and the protection of the caravan routes, and their chiefs were beginning to acquire property in the towns and to be more fully islamized, he served, at this period, the interests of both the nomads and the settled population: to the former, who had been rent by squabbles among themselves, he gave cohesion and unity and to the latter security to pursue their commercial activities and to continue their religious life.

*Timūr's* next step was to take the offensive against the nomads of eastern *Turkistān*, and in a series of campaigns between c. 771/1369—782/1380 he defeated both them and the *Kipchaks* in *Kh'wārazm*. He then turned his arms against the interior of the *dār al-islām*. In 782/1380-1 he invaded *Persia*, subduing *Khurāsān*, *Māzandarān*, and *Sistān*. In 786/1384-5 he made a second expedition into *Persia*, invading *Māzandarān* again and pushing on to *Ādharbāyḍjān*, 'Irāk-i 'Adjam, and *Georgia*, coming back via *Shirāz* and *Ishfahān*. In 790/1388, the *Kipchaks* under *Tukatmiḡh* overran the oases of the *Oxus-Jaxartes* basin up to *Samarḡand*, but withdrew when *Timūr* returned from Fārs. Two years later, he pursued them into the *Kipchak* steppe and defeated them at *Urtapa* in 793/1391. He then went again to Fārs and thence to 'Irāk, *Armenia*, and *Georgia*, which he subjugated (795/1393 to 798/1396), before returning once more to *Samarḡand*. From the spring of 800/1398 to the spring of 801/1399 he was occupied in his Indian campaign and the following autumn (802/1399) he set out for *Asia Minor* on his most famous campaign, which culminated in the defeat of the *Ottomans* at the battle of *Ankara* in 804/1402 and the capture of the *Ottoman* sultan, *Bāyazid*. In the following year *Timūr* raided *Georgia* and in 806-7/1404 returned to *Samarḡand*, whence he set out for *China*, but died en route at *Utrār* in 807/1405 (see further H. Hookham, *Tamburlaine the conqueror*, London 1962, and R. Grousset, *Les empires Mongoles*).

*Timūr's* empire looked back to the *Mongols*, but although many of its institutions derive from

Mongol practice, his administration had an Islamic veneer and alongside the begs (or amirs), *nā'ibs*, *yasaklik* (public guards), *yasā'uls* (officers charged with the keeping of the public peace), *dārūghās*, falconers, hunters, and so on, were the whole range of officials known in pre-Mongol times. Under Ḥasan Bāyqāra a sophisticated bureaucratic administration existed, at the head of which was the *diwān-i a'lā*, responsible for military and civil affairs. A special *diwān*, the *diwān-i buzurġ-i imārat* under a *diwānbeġi*, dealt with Turkish and military affairs (see further, 'Abd Allāh Marwārdī, *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. H. R. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1952). In military affairs Timūr carried on Mongol tradition but introduced certain innovations. Although he started his career as the defender of the sedentary Islamised population of western Turkistān against the nomads of eastern Turkistān these terms are relative: the basis of Timūr's military power was the nomadic tribes, who made regular summer and winter migrations in which the whole horde took part. Clavijo gives a vivid description of Timūr and his horde (*Clavijo: Embassy to Tamerlaine*, 1403-1406, ed. G. Le Strange, Broadway Travellers, 1928, 191 ff.). Their flocks were numbered for taxation. Tradesmen and craftsmen followed the armies, supplying their needs, and the booty obtained in campaigns was bartered and sold in these bazaars. Colonies of workmen were transplanted to Tabriz and Samarkand from Syria, China, and other parts of Persia. Artisans were organised in guilds. Some of these were forced to give free labour for the ruler, and in time of war were requisitioned. Samarkand became under Timūr a great industrial and commercial centre. Silk, glass, ceramics, and paper were manufactured there. Trade, which had fallen off since the conversion of the Mongols to Islam, was encouraged with China, India, Persia and Syria. Tabriz became an important entrepôt.

Timūr's religious policy appears to have been dictated by political expediency. In Khurāsān he supported strict orthodoxy but in Syria he appeared as the defender of 'Alī and the *imāms*. Two important darwish orders, the Ni'matullāhi and the Nakhshbandi, were founded during his reign. There was a trend towards a closer control of the religious institution which was continued under the Turkoman dynasties of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep and reached its culmination under the Ṣafavids. *Shar'ī* officials were placed under the supervision of a new official known as the *ṣadr*, who was entrusted with their dismissal and appointment, the upkeep of mosques, *madrasas*, graveyards, and *khānkāhs*, and whose duty, in general, was to further right religion (see especially document 9 in the *Sharaf-nāma*, *op. cit.*).

On Timūr's death internecine strife broke out, from which two main kingdoms emerged. Mirān Shāh, the third son of Timūr, and his sons Abū Bakr and Muḥammad 'Umar, obtained western Persia, with their main centres at Tabriz and Baghdād, and Shāhrukh, Timūr's fourth son, Khurāsān, to which he subsequently added Transoxania. The Timūrid state in western Persia did not last long: the Djalā'irs recovered Baghdād and the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, whom Timūr had driven out of Armenia, returned to that province and in 810-11/1408 invaded Ādharbāyḍjān and defeated Mirānshāh near Ṭabriz. Two years later they took Baghdād from the Djalā'irs and found themselves masters of the western part of Timūr's empire. The eastern branch ruled rather longer. Shāhrukh (807/1404—850/1447) took Transoxania from one of his nephews and 'Irāk-i 'Aḍjam and

Fārs from another, thus uniting eastern Persia under his rule. He subsequently attacked the Black Sheep, occupied Ādharbāyḍjān, and penetrated Armenia, but was unable to defeat the Black Sheep decisively and was forced to leave them in effective possession of Armenia, Ādharbāyḍjān, and Baghdād (see further below). Shāhrukh was faced by numerous revolts and on his death his kingdom rapidly disintegrated, to fall in part to the Black Sheep and in part to the Uzbegs, who invaded Transoxania at the turn of the 9th/15th century. In spite of the political decline, a brilliant cultural revival took place in Harāt under the successors of Timūr and continued down to the end of the dynasty.

*Bibliography:* In view of the general character of the above article, for detailed bibliographical information reference should be made to the historical, geographical, ethnological, and religious articles dealing with Persia. (A. K. S. LAMBTON)

#### (b) TURKOMANS TO PRESENT DAY

The devastating campaigns of Timūr in Iran between 783/1381—807/1404 swept away the minor dynasties which had sprung up in various parts of the country after the Mongol invasions, and left a political and social vacuum from the Oxus to the Euphrates. In this vacuum, various rival forces fought for supremacy for nearly a century. The establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty in 907/1501-2 led to the re-integration of Iran and 'Irāk-i 'Arab under one stable administration, certainly for the first time since the break-up of the Īlkhānid empire, ca. 736/1335, and, if one takes into consideration the important city of Harāt, virtually for the first time since the invasions of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*].

At the time of the death of Timūr in 807/1405, his descendants found themselves in secure possession only of Khurāsān and 'Irāk-i 'Aḍjam, outside Transoxania itself. In the course of the next fifteen years, however, Shāhrukh b. Timūr successively annexed the provinces of Gurgān and Māzandarān (809/1406-7), Fārs (817/1414-15), and Kirmān (819/1416-17), and in 823/1420-1 felt strong enough to invade Ādharbāyḍjān, which had passed into the hands of the Kara Koyunlu (Black Sheep) Turkomans.

The Kara Koyunlu group of nomadic Turkoman tribes, like their rivals the Aq Koyunlu (White Sheep) Turkoman group, had settled in Saldjūq times in Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In the second half of the 8th/14th century, the Kara Koyunlu moved eastwards into north-west Iran, and established themselves in the region of Lake Van as vassals of the Djalā'irids [*q.v.*]. In about 792/1390 the Kara Koyunlu *amir* Kara Yūsuf seized Tabriz and declared his independence of the Djalā'irid sultan. Both rulers were dispossessed by Timūr, but regained control of Ādharbāyḍjān and 'Irāk-i 'Arab respectively within a few years of the death of Timūr.

Kara Yūsuf rapidly enlarged the area under Kara Koyunlu control. In 812/1410 he subjugated Diyār Bakr, held by the Aq Koyunlu. In 813/1410 he defeated Sultan Aḥmad Djalā'ir and annexed the whole of 'Irāk-i 'Arab except for a small area of southern 'Irāk. He asserted his authority over various local rulers in Shirwān and Georgia. In 822/1419 he invaded 'Irāk-i 'Aḍjam and expelled the Timūrid officers from the cities of Sultāniyya, Ṭarum, Kazwin and Sāwa. Kara Yūsuf had made the Kara Koyunlu the dominant power in western Iran, ruling directly over Ādharbāyḍjān,

‘Irāk-i ‘Arab, and parts of ‘Irāk-i ‘Adjam, while the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu of Diyār Bakr, and the Shīrwānshāh, acknowledged their suzerainty.

Ḳara Yūsuf’s death in 823/1420 was followed by dissension among his sons, and Shāhruḳh was able to subjugate Ādharbāyḡjān. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu carried on a guerrilla war against the Timūrids, and in 832/1429, and again in 839/1435, Shāhruḳh was forced to return to Ādharbāyḡjān to stabilise the situation. The Timūrid governor was replaced by a Ḳara Ḳoyunlu prince subservient to Shāhruḳh.

Shāhruḳh [q.v.], whose reign had represented a measure of stability and reconstruction, died in 850/1447. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu leader Djahānshāh immediately went over to the offensive and, taking advantage of divisions among the Timūrids, extended the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire to its greatest extent. He seized Sulṭāniyya and Ḳazwin in 850/1447, overran the whole of ‘Irāk-i ‘Adjam and Fārs within the space of a few months in 856/1452, and in 862/1458 occupied Harāt, the capital of Timūrid Ḳhūrāsān. A revolt in Ādharbāyḡjān forced Djahānshāh to cede Ḳhūrāsān to the Timūrid Abū Sa‘īd, who transferred his capital from Samarḳand to Harāt, but Djahānshāh continued to rule over Ādharbāyḡjān, the two ‘Irāqs, Fārs, the shores of the Sea of ‘Umān, Kirmān, Sarīr, Armenia, and Georgia, until his death in 872/1468.

During the reign of Djahānshāh a new contender for power in Iran appeared in the shape of the Şafawids. Under the leadership of Djunayd [q.v.] (851/1447—864/1460), the now strongly Shī‘ī Şafawid movement entered a new militant phase, and for the first time its leaders aspired to temporal power. Djahānshāh considered the threat so real that he ordered Djunayd to disperse his forces and depart from Ardabil; should he fail to comply, Ardabil would be destroyed. Djunayd fled, and ultimately took refuge at the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu court in Diyār Bakr (861-3/1456-9). The political advantages of an alliance against their mutual enemy, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, led the militantly Shī‘ī Djunayd and the zealously orthodox Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḳasan to sink their religious differences, and to cement their alliance by the marriage of Djunayd to Uzun Ḳasan’s sister. Djunayd was killed in battle in Shīrwān in 864/1460, but his successor Ḳaydar maintained the close alliance between the Şafawids and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu by marrying Uzun Ḳasan’s daughter.

In 872/1468 the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu ruler Djahānshāh attacked Uzun Ḳasan. He was defeated, and the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire was overthrown. The Timūrid ruler Abū Sa‘īd saw this as an opportunity to extend his authority westwards from Ḳhūrāsān, but he too was defeated by Uzun Ḳasan, and put to death. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu thus succeeded to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire in Iran, ‘Irāk-i ‘Arab, Diyār Bakr and Armenia, but an attempted Aḳ Ḳoyunlu *coup* at Harāt was frustrated by Sulṭān Ḳusayn Mirzā [q.v.], whose occupation of Harāt in 875/1470 inaugurated a period of some thirty-five years of relatively stable and prosperous Timūrid rule in Ḳhūrāsān. Uzun Ḳasan also had aspirations to extend his empire westwards, but, after some initial success against the Ottomans, he was decisively defeated in 878/1473.

The death of Uzun Ḳasan in 882/1478 marked the beginning of Aḳ Ḳoyunlu decline, as rival princes, supported by, and sometimes dominated by, ambitious *amīrs*, successively contested the throne. In the twenty-five years which remained before the last Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler, Murād, was expelled from

Iran in 908/1503 by Shāh Ismā‘īl I [q.v.], the only thread of continuity is the inexorable progress of the Şafawid movement towards its goal of achieving power in Iran by revolutionary means. This progress was marked by the death in battle of two more Şafawid leaders (Ḳaydar [q.v.], in 893/1488, and ‘Alī in 899/1494), and by the breakdown of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu-Şafawid alliance. Once the mutual enemy, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, had disappeared from the scene, it was only a matter of time before the political and military ambitions of the Şafawids came into conflict with those of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. In 893/1488 Aḳ Ḳoyunlu troops were the major factor in the defeat of Ḳaydar, and in 899/1494 the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu sultan Rustam, having released ‘Alī from imprisonment because he needed his help against a rival prince, then had to crush him when support for him developed on an alarming scale. ‘Alī’s brother, Ismā‘īl, escaped, and for five years directed from his refuge in Gilān the final stages of the Şafawid revolution. His emissaries went to and fro between Gilān and their bases in Anatolia, Syria and the Armenian highlands. It was from these areas that Ismā‘īl derived the élite of his fighting men, his most fanatical adherents, men of the Rūmlū, Ustāḡlū, Takkalū, Dhu’l-Ḳadar, Warsāk, Shāmlū, Turkmān, Afshār, Ḳāḡjār and other Turkoman tribes. These men considered Ismā‘īl to be both their *murshīd-i kāmīl*, as head of the Şafawid Order, and their *pādīshāh*; i.e., Ismā‘īl was both their religious leader and their temporal ruler. They had acquired the celebrated soubriquet of *kizil-bāsh* (“red-heads”, T. *kizil-bash*), by virtue of the distinctive crimson hat, with the twelve folds denoting the Ithnā ‘ashari imāms, which had been devised for them by Ḳaydar.

In 905/1499 Ismā‘īl made his bid for power; by the autumn of 1500 he had been joined by 7,000 *kizilbāsh* at his rendezvous at Erzindjān. He turned aside to crush the Shīrwānshāh, who had killed both his father and his grandfather, and then, at the battle of Şharūr, he routed Alwand Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Ismā‘īl entered Tabriz (907/1501), had himself crowned as the first shāh of the Şafawid dynasty, and proclaimed the Dja‘fari rite of Ithnā ‘ashari Shī‘ism to be the official religion of the new Şafawid state. He had two main reasons for taking this step: first, he wished clearly to differentiate the Şafawid state from the Ottoman Empire, into which it might otherwise have been absorbed; second, he aimed at creating by this means a sense of unity among his subjects, a sense of separate identity which would permit the evolution of a national state in the modern sense of the term. The change to Shī‘ism seems to have been accepted by the people at large without any serious display of opposition. Şafawid propagandists had, of course, been active for a long period, but there are other factors which may have helped to produce a climate of religious opinion favourable to Şafawid Shī‘ism, for example, the activities of heterodox and antinomian groups such as the Hurūfīs, and the activities of other Şīfī Orders in Persia, some of which were unquestionably permeated by Shī‘ī ideas. Many, but not all, of the ‘*ulamā*’ resisted the change. Some who did were put to death, notably at Shīrāz; others fled first to the Timūrid court at Harāt, and later, after the conquest of Ḳhūrāsān by the Şafawids, to the Uzbek capital at Bukhārā. To impose doctrinal unity, the Şafawids appointed an official termed the *saḡr*, who was the head of the religious institution, but in practice derived his authority from the political institution.

The first ten years of Ismā'il's reign were spent in conquering the rest of Iran and Mesopotamia: In 908/1503 a victory over the remaining Ak Koyunlu forces under Sultan Murād, near Hamadān, gave him control of central and southern Iran; Māzandarān and Gurgān were subjugated in 909/1504; Diyār Bakr was annexed in 913/1507, Baghdād was captured in 914/1508, and Khurāsān was annexed in 916/1510 after a crushing defeat of the Uzbeks at Marw. The victory at Marw, however, did not solve the problem of the defence of the eastern marches against the nomads, and, only two years later, a Šafawid army was routed at Ghudjuwān, just east of the Oxus, and the Uzbeks swept across Khurāsān as far as Mashhad. Ismā'il restored the situation, and an uneasy truce with the Uzbeks followed.

The Sunni Uzbeks in the east and the Sunni Ottomans in the west were the principal enemies of the Šafawid state. The existence on the borders of Anatolia of a powerful Shī'i state, which claimed the allegiance of large numbers of Turkoman tribesmen living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire itself, was a threat which the Ottomans could not ignore, and in 920/1514 Selim I launched what proved to be the first of a long series of invasions of Iran by Ottoman forces. On 2 Raddiāb 920/23 August 1514 the Šafawid army, composed almost entirely of cavalry, was defeated with heavy losses at Čāldirān [q.v.] by the fire-power of the Ottoman muskets and artillery. Selim had to withdraw from Tabriz after a short occupation, but the Ottomans annexed the province of Diyār Bakr, and the regions of Mar'ash and Albistān.

The Šafawid defeat at Čāldirān had important repercussions. Ismā'il lost his faith in his own invincibility, and during the remaining ten years of his life never again led his men into battle. The kizilbāsh, who had revered their ruler as the Shadow of God upon earth and had worshipped him as the manifestation of God, were disillusioned. The actions of the kizilbāsh after Čāldirān, and particularly after the death of Ismā'il, show clearly that, although they preserved the outward forms, they considered the concept of their leader as the Shadow of God upon earth, immortal and infallible, to be a polite fiction. From this time, too, the term Šūfi, implying a relationship between *murshid* and *murid* which the kizilbāsh had in practice, though not in theory, repudiated, occurs less and less frequently in the sources. The status of Šūfis declined, and the term "Šūfi" acquired a definitely pejorative significance under the later Šafawids.

Shāh Ismā'il died on 19 Raddiāb 930/23 May 1524, and was succeeded by his son Tahmāsp, then ten and a half years of age. The extent to which the theocratic concept of the early Šafawid state had broken down in practice was demonstrated by the ten years of civil war between rival kizilbāsh factions which marked the beginning of his reign. The authority of the shah was usurped by kizilbāsh chiefs, who were the *de facto* rulers of the state during this period. In 940/1533-4, however, Shāh Tahmāsp made clear his intention to rule in fact and not in name only, and, for most of the remainder of his long reign of fifty-two years, he maintained a precarious ascendancy over the turbulent kizilbāsh.

Most Western and Oriental sources give us a totally unfavourable picture of Tahmāsp [q.v.]. They portray him as a miser, as a melancholy recluse who swung between extremes of abstinence and intemperance, as a man capable of great cruelty. Nobody has given Tahmāsp credit for holding the

Šafawid state together for more than half a century, in the face of the most determined onslaughts by the Ottomans under their greatest conqueror, Süleymān the Magnificent, and by the Uzbeks under one of their greatest leaders, 'Ubayd Allāh Khān. Between 930/1524 and 944/1538, the Uzbeks launched five major attacks on Khurāsān. Between 940/1533-4 and 961/1553, the Ottomans made four full-scale assaults on Ādharbāydjān. Baghdād was captured by the Ottomans in 941/1534, and thereafter 'Irāk-i 'Arab remained in Ottoman hands, except for a brief interlude between 1032/1623—1048/1638. Tabriz was occupied on several occasions, and Tahmāsp transferred the capital to Qazwin, which was not so close to the Ottoman frontier. Attacks by foreign enemies were not the only problem confronting Tahmāsp. During the first decade of his reign, Iran was gravely weakened by kizilbāsh inter-tribal rivalries and by the defection of groups of kizilbāsh to the Ottomans; moreover in 941/1534-5, and again in 955/1548, Tahmāsp had to deal with rebellious brothers. In 962/1555 Tahmāsp negotiated the Treaty of Amasya, and Iran obtained a respite from Ottoman attack for thirty years.

The reigns of Ismā'il I and Tahmāsp I represent a period of change and adjustment. Under Ismā'il, an attempt was made to reconcile the Šūfi organization inherited from the Šafawiyya Order with the administrative organization of the Šafawid state. The failure of this attempt posed problems in regard to which Tahmāsp temporized and to which 'Abbās I provided solutions which were effective only as short-term measures. The failure precisely to define the scope and function of the principal offices of state during this period produced some degree of conflict between the holders of these offices, and meant that the boundary between the "political institution" and the "religious institution" was never clearly demarcated. The movement away from the theocratic form of government which obtained after the establishment of the Šafawid state was noticeable even before the death of Ismā'il, and this tendency was reflected in changes in the scope and function of the principal offices of state, and in their relative importance. In particular, the status of the *wakil-i nafs-i nafs-i humāyūn*, the *alter ego* of the *shāh* and his vicegerent both in his religious and his political capacity, declined until his position was little different from that of the vizier, the head of the bureaucracy; the power of the *šads*, once their primary task of imposing doctrinal unity had been achieved, also declined; and the shah himself attempted to restrict the power of the *amir al-umūrā'*.

In 982/1574, Shāh Tahmāsp became seriously ill, and the Šafawid state was once again involved in a crisis. At first, the dissensions which broke out among the kizilbāsh appeared to be merely a recrudescence of the factional struggles which had imperilled the Šafawid state fifty years previously. But the new crisis was, in fact, of a very different nature. The question from 982/1574 onwards was not which of the kizilbāsh tribes should achieve a dominant position over its rivals, but rather, whether the kizilbāsh as a whole could maintain their privileged position as the military aristocracy in the Šafawid state, in the face of the challenge from new ethnic elements in Šafawid society, namely, the Georgians and Circassians. The majority of these people were the offspring of prisoners taken during the course of four campaigns waged in the Caucasus by Tahmāsp between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4. In addition,

a certain number of Georgian noblemen voluntarily entered Šafawid service during Tahmāsp's reign. By the time of the death of Tahmāsp in 984/1576, the power of the Georgian and Circassian women in the royal *haram* was such that they intervened in political affairs and engaged in active intrigue with a view to securing the throne for their own sons. In this way, they introduced into the Šafawid state dynastic rivalries of a new kind.

The struggle for power between the *qizilbāsh* and the Georgians and Circassians, continued during the reigns of Ismā'īl II (984/1576—985/1577) and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (985/1578—996/1588), and was finally settled in favour of the latter by the measures taken by Shāh 'Abbās I [q.v.] (996/1588—1038/1629) — measures which radically altered the social basis of the Šafawid state.

The situation which 'Abbās faced at his accession was critical in the extreme. The Ottomans had resumed operations in Ādharbāyḏjān, and the citadel at Tabriz had been in their hands since 993/1585. In the east, the Uzbeks stormed Harāt in 997/1589, and swept on across Khurāsān as far as Maṣḥad. To free his hands to deal with the Uzbeks, 'Abbās was forced to negotiate a humiliating peace with the Ottomans which left more Persian territory in Ottoman hands than ever before (998/1589-90). The events of his youth had led him to place no faith in the loyalty of the *qizilbāsh* and he set about creating a standing army which would be paid direct from the Royal Treasury and would be loyal only to himself. From the ranks of the Georgians and Circassians (thereafter termed *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharifa*) he formed a cavalry regiment of some 10,000 men, and a personal bodyguard of 3,000 men. A regiment of musketeers, 12,000 strong, recruited from the Persian peasantry, and an artillery regiment, also of 12,000 men, completed the new standing army of 37,000 men. In order to pay these new troops, 'Abbās resorted to the device of increasing the extent of the crown lands (*khāṣṣa*) at the expense of state lands (*mamālik*). The *mamālik* provinces were in general governed by *qizilbāsh* amirs, who consumed in the areas under their jurisdiction most of the taxes which they levied, but whose self-interest to some extent militated against extortion. Once such provinces were converted to *khāṣṣa* lands, they were placed in the hands of a comptroller or intendant of the Crown, who had no interest in maintaining their prosperity but whose sole concern was to remit to the Royal Treasury the maximum amount of money possible, in order to ingratiate himself with the shah. Under Shāh Šafi (1038/1629—1052/1642) and Shāh 'Abbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), this process was accelerated to such an extent that even the frontier provinces were brought under the direct administration of the Crown, except in time of war, when *qizilbāsh* governors were reappointed. Ultimately, this policy impaired the economic health of the country and weakened it militarily. Every increase in the extent of crown lands at the expense of *mamālik* lands meant a corresponding decrease in the power of the *qizilbāsh*, and, in practice, the new *ghulām* regiments did not possess the fighting qualities of the old *qizilbāsh* tribal forces.

In the short term, however, the creation of the *ghulām* regiments enabled 'Abbās gradually to reassert the authority of the ruling institution, and so to stabilize the internal situation in Iran. Even so, it was not until 1007/1597 that he dared to commit his forces to a pitched battle against the Uzbeks. In that year, 'Abbās gained a great victory over the

Uzbeks, and liberated Harāt after ten years of Uzbek rule. With the north-eastern frontier at least temporarily secure, 'Abbās turned his attention to the Ottomans, and by 1016/1607 the last Ottoman soldier had been expelled from Šafawid territory as defined by the Peace of Amasya in 1555.

Throughout his reign, 'Abbās continued his policy of weakening the position of the *qizilbāsh* and strengthening that of the *ghulāms*, on whom he principally relied for support. He sought to break up *qizilbāsh* tribal groupings, and he constantly replenished his *ghulām* forces by fresh drafts of Georgian, Circassian, and (from 1013/1604 onwards) Armenian prisoners. The revolution in the social structure of the Šafawid state which he thus effected was reflected in changes in the highest levels of the political institution and the religious institution. The titles of *wakīl* and *amīr al-umarā'*, which were so closely associated with the organization of the early Šafawid state and with the period of *qizilbāsh* supremacy, were no longer used. The *kūrībāshī*, as the commander-in-chief of the drastically reduced *qizilbāsh* forces was henceforth usually termed, was still one of the highest officers of state, but his power was balanced by that of the commanders of the new non-*qizilbāsh* regiments, the *tufangči-ākāsi* and the *kullar-ākāsi*. The influence of the *šadr*, who was a political appointee, decreased once doctrinal unity had been imposed throughout the Šafawid dominions, and, with the increasing crystallization of Iṭḥnā 'aṣḥarī theology, the *muḏjtahids* became the most powerful members of the religious classes. Finally, with the increasing separation between temporal and religious powers, and the growing tendency towards centralization of the administration, the vizier, as head of the bureaucracy, became one of the most influential officials in the state, and frequently adopted the grandiose titles of *i'timād al-dawla* and *šadr-i a'zam*.

The reign of 'Abbās I in many ways marks the highest point of Šafawid achievement. Commercial rivalry in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean between the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English, meant the development of diplomatic relations between Iran and the West. Spain, Portugal, and England sent ambassadors to 'Abbās's court, and foreign monastic orders, such as the Carmelites, the Augustinians, and the Capuchin friars, were given permission to found convents in Iran. In 1007/1597 'Abbās transferred the capital from Qazwin to Iṣfahān; the more central location of the latter city made it a more satisfactory base for operations against either the Ottomans or the Uzbeks. 'Abbās addressed himself with characteristic energy to the task of transforming Iṣfahān into one of the most beautiful cities in the world. He embarked on a huge programme of public works, which included mosques, *madrāsas*, caravanserais, and *hammāms*. The Masḏjīd-i Shāh (begun in 1020/1611) and the Masḏjīd-i Shāykh Luṭf Allāh (begun in 1022/1603), situated in the famous *maydān* of Iṣfahān known as Naḩsh-i Dīhān, are two masterpieces of Iranian architecture. The reign of 'Abbās also marks the highest point in the renaissance of Iranian arts which had begun under the Timūrids in the 9th/15th century and which continued throughout the Šafawid period. Except perhaps in painting, in which the productions of the Tabriz school during the reign of Tahmāsp are superior, the artistic productions of the period of 'Abbās are unsurpassed. In book painting and the illumination of manuscripts, in ceramics, textiles, and the manufacture of carpets and rugs, the Iranian genius achieved its finest expression.

The Šafawid state, as rebuilt by *Shāh* ‘Abbās, had an imposing façade, behind which the decay which spread with increasing rapidity during the second half of the 11th/17th century was not immediately apparent. Of the Šafawid rulers who followed ‘Abbās, only his great-grandson, ‘Abbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), was a ruler worthy of the name. The degeneration of the dynasty must be attributed to the pernicious practice, instituted by ‘Abbās I himself, of incarcerating the royal princes in the *haram* and never allowing them any contact with the outside world. Prior to ‘Abbās I, it had been the custom to place the royal princes, and in particular the heir-apparent, in the charge of one of the *kiżilbāsh* provincial governors. Such a governor, termed *lala* or *atabeg*, was responsible for the physical and moral welfare of his charge, and for training him for his future responsibilities. Occasionally, an ambitious or rebellious *lala* would use the young prince committed to his care as the focal point of a revolt against the ruler. But this possibility was infinitely to be preferred to the certainty that a prince, brought up by the court eunuchs, in the debilitating atmosphere of the *haram*, would be totally unfitted to rule when the time came to place him on the throne. The increasing control of political and administrative affairs exercised by the officers of the *haram*, in association with the vizier, and the dynastic struggles for the succession resulting from the intrigues of the women of the *haram*, are indeed two of the main features of the later Šafawid period and two of the principal reasons for the decline of Šafawid power. A third reason, the increase of *khāssa* lands at the expense of *mamālīk* provinces, which reduced both the economic prosperity and the military strength of the country, has already been mentioned.

Under *Shāh* Sulaymān (1077/1666—1105/1694), who was an alcoholic, and under the pious but uxorious *Shāh* Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105/1694—1135/1722), neither of whom took any interest in state affairs, the progressive breakdown of the central administration was marked by increasing inefficiency and corruption at all levels of government. The military machine had been allowed to run down to such an extent that the *Shāh* had to turn to the Georgians for help in dealing with a band of Balūči marauders in 1110/1608-99. This warning went unheeded, and in 1121/1709 a group of *Ghalzai* Afghāns seized *Qandahār*, which had been in Šafawid hands since 1058/1648. Further north, the *Abdāli* Afghāns ravaged large areas of *Khurāsān*, and the whole eastern frontier was in jeopardy. In 1131/1719 the *Ghalzai* chief, *Maḥmūd*, having subdued the *Abdālis*, temporarily seized *Kirmān*. Emboldened by the lack of resistance, he returned to the attack two years later, and routed a pathetically weak Šafawid force at the battle of *Gulnābād*, 18 miles east of *Iṣfahān*, on 20 *Djumādā* I 1134/8 March 1722. Too weak to storm the city, *Maḥmūd* blockaded it. Treachery within the city, and incompetence and irresolution on every side, delivered the Šafawid capital to the Afghāns in October 1722. Some 80,000 people are said to have perished during the siege from starvation and disease, and the population of *Iṣfahān* today is probably only one-third of what it was in Šafawid times.

The Afghāns, though they never subjugated the north and west of the country and though their hold on the remainder was precarious, ruled at *Iṣfahān* for seven years, 1134/1722—1142/1729. At *Kazwīn*, *Tahmāsp*, a son of *Shāh* Sulṭān Ḥusayn, proclaimed himself *Shāh* Tahmāsp II. In 1138/1726

the Ottomans broke the long peace with Iran which had existed since 1048-9/1639, and the Afghān ruler *Ashraf* was forced to give *de facto* recognition to the Ottoman occupation of west and north-west Iran. About the same time the *Afshār* chief *Nādir Khān* emerged as the most powerful of the tribal chiefs lending their support to the Šafawid house, and in 1142/1729 he drove the Afghāns from *Iṣfahān* and re-established the Šafawid monarchy in the person of *Tahmāsp* II. It soon became clear, however, that *Nādir Khān*'s support of the Šafawids was only a device to enable him to use pro-Šafawid sentiment for his own ends. In 1145/1732 he deposed *Tahmāsp* II in favour of the infant ‘Abbās III, for whom he acted as regent. Four years later, he abandoned this fiction, and had himself crowned as *Nādir Shāh*. This marked the extinction of the Šafawid dynasty, which had existed only in name since 1134/1722.

*Nādir Shāh* (1148/1736—1160/1747) consciously modelled himself on *Timūr*, and there are some points of similarity between his career and that of his exemplar. Like *Timūr*, *Nādir* was primarily, indeed solely, a soldier, and, like *Timūr*, he was totally unable to administer the territories overrun by his armies. As a result, just as the campaigns of *Timūr* had left a vacuum in south-west Asia, so those of *Nādir* disrupted the administrative system inherited from the Šafawids, impoverished the state, and led to a general breakdown of law and order. The result was half a century of civil war as the *Zands* and the *Kādjārs* fought for supremacy in the vacuum created by *Nādir*. *Nādir* restored national dignity and prestige after the humiliation of the Afghān episode, and recovered Iranian territory which had been usurped by the Ottomans, the Russians, and the Afghāns. After an ineffectual siege of *Baghdād* in 1145/1733 (the Iranian army still had no proper siege artillery), and an initial defeat at the hands of the Ottoman relief army, *Nādir* turned the tables on the Ottomans on 1 *Djumādā* II 1146/9 November 1733, and the Ottoman commander, *Topal ‘Othmān Pasha*, was killed. A provisional treaty between *Nādir Shāh* and *Aḥmad Pasha*, the Ottoman governor of *Baghdād*, provided for the return to Iran of all territory seized by the Ottomans in the previous ten years, but the treaty was never ratified by the *Porte*. In 1147/1735 Russia surrendered *Bākū* and *Darband*, and *Nādir* struck further blows against the Ottomans. ‘*Abd Allāh Pasha* *Köprülü-zāde*, governor of *Kārs*, was killed at the battle of *Ak Tepe*: ‘*Ali Pasha* surrendered at *Gandja*, and *Ishāk Pasha* at *Tiflis*; *Erivan* fell soon afterwards.

Had *Nādir Shāh* at this point devoted his efforts to reorganizing the administration of the country on a firm basis Iran might have entered the 19th century better equipped to deal with the internal and external problems of that period. Instead, his growing megalomania led him to invade India, as *Timūr* had done before him. A necessary preliminary was the capture of *Qandahār*, a frontier city which had been held alternately by the Šafawids and the *Mughals* during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, and had been in Afghān hands since 1121/1709. To raise money for his Indian campaign, *Nādir* levied taxes with more than usual ruthlessness, and *Kirmān* suffered particularly severely. *Qandahār* surrendered to *Nādir* in *Dhu’l Ka’da* 1150/March 1738, *Ghazna* was occupied in June, and *Nādir*, crossing the *Khaybar* Pass, entered *Peshawar*. *Lahore* paid a large indemnity, and thus escaped the sack. After an engagement with the *Mughal*

army at Karnāl in Dhu'l-Kā'ḍa 1151/February 1739, Nādir made his triumphal entry into Delhi on 9 Dhu'l-Hijjā 1151/20 March 1739, and let his troops loose to pillage the city. In this, too, he faithfully followed the actions of his model, Timūr, who had sacked Delhi in 801/1398. After levying the enormous sum of 20,000,000 rupees in tribute from the Mughal Empire, Nādir returned to Iran laden with his spoils, which included the fabulous Peacock Throne and the Kūh-i Nūr diamond. The Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh ceded to Nādir Shāh all his territory west of the Indus. On their return from India, Nādir's armies overran Turkistān, the ancient Transoxania and Khwārazm, and Nādir signalled this eastward expansion of his empire by transferring his capital from Isfahān to Maḥhad. Maḥhad had fewer associations with the Ṣafawids—although of course the shrine of the *imām* 'Alī al-Riḍā was one of the principal places of pilgrimage for the *Ithnā 'ashari* Shi'is—and was nearer the centre of his empire with its new extensions in Turkistān, India and Afghānistān.

In 1153/1741 Nādir Shāh was at the height of his power, but signs of approaching insanity were already visible. His madness was characterized by an overweening lust for power and the most extreme avarice. He became subject to ever more violent fits of rage, associated with the inflicting of ever more terrible punishments. Instead of using his Indian treasure to replenish the exchequer, which he had exhausted by his endless campaigns, he hoarded it in a special treasure-house at Kāl'at-i Nādiri [q.v.] in Khurāsān, and imposed further crippling tax burdens on the people to finance expeditions which had no strategic justification, such as his disastrous campaign in Dāghistān in 1154-55/1741-2. Revolts broke out in various parts of his empire, and his attempt to effect a reconciliation with the Sunni 'ulamā' did not add to his popularity. On 1 Djumādā II 1160/20 June 1747 he was assassinated by a group of his own officers. His death was followed by a period of anarchy and civil war. In the south, the Zand dynasty gave that part of the country at least a brief respite in the form of orderly, and on the whole good, government. After the death (1193/1779) of Karīm Khān Zand, however, the Zands were weakened by dynastic feuds, and this gave the Kādjārs, who from their base at Astarābād had gradually brought most of northern Persia under their control, their chance. Ākā Muḥammad Khān Kādjār escaped from Zand captivity at Shirāz and embarked on a sixteen-year struggle to assert his authority over that of rival Kādjār chiefs, and to overthrow the Zands. By 1209/1795 he had achieved both objectives.

The new rulers of Iran, the Kādjārs, were of Turkoman stock. Like the Afshārs, they had formed part of the group of Turkoman tribes which had brought the Ṣafawids to power, and which had constituted the military aristocracy of the Ṣafawid state. The Kādjārs, however, like two other Trans-Caucasian Turkoman tribes, the Afshārs and the Bayāts, did not come into prominence until the middle of the 10th/16th century. The first ruler of the new dynasty, Ākā Muḥammad Shāh, possessed undoubted administrative ability. Making Tehran his capital, he restored security and public order, and reunited Iran under a strong and efficient central administration for the first time for more than half a century. But he maintained his position by the fear which he inspired in all. The castration which he had suffered as a boy at the hands of

Nādir's nephew, 'Ādil Shāh, had rendered him vicious and cruel. In an age when the qualities of mercy and compassion were rare, he became a byword for bloodthirstiness. His ruthless elimination of all possible rivals caused rifts within the Kādjār ranks, and militated against the stability of the dynasty. The succession was disputed both in 1250/1834, and again in 1264/1848. Outwardly pious, he cared nothing for an oath, and did not hesitate to obtain his ends by treachery. On 21 Dhu'l-Hijjā 1211/17 June 1797, two years after his coronation, he was assassinated by two of his soldiers. He was succeeded by his nephew, Fath 'Alī Shāh.

Fath 'Alī Shāh [q.v.] had scarcely ascended the throne when he was forced to recognize that a major change had occurred in the relations between Iran and her neighbours in general, and between Iran and the Great Powers in particular. The advent of the 19th century saw the beginnings of Great Power rivalry in Persia which directly or indirectly affected the political, social and economic life of the country. Already Ākā Muḥammad Shāh, by his atrocities in Georgia, had caused that country to abandon its traditionally Persian orientation and turn to Russia. Russia had eagerly seized this opportunity to resume that southwards movement toward the Persian Gulf which had been a cardinal point in Russian policy since the time of Peter the Great. Already Russia had demonstrated that, in the military sciences, Iran had fallen behind the West to an alarming extent during the 18th century. If Iran was to preserve its independence, it needed modern weapons and an army trained on modern lines. This point was emphasized when the Russians annexed Georgia in 1800. Fath 'Alī Shāh's political naivété and ignorance of world affairs led him to sign the Treaty of Finkenstein (4 May 1807) with Napoleon. Article 4 pledged France to work for the restitution of Georgia to Persia. In return, Fath 'Alī Shāh promised to declare war on Great Britain (art. 8), and to allow French troops the right-of-way across Iran as part of Napoleon's Grand Design for the invasion of India. The Treaty of Finkenstein, however, was rendered a dead letter almost immediately by the Treaty of Tilsit (2 July 1807), which brought to an end hostilities between France and Russia, and gave Russia a free hand to resume her aggression against Iran. Russia lost no time in pressing her advantage. By the Treaty of Gulistān [q.v.] (12 October 1813), Iran lost all her rich Caucasian provinces, and only Russian naval vessels were allowed to operate on the Caspian Sea. A border dispute caused war to break out again in 1826, and the Treaty of Turkomanchai (22 February 1828) imposed even more severe terms on Iran. Iran ceded Erivan and Nakhčivān, and the Aras river was fixed as the Russo-Iranian border. Iran had to pay a heavy indemnity, but the most significant clause in the Treaty was that concerning "capitulations", i.e., extra-territorial rights for Russian officials resident in Iran. The "capitulations" [see *IMTIYĀZĀT*] infringed the rights of Iran as a sovereign and independent nation, and marked a new phase in the relations between Iran and the Great Powers. Other countries, including Britain, hastened to follow the Russian example and to demand extra-territorial rights for their nationals in Iran, and the direct penetration of Iran by foreign influences may be said to date from this time.

Fath 'Alī Shāh's grandson, Muḥammad Shāh, who succeeded to the throne in 1834, attempted to recover territory which had been lost in the east

to the Afghāns. Britain went to the aid of the Afghāns, and Muḥammad Shāh had to abandon the siege of Harāt. Throughout the 19th century, British policy was dominated by one obsession, the defence of India. To achieve this, Afghānistān had to be maintained as a buffer-state, and Iran could not be allowed to regain the territory which had been taken from her by the Afghāns. Consequently, British armies were dispatched from India in 1837, when Iranian troops threatened to recapture Harāt, and in 1852 and 1856, when they succeeded in re-taking that city. Finally, by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, Iran was forced to recognize the independence of Afghānistān and to reconcile itself to the permanent loss of a city which in Timūrid and Ṣafawid times had been one of the great cities of Khurāsān.

During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the first rumblings of social protest found expression in the politico-religious revolt which followed the manifestation of the Bāb (1844). The Bāb declared himself to be the Hidden Imām (the Mahdī or *ṣāhib al-samān*), and in 1848 the Bābis declared their secession from Islam and the *sharī'a*. The revolt was harshly repressed by the government, and the Bāb himself was executed at Tabriz in 1850. An unsuccessful attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1852 led to further persecution of the Bābis. The movement split into two groups, termed Bahā'īs and Azalīs, of which the former is the more important. Its leader, Bahā' Allāh, was banished from Iran, but Bahā'ism was later widely disseminated in Europe and America [see BĀB; BĀBIS; BAHĀ' ALLĀH; BAHĀ'ĪS].

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who came to the throne in 1848, and whose long reign was ended only by his assassination in 1896, was a more able man than either of his two immediate predecessors. He appreciated the need for change, if Iran was to retain her independence and to break the political stranglehold which was being exerted by Britain and Russia. During his reign, however, the other half of the Russian pincer gripping Iran lengthened inexorably. In 1865 the Russians captured Tashkent, and extinguished the khānate of Khoḡand. In 1868 they took Bukhārā and, from their new base at Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian, pushed steadily forward into Central Asia. They put an end to the khānate of Khiva in 1873, crushed for ever the Turkoman tribes of the steppe at the battle of Gök Tepe [*q.v.*] (1881), and completed the conquest of Trans-Caspia by occupying Marw in 1884. The Atrek river was established as the new Russo-Iranian frontier in the east.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh instituted a policy of granting concessions to European powers, in the hope that this would improve the economic prosperity of the country. The net result, however, was that by the end of the 19th century, most of Iran's economic resources were exploited or directed by foreign concessionaires, who obtained sweeping concessions in return for paltry sums of money which satisfied the shah's immediate needs. In 1872, for example, a British subject, Baron Julius de Reuter, obtained the exclusive right to exploit all minerals in Iran (except gold and precious stones), to build factories, to construct railways, canals and irrigation works, to exploit the forests, to create a national bank and public utilities (such as a telegraph system), and to control the customs. Strong Russian pressure led the shah to rescind the concession, and, as compensation, the British received a concession to establish

the Imperial Bank of Persia (1889). The Russians followed suit with their Banque des Prêts, or Loan and Discount Bank. In 1890, the celebrated Tobacco Concession was awarded to a British company. A letter written by Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] to the chief *mudjtahid* at Sāmarrā, caused the latter to issue a *fatwā* prohibiting the use of tobacco by all believers until such time as the shah cancelled the concession. The *mullās* and *mudjtahids* organized demonstrations in Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, and Tabriz, and the shah had to revoke the concession in December 1891. This was a significant occasion: for the first time popular opinion had openly opposed the shah, and the shah had had to give way. As usual, popular opinion had been voiced through the medium of the religious classes, who could, in certain circumstances, be counted on to take the lead in opposing the shah and the government.

Growing discontent with the incompetence and corruption of the government, and resentment at foreign political pressure and economic control, found expression during the last quarter of the 19th century in the form of a challenge to the traditional pattern of society. Secret societies (*andjuman*s) were formed whose members discussed the ideas of Western liberalism and problems of social reform [see DJAM'IVVA]. Out of this social ferment grew the Constitutional or Nationalist movement, which began by demanding a measure of social and judicial reform, the dismissal of certain tyrannical officials, and the expulsion of certain foreign concessionaires, notably the much disliked Belgian Director of Customs, and ended by demanding the promulgation of a Constitution and the establishment of a National Consultative Assembly [see DUSTUR: iv.—Iran]. Although the Fundamental Law was not signed by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh until 30 December 1906, the first National Assembly (Maḡlis) was convened on 7th October 1906.

The victory over despotism, far from being won, had in fact barely begun, and the Nationalists, absorbed in their struggle with the shah, were unable to prevent Iran falling even further under foreign domination. Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, who came to the throne in 1907, tried by every means to subvert the Constitution and to prevent the implementation of bills passed by the Maḡlis. The religious classes, who up to this point had supported the Constitutionalists, mainly from patriotic motives, began to be alarmed by the views of some of the more radical deputies, and this portended a fatal split in the ranks of the Nationalists. On 31 August 1907 the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention, a treaty inspired by the fear of resurgent German militarism, were made public. Iran was to be divided into a Russian and a British sphere of influence, separated by a neutral zone. In June 1908 the shah declared martial law in Tehran and closed the Maḡlis. Despite strong pressure from the Russians, whose troops occupied Tabriz, the Nationalists mounted in the provinces a counter-offensive which resulted in the deposition of the shah in July 1909. His eleven-year-old son Aḡmad was proclaimed shah. In July 1911 an abortive attempt by the exiled Muḥammad 'Alī to reinstate himself in Iran led to further direct Russian intervention, and on 3 Muḡarram 1330/24 December 1911 the Maḡlis was again forcibly closed.

During World War I, although Iran was a neutral, her territory became a battlefield for Turkish, Russian and British forces, and Iran emerged from the war in a state of administrative and financial chaos. Lord Curzon's solution was an independent



Iran firmly under British tutelage, and the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919 provided for the appointment of British advisers to the Iranian Government. The treaty was never ratified by Iran. The Bolsheviks, after the collapse of the short-lived Soviet Socialist Republic of Gilān [see *DJANGALI*], concluded the Soviet-Iranian Treaty of 26 February 1921, by the terms of which they renounced the imperialist policies of the former Tsarist regime. Five days before the signature of this treaty, Reżā Khān seized power by *coup d'état*. Reżā Khān was the commander of the Cossack Brigade, created in 1879 by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh as a royal bodyguard and used by Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh to suppress the Nationalists in the period 1907-9. The atmosphere of the post-war period was favourable to Reżā Khān's attempt to re-establish national integrity and independence; the Constitution had been suspended; there had been a complete breakdown of government authority; the treasury was empty, and famine conditions prevailed. Riḍā Khān first thought of abolishing the monarchy and establishing a republic, but, faced with strong opposition from the 'ulamā' and other traditional elements, he abandoned the idea. Aḥmad Shāh was deposed in 1923, and Reżā Khān was proclaimed shah in December 1925 and crowned on 25 April 1926 as the first ruler of the new Pahlavi dynasty.

Reżā Shāh was determined to launch Iran into the 20th century. Prior to his accession, despite the fact that Iran had been officially converted from a mediaeval Islamic state to a modern constitutional monarchy by the granting of the Constitution in 1906, there were few signs of change in the traditional structure of society. The far-reaching programme of westernization, modernization, and centralization of the administration, on which Reżā Shāh embarked, involved a major upheaval of the traditional social order, and the abolition or modification of many traditional Islamic institutions. Without possessing an ideology, he succeeded in carrying out a revolution. He was impatient with the intellectuals, whom he blamed for Iran's weak and divided state. Unlike Atatürk, he made no long statements of policy, wrote no articles. His failure adequately to explain his objectives to the people was, in fact, a source of weakness. In so far as he succeeded in his objectives, his policies were beneficial to Iran. He completely reorganized the army and created the first unified standing national army in Iran. Between 1921 and 1941, on average one-third of the national budget was allocated to the armed forces. He reorganized the Civil Service on Western lines. In successive phases he laid the foundations of a modern judiciary system: the Penal Code was promulgated in 1926 and the Civil Code in 1928, the year which saw the abolition of the much hated capitulations. Each step necessarily meant a further blow at the position of the *shari'ā* and at the power of the religious classes in general. In the field of education, the *maktabs*, where pupils of all ages were taught in one room by an *ākhūnd*, were swept away. Compulsory state education for both sexes was introduced (it has not yet been fully implemented, particularly in rural areas), and the curricula were modernized. Teachers' Training Colleges were established, and the University of Tehran was founded in 1935. In 1940 all foreign missionary schools were taken over by the government. In the field of commerce, Reżā Shāh established a number of state monopolies, partly to strengthen the Iranian economy vis-à-vis Britain

and Russia, and partly to provide additional revenue. The entire cost of the Trans-Iranian Railway, constructed from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf between 1926-38, was defrayed by means of a tax on tea and sugar, which were state monopolies. Reżā Shāh did much to develop industry in Iran, and his efforts to develop an Iranian textile industry succeeded in making Iran to a large extent independent of Russian textiles. On the debit side, Reżā Shāh, as his reign progressed, showed increasingly despotic tendencies. He became impatient of all criticism, and virtually suppressed political parties, trade unions, and the Press. The *Madjlis* was reduced to the status of a rubber-stamp. Two areas in which Reżā Shāh failed signally were agriculture and relations with the tribes. Not until 1937 did he make any attempt to improve the lot of the peasants or to introduce legislation to encourage landlords to improve methods of cultivation. Even then, because the implementation of the legislation was entrusted to the very landowners at whose interests it was aimed, nothing was achieved. In regard to the tribes, his policy of enforced resettlement, often in unsuitable regions, failed, and his severe treatment of many tribal leaders left a legacy of bitterness.

During Reżā Shāh's reign, German political and economic influence in Iran increased to a marked degree. Since the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, Iran had been psychologically prepared to accept the friendship of a third power which might act as a buffer against British and Russian pressure. Germany, which had no previous history of interference in Iran's affairs and which seemed to be at a safe distance, was welcomed by Reżā Shāh as the "third power". Germany's share of Iranian trade jumped from 8% in 1932 to 45% in 1940. Much of the machinery and heavy equipment needed for Reżā Shāh's programme of industrial expansion was supplied by German, and after Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia, by Czech firms. German architects designed many of the new government and public buildings in Tehran. In 1936 the German Minister Dr. Schacht visited Iran, and expressly exempted Iranians, as being "pure Aryans", from the provisions of the Nuremberg race laws. On the heels of German technicians came German cultural officials and "tourists", who soon constituted an effective Fifth Column in Iran. In 1941 Britain and Russia presented an ultimatum to Reżā Shāh, calling on him to expel large numbers of these Germans from Iran. Reżā Shāh refused, and on 25 August British and Russian forces simultaneously invaded Iran. Reżā Shāh abdicated and went into exile; he died at Johannesburg in 1944. His son, Muḥammad Reżā Shāh, succeeded to the throne.

The position faced by the young shah was one of the utmost difficulty. There was a dearth of leaders—one consequence of Reżā Shāh's concentration of power in his own hands. Effective government was in any case virtually impossible while the country was occupied by foreign troops. The liberalizing of internal conditions released forces of an illiberal character—forces of the extreme right, such as the *fidā'iyyān-i islām* [q.v.], a terrorist organization which came into being about 1943 and which was later protected by the religious leader Āyat Allāh Kāshāni, and forces of the extreme left, such as the Tudeh party, which was formed in 1942. Initially, the Tudeh party attracted many frustrated intellectuals of leftist sympathies who were not

necessarily Communists, but the party fell more and more under Communist influence and direction, and in 1945 the Tudeh, in close co-operation with the Russians, engineered the overthrow of the authority of the central government in Ādharbāydjān and Kurdistān. By the terms of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance (29 January 1942), the Allies had promised to withdraw their troops from Iran within six months from the termination of hostilities with Germany and its associates, but Russian troops did not leave until May 1946. Deprived of Russian support, the Autonomous Republic of Ādharbāydjān and the Kurdish People's Republic collapsed before the advance of the Iranian army in October 1946.

German influence in Iran came to an abrupt end in 1941, and the United States now became the "third power" in Iran. American involvement rapidly increased after the formation in 1942 of the Persian Gulf Command, which developed the port facilities at Khurramshahr, Bandar 'Abbās and Bandar Shāhpūr, and assisted in the supply of war material to the Soviet Union through Iranian territory. The United States also furnished Iran with military and financial advisers. Among the latter was Dr. Millspaugh, who had functioned in a similar capacity in Iran from 1922-27. Finally, in 1947, the United States extended the "Truman doctrine" to include Iran as well as Turkey and Greece, and was thus definitely committed to the maintenance of Iran's independence.

The Tudeh Party rapidly recovered from its defeat in Ādharbāydjān in 1946, and its increased militancy caused widespread insecurity and unrest. On 4 February 1949 a Tudeh Party member made an attempt on the life of the shah. This action was at once followed by the outlawing of the Party and by the reimposition of martial law. The second important event of 1949 was the inauguration of the First Seven-Year Plan for Economic Development. The third significant event of 1949, a year which in many respects marks a turning-point in the history of modern Persia, was the formation by Dr. Muṣaddīk of the National Front. This was a coalition of groups of every political hue, from the neo-Fascist *Sumka* Party and the extreme right-wing *fidā'iyyān-i islām* led by Kāshāni, through the centre block of the Iran Party, composed of bourgeois nationalists and the intelligentsia, to left-wing intellectual groups such as Khalil Māliki's "Third Force". The only common ground shared by these disparate political groups was xenophobia, and fear of the re-imposition of royal dictatorship. There were clear signs that the shah, frustrated by the persistent failure of the *Madjlis* to pass urgently needed legislation, and desirous of pressing ahead with social and economic reforms, was considering assuming a greater degree of executive power, and each group had its own reasons for opposing such a move.

In 1950 the shah took the first positive steps in the direction of social and economic reform when he established the Imperial Organization for Social Welfare, and transferred to this organization, for distribution to the peasants, the crown lands. He further appointed to the office of Prime Minister General 'Alī Razmārā, an honest, patriotic and energetic man. General Razmārā immediately launched an anti-corruption drive which was so effective that still more individuals arrayed themselves against him and the shah. On 7 March 1951 General Razmārā was assassinated by a member

of the *fidā'iyyān-i islām*, an act which put an end to orderly progress towards reform. Dr. Muṣaddīk introduced into the *Madjlis* a bill calling for the nationalization of the oil industry. On 29 April, Dr. Muṣaddīk became Prime Minister, and at once implemented the oil nationalization law and appropriated the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's installations. Muṣaddīk's National Front supporters, deprived of the principal target for the xenophobia which had held them together, soon showed signs of disunity. Muṣaddīk, in the absence of oil revenue, faced a financial crisis; furthermore, once he had achieved his "negative equilibrium", the poverty of his political thinking became apparent. Far from ushering in a social revolution, Muṣaddīk found himself obliged to demand plenary powers and to resort to unconstitutional means in order to maintain his own position. The dissolution of the Senate (the upper house of the Iranian Parliament, provided for in the 1906 Constitution but not convened until 1950), in July 1952, was followed by that of the Supreme Court (November 1952) and of the *Madjlis* itself (August 1953). In addition, Dr. Muṣaddīk imposed martial law and curbed the Press. After January 1953, when Muṣaddīk insisted on an extension of his plenary powers, he found himself in a position of increasing isolation as National Front leaders such as Makki, Baḳā'i and Kāshāni successively broke away from him. On 13 August the shah issued a *farmān* dismissing Muṣaddīk and appointing General Zāhidi Prime Minister. Muṣaddīk refused to take cognisance of the *farmān*, and the shah temporarily left the country. On 28 Murdād 1332 s./19 August 1953 Zāhidi suppressed the Tudeh mobs over which Muṣaddīk no longer had any control, and succeeded in establishing himself in Tehran. The Shāh returned to Iran, and in November 1953 Muṣaddīk was brought to trial on a charge of treason, on the grounds that he had defied an imperial *farmān* and had abrogated the constitutional procedures and basic laws of the land. He was sentenced to three years' solitary confinement, from which he was released in August 1956.

After the fall of Muṣaddīk, the oil dispute was settled (August 1954) by the formation of a consortium of British, American, Dutch and French companies, which ran the industry on behalf of the National Iranian Oil Company. On 3 November 1955 Iran joined the Baghdad Pact, with Great Britain, Turkey, Pakistan and 'Irāk; 'Irāk withdrew in 1959, and the alliance was renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The shah, advocating a policy of "positive nationalism", indicated that he intended to exercise greater personal control over the administration of the state than he had prior to the dictatorship of Muṣaddīk. In 1957 the National Security Organisation (SAVAK) was formed. The shah attempted to check corruption. In 1958 the Imperial Investigation Organization was set up to receive and investigate complaints from the public against any official of the bureaucracy, judiciary, or army, and this was followed by the passage of several bills designed to discourage bribery and peculation by government officials. In 1958 the Pahlavi Foundation (*Bunyād-i Pahlavi*) was set up to administer certain resources of the Crown and to expend the income accruing from these assets on social services. On 5 October 1961 the shah handed over to the Pahlavi Foundation property valued at more than £ 47,500,000, comprising farms, villages owned by the shah, hotels, the shah's holdings in the Iranian oil tanker fleet,

and all stocks and shares held by the shah. These funds and assets were constituted into a *wakf*, or trust, for charitable, social, educational and health services. In this way, the shah has virtually divested himself of the personal fortune which he had inherited from his father. The birth of a son and heir (Reżā) to the shah and the Empress Faraḥ on 31 October 1960 was a stabilizing factor in Iranian affairs, in that it assured the continuance of the Pahlavi dynasty (succession is through the male line only). Nevertheless, the political outlook continued to be uncertain. The shah's policy of "repolitization" had resuscitated the National Front, which contained many of Muṣaddik's former supporters. The shah's experiment in "controlled democracy", in which two artificially-created parties known as *Milliyūn* and *Mardum* were to represent the government party and the "loyal opposition" respectively, predictably failed. The shah had to annul the elections of August 1960, and the new elections, begun in January 1961, were accompanied by such widespread disorders that on 9 May 1961 the shah, using powers which had been granted to him in 1949, dissolved the Maḍjlis and the Senate. He took this action not only "for the protection of the nation's rights and interests, and to safeguard the Constitution", but also in order that "no obstacles should hinder the strong Government which had been appointed to institute fundamental reforms."

As an earnest of his intentions, the shah promulgated the Agrarian Reform Bill (15 January 1962). Prior to this, all legislation designed to break up the large estates, and thus make land available for distribution to the peasants, had consistently been blocked in the Maḍjlis. The shah had completed his programme, begun in 1951, of distributing crown lands to the peasants, but his example had not been followed by the large landowners. Under the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Bill, no landowner was to be allowed to own more than one village, regardless of size; all villages in excess of this allowance were to be bought by the State and sold to the peasants. Considerable progress was made during 1962 in implementing the new regulations, and land reform was a major item in the shah's six-point programme which was approved by national referendum in January 1963; other radical reforms were the enfranchisement of women, and the creation of the "Literacy Corps" to combat illiteracy, particularly in rural areas. This six-point programme was opposed by the National Front, and opposition from the religious classes culminated in serious rioting in the capital and the major provincial cities in June 1963. In September 1963, after an interval of more than two years during which the shah ruled by decree, general elections were held, and the newly-formed National Union Party, a coalition pledged to give full support to the shah's reform programme, gained a strong majority in the Maḍjlis. The elections were boycotted by the National Front. The election of six women to the Maḍjlis no doubt reflected the fact that, in these elections, women for the first time were able to vote.

Since 1963, the shah has made steady progress with his "white revolution", or "revolution from above," despite further acts of violence by those opposed to his policies. On 21 January 1965, for instance, the Prime Minister Ḥasan 'Alī Maṣūūr, whose New Iran Party, formed in December 1963, commanded a large measure of support in the Maḍjlis, was shot and mortally wounded by a supporter of an extreme right-wing *mudjtahid*.

In April 1965 yet another attempt was made to assassinate the shah. The greatest hope for the future, perhaps, lies in the achievements of the Plan Organization. The First Seven-Year Plan was launched in 1949, but the preliminary surveys and blueprints had hardly been completed before Muṣaddik's nationalization of the oil industry deprived the Plan Organization of its principal source of revenue, and consequently many of the projects remained unrealized. The Second Seven-Year Plan (1956) provided for the expenditure of \$ 850,000,000 (to be obtained partly from oil revenue and partly from foreign loans) on communications, agriculture and irrigation; industry and mines; and public works. The Second Plan brought positive benefits, including the completion of major hydro-electric and irrigation projects like the Karaḍi dam (1961), the Safid River dam (1962), and the Diz River dam (1963). This last is the largest Iranian development project to date. It is designed to irrigate 325,000 acres of *Khūzistān* which were once fertile, but which for centuries have been arid; the hydro-electric project associated with the dam has a potential capacity of 520,000 Kw. It is only one of fourteen major projects scheduled for *Khūzistān*. During the period of the Second Plan, too, the capacity of the Gulf ports was increased, highways were built, and the production of sugar, construction materials, and textiles was increased. The Third Economic Development Plan, inaugurated in 1962, has been severely hampered by drastic cuts in the budget of the Plan Organization, but in October 1963 the shah pledged more money for this purpose. On 29 July 1963 Iran and the Soviet Union signed an Economic and Technical Co-operation Agreement for the construction of a barrage on the River Araxes which will irrigate 148,000 acres on both sides of the frontier. The oil industry, under the control of the National Iranian Oil Company, continues to expand, and production increases as new oil-fields are discovered.

There has been a gradual détente between Iran and the Great Powers as the latter have relaxed their political and economic pressure. Simultaneously, relations between Iran and its immediate neighbours have become closer as a result of the establishment in 1965 of the Regional Co-operation for Development Corporation (R.C.D.). The participants in this corporation are Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, and already joint schemes are in progress in such fields as communications, industry, education and health.

The stability of the dynasty has been further assured by the birth of a second royal prince, 'Alī Reżā, on 28 April 1966, and particularly by an amendment to the Constitution effected on 7 September 1967. This amendment provides that, if the shah dies before Crown Prince Reżā comes of age, or if the shah is unable to carry out his duties, the Empress Faraḥ will act as Regent until the crown prince reaches the age of twenty. In such a case, the Regent will be assisted by a Council of Seven, including the Prime Minister, the Presidents of the Maḍjlis and the Senate, and the President of the Supreme Court. On 26 October 1967, the shah, then in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, was officially crowned. This was a symbolic act, since the shah had repeatedly declared that he did not wish to be crowned as long as Iran was under foreign domination. There is no doubt that Iran today (1971) is more truly independent than at any time since 1800. The reforms introduced by the shah have already brought about radical changes in the struc-

ture of Persian society, and this trend is likely to become more marked in the years to come.

(R. M. SAVORY)

#### vi.—RELIGIONS

When the Arabs destroyed the Sasanian empire they also dealt a heavy blow to the national religion of ancient Iran, Zoroastrianism. As the official cult of the state, the Mazdean church had become dependent on the support of the political body and had identified itself to a large extent with the existing social order. As a result of this the clergy had lost touch with the broad masses of the population. Although our knowledge of the religious situation during the last days of the Sasanids is very limited, it seems certain that Zoroastrianism was no longer a very vital force, at least not in the orthodox form of the religion. Sectarian movements, the true nature of which is still rather difficult to ascertain, provided alternatives to the official doctrines and practices. The most important of these was Zurvānism.

In the Islamic theocracy, which during the first century of its existence was dominated by the Arabs, the Zoroastrians could only retain their identity as one of the tolerated religious minorities. In general, the Arab conquerors did not insist on an immediate conversion of their foreign subjects. In most cases, they were satisfied with the conclusion of a treaty which guaranteed freedom of cult to the non-Muslims in exchange for tribute. Originally the Zoroastrians (*Madjūs* [q.v.]) were not included among the "people of the Book" (*Ahl al-Kitāb* [q.v.]), but very soon the doctrine was adapted in such a manner as to extend the contractual protection (*dhimma* [q.v.]) to the Zoroastrian communities as well. Traditions containing decisions made by the Prophet in favour of the Zoroastrians in Bahrayn and Yaman were adduced in support of this new interpretation.

Thanks to the tolerant attitude of Islamic officialdom, the Mazdeans were able to consolidate their position by retreating into small close communities standing aside from the life of the Islamic commonwealth. In this way they were able to survive the coming of Islam for several centuries, especially in rural districts and in those provinces where the Arabs did not settle in great numbers. Fire-temples continued to function in many parts of the country. The main centre of intellectual activity of the Zoroastrian theologians was Fārs. The archaic Pahlavi was used to commit the whole body of religious knowledge to writing after it had been transmitted chiefly by oral tradition during the pre-Islamic period. In some of the Pahlavi books there are traces of a confrontation with Islam, more specifically with the speculative *kalām* of the Mu'tazila. Important in this respect is the apologetic work *Shkand Gumānik Vīlār* ("The decisive solution of doubts") (edited by P.-J. de Menasce, Freiburg 1945). Citations from the *Qur'ān* occur in the Zoroastrian encyclopaedia *Dēnkarī* (cf. A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa*, 138 ff.). This renaissance of Mazdean religious culture reached its peak in the 8th-9th centuries. Afterwards, the pressure exerted by the Muslim environment, which by that time had already been strongly iranzed, became too strong. Those who did not want to follow the majority of the people in their conversion to Islam began to leave Iran. This exodus to Guḍjarāt seems to have started in the 10th century A.D. [See FĀRSIS]. Only a small minority continued to adhere to the religion in Iran. In later times they were chiefly concentrated in Yazd and Kirmān. They were rather contemptuously designated as *gabr*s [q.v.].

Already the Sasanian empire had had its religious minorities. Its policy with regard to these groups had been subject to many changes resulting from the vicissitudes of foreign and internal political events. Generally speaking, the minorities were far better off under Islamic rule. This is especially true of the Manichaeans who had fled from Sasanian persecution to Central Asia but partly returned to the homeland of their creed, Mesopotamia, in the early Islamic period. Little is heard of them until 'Abbāsīd times when they began to exert a considerable intellectual influence which was countered both by Mu'tazilī apologists and by an official inquisition [see further s.v. ZINDĪK]. As far as Iran is concerned, there are only scattered references to Manichaean communities in the north-eastern provinces. A *Khānqāh-i Manāvīyān* directed by a *nigōshak* is still mentioned by the *Hudūd al-'ālam* (p. 113) in 372/982-3. Persian literature has preserved numerous references to Manichaean painting.

The Christians in Iran belonged in the main to the Nestorian church which had sought here a refuge from persecution in the Byzantine Empire. Its missionary activity did not have much success in Iran. The evidence relevant to the early Islamic period points to the existence of a limited number of bishoprics with a relatively great density in Fārs. In the north-east, Marv was the see of a Metropolitan.

The settlement of Jews in Iran goes back to antiquity. They enjoyed a large amount of tolerance in the country both before and after the coming of Islam. Their communities, often living in separate Yahūdiyya-quarters, were to be found in many of the larger cities, but were particularly important in Khūzistān, Hamadān and Isfahān. At an early stage, the Iranian Jews started to use Persian for their writings, using the Hebrew-Aramaic alphabet. A small but interesting Judaeo-Persian literature [q.v.], consisting mainly of religious works, has been preserved.

Since the 2nd century B.C., Mahāyana Buddhism had penetrated those parts of Central Asia which were inhabited by Iranian peoples. Already in pre-Islamic times it had to retreat before Zoroastrianism but it continued to be of some importance in the region of Gandhara and Balkh during the first few centuries of the Islamic era. The Buddhist convent of Naw Bahār (from Sanskrit *nōva vihāra* "new monastery") was very renowned and figures often in early Persian poetry. The Barmakids, the Iranian viziers of Hārūn al-Rashīd, were descended from an abbot (*parmak*) of the convent [cf. AL-BARĀMIKA].

The process of Islamization which eventually made Iran a thoroughly Islamic country took several centuries to be completed. The great historians of the Arab conquest (e.g., al-Balādhuri, al-Tabarī), as well as a number of local histories (e.g., the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, al-Narshakhī on Transoxania and Ibn Isfandiyār on the Caspian provinces), have transmitted a great variety of reports on the conversion of groups or individuals originating from different regions and scattered over a large period of time. It is hardly possible to form a coherent picture of the process as a whole out of incidents which not unfrequently seem to contradict each other. Undoubtedly, the chaotic character of the evidence corresponds with the nature of the actual historical development. As there was no consistent policy on the part of the government, local conditions as well as social differences usually decided the course of events. The individual arbitrary decisions of local officials were often a very important factor.

The first report about the acceptance of Islam dates from as early as the battle of al-*Ḳādisiyya* [q.v.] when Daylamī cavalry troops (*asāwira*, also designated as *Ḥamrā* Daylam) deserted from the Imperial army and came to terms with the Arabs. This included conversion to the new religion as well as the settlement of these mercenaries in the recently founded *miṣr* of *Kūfa* (cf. L. Caetani, *Annali*, iii/2, 916-20). On some occasions Iranian notables were deported to the centre of the Caliphate to serve in the Umayyad administration and were remembered by later generations as the pride of their regions (cf. e.g. *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, ed. M. T. Bahār, 18 ff.).

Conversions of this kind required a complete assimilation to the way of life of the conquerors, including the adoption of Arabic names. Reports of forced conversions or the violation of the sanctuaries of the protected religions are rare, but this may be partially due to the predominantly Islamic bias of the sources.

The pattern of Arab settlement [see AL-<sup>ARAB</sup>, iii] largely determined the pace of the Islamization of the different regions. In the cities of *Khurāsān* and of northern al-*Djībāl*, later also in those of Transoxania, large Arab garrisons were stationed which had a great influence on the rate of conversion among the townspeople. It has been suggested by several scholars that the urban class of artisans and tradesmen adopted the new religion so easily because in Sasanian society they had been discriminated against on account of their low status in the Mazdean scale of social values. Of the other social classes, the peasants were least open to outside influences and accepted Islam only very slowly. This cannot be explained exclusively by their isolation and the conservatism usually found among a rural population, but equally by their economic situation. The dependence of the state finances on the revenues of the land-tax, which was levied only on the non-Muslims, one of the most thorny problems of the young Islamic empire, put a great restraint on missionary activity directed towards the peasantry. In the administration of the great mass of non-Muslim subjects the Arab rulers for a long time used the services of the local aristocracy who had survived the downfall of the Sasanian empire. Although the *dihkāns* [q.v.] and *marzāns* were sometimes invited to become Muslims, their symbiosis with the Islamic government was not dependent on a religious affiliation but was essentially a political and economic necessity.

Massive conversions could still take place in Iran as late as the 5th/11th century. The rise of *Ṣūfism* did much to bridge the gap between the broad masses and the bearers of the religious tradition who mainly belonged to the upper classes of society. Members of the pietist *Karrāmiyya* sect were also very active as missionaries. The *Shi'ī* propaganda of the *Zaydiyya* is to be credited with the Islamization of the Caspian provinces.

Being a Muslim brought many social advantages to a non-Arab subject of the Islamic theocracy, but during the period of Arab hegemony which lasted till the downfall of the Umayyads in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the convert could only aspire to the status of a second-class citizen. As a client or *mawālī* (pl. *mawālī* [q.v.]), the non-Arab Muslim enjoyed the protection of an Arab tribe or family but was subject to certain disabilities.

Although the Iranian *mawālī* often participated with great enthusiasm in the wars against unbelievers (e.g., at the time of the conquest of *Soghdiā* and afterwards in the struggle with the pagan Turks), the

disadvantages of their status made them a potential ally to any politico-religious movement that came out in revolt against Umayyad rule.

The participation of Iranian *mawālī* in a sectarian movement is recorded for the first time in the accounts of the rebellion of al-*Mukhtār* [q.v.] who in 66-7/685-7 defended the claims to the imāmate of *Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya* [q.v.] and demanded revenge for the death of al-*Ḥusayn*. His personal guard was recruited from the *Ḥamrā mawālī* in *Kūfa*. They are designated as *ḥāfir ḫubāt* [q.v.] literally "unbeliever clubs", a designation which reappears in the sources when they mention the Iranians who took part in the 'Abbāsīd revolt. [See also *KAYSANIYYA*]. The *Azāriḳa* [q.v.], a *Khāridjīte* group which, after having been defeated in 'Irāk, continued its opposition in various parts of Iran (66/685-78/698-9), was also supported by many Iranian clients. Another *Shi'ī* pretender, 'Abd Allāh b. *Mu'āwiya* [q.v.], was equally forced to retreat into Iranian territory after the failure of his rising in *Kūfa* (127/744). Taking advantage of the general atmosphere of discontent prevailing in the later Umayyad period, he succeeded in uniting dissenters of quite different religious and political parties under his command. Among them were *Zaydīs*, *Khāridjīs* and even prominent members of the 'Abbāsīd family. This sect, known as al-*Djanāhiyya* [q.v.], displays doctrinal features that are common to many other early *Shi'ī* heterodoxies (e.g., esoteric knowledge invested in the *imām* and the concealment (*ghayba*) and eventual return (*radī'a*) of the founder of the sect). None of these movements, however, originated in Iran. They were the products of the syncretistic religious culture of 'Irāk where Iranian ideas formed only one of several constituent elements. [See further s.v. *GĤULĀT*].

From 116/734-128/746, the *Soghdiāns* were in open revolt over the poll-tax. This rebellion acquired a religious dimension through the collaboration of a group of pious Arabs like *Abu 'l-Ṣaydā' Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf*, who had been a successful missionary among the *Soghdiāns*, and al-*Hārith b. Suraydī* [q.v.]. In the interests of Islam, they supported the claim of the *mawālī* to full rights as Muslims and they summoned the Umayyad government to return to the ordinances of the *Kur'ān* and the *sunna*. The secretary of al-*Hārith*, *Djāhm b. Ṣafwān* [q.v.], was one of the earliest Islamic theologians working in Iran.

The non-Muslim subjects showed a remarkable restraint towards the strife among the different factions of the Muslim community. The orthodox *Mazdeans*, the most numerous group, made no attempts to take advantage of this confusion. The movement of *Bih' āfrīd b. Farwardān* [q.v.], who proclaimed himself a Prophet about 129/747 in *Kh'āf* (near *Nīshāpūr*), originated in a sectarian environment. He claimed to be sent from heaven in order to reform the Mazdean religion. His message, which is said to have been laid down in a book written in Persian, was mainly concerned with religious practice. The prescriptions he gave were aimed at an adaption of Zoroastrianism to the moral and ritual code of Islam. The most outspoken opposition to his activities came from the orthodox Zoroastrian clergy.

In the last years of the first century A.H., the 'Abbāsīd family, through the famous testament of *Abū Ḥāshim* [q.v.], had acquired the leadership of the most active section of the early *Shi'ī* movement. From *Kūfa*, the traditional centre of politico-religious opposition against the Umayyad regime, an effective propaganda was organized, focused on the province of *Khurāsān* where conditions seemed especially favour-

able for stirring up a massive revolt. The activities of the 'Abbāsīd missionaries were directed to all the groups, whether Arab or Iranian, who had reason to be discontented with the present situation. To Iranian participants, the problem of equality within the Muslim community provided the main incentive. Another issue of a religious nature was the claim of revenge for the Zaydī pretender Yaḥyā b. Zayd [q.v.], who had been killed in battle with Umayyad troops in 125/743 when he was trying to win support in Khurāsān. The religious motivation of the 'Abbāsīds themselves is not quite clear [see AL-HĀSHIMIYYA], but it is certain that they did not desire any emphasis on extreme points of doctrine, as is apparent from their disavowal of one of the prominent agitators, Khidāsh, when he was tried and executed on the grounds of spreading "khurrāmī" heresies, as well as from the vehement action taken by Abū Muslim, the architect of 'Abbāsīd victory, against several heretical movements.

In retrospect, the founding of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate appears to be a turning point in the development of Islam in Iran. Iranian Muslims, whose numbers were rapidly increasing, could now partake on an equal footing in the affairs of the Islamic community. The theocracy itself, on the other hand, became to a certain extent "iranized" as a result of the infiltration of a great number of Iranians into all the branches of its central administration. Many cultural traditions of ancient Iran were integrated into Islamic culture. There was also a large measure of participation by the Iranian Muslims in the elaboration of the great theological and juridical systems of Islam which took place in the early 'Abbāsīd period. The cities of Khurāsān and Transoxania developed into important centres of Islamic learning.

The immediate effects of the revolt which brought the 'Abbāsīds into power seemed at first to point to a quite different line of development. A wide-spread discontent with social conditions, as well as a receptiveness to heterodox religious ideas, notably among those sections of the population which had only been touched very slightly by Islam, the very elements on which the leaders of the revolution had built their success, continued to form an obstacle to political stability in the Iranian provinces. The severance by the 'Abbāsīds of their former relations with sectarian groups and, more specifically, the crude disposal of the popular leader of the movement in Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, provided the incentive for a long series of politico-religious risings. They were often headed by former collaborators of Abū Muslim, who made him the object of a messianic expectation similar to those current among the early Shi'ī *ghulāt*. It was believed that after a period of occultation (*ghayba*) he would return in the company of the pre-Islamic heretic Mazdak and of the Mahdī. A pronounced anti-Islamic tendency was expressed in the prophecy of a return of Zoroaster and the destruction of the Ka'ba. The idea of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) was also present: a divine element was thought to have been transmitted to Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima and to his son Firūz Mahdī. Collectively these movements are designated as the Abū-Muslimiyya. Another general term used in reference to a variety of these sects is Khurrāmīyya or Khurramdīniyya [q.v.]. This appellation is used in particular to characterize a number of customs, among which community of goods and wives are cited as the most objectionable, deviating from the Islamic way of life. A historical connection with the movement of Mazdak in Sasanian times has often been suggested

but cannot be substantiated by the available evidence.

Most of these movements manifested themselves in the rural districts of eastern Iran and Transoxania. The leaders of the revolts were Sinbādh, Ishāk al-Turk, Ustādhsīs and the "veiled Prophet", al-Mukanna' [q.v.], whose followers were known as the *Mubayyida* or *Safid-djāmagān* on account of their white garments. The most dangerous rebellion was led by Bābak [q.v.], and took place in Ādharbāyḡjān. It was only subdued after a long campaign directed by the best generals of the 'Abbāsīd army. The Rāwandīyya [q.v.], which projected spiritual leadership, based on a divine incarnation, in the person of the caliph al-Manṣūr [q.v.], also originated in Iran, but its main activity was in Irāk. The geographers and historians of the 4th/10th century still make mention of remnants of these sects in isolated parts of the country [for historical details see IRAN, HISTORY and the references given there].

Among the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs who still had a direct control over all the Iranian provinces, al-Ma'mūn [q.v.] showed a special interest in this part of his empire. His attempt to make an alliance with the Husayni branch of the 'Alids by appointing the *imām* 'Alī al-Riḡā as his heir to the caliphate was little more than an episode. Yet it left permanent traces in Iran in the form of the two most venerated shrines of the Iranian Shi'ā: the Āstān-i ḡuds-i Raḡawī, the grave of the *imām* 'Alī al-Riḡā [q.v.], who died under suspicious circumstances in Tūs (the present-day Mashhad [q.v.]) in 203/818, and the tomb of his sister Fāṭima al-Ma'sūma in Ḳumm. The religious disputes held at the court of this caliph in Marv, in which representatives of various Islamic and non-Islamic denominations took part, show the great differentiation of religious opinion prevailing at this time as well as the relatively tolerant attitude adopted by the government.

In the long run, however, Iran developed into a predominantly Sunni country, which it remained until the end of the Middle Ages. The rise of semi-independent dynasties in the eastern parts from the early 3rd/9th century onwards in no way checked this general trend. Both the Ṭāhirids and the Sāmānids acted as guardians of Sunnism and continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the 'Abbāsīds as the ultimate source of legitimate rule within the Islamic community. The same seems to hold true of the Ṣafāfārids in spite of the intimation of heterodox leanings put forward by Niẓām al-Mulk (*Siyāsaināma*, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340 sh., 20; transl., idem, London 1960, 15). They had come to power as the leaders of a popular movement against the Khāridjites who had managed to obtain a foothold in Sistān. Even the growth of a distinctive Iranian self-awareness, expressing itself in the use of Persian for literary purposes and the creation of Persian literature, was not connected with a tendency to depart from Islamic orthodoxy. Among the earliest works that became accessible in Persian were such classics of Sunni Islām as the *Ta'rikh* and the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabari.

The religious situation in Iran during the second half of the 4th/10th and the beginning of the next century can be reconstructed to some extent from scattered pieces of information which have been transmitted by the geographers and historians of this period. The *Kitāb Aḡsan al-taḡāsim* of al-Mukaddasī, written in 375/985, is a particularly rich source as far as the geography of religion is concerned (cf. the compilation of these references in P. Schwarz, *Iran, passim* as well as B. Spuler, *Iran*, 145 ff. and the *Karte III* with *Erläuterungen* at the end of this work).

Together these data point to a confusing diversity, even within the community of the people of the Sunna. It is therefore difficult to trace the main lines of division between the various doctrinal and juridical schools. In general there was a preference for the Ḥanafī school of law in the eastern provinces, especially among the lower classes. The Shāfi'iyya had strongholds in Kirmāu, Ṭabaristān and in several parts of Transoxania. The position of the *madhāhib* in the western provinces is less clear. For some period of time smaller schools like the Zāhiriyya [q.v.] founded by Dā'ūd al-Isfahānī [q.v.] and the Thawriyya of Sufyān al-Thawrī [q.v.] had a fair number of followers in Iran. The doctrinal school of the Mu'tazila had, from the time of its efflorescence under the protection of the early 'Abbāsids onwards, penetrated the Iranian provinces with much success. It managed to hold its ground there for a very long time after the reaction of the Ḥanbali traditionalists had put an end to its dominant position in 'Irāk. The struggle with the emerging neo-orthodox schools founded by al-Ash'arī and al-Māturidī continued at least till the time of the Saljūqs. The *kalām* of the Mu'tazila became of lasting significance to Iranian Islam on account of its influence on the doctrinal system of the Ithnā-'ashari branch of the Shi'a. The larger cities usually contained a number of different religious minorities who lived in continuous rivalry and strife. The antagonism of social groups designated as *'aṣabiyyāt* [q.v.] merged with the controversies among the adherents of the various ritual or doctrinal schools. Not unfrequently, this took the form of small-scale civil war within the cities (cf. Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen âge*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 27 ff.).

The sect of the Karrāmiyya [q.v.] originated in Khurāsān out of the teachings of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Karrām (d. 255/869). It found its following chiefly among the artisans. The most remarkable traits of the Karrāmiyya as far as practical religious life is concerned were the emphasis on traditionalist piety, the foundation of *khānkhāhs* or small convents which may have supplied the models for later institutions of religious education, and the vehement missionary zeal of the sect, directed as much to the heterodox groups within Islam as to the non-Muslims. The height of its development was reached at the beginning of the 5th/11th century when they acquired a considerable influence on the Ghaznavid rulers as well as on the early Ghūrids [q.v.].

Šūfism appears in Iran for the first time in the second half of the 4th/9th century. One of the earliest representatives was the great Šūfi *shaykh* Abū Yazid al-Bisṭāmī [q.v.]. The foundation of the school of the Malāmatiyya [q.v.] is attributed to Ḥamdūn al-Kāṣār [q.v.] of Nishāpūr. The emphasis on absolute sincerity and indifference to all outward appearances of piety, characteristic of the Malāmatiyya, became a distinctive mark of the mysticism of Khurāsān as compared with the Šūfism of 'Irāk. In the first half of the 5th/10th century pupils of the 'Irāki schools settled in eastern Iranian towns, e.g. Mūsā al-Anṣārī (d. ca. 320/932) in Marv and al-Thakafī (d. 328/940) in Nishāpūr. The great extension of Šūfism in Khurāsān was recorded a century later by al-Ḥudjwiri [q.v.] in his *Kashf al-mahdūb*.

A second centre of early Šūfism was Fārs where the first important *shaykh* was Ibn al-Khafif [q.v.] (d. 371/981). His teaching had a profound influence in this province which lasted for many centuries. It was continued by *Shaykh* Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b.

Shahriyār (d. 426/1033) [q.v.] of Kāzarūn, the eponym of the Ishākiyya or Kāzarūniyya, one of the very first Šūfi orders not only of Iran but of Islam in general.

Until the rise of the Šafawids about 1500 A.D., the Shi'a remained a religious minority in Iran. As a matter of fact, it did not constitute a homogeneous group but consisted of quite different parties which were opposed to each other as much as the Sunnis were opposed to all of them together. The small but militant movements of the *ghulāt*, which were particularly active during the Umayyad period, as a rule did not originate in Iran but emanated from southern 'Irāk. The great majority of the Shi'ites living in Iran adhered to the quietist attitude in the matter of the political leadership of the community which had been adopted by the Ḥusayni branch of the 'Alids after the tragic failure of al-Ḥusayn's expedition to 'Irāk at Karbalā'. Apart from their views on the doctrine of the Imāma [q.v.], they did not differ significantly, either in doctrinal or in ritual questions from the Sunnis. This large moderate group of the Shi'a, originally referred to by the general name of al-Rāfi'iyya [q.v.], was from an early date strongly represented in the northern cities of al-Djibāl or 'Irāk-i 'Adjami. Shi'ism was brought here by the Arabs who settled in this area when this part of the country was still a frontier with the not yet Islamized Caspian regions. Kumm, in particular, is an old stronghold of the Shi'a in Iran. Scattered Shi'a communities were to be found in other provinces as well. In Khurāsān, Nishāpūr, Harāt and Tūs significant Shi'i minorities were living together in separate quarters, generally tolerated by the Sunni majority although from time to time they became involved in *'aṣabiyyāt* struggles. A rural district with a long tradition of Shi'ism was Bayḥāk, with the city of Sabzawār. Khūzistān and Fārs also contained a fair number of Shi'ites.

The Zaydiyya [q.v.], for whom the active assertion of his claim had become an important pre-requisite of the rightful *imām*, were moderate in doctrine but not deficient in political zeal. In 250/864 a Zaydi pretender belonging to the Ḥasani branch of the 'Alids, Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, entitled *al-dā'i al-kabīr*, succeeded in driving the Ṭāhirid governor out of Māzandarān, and founded there a Shi'i state which in spite of successive reverses held its ground for several centuries. The Zaydites did a great deal to spread Islam in the Caspian regions, extending their influence both to Gurgān in the East and to Gilān and Daylam in the West. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Utrush [q.v.] was very active as a missionary of Shi'i Islam.

The mountains of Daylam, the inhabitants of which owed their acquaintance with Islam mainly to Zaydi missionaries, were the place of origin of the clan of the Būyids [q.v.]. As rulers of western Iran and 'Irāk they did not put an end to the Sunni caliphate of Baghdād, although it had been deprived completely of its political power. On the other hand they gave much stimulus to the further development of Shi'i doctrines and customs, especially among the followers of the Ḥusayni *imāms* who began to form a more defined denominational entity as the Imāmiyya or Ithnā-'ashariyya [q.v.]. The celebration of the most important Shi'i festivals such as the remembrance of the investiture of 'Alī at Ghadir al-Khumm [q.v.] and the mourning (*ta'ziya*) of the martyrs of Karbalā' in the month of Muḥarram [q.v.] is for the first time recorded in the Būyid period.

The mission (*da'wa*) of the Ismā'iliyya [q.v.] in Iran had already started before the end of the 3rd/9th century. The initiative was taken by the Ḳarma-

tians [q.v.] who, in addition to their centres in the Arabian territories bordering on the Persian Gulf, had a footing in *Khūzistān* as well. From here the missionary *Khālaf* was sent to the *Shi'ī* areas in al-*Djībāl*. From their base near Rayy, the *Ismā'īlis*, who in this part of Iran were known for a long time as *Khālafīyya*, tried to extend their influence to the Caspian regions, and to *Khurāsān* and Transoxania. After the establishment of the Fātimid caliphate in Egypt propaganda was directed from Cairo. Missionary activity in Iran was on the whole not very fruitful, in spite of the frequently outstanding intellectual capacities of the *dā'īs*. The efforts were chiefly directed to the conversion of influential men of the ruling classes. Some spectacular but not very permanent achievements were made, e.g., the conversion of the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr II b. Aḥmad by the *dā'ī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, which led to the former's forced abdication in 331/942-3, and of one of the latest Būyid rulers, Abū Kalīdjār, who was won over to the Fātimid cause by al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Din [q.v.]. The latter, by winning over a Turkish commander in the Būyid service, al-Basāsiri [q.v.], almost succeeded in establishing Fātimid suzerainty in Baghdād. But this was frustrated by the intervention of the Saljūq chief Tuḡhril Beg, who rescued the 'Abbāsids from their imprisonment in a *Shi'ī* state. More permanent results of the early *Ismā'īlī dā'wa* were the strongholds in isolated parts of the country like *Kūhistān* and *Badakhshān*. The literary output of the *Ismā'īlī* communities, both in Arabic and Persian, was not inconsiderable. (See further S. Stern, *The early Ismā'īlī missionaries in North-West-Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 59-60; on the literature of the early period: W. Ivanow, *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*, Bombay 1955<sup>8</sup>; idem, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933; idem, *Ismaili Literature. Bibliographical Survey*, Tehran 1963).

The propagandist activities of the *Ismā'īliyya*, usually referred to as *Bāṭiniyya*, became a great concern of the Sunni rulers in Iran. This led to increasing intolerance with regard to religious minorities. Especially under the rule of the *Ghaznavids* and the *Saljūqs* in the 5th/11th—6th/12th centuries, a hardening of the relationship between the denominations can be observed. The situation grew worse towards the end of the 5th/11th century. The leadership was taken by Ḥasan-i Sabbāh [q.v.], who in 483/1090 made himself master of the impregnable fortress of Alamūt [q.v.] in Daylam. This became the residence of an Iranian *Ismā'īlī* dynasty in open rebellion against the *Saljūq* sultan. Almost at the same time the supporters of the Fātimids split over the succession to the imāme after the death of the caliph al-Mustanshir (487/1094). The party who lost the struggle in Cairo, the *Nizāris* [q.v.], had won the support of most of the *Ismā'īlis* in Iran under the guidance of Ḥasan-i Sabbāh. In Western reports on this movement they are referred to as the Assassins, a name originating in Syria [see *ḤASHIḤIYYA*]. In the doctrines of this new sect great emphasis was laid on the necessity of a continuous teaching (*ta'lim*) by a present *imām* in order to make the esoteric meaning of the revelation accessible to the believers. The breach from all the other sections of the Islamic community became absolute when in 559/1164 the "resurrection" (*kiyāma*), by which the *shari'a* was abolished for the *Nizāri* community, was proclaimed. Half a century later the community reconciled itself to its Islamic environment and placed itself again under the rule of the religious law.

After the final destruction of its strongholds during the campaign of the Mongol prince Hülegü (654/1256), the *Ismā'īliyya* in Iran ceased to exist as an independent force but lived on in the form of a religious minority for which the *imām* acted as spiritual guide (*pir*).

Through the victory of the *Saljūqs* over the Būyids Sunnism had again acquired supremacy in most parts of Iran. Although the sultans adhered to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, the *Shāfi'iyya*, to which the most prominent theologians belonged, became very influential thanks to the personal adherence of the powerful vizier Nizām al-Mulk. The class of the theological and juridical scholars began to infiltrate the administration of the central government. To this end the extension of traditional academic education was fostered by the foundation of *madrasas* [q.v.] in the larger cities of the empire, known by the name of *Nizāmiyya*.

The representatives of the *Ithnā-'ashariyya* were, at the beginning of the Sunni restoration in Western Iran, regarded with great suspicion. This attitude both on the part of the sultans and of the great vizier is clearly expressed in several anecdotes of the latter's *Siyāsatināma*. In the 6th/12th century, when Nizām al-Mulk no longer put his stamp on religious policy, the *Shi'ites* were able to take a greater share in the affairs of the state. Some of them even reached the rank of vizier. The altercations between Sunnis and *Shi'a* continued, however, in disputes and literary polemics, as well as outbursts of physical violence. An invaluable source for our knowledge of these controversies is the *Kitāb al-Nakḥ* or *Ba'd mathālib al-nawāshib fi nakḥ ṣaḍā'ih al-Rawāfiḍ* by Naṣr al-Dīn Abū 'l-Raṣhid 'Abd al-Djalil al-Kāzwinī al-Rāzi, an apology for the *Shi'a* in reply to a Sunni literary attack.

In the course of the 5th/11th century *Šūfism* was well on its way towards becoming one of the dominant forms of Islam in Iran. Its greatest progress was made among the predominantly Sunni population of the eastern provinces while the *Shi'a*, in general, took a critical stand towards mysticism. The numerous *Šūfi shaykhs* of this period still lived and worked within the small circles of their pupils, established usually in convents (*ribāṭ*, *khānqāh*) but without organizational ties. They taught by their words as well as by the example of their spiritual life, and did not pay much attention to the scholastic elaboration of *Šūfi* doctrine, to which, in the schools of 'Irāki *Šūfism*, the name of al-Djūnayd [q.v.] is especially connected. The ideas of the great *shaykhs* of *Khurāsān* living in this period are best known from the hagiographic works written by their followers (e.g., Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [q.v.], Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kharakāni [q.v.] and Aḥmad-i Djāmi [q.v.]). One of the first theoreticians of mysticism in eastern Iran was 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī [q.v.] of Harāt (d. 481/1089). The reconciliation of *Šūfism* with the doctrines of Sunni orthodoxy which took place in this century was largely due to the efforts of eminent *Khurāsāni* mystics like al-Kuṣhayri [q.v.] and Muḥammad al-Ghazālī [q.v.]. On the whole, the Turkish rulers of Iran, as well as their Iranian bureaucrats, favoured the *Šūfi shaykhs*, chiefly out of respect for the miracles (*karāmāt*) attributed to these holy men.

One of the most decisive influences of Iranian mysticism, spreading to the farthest corners of the Islamic world, was the formation of *Šūfi* brotherhoods known as *ṭarīkas* [q.v.]. Apart from the *Kāzarūniyya* of Fārs already mentioned, most of the early orders were formed in the 6th/12th century. Among them was the fraternity of the *Khwājagān* founded by



**Kh'wādja** Yūsuf al-Hamadhāni (d. 555/1160) in **Khurāsān** but better known through its Transoxanian branch, the Yasawiyya, named after the Turkish **Şūfi shaykh** Aḥmad Yasawī [q.v.] (d. 562/1166). With the expansion of the Turks to the West the Yasawi type of **Şūfism** was introduced in Anatolia where it was continued by the **Bektashiyya**.

Towards the end of this century two great **ḥarīkas** emerged almost simultaneously at opposite sides of Iran. In **ʿIrāk** and western Iran the **Suhrawardiyya**, which was based on the teachings of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardi [q.v.] (d. 632/1234-5), was raised for a short time to the position of an official **Şūfi** organization by the caliph al-Nāṣir. A secondary branch of the **Suhrawardiyya** was established in Multān on the Indian subcontinent. The order of the **Kubrawiyya** goes back to the **Kh'wārazmian shaykh** Naḍīm al-Dīn Kubrā [q.v.] (d. 617 or 618/1220-2). The majority of the later **Şūfi** orders of Iran derive their **silsila** from this order. Both the founder and the many eminent scholars among his pupils made a great contribution to mystical thought in Iran. The order of the **Čiṣhtiyya** [q.v.] was also formed in Iran but reached its greatest development in India. Although it was founded in Anatolia, the **Mawlawiyya** [q.v.] should also be mentioned in this connection on account of the deep roots it had in the religious environment of eastern Iran.

The attempts of the caliph al-Nāṣir [q.v.] to assert the secular power of the **ʿAbbāsids** as well as their leading position in the religious matters of the **Sunni** community led to sharp conflict with the **Kh'wārazm-šāhs**, who were supported by **Şiʿis** seeking revenge for the repression suffered under **Sunni** rule. As a part of this struggle **Šhāh Muḥammad** tried to establish a rival caliphate for which he put forward, as his candidate, a member of the **ʿAlid** family. This scheme was frustrated by the **Mongol** invasion.

The effects of the **Mongol** conquest decisively changed religious conditions in Iran. Retrospectively, these changes appear to form a prelude to the establishment of a **Şiʿi** state a few centuries later. The disappearance of the **ʿAbbāsīd** caliphate had weakened the position of the **Sunnīs**, who were deprived of this living symbol of the unity of the **Islamic** community, without having any theological expedient to account for the vacancy of its leadership such as the **Şiʿa** possessed in the doctrine of the **ghayba**. The secular power had, moreover, for the first time since the **Arab** conquest, passed into the hands of unbelievers. Up to the time of the conversion to **Islam** of **Ḡhāzān Khān** and the **Mengol** aristocracy (694/1295), the **Ilkhāns**, with the sole exception of the **Muslim** Aḥmad Tegüder (681/1283-683/1285), were either **Shamanists**, **Buddhists** or **Nestorian Christians**. Temples and churches had been erected in various places and **Buddhist** **bakḥshis** came to Iran from **Central Asia** and **India**. An interesting example of their spiritual influence is provided by the conversations with **Buddhist** ascetics recorded in the biography of the famous **Kubrawi shaykh** 'Alā' al-Dawla [q.v.] al-Simnāni. Other groups of non-Muslims were able to acquire a greater political influence than had previously been possible. The rise to power of the **Jewish** vizier Sa'd al-Dawla during the reign of **Arghūn Khān** (683/1284-690/1291) and the prominent place he gave to many of his co-religionists provoked at the time of his downfall one of the rare instances of an anti-Jewish outburst in the history of **Iranian Islam**.

In so far as the early **Ilkhāns** showed any interest in the religious affairs of their **Muslim** subjects,

they not unfrequently favoured the cause of the **Şiʿa**. Already under **Hülegü** the prominent **Şiʿi** scholar **Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī** [q.v.] reached a position of great influence at the **Mongol** court. Apart from his many other intellectual pursuits, he founded a school of **Şiʿi** theology which flourished throughout the **Mongol** period. Although **Ḡhāzān** officially adhered to the **Ḥanafī madhhab**, on several occasions he showed his devotion towards the **ʿAlid** family, e.g., by making the pilgrimage to the holy shrines in **ʿIrāk** and by founding "houses of the **sayyids**" (*dār al-siyāda*) in many of the larger towns providing shelter and support to indigent and wandering descendants of the *ahl al-bayt*. His successor **Öldjāytü** (703/1304-716/1316) even temporarily joined the **Şiʿa** after earlier having shifted his allegiance from the **Ḥanafīyya** to the **Şhāfiyya**.

During the interval between the decline of **Ilkhānid** power after the death of **Abū Saʿīd** in 736/1336 and the rise of **Timūr**, the discontent of the population with **Mongol** rule found an outlet in the revolt of the **Sarbadārīds** [q.v.] in **Khurāsān**. A religious dimension was given to this movement by the collaboration of the **Shaykhīyya-Djūriyya**, a **Şiʿi** order of **Şūfis** established in **Sabzawār** by **Shaykh Khālifa** (d. 736/1335) and his pupil **Ḥasan Djūri** (d. ca. 739/1338). To a branch of this order belonged **Mir Kīwām al-Dīn al-Marʿāshī**, a **sayyid** who in the same period founded a small **Şiʿi** state in **Māzandarān**. His dynasty, residing in **Āmul**, is known as the **Sādāt-i Marʿāshī**.

**Timūr** and his successors were without exception **Sunnīs**. The great conqueror, however, often subordinated his religious allegiance to political interests. His son **Shāhrukh** (807/1405-850/1446) was an excellent example of the righteous **Sunni** ruler, but a much more relaxed attitude was adopted by the provincial government in **Transoxania** under **Uluḡ Beg** [q.v.]. It was supported by the aristocratic **ʿulamāʾ** of **Samarḳand** and **Bukhārā** who by tradition exerted secular power. But, on the other hand, it provoked a fierce reaction from the **Naqshbandiyya** [q.v.]. This **Şūfi** order regarded itself as the defender of the lower social classes as well as of the strict observance of the **shariʿa**. With the rise to power of the **Timūrid** Sultan **Abū Saʿīd** [q.v.] (855/1452-872/1469) in **Samarḳand** the leading **Naqshbandi shaykh**, **Kh'wādja Aḥrār**, acquired a predominant influence in political affairs. Simultaneously, the **Naqshbandiyya** became also the main spiritual force at the court of the **Timūrids** in **Harāt** during the reign of **Ḥusayn Bayḳara** [q.v.] (872/1468-911/1504). But here the **ḥarīka**, led by such eminent cultured men as **Djāmi** [q.v.] and his **murīd** **Mir ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾi** [q.v.], did not display the obscurantism which characterized the **Transoxanian** branch. The sultan himself was not entirely free from **Şiʿi** sympathies. His deportment at the rediscovery of the alleged tomb of **ʿAlī** near **Balkh**, where he founded the shrine that became known as **Mazār-i Sharīf** [q.v.], was a remarkable instance of this.

At the end of the 8th/14th century the **Ḥurūfiyya** [q.v.], a sect originating in a milieu of **Şūfis** and **sayyids**, and owing its name to its **grammatolatrous** tendencies, was initiated by **Faḍl Allāh** [q.v.] **Astarābādi**. Very soon it was subdued in Iran by **Mīrān Shāh**, a son of **Timūr**. The further history of the sect was enacted chiefly in **Syria** and **Anatolia**. Another heretic leader, **Nūrbakḥsh** [q.v.] (d. 869/1464), who during the reign of **Shāhrukh** repeatedly asserted himself to be **Mahdī** in various parts of Iran, was through his teacher **Ishāq al-Khuttalāni** connected with the **Kubrawiyya** order which up to his time had adhered

to the Sunni *shari'a* in spite of a considerable influence of *Shi'i* ideas.

The dynasties which dominated Western Iran during most of the 9th/15th century were based on confederations of Turkoman tribes. Among these still only superficially Islamized nomads an intensive religious propaganda was spread in the course of this period. It radiated from Ardebil in *Ādharbāyḍjān*, which from the early 8th/14th century onwards was the centre of a Sunni mystical order founded by *Shaykh* Ṣafī al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (d. 735/1335). Under the leadership of his descendants, this *ḥarīka* won great support among the tribes living in the borderland between Anatolia and Iran. This expansion was accompanied by a shift in the religious orientation of the Ṣafawid family towards *Shi'i* concepts, which included the belief in a divine incarnation in the spiritual leader (*murshid*) of the order. This change seems to have taken place when it was guided by *Shaykh* Ḍjunayd [*q.v.*] (851/1447-864/1460), and became particularly clear at the time of his successor *Shaykh* Ḥaydar [*q.v.*] (864/1460-893/1483). From this time onwards the Ṣafawids claimed descent from the line of Ḥusaynī *imāms*. The politico-religious confederation of Turkoman tribes which they formed was known as the *Kīzīlbāsh* [*q.v.*]. Similar traces of extreme *Shi'i* doctrines, though far less clear than in the case of the *Kīzīlbāsh*, appear among the *Qara Koyunlu* [*q.v.*], especially during the reign of Sultan *Djahān Shāh* (841/1438-872/1467) (cf. V. Minorsky, *BSOAS*, xvi/2 (1954), 271-97). The other Turkoman power in this area, the *Aq Koyunlu* [*q.v.*] was, however, unquestionably Sunni.

Two other *Shi'i* movements with *ghulāt* doctrines, focused on the concepts of incarnation and messianism, and not unsimilar to those of the 15th century Ṣafawiyya, were the sect of the *Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ* [*q.v.*], which spread from its place of origin in the area of *Shahrazūr* into western Iran, and the *Muṣḥa'sha'* [*q.v.*], which recruited its following among the Arab tribes in *Khūzistān* and southern *Irāq*. The latter started with the appearance as *Mahdī* of Sayyid *Muḥammad b. Falāh* in about 840/1436. He formed a small theocratic state which under the suzerainty of the Ṣafawid *shāhs* continued to exist for a considerable period as a buffer state between *Iraū* and *Ottoman Irāq*.

The great expansion of Ṣūfism is one of the main characteristics of spiritual life during the three centuries separating the Mongol invasion from the rise of the Ṣafawids as rulers of Iran. The most obvious signs of this in religious practice were the pious devotion offered by men of quite different social status to the mystical *shaykhs* and the growth of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods. The orders which came to flower in the course of this period have maintained themselves in Iran up to the present day in spite of a dramatic reversal of their success in the subsequent period. The *Kubrawiyya* [*q.v.*] produced a number of outstanding mystical philosophers like 'Alā' al-Dawla [*q.v.*] al-Simnānī (d. 736/1335-6) and Sayyid 'Alī al-*Hamadhānī* [*q.v.*] (d. 786/1385). A gradual convergence of the lines of thought of Sunni mysticism and *Shi'i* imāmology is the most interesting feature of their works. The main theme is the identification of the doctrine of the *ghayba* of the *Imām-Mahdī* with the concept of the permanent existence of a hidden *kuṭb* [*q.v.*] at the top of a hierarchy of Ṣūfī saints. (See further M. Molé, *Les Kubrawiyya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 61-142).

The second great organization of Iranian Ṣūfism,

the *Ni'mat Allāhi Order*, was founded by *Shāh Ni'mat Allāh* [*q.v.*] *Wali* (d. 834/1431). Although this *ḥarīka* has split into many independent branches in later times, its spiritual centre is still the shrine of the founder at *Māhān* in *Kirmān*. The individual wandering *darwish* [*q.v.*], a well-known figure of Iranian social life until quite recently, had his prototype in the members of *ḳalandarī* [*q.v.*] groups.

Among the *Shi'a*, who in this period were still a minority, the tendency towards a reconciliation with Sunni Ṣūfism can also be observed. Sayyid *Ḥaydar Āmulī* (d. after 787/1385) in his main work, *Djāmi' al-Asrār*, laid great emphasis on the fundamental unity of both strains of esoteric thought in Islam. They converge in the acknowledgement of a common source of religious inspiration: the teaching of the *imāms*, who appear at the beginning of nearly all the chains of tradition (*silsilas* [*q.v.*]) of the Ṣūfīs. (Cf. H. Corbin, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 72-101; see also the edition of the *Djāmi'* by H. Corbin and *Osman Yahya*, *La philosophie shi'ite*, Tehran-Paris 1969).

As elsewhere in the Islamic world of that day, the pantheistic philosophy of *Ibn al-'Arabi* [*q.v.*] did not fail to have a profound influence on metaphysical thinking in Iran. It found a particularly fertile soil as quite similar ideas were already current in Persian mystical poetry although they had not yet been synthesized into a coherent system of doctrine. This congeniality, which is notable especially with the great mystical poets of the 7th/13th century, made it very easy for the commentators of subsequent generations to interpret their works in terms of the scholastic patterns of the philosophy of *wahdat al-wudūd*. Beginning with the poets of the early 8th/14th century like *Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Wali* and *Maḥmūd-i Shabistari* [*q.v.*], these models were consciously applied in all Ṣūfī poetry. The impact of *Ibn al-'Arabi* affected both Sunnis and *Shi'is*. To the latter belonged the earliest writers on mystical philosophy who can be regarded as his adepts in Iran: *Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamūya* (d. 650/1252) and his pupil 'Aziz al-Dīn *Nasafi*.

The proclamation issued by *Shāh Ismā'il* in 907/1501 on his ascent to the throne in *Tabriz* as the first Ṣafawid ruler marks the most decisive turning-point in the history of Iranian Islam. The population of the newly conquered empire was enjoined to adopt the *Shi'i* form of the call to prayer and to practise the cursing of the first three patriarchal caliphs. The former kaleidoscopic pattern of religious allegiances, which up to that time had always shown a predominance of Sunnism, was now replaced by theocratic unity based on the claim of the exclusive sovereignty in matters spiritual and secular of the 'Alid *imāms*. In its earliest stage the Ṣafawid state was dominated by the Turkoman tribal chiefs of the *Kīzīlbāsh* who at the same time constituted the leading caste of the religious body. The *shah*, who was also the *murshid* of the Ṣafawī order, was according to contemporary reports of European observers worshipped as God. This is confirmed by allusions to a divine incarnation made by the *shah* himself in his Turkish poems (cf. V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, x (1942), 1007 ff.).

Apart from the belief in the mission of their religious guide, the intellectual content of the *Kīzīlbāsh* movement seems to have been very limited. Before long the movement proved to be unequal to the task of converting the majority of the people of Iran, with its ancient Sunni traditions, into a homogeneously *Shi'i* community. The initiative was taken over by the 'ulamā' of the *Iḥnā-'ashariyya* [*q.v.*], the only

section of the Shi'a numerous and sophisticated enough to provide religious leadership on an adequate level. The indigenous tradition of Shi'i scholarship was considerably reinforced by the emigration of 'ulamā' from centres outside Iran like Djabal 'Amil in Syria and al-Bahrayn. A powerful clergy came into being which gradually extended its influence and endeavoured to eliminate the traces of the heterodox origins of the Ṣafawids. At the same time, however, the emergence of this class posed the fundamental question of ultimate sovereignty within the theocracy. According to the Ithnā-'ashari doctrine of the *imāma* [q.v.], the Hidden Imām continues to govern the world during his *ghayba* and his sovereign rights cannot be shared by any secular power. In the 11th/17th century it had become a point of discussion whether the interpretation of the will of the *imām* was entrusted to one of the living members of the 'Alid house (which implicitly meant the Ṣafawid shāh) or whether it was the prerogative of the collective opinion of the community as interpreted by the doctors of the Shi'a. About the same time shah 'Abbās I was, for political reasons, forced to break the military power of the Kizilbash. For a short while the shah tried to find a new base for his position as a spiritual leader in the Nuqtawiyya [q.v.], a sect in Khurāsān in which remnants of various earlier Shi'i movements seem to have reassembled. At the time of the last Ṣafawid ruler, Shāh Sultān Ḥusayn (1105/1694-1135/1722), the theologians virtually dominated the state.

The central religious official in the Ṣafawid state was the *ṣadr* [q.v.], whose function had existed already in the Timūrid period. He was charged with the supervision of religious affairs and institutions in general. At the local level he was represented by the *shaykh al-Islām* [q.v.], who was appointed in most of the larger cities and controlled more directly the jurisdiction of the *shari'a* courts. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century the office of the *ṣadr* declined and was replaced by that of a *mullābāshī* (Turkish: head mullah). The members of the clergy were mainly dependent on the revenue of *wakfs*, but some of them also acquired great personal wealth which enhanced their prestige among the populace and made them more or less independent of the support of the political power. The shahs, for their part, took a great interest in the maintenance of the pious foundations and the embellishment of the holy places of the Shi'a, both inside and outside Irān. Shāh 'Abbās I, who transformed his own landed property into *awkāf*, assumed the title of administrator (*mutawallī*) of the extensive possessions of the shrine of the *imām al-Riḍā'*, the actual duties of which were performed by a *mutawallībāshī* residing in Mashhad. The Shi'i clergy was hierarchically divided into the higher group of the 'ulamā' and the lower one of the *mullās* [q.v.]. The duties of the latter were restricted to education and some functions deriving from the practical application of the *shari'a*. Among themselves the 'ulamā' constituted two opposing theological schools, the Alkbārīs who rejected all speculative theology and demanded a strict adherence to the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet and the *imāms*, and the Uṣūlīs [q.v.] who claimed a right of direct resort to the ultimate sources (*uṣūl*) of the faith for the fully qualified scholars of Islam. On the basis of this claim these scholars could call themselves *mudjtahid*. From this emerged the later institution of the *Mardja'-i taklid* [q.v.].

The history of the conversion of the people of Iran to Shi'ism is still largely unknown in its details.

Apparently, it was not quite completed before the 12th/18th century. The victims of the first wave of actual persecution at the time of the conquest by Shāh Ismā'il and his Kizilbash were predominantly Sunni theologians. Among the Sūfīs, the order of the Kāzarūniyya in Fārs suffered very great losses as a result of this persecution. Outbursts of violence against dissenters continued to take place throughout the Ṣafawid period. During the reign of Shāh Sultān Ḥusayn the powerful *mullābāshī* Muḥammad Bākīr al-Maḍlīsī [q.v.] intensified the persecution of Sūfīsm in which the Kizilbash were not spared. Most of the Iranian *ṭarīqas* had virtually ceased to exist at the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

Religious topics were very much in prominence in the intellectual life of Ṣafawid times. In Persian poetry the preoccupation with mysticism was replaced by the cultivation of Shi'i themes such as the elegies on the holy martyrs. These products of classical literature also influenced the various forms of a rich religious folk-literature. Traces of this can, for instance, be found in the libretti used for the recitals of the *rawḍakḥwān* [q.v.]. According to the autochthonous tradition, the passion plays (*ta'ziya* [q.v.]), the occurrence of which is not documented before the late 12th/18th century, were instituted by Shāh Ismā'il as a means of propagating Shi'i sentiment among the Iranians. Whatever the historical value of this assertion, it shows at least the important part played by religious literature in this respect. Through the efforts of the expanding religious class a large theological literature written in Arabic came into being, the magnum opus of which is the *Bihār al-anwār* of Muḥammad Bākīr al-Maḍlīsī. In addition to these scholarly works, many books on religious subjects were composed in Persian for the propagation of Shi'i doctrines.

The most important contribution of Ṣafawid Iran to Islamic culture was the philosophical school of Iṣfahān which resuscitated the philosophy of *ishrāq* [q.v.], first elaborated by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [q.v.] al-Maḳṭūl in the 7th/12th century. Forerunners of this school were the eminent Shi'i scholars, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī [q.v.] and Mīr Muḥammad Bākīr al-Dāmād [q.v.], but the actual founder, as well as its foremost representative, was Mullā Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [q.v.], usually known as Mullā Ṣadrā. Other notable members were Mullā Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshāni, Mullā 'Abd al-Razzāk-i Lāhidjī and Mīr Abu 'l-Kāsim-i Fīndariskī. A late 13th/19th century follower of the Iṣfahān school was Hadjji Mullā Hādī-i Sabzawāri (1212/1797-8—1295/1878). The strong gnostic element in their philosophy made them suspicious in the eyes of the orthodox *mudjtahids*. They did in fact have an impact on the development of new religious tendencies deviating from the mainstream of the Ithnā-'ashariyya such as the school of the Shaykhiyya and the Bābī religion.

Since the establishment of the Shi'i theocracy in Iran, the allegiance of the political power to this form of Islam has only been interrupted twice. The first occasion was the short reign of Ismā'il II (984/1576-985/1577), the second the period of Nādir Shāh [q.v.] (1148/1736-1160/1747). Notwithstanding the fact that his tribe, the Afshārs, had taken part in the original Kizilbash confederation, he pledged himself at the time of his election as *Shāhinshāh* of Iran in 1148/1736 to an attempt at a reconciliation between the Ithnā-'ashari Shi'a and the Sunnism of the surrounding Islamic peoples. To this end he suggested a transformation of the Shi'a into a fifth school of Islamic law, the Dja'fariyya, which would share in the state of

mutual recognition existing between the four Sunni *madhāhib*. Although this proposal was favourably received by a council of Sunni and Shi'i scholars held at Naḍīaf in 1156/1743, it was rejected by the leading Sunni power, the Ottoman sultan.

Under the rule of the Zand dynasty, the government returned to a strict observance of orthodox Shi'ism. One of the signs of this was the reinstatement of a *shaykh al-Islām* in Shirāz. During this period a revival of Šūfism came about as a result of the missionary activities of Ma'šūm 'Alī Shāh, who was sent to Iran by the "pole" (*kuṭb*) of the Indian branch of the Ni'mat Allāhī order. This provoked a fierce persecution end with the execution of Ma'šūm 'Alī Shāh in 1212/1797-8. The driving force behind this was the dominating *mudjtahid* of this time, Ākā Muḥammad Bākī-i Bihbihāni (1117/1705-1208/1803). Living in Karbalā', as a leading scholar of the Uṣūlī school, he succeeded in bringing to an end the predominance of the Akhbārīs at the holy shrines (*atabāt*) in 'Irāq, a predominance which had existed there since the end of the Šafawid period. At the same time, the Shi'i theory of the *uṣūl al-fikḥ* was being elaborated and greater emphasis was laid on the right of *idjtihād*. These developments were of great significance for the relationship between the dynasty of the Kādjārs and the clergy during the 13th/19th century. The latter came to hold the spiritual leadership whereas the shahs could no longer point to an 'Alid descent as a counterweight. The situation of the chief centres of Shi'i learning outside the boundaries of the Iranian state did very much to strengthen the position of the clergy whenever they opposed the policy of the Kādjārs. But even inside Iran they enjoyed a large measure of immunity, an important part of which was the traditional right of asylum (*bast* [q.v.]) accorded to places of religious importance.

During the reigns of the early Kādjārs, the Shi'i clergy was able to exert a considerable influence on the affairs of the state. Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (1211/1797-1250/1834), who in all possible ways endeavoured to foster the growth of the religious body, showed himself especially amenable to pressure from the *mudjtahids*. On more than one occasion they actually interfered with his foreign policy. Under his successors relations between the state and the religious leaders became more strained. The latter's fierce opposition to the growing impact of western influences in Iran finally led to their active support of the popular protests against foreign monopolies like the tobacco concession of 1891-1892 and their involvement in the struggle against the authoritarian rule of the Kādjār shahs during the constitutional revolution at the beginning of this century. The Iranian government, on the other hand, as it more and more assumed the attitudes of a modern secular state, became less willing to respect the traditional privileges of the religious class.

Almost at the same time as the controversy between Akhbārīs and Uṣūlīs was settled in favour of the latter, a new schism divided the Shi'i theologians. The doctrines of *Shaykh* Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'i [q.v.], which were mainly concerned with the role of the Hidden Imām as a mediator in men's striving towards moral perfection and with problems of eschatology, were condemned as heretical by the *mudjtahids*. As a result of this the sect of the *Shaykhīs* [q.v.] was formed out of what had only been a school of Shi'i theology. After the death of al-Aḥsā'i in 1241/1826, his teaching was continued by Sayyid Kāzīm-i Raṣṭī (d. 1259/1843) who, from his residence in

Karbalā', was able to exert his influence through the Iranian pilgrims. Afterwards the *Shaykhī* sect split into three branches of which only the Ākā'i's are of any significance today. The centre of the present community is the *madrasa* of Kirmān. Larger groups of *Shaykhīs* are also to be found in Tehran, in Āḍharbāyḡjān and Fārs, as well as among the employees of the oil industry in Khūzistān. (Cf. G. Scarcia, *Stato e dottrine attuali della setta sciita degli shaykhī in Persia*, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xxix (1958), 215-41).

In 1260/1844 Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad of Shirāz revealed himself as the Bāb [q.v.] or "gateway" who had come to inaugurate a new prophetic cycle. This meant no less than a breach with the Islamic *shari'a*, as was explicitly confirmed by a convention of the followers of the Bāb in 1264/1848 at Badāshūt. The first stage of this new religion was a period of persecution to which the early believers often reacted with violence. The Bāb himself was executed in 1266/1850. After an attempt on the life of Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh in 1266/1852, the persecution reached a climax and the movement was wiped out as far as public life in Iran was concerned. Although it continued to have its secret sympathizers, especially among merchants and other groups of the middle class of Iranian society, its further development as an organization could only take place in exile. The succession to the Bāb was for some time a matter of contention between Mirzā Ḥusayn 'Alī Nūrī and his brother Mirzā Nūrī, who, among their following, were respectively known as Bahā' Allāh [q.v.] and Šubḥ-i Azal. The former, who was able to get the support of the large majority, initiated a reform of the Bābī religion, which, as the religion of the Bahā'īs [q.v.], extended its aspirations and activities far beyond the limits of Iranian religious life.

The renaissance of Šūfism in Iran, which had started in the late 12th/18th century, had continued during the Kādjār period in spite of the often violent opposition of the *mudjtahids*. During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1250/1834-1264/1848), it even received official backing as the shah had become an adept of Šūfism under the influence of his vizier Ḥādīdīl Mirzā Ākāsi. Up to the present time the *ṭarīqas* have been able to hold their ground and even to expand the number of their adherents, which are to be found almost exclusively among the urban population. They have also displayed a considerable literary activity. Modern Shi'i Šūfism in Iran chiefly consists of three big orders: 1. The *Dhahabiyya*, which is a recent appellation of that branch of the Kubrawiyya that separated itself from the main body at the time of the appearance of a Mahdī of Nūrbakḥs in the 9th/15th century. It was also called *Dhahabiyya-i ighṭishāshīyya*, the "*Dhahabiyya* of the rebels". The modern revival dates from the middle of the 19th century and is due to the activities of the *kuṭb* Ḥadrat-i Rāz (d. 1286/1869-70). His descendants, the *Sharīfīs*, are still at the head of a smaller branch of this *ṭarīqa*, whereas the majority follows the tradition of Wahīd al-awliyā' (d. 1374/1954). Both sections of the *Dhahabiyya* have their centre at Shirāz. 2. The Ni'mat Allāhiyya have since the middle of the 19th century been divided into three independent groups which each have a separate chain of *kuṭbs*. The most numerous and influential branch is the Gunābādiyya, named after the Khurāsānian town of Gunābād near which the spiritual leadership has its residence. It has many followers among the higher classes. The other branches are the line of *Dhu'l-riyāsātayn*, starting with Munawwar 'Alī Shāh

(d. 1301/1884), and that of Šafi 'Ali Šhāh (d. 1342/1924). The majority of the latter's adherents have, after his death, abolished the principle of guidance by one single *kuṭb* and have replaced this by the form of a brotherhood (*ukhuwwa*) with a collective leadership. 3. The *Khāksār darwīshes*, who recruit their following chiefly from the lower classes, continue the traditions connected with the mystical life of the ancient Malāmatis and *Qalandar darwīshes*. They have no reliable tradition about their origins. They regard as their founder a *Shaykh* Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Haydar who may be identical with *Shaykh* Djalāl al-Dīn of Bukhārā (d. 690/1291). This would mean that they go back to the Djalālīya branch of the Suhrawardī order. In recent times the *Khāksār*s have abandoned the way of life of wandering *darwīshes* and have adopted almost completely that of the other Šufī orders of Irān. The *fakr-i 'adjam*, an organization of artisans of the *futuwwa* type, is closely related to the *Khāksār* order. Among the Sunni population of Kurdistan, the *Qādiriyya* and the *Nakshbandiyya* are still of some importance. (See further R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Erster Teil: Die Affiliationen*, Abh. K.M., xxxvi, 1, Wiesbaden 1965).

The Iranian Constitution of 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Law of 1907 confirmed the privileged position of *Ithnā-'ashari* Shi'ism as the religion of the state. The *muḍītahids* acquired a right of veto on legislation as far as any proposals violating the prescriptions of Islamic law were concerned. [See further *DUSTŪR*, iv. - IRAN]. The policy of modernization pursued by the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, Reżā Šhāh (1924-1941), greatly affected the religious life of the country. Although he had yielded to the opposition of the 'ulamā' against the establishment in Iran of a republic modelled on the modern Turkish state, Reżā Šhāh embarked on a vigorous programme of secularization in education, and civil and penal law which to a large extent reduced the clerical predominance in public life. The political power granted to the 'ulamā' under the Constitution was suspended. Regulations regarding the celebration of religious festivals, the emancipation of women and the use of European dress very much changed the outer appearance of the Islamic society of Iran. The introduction of the Djalālī [q.v.] era, a solar hijrī calendar based on pre-Islamic traditions, is only one example of the vivid interest in ancient Iranian civilization which constitutes an essential element of modern nationalism. Although the impact of these developments on the attitude towards Islam among the educated was very considerable, its effects on the broad masses were still only superficial. After the abdication of Reżā Šhāh in 1941, many of the old religious sentiments and customs were revived. Political groups based on a reaction against secularization and foreign influence took part in the turbulent political life of the early post-war years. The most prominent of these organizations were the *fidā'iyyān-i islām* [q.v.], led by Nawāb-i Šafawī, and the *muḍjāhidīn-i islām* of Āyat Allāh Abu 'l-Kāsim Kāshānī [q.v.]. The publication of religious literature was also revived (cf. Y. Armajani, *Islamic Literature in post-war Iran*, in *The World of Islam. Studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti*, ed. by J. Kritzeck and R. Bayly Winder, London 1959, 271-82).

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#### vii.—LITERATURE

As the literature of Iran in its widest sense can not be surveyed in this article, a preliminary definition of its contents is necessary. Essentially, the article is restricted to Persian literature, by which we will understand the poetry and belletristic prose works composed in the New Persian literary language in as far as they have been produced by the Muslim population of Iran from the 3rd/9th century onwards. After a treatment of the origins of this literary tradition and of some of its main characteristics, a historical survey will be given encompassing both the

literary works of the past and of the present. This definition excludes the literatures of pre-Islamic times, the writings of the non-Muslim communities (e.g. Judaeo-Persian literature [q.v.]), the learned prose works, the literatures of other New Iranian languages and folk-literature. The cultivation of Persian letters outside the boundaries of present-day Iran is taken into consideration only as far as and as long as it has been directly connected with the literary life of *l'Iran intérieur*. Some references to general works about most of these excluded branches of Iranian literary activity have, however, been entered into the Bibliography.

#### I. General Aspects.

##### a. *The origins of Persian literature.*

About the beginnings of Persian poetry, several different traditions have been handed down. According to one of them, the first Persian poem was composed by the Sasanian king Bahrām V Gūr (421-439 A.D.). This initiative remained fruitless, it is said, on account of the opposition by the Zoroastrian clergy who regarded all forms of poetic speech as being based on falsehood and as a dangerous tool in the hands of heretics. Whatever the historical value of this story might be, it is at any rate significant in as far as it perfectly illustrates the literary conditions in pre-Islamic Iran during the last few centuries preceding the Arab conquest. The fact that the same monarch is credited with Arabic poems as well, moreover, points to the complex origin of Persian literature: on the one hand, from patterns of linguistic art as they are known to have existed in pre-Islamic Iranian culture; on the other, from Arabic literature as it had developed during the first two centuries of Islam out of the Bedouin poetry of the *Djähiliyya*. The traditional literary critics of the Middle Ages, like 'Awfi [q.v.] and *Shams-i Kays* [q.v.], have denied this double ancestry. To them, Persian poetry was entirely a product of Islamic culture. Its formal and thematic conventions were either taken over from Arabic poetry or newly invented by the first Persian poets. An important role as a creator of new forms in assigned to Rūdākī [q.v.]. The information concerning literary activity in Sasanian times that was available to these mediaeval critics was not accepted as evidence of the existence of a pre-Islamic poetry in Iran but was interpreted as referring only to a kind of rhymed prose set to music, not to be confused with serious literature.

Modern scholarship has established beyond doubt that Iran did have an independent literary tradition from ancient times onwards. This included poetry with a set of prosodic and metrical rules of its own, the historical development of which can be traced up to a certain extent. The oldest documents of Iranian literature, the *Gathas*, have been found to be partly poetical texts with an arrangement into stanzas of different length and with a metrical system based on the number of syllables. Within this system at least five variants are known. This prosody is quite similar to that of the Vedic texts. Poetical fragments have also been discovered in the younger parts of the Avesta. A new metrical principle seems to be involved in these last texts, viz. the fixed number of accents. Most of the Middle Iranian languages were also used for writing poetry. The Manichaean hymns in Parthian and Middle Persian that have been found among the Turfan-manuscripts are partly translations from Syrian models, partly original compositions. Many of them are acrostic poems based on the order of the Semitic alphabet. In some of these hymns there are evocations of nature at the time of spring which are

very much reminiscent of later Persian lyrical poetry. In the so-called Book-Pahlavi literature a number of texts have been shown to be original poems disguised by later Zoroastrian traditions as prose works. They represent different strains of Middle Iranian literary culture: the *Ayyātkār* (or *Yādgar*)-i *Zarērān* belongs to the national epic (cf. E. Benveniste, *JA*, ccxiv (1932), 245-93), the allegorical tenzone *Drakht-i Asūrīg* to the literature of wisdom (cf. idem, *JA* ccxvii (1930), 193-225). In both cases, linguistic evidence points to a Parthian origin. There are also remnants of religious poetry like the hymn on Zurvān discovered by H. S. Nyberg in the *Bundahishn* (*JA*, ccix (1929), 214-5) and a number of other Zoroastrian poems of a didactical or visionary nature (cf. E. Benveniste, *RHR*, cvi (1932), 337-80; J. C. Tavadia, *Indo-Iranian Studies*, i (1950), 86-95; idem, *JRAS* (1955), 29-36; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 641-8). The metrics of Middle Persian verse presents considerable difficulties as a result of the corrupted state of the available material. According to W. B. Henning (*l.c.*), the predominant principle is not syllabic but accentual; there are also unmistakable traces of rhyme, although this was not used with great consistency, while the dating of the known specimens is still uncertain. Imitation of Persian models is, therefore, not excluded. In addition to these specimens of poetry, some examples of *belles-lettres* in prose have been preserved as well. Furthermore, a number of Pahlavi works have survived in Arabic translations or at least in the New Persian versions based on the latter. Extremely popular were the collections of Indian stories such as the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q.v.], *Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* [q.v.] and the book of Sindbād [q.v.]. They had been introduced in Iran during the later Sasanian period. Their preservation is due to the translators of the 2nd/8th century among whom Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q.v.] is the most prominent. References to a fairly extensive novelistic literature in Middle Persian are to be found in Arabic sources of which the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm should be mentioned in particular. Nearly all of this literature has disappeared in Islamic times but not without leaving behind numerous traces both in Arabic and Persian literature. In this way, most of its subject-matter has in fact been incorporated into Islamic culture. This process of assimilation took place at such an early date that this ancient Iranian lore could play an important role in shaping the typical Islamic civilization of the Middle Ages. Instances of this cultural influence are: the legendary or semi-historical tales about the Iranian kings which through the late Sasanian codification in the *Khvatāy-nāmak* not only reached its definite form in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [q.v.] but also became a part of Islamic world-history; the gnomic literature of the *andarz* surviving in numerous didactical works in poetry and prose, more specifically in collections of maxims like the one put to the name of the vizier Buzurgmīhr [q.v.]; finally, a number of romantic themes both with and without a historical background, a famous example of which is the Parthian romance of *Wis u Rāmin* adapted from a Pahlavi model by Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī [see GURĠĀNĪ]. The Arabic sources also tell us something about the activities of court minstrels and musicians at the time of the last Sasanian kings. The names of some of these artists like Barbād, Sarkash and Nigīsa remained famous far into Islamic times and we know a few titles of their songs.

From this and similar materials it has been possible to reconstruct a long tradition of minstrel poetry going back to Parthian times and perhaps even

earlier. As a form of oral literature closely connected with the art of music, it continued to flourish up to the time of the Arab conquest. Even after that event it did not vanish completely but left its influence on the popular poetry of Iran as well as on the practice of the Persian poets of the classical tradition. The minstrel tradition was clearly distinct from the written literature that was mainly cultivated by the class of professional scribes who monopolized the difficult writing system of Pahlavi. The Zoroastrian clergy, whose bias against poetry is exemplified by the anecdote about Bahrām Gūr cited above, adhered for a very long time to an oral tradition of the religious texts (see further Mary Boyce, *The Parthian gōsān and Iranian minstrel tradition*, *JRAS* (1957), 10-45).

Several modern scholars have tried to correct the traditional view of the origins of Persian poetry by making use of this new evidence for the existence of a pre-Islamic poetry in Iran. Special attention has been given to the possible connections between the quantitative metrics of classical poetry, described by the theoreticians of the Islamic period in terms of the Arabic system of al-*Ḳhalil* [see 'ARŪḌ], and older indigenous metrical patterns. According to some, the later prosody is nothing but an adaptation of earlier syllabic or accentuated metres. Although this conclusion seems too rash in view of the limitations and uncertainties of our knowledge of Middle Iranian prosody, there are on the other hand a few indications that make a more complex origin of the New Persian metres at least plausible. One could point, e.g., to the great differences in the frequency of certain metres or metrical variants between Arabic and Persian poetry, and to the fact that some of the most popular metres, at least as far as the Persian *mathnawīs* are concerned, seem to fit into an eleven-syllable scheme that could very well be related to an older autochthonous metre (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 132 f. with further references). On the evidence of two late Middle Persian or early New Persian poetical fragments Chr. Rempis has tried to establish an Iranian lineage for two forms of Persian poetry. In a hymn on the firetemple of Karkōy, preserved in the local history *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, he recognized a stanza of a strophic poem comparable to the later *tarāji* *band* or *mukhammas*; in the ceremonial address of the *mōbadhān mōbadh* to the King of Kings at the New Year festival, transmitted in the *Nawrūs-nāma*, a work ascribed to 'Umar-i *Ḳhayyām*, a specimen of the double rhymed *mathnawī* in Pahlavi (*ZDMG*, ci (1951), 233 ff.).

No matter how great a continuity can be reconstructed in Iranian literature, the fact remains that the minstrel poetry dissolved as a self-conscious artistic tradition after the coming of Islam, together with many other elements of ancient Iranian culture. Since the time of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.] Arabic had replaced Pahlavi and Greek in the chancelleries of the Muslim empire. The religious minorities continued to have literary languages of their own. In Iran the Zoroastrian clergy continued to cultivate the archaic Pahlavi whereas the Jews started at a very early date to write in a form of Persian that was close to the actual speech of those days. Within the Muslim community, however, Arabic dominated all literary activity during the first few centuries of Islam. At a very early date the Iranian *mawālī* appear to have taken an active part in Arabic poetry. A few names are even known from Umayyad times: Abū Ziyād b. Salmā (d. after 100/718) used Persian words in Arabic lines; Ismā'il b. Yasār, of Ādharbāyjdānian extraction, dared to

sing the praise of the Persians in front of the caliph Hishām (cf. V. A. Eberman, *Persi sredi arabskikh poetov epokhi Omeyyadov*, in *Zapiski kollegii vosto-kovedov Akad. Nauk*, Leningrad, ii (1927), 113-53; *GAL*, I, 60 ff. and S I, 92 ff.; Dh. Šafā, *Ta'riḫh*, I<sup>4</sup>, 190-4). The hazardous action of this last poet, which nearly costed him his life, can be regarded as an early instance of the *Šu'ūbiyya* [q.v.], the struggle for equality of Arabs and non-Arabs—in particular the Iranian *mawālī*—that in the early 'Abbāsīd period was fought out on the field of literary culture (*adab*). It should be pointed out that the question of the use of the vernacular in literature did not enter at all into this controversy. It is a wellknown fact that several of the great poets of Baghdād who created the new style of Arabic poetry during the 2nd/8th century were of Iranian descent. The oldest of these was Bashshār b. Burd [q.v.]. Abū Nuwās [q.v.] actually used Persian words and expressions in some of his poems (cf. M. Minowī, *Madjalla-i Dānīshkada-i Adabiyāt, Dānīshgāh-i Tihrān*, i, 3 (1333 sh.), 62-77). It is likely, though difficult to assess in detail, that the emergence of new trends in the poetry of the multiracial urban society of 'Irāk during this period owed much to Iranian influences. More evident is this impact in Arabic prose literature as well as in such a short-lived phenomenon as the adaptation of Middle Persian prose works in epic *radjāz* or *muzdawīdī*-verses as practised by Abān b. 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Lāhīql [q.v.]. Arabic poetry was also cultivated with great intensity in the great cities of *Ḳhurasān* and Transoxania. A rich documentation about the poets in the Iranian provinces who wrote in Arabic from the 4th/10th century onwards has been brought together by al-Tha'ālībī [q.v.] in the 3rd and 4th volumes of his anthology *Yatīmat al-dāhr* and its numerous supplements, like the author's own *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* (ed. by 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1313 sh.), the *Dumyat al-kaṣr* by al-Bāḳharzī [q.v.], the *Zīnat al-dāhr* by Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Sa'd b. 'Alī al-Ḳarīrī (d. 518/1172), and the *Ḳharīdat al-kaṣr* by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ḳātib al-Isfahānī (d. 597/1201; for the subsequent centuries see *GAL*, I, 251-4; S I, 445-9; II, 245; S II, 255-7). Arabic coexisted for a considerable time with Persian as an idiom for poetry. This is expressed in the honorific *dhū 'l-lisā-nayn*, "master of the two tongues", bestowed on some poets.

The very first signs of the use of the vernacular in poetry are a few scattered pieces that have come to light from a number of different Arabic sources as well as from the Persian *Ta'riḫh-i Sīstān*. Dating from the first two centuries A.H., they do not yet follow the quantitative metrics of later times, but on the other hand they do have rhyme in some sort. They can be regarded as late examples of the old minstrel poetry, or, rather, as specimens of popular literature from the time when Arabic poetry still reigned unrivalled among the educated classes. Often quoted and much discussed by modern researchers are the satirical lines put into the mouth of Yazīd b. Mufarrīgh (cf. Fr. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 9. f. with further references). Also satirical are the four lines of the people of Balkh addressed to the governor of *Ḳhurasān*, Asad b. 'Abd Allāh, at the moment of his return after having been defeated in battle (*ibid.*, 10). See further on these fragments: Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*<sup>2</sup>, 91; M. Kazwīnī, *Bist Maḳāla*, i, Bombay 1928, 26-36; S. Ḳ. Taḳīzāda, *Hasāna-i Fīrdawī*, Tehran 1944, 46-9; Muh. Taḳī Bahār, *Mihr*, v, 1316-7 sh., *passim* (reprinted as *Subḳshīnāsī*, iv/1 by 'Alī-ḳulī Mah-

mūdt Bakhtyārī, n.p. 1342 sh.); Dh. Šafā, *Ta'rikkh*, i, 147-51. The distich attributed to Abū Hafṣ Sughdī might very well be a citation from his lexicon (cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, i, Tehran-Paris 1964, 10 f.). A more serious claim to precedence as the author of a Persian poem composed according to the rules of Arabic prosody can be held by 'Abbās or Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Marwazī, who is named by 'Awfi (*Lubāb*, i, 21) as the author of a *ḥašida* in honour of the caliph al-Ma'mūn composed at the occasion of the latter's arrival in Marw in the year 193/809. This account is rejected by most modern scholars, mainly on stylistic grounds. The lines quoted by 'Awfi show a dexterity of poetical diction that suggests a much later time of origin (cf. G. Lazard, *l.c.*, 12 and the references there; for contrary opinions see Chr. Rempis, *l.c.*, 221 and J. Rypka, *History*, 135).

Whether this notice of 'Awfi is to be accepted as historical or not, the rise of Persian poetry appears to us essentially as one aspect of a larger development of political and cultural emancipation in the Iranian provinces of the caliphate. It has often been styled an "Iranian renaissance" though it should be understood that this may not be interpreted as a return to pre-Islamic culture. As the final outcome of that process of Iranization which was facilitated by the 'Abbāsīd revolution, it really meant the acceptance of the Iranian element as an integrated part of the Islamic commonwealth and its civilization. In politics, this found its expression in the short intermezzo of *de facto* independent rule of Iranian dynasties between the periods of Arab and Turkish domination; in the domain of culture, in the elevation of Persian to the rank of a literary language. In its oldest form it was known as *dari* [q.v.], originally a south-western dialect which since the later Sasanian period had spread over the whole area where Iranian languages were spoken [see further IRAN. LANGUAGES]. The eastern parts of Iran took the lead in the use of the vernacular in writing. In the west and the south, Arabic retained its supremacy even under the rule of the Daylamite Būyids.

From the time of the Tāhirids, only a few names of Persian poets are known to us and next to nothing of their work has been preserved, although it is recorded that at least one of them, Ḥanzāla of Bādghīs, had his poems collected into a *diwān*. Thanks to the data transmitted by the *Ta'rikkh-i Sīstān* we are somewhat better informed about the poetry at the court of the Šaffārids. This source contains a detailed account of the birth of Persian poetry which presents a convincing picture of the way it actually happened, even if similar occurrences can easily be imagined to have taken place in the entourage of other local rulers as well. The notice has the form of an anecdote situated at the court of Ya'qūb b. Layḥ when he was being hailed by the poets after the capture of Harāt and the victory over the Khārijites. As the amir expressed his annoyance on account of the fact that he could not understand anything of these Arabic panegyrics, one of his secretaries, by the name of Muḥammad-i Waṣīf, started to compose poetry in Persian. "And he made the first Persian poetry addressed to Iranians. Before him, no one had done such a thing for, as long as they were *pārsīs* (i.e. before they became Muslims, both in a religious and in a cultural sense), lyrics used to be sung to them at the sound of the lute (*riūd*) in the *khusrawānī* manner. When the Iranians were defeated and the Arabs came, poetry among them was in Arabic and they all had knowledge and understanding of it. No one amongst

the Iranians rose to such a greatness that they would sing poems to him, before the time of Ya'qūb. The only exception was Hamza b. 'Abd Allāh al-Šhāri, but he was a learned man and knew Arabic." (ed. Muḥ. Taqī Bahār, Tehran 1314 sh., 210). The expression *bar farīk-i khusrawānī* in this passage corresponds to the terms *surūd* or *nawā-i khusrawānī* as they occur in the descriptions of the minstrel and his art at the Sasanian court in other sources. Scattered pieces of a few other poets of the Šaffārid period have also been preserved but this material is too limited to give us more than a vague idea of the poetry of this time. The poets made use of Arabic prosody though the lack of technical perfection they display characterizes them as first trials at handling a new linguistic medium of literary expression. The real history of Persian literature only began with the next period, the time of the Sāmānids of Transoxania.

#### b. General traits of the Persian literary tradition.

Already from the earliest phase of its history Persian literature presents itself as a clearly defined tradition that guides as well as limits the artist in his creative work. Within this traditional pattern there are not only strict rules for prosody but also stringent prescriptions with regard to the choice of themes, images and metaphors. In spite of the dramatic developments that occurred in the course of time in Iranian society, its artistic traditions displayed a remarkable resistance to fundamental changes, at least until the overwhelming influence of Western civilization made itself felt with all its force in the present century. In the preceding section we have referred to some of the elements out of which this tradition has been built up. Ancient Iranian literature may have played a much greater role than has been thought before. Undoubtedly there have also been indirect influences from Indian and from Hellenistic culture. As a typical product of mediaeval Islamic culture Persian literature was syncretistic. It was able to absorb these heterogeneous elements and give them a place in a new harmonious unity. This adaptability can also be observed in other forms of Persian art. The mould in which this literary tradition was cast was, however, Arabic literature. In the 3rd/9th century the latter had already gone through the most dynamic stages of its history. It had developed a formal and conceptual idiosyncrasy that would determine the literary activity of the Arabs for many centuries to come [see further 'ARABIYYA. B. ARABIC LITERATURE, especially the sections i and ii]. This determined also to a large extent the Persian tradition. The work of the early Persian poets was in particular influenced by the "new poetry" of the early 'Abbāsīd period, although some Persian poets still tried their hands at imitations of the old Bedouin *ḥašida* and its repertoire (e.g. Manūčihri, Mu'izzī). The poets of the Ḥamdānīd school equally should be mentioned in this respect. In particular al-Mutanabbi was very much admired in Iran. The nature poetry of al-Šanawbarī [q.v.] and the genre of the prison ballad of Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī [q.v.] also provided models for the Persian poets (cf. U. M. Daudpota, *The influence of Arabic poetry on the development of Persian poetry*, Bombay 1934; Viktūr al-Kik, *Ta'ḥīr-i farhang-i 'Arab dar ash'ār-i Manūčihri-i Dāmghānī*, Beirut 1971).

The faithfulness of the artist to the established patterns was greatly favoured by the methods of training recommended to the beginner. He was advised to learn the craft by memorizing large quantities of verse from the works of the great masters of the



preceding generations. In addition to this he was urged to become a scholar since learning was considered to be a great asset in poetry. Finally he should study the different branches of literary theory and criticism. The censure of the critics, either the professionals in their learned works on *naḥd-i shi'r* or the educated public in its informal reactions, will have done its share to contain any attempt to go too far beyond the accepted bounds of tradition.

A similar restraint was put on the poet by his social status. Until the end of the 19th century most Persian poets were in some way or the other dependent on patronage. Literary life was mainly centred at the courts of greater or smaller monarchs. If the position of the poet as a craftsman was economically based on the favours of the princely maecenas, he was at the same time indispensable to the court. His task was not confined to entertaining but included also the advertizing of the virtues and exploits of the ruler. From the eagerness with which poets were attracted to the courts it can be concluded that this form of political propaganda was regarded as effective. Apart from the sultans, the amirs and the atabegs, the poets sang the praise of lower members of the ruling class as well: viziers, generals or prominent jurists and theologians. From the 5th/12th century onwards the patronage was also assumed by the urban aristocracy. The persistence of this relationship between poet and maecenas (*mamdūh*) is illustrated by the continuous use of titles like *amir* or *malik al-shu'arā'* (poet laureate) from the times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna ('Unṣuri) to the last days of the Kādjārs (Bahār). A counterpart to the panegyric function of poetry was formed by satire [see HJDĪĀ, ii]. If poetry had the power to enlarge the prestige of a patron it could equally well serve to damage a reputation. This weapon might be used against the enemies of the patron or of the poet himself, but it could also be wielded against the former when he disappointed the poet's expectations. This social function of Persian court poetry certainly did not hinder its reaching at times a high degree of artistic perfection. Sometimes the symbiosis of political power and literary talent may even have stimulated the endeavours towards an ever more refined use of the poetical means. The effectiveness of a literary work as a medium for social and political publicity depended to a large degree on its artistic value. (Several authors have left explicit statements of the opinions concerning the poet and the function of his profession in society prevailing in their times, e.g.: Nizāmi-i 'Arūḍi, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. M. Kazwini-M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1955-7, text, 42 ff.; tr. by E. G. Browne, JRAS (1899), 661 ff.; Kay-Kā'ūs, *Kābūs-nāma*, ed. Ghulām-Husayn Yūsufi, Tehran 1345/1967, 198-92; Shams-i Kays, *al-Mu'djam fi ma'āyir ash'ār al-'adjam*, *khātima*, ed. M. Kazwini, Leiden-London 1909, 415 ff.; ed. M. Raḳawī, Tehran 1338 sh., 445 ff.; see also Naṣr Allāh Falsafi, *Zindagāni-i shā'irān-i darbārī*, in *Čand maḳāla-i ta'riḳhi wa-adabi*, Tehran 1342 sh., 327-51).

Next to its other functions literature has in Iran always served as a medium for instruction and edification. Didactical works were among the first manifestations of Persian literature. Even the heroic epic, as we know it from the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi and the works of his imitators, is full of moralising asides. Religious themes also appear at a very early date. At first they consisted of ascetic warnings (*ma-wā'iz*) which had their parallels already in Arabic literature in the *suhdiyāt* of poets like Abū Nuwās

and Abū 'l-'Atāhiya [q.v.]. Gradually ecstatic mysticism found a way of expression in most forms of literature whether poetry or prose. This conquest by Šūfism is by far the most decisive development that took place in the history of Persian literature. Some poetical forms became almost completely absorbed by it. The line of development A. Bausani has sketched for the Persian *ghazal* [q.v.]—from the address to the *mamdūh* through an identification with the *ma'shūkh*, the beloved as the object of an erotic poem, to the *ma'būd*, the transcendental Beloved—can very well serve to characterize this whole process of transformation. The attitude of absolute loyalty towards the maecenas which had to be expressed by the panegyric poet was already in the early court poetry often associated with the total submission of the lover to his beloved as a metaphorical device. For a mystical application of this poetry with all its conventions this fundamental attitude did not need, therefore, to be changed. All that was necessary was a new interpretation of the symbols used. One of the results of this was a great amount of ambiguity in Persian poems. It is by no means always clear whether a poem is addressed to a venerated person in this world or in a transcendental sphere. This ambiguity constitutes one of the greatest problems of the interpretation of the work of a poet like Ḥāfiẓ, who seems to fuse the panegyric, the erotic and the mystical intention into one. This case may not be as unique as it is sometimes presented. Although some of the Šūfi poets certainly did withdraw from all attachments to this world in actual life and projected their poetically phrased veneration exclusively to the mystical object, or perhaps to the person of their spiritual leader (*pir*), it is undeniable that mystical ecstasy did turn out to be not always incompatible with the relationship to an earthly maecenas. In the course of time the flavour of Šūfism to such an extent permeated lyrical poetry that its absence was felt as an aesthetic defect (cf. the remark of Shibli Nu'māni, cited by J. Rypka, *History*, 233).

Another characteristic that made Persian verse a pliable medium for the expression of mystical ideas was its idealism. Quite often, and not least by modern Iranian critics, the early poetry in the so-called *Khurāsāni*-style is qualified as realistic. This misunderstanding arises from the fact that the poet seems to speak about things in the outer world whereas in fact he evokes a poetical world in which the objects of his description possess an ideal and immutable form. His vernal garden is more akin to paradise than to any specific garden on earth, his idolized beauty is more like a *hūrī* than like any particular human being. Even when he speaks about topical events such as a military campaign, a hunting-party or a festival he does not depict them as concrete events, but treats them on an abstract level. In the same way his often very detailed attention for natural phenomena does not concern the things themselves but rather the metaphorical possibilities they offer him as symbols. Together they form a fixed stock of images that tend to acquire stereotyped symbolic values. A great number of these have been accepted as tropic expressions in the ordinary use of the language, e.g. narcissus (*nargis*) for the eye, ruby (*la'li*) for lips, cypress (*sarw*) for slim stature.

The originality of an artist can only be evaluated within the framework of the artistic tradition which defines the boundaries of his work. In the case of Persian lyricism with its pronounced classicism this means that creative invention can only be applied on

the smallest elements of the poem, *i.e.* the individual lines (*bayts*) and the images and metaphors on which they are based. The poets vie with each other in formal perfection and refinement of expression, not in novelty of ideas. Sometimes this takes the form of citation (*taḍmīn*) which consists in incorporating a line of another poet into one's poem in order to be able to add an original line expressing the same idea in a still subtler way. This preoccupation with the single line of poetry has resulted in a remarkable loose structure, in particular of the *ghazal*. Recent research on the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] has for a great deal been concentrated on attempts to ascertain the structural principle of these poems which is thought to be of an associative character.

### c. *Forms and themes.*

The most obvious mark of its ties to Arabic literature is the prosodic system that governs classical Persian poetry. At least theoretically all poetical forms, whatever their origin, have been defined in terms of the flexible system of 'arūd [*q.v.*] as formulated by al-Khāllī. Both quantitative metres and, to a lesser extent, the use of rhyme were novelties to Iranian literature. Differences in linguistic structure between the two languages presented the first Persian poets with many difficulties as can be noticed in the technical deficiencies (from the point of view of scholastic theory) in their works (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin-Leipzig 1920, 95 ff.; G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes*, I, 45 f.; M. Dj. Mahdjūb, *Sabk-i khurāsāni dar shi'r-i fārsi*, Tehran 1345/1967, 35, 40 ff.). Before long a strict observance of the rules became imperative for the professional poet. It came also to play an important role in indigenous criticism. In practice there exist many differences between Arabic and Persian prosody. Apart from the striking diversity in the use of certain metres referred to already there is also a contrast in the manner in which the metres are applied within the bounds of a single poem. Whereas Arabic poetry permits of a wide range of variants to be chosen as derivative forms (*azāhīf*, 'ilāl) from the ideal metrical patterns (*buḥūr*), the Persian poets restrict themselves to one fixed (usually a derivative) form with only small room for alternatives (in most cases the substitution of two short syllables for one long syllable or *vice versa*). The rules of scansion allow a limited number of anceps syllables—the enclitic denoting the *idāfa*, the conjunction *u*, the words *tu* and *du* and the ending *-a*—and leave it to the poet to decide whether he wants to treat a vowel at the beginning of a word independently or whether he connects it with a preceding consonant. The enclitic forms of the singular personal pronouns can be treated as open short syllables. The most characteristic trait of Persian scansion is, however, the extended long syllable. This feature is disregarded in the contemporary practice of reciting poetry. A peculiarity of Persian rhyme is the *radīf*, *i.e.*, the adjunction of a word or a short phrase to the rhyming sound (*ḥāfiya*) and its repetition throughout the poem. It is very frequently used in *ghazals*. [See further 'ARŪP, II].

The forms of poetry can be divided into two groups, the lyrical and the epic forms. The first group is characterized by patterns of rhyme that can all, again in theory, be reduced to the monorhyme pattern of the *ḥaṣīda*: aa, ba, ca, etc. The second consists only of one form: the *mathnawī* in which each distich has a different internal rhyme (aa, bb, cc, etc.). In other respects as well, the *ḥaṣīda* [*q.v.*] can be regarded as a basic form. It is the most unquestionable piece

of the Arabic legacy. True to its origin it is first and foremost a medium for panegyric poetry and therefore closely connected with the social role of many Persian poets. The *ḥaṣīda* usually consists of three parts: the prologue (*nasīb*, *tashībīb*), the actual panegyric (*madīh*) and the concluding appeal to the generosity of the patron (*du'ā'*). The literary convention required that the poet should give special attention to the embellishment of the opening (*maḥṭa'*) and concluding lines (*maḥṭa'*) of the poem as well as of the passage where he turns from the prologue to the panegyric (*gurūzgāh*, *makhḥaṣ*, *takhḥalluṣ*). The most interesting part is undoubtedly the prologue. A great variety of topics can be used as themes. The choice is often decided by the topical occasion of the poem. Descriptions of nature in spring or in autumn were current in odes to be recited at the *nawrūz* or the *mihragān* festivals. The fire festival (*djāshn-i sada*) at the end of winter called for descriptions of bonfires. Another famous theme was provided by wine and viniculture. The life of the court gave opportunities to chant the hunting parties or the campaigns of the patron or to describe the symbols of his royal status (*e.g.* the sword, the pen, the horse). A special branch of *ḥaṣīda* poetry was formed by the elegy (*marthiya*). A more personal note seems also to be struck in complaints about old age or about imprisonment as well as in the favourite subject of love (*taghazzul*). All of these are conventional themes which can be traced back to the tradition of Arabic poetry. Very soon the *ḥaṣīda* was equally used for the expression of secular moralism, religious topics and even mysticism. The most common form of the prologue was that of a description (*waṣf*), but sometimes other devices were applied as well, such as semantic riddles (*luḡz*, *ḥīst*), *tenzons* (*munāzara*) or plays of question and reply (*su'āl wa-djawāb*). Until the time of the Mongol invasion the *ḥaṣīda* was the most important lyrical form. It reached a height of rhetorical perfection in the hands of the poets of the Salḍjūk court (Mu'izzi, Anwarī) and in the school of Ādharbāyḍjān (Khāḥkānī). From the 7th/13th century till the classicist renaissance of the middle of the 12th/18th century it was relegated to the background, although the intervening period still produced some outstanding poets of the *ḥaṣīda* like Salmān-i Sāwādī [*q.v.*] and 'Urfl [*q.v.*]. At the time of the Ṣafawids the elegiac *ḥaṣīda* was used for religious poetry mourning the holy martyrs of the Shi'a. The decline of the *ḥaṣīda* in the Mongol period coincided with the full development of the *ghazal*. It succeeded as the principal form of lyrical poetry. The prosodic characteristics of the *ghazal* are identical with those of the prologue of a *ḥaṣīda*; it has approximately the same length and exactly the same pattern of rhyme. Although no specimens that can be attributed with certainty to Sāmānid and early Ghaznavid times (4th/10th-middle of the 5th/11th century) have survived, the occurrence of *ghazals* in a romantic *mathnawī*, *Warka u Gulshāh* by 'Ayyūki, proves that it was known already as a separate form during the latter period. At a later stage of its development the use of the poet's *nom de guerre* (*takhḥalluṣ*) in the *maḥṭa'* became an inseparable element of the *ghazal*. Some researchers have tried to relate the origin of this usage to the origin of the Persian *ghazal* itself, in particular in its function as a mystical poem (cf. *e.g.* E. E. Bertel's, *Istoriya*, 519; A. Ateş, *IA*, s.v. *gazel*). This view is incompatible with the evidence. Its use is from the earliest period onwards attested in the panegyric *ḥaṣīda*. In the *diwān* of Sanā'ī, one of the oldest poets who has left an extensive collection of

*ghazals*, the *takhalluṣ* occurs far more frequently in the *kaṣīda* than in the latter form. In addition to its use as a poem of profane and mystical love it could also serve as a subtle medium for panegyricism. [See further s.v. *GHAZAL*, ii]. Other lyric forms, far less frequently used, are the strophe-poems, *tarjīʿ-band* and *tarikib-band*, the multiple poem, *musammāt*, which most often consists of four (*murabbaʿ*), five (*mukhammas*) or six lines (*musaddas*), and the increment poem *mustazād*. [See also 'ARŪD, ii]. Most collections of poetry contain a series of fragmentary pieces (*kiṭʿa*, pl. *kiṭaʿāt* or *mukāṣṣaʿāt*). They are classified as unfinished poems because of the omission of a regular *maṣṭaʿ* with internal rhyme. They range from a half verse or a single line (*fard*) to a poem of the length of a *kaṣīda*. Very often these *mukāṣṣaʿāt* are topical poems, such as elegies, chronograms (*taʿrīkh*) and satires.

The Persian quatrain (*rubāʿī* [q.v.], also named *du-baytī* or *tarāna*) is not only defined by the number of lines but also by its pattern of rhyme (aaba, less commonly aaaa) and by its metre, to be described as a series of variants of the ideal metre *hazāji* according to traditional theory. This is undoubtedly an artificial construction but the real origin of this form of short epigrammatic poems is still uncertain. Various themes can be chosen as a subject for the *rubāʿī*. At an early date they occur in the sermons and the biographies of Šūfi *shaykhs* and in mystical treatises. Best known to Western readers is the philosophical quatrain. Erotic and anacreontic themes were by no means incompatible with this form. It is also frequently used for topical poetry, for inscription on buildings, tombstones etc.

The possibilities offered by the much simpler rhyme of the *mathnawī* [q.v.] have been exploited to the full in Persian literature. A rich epic poetry has been based on it, comprising many works of great extent. The only rarely used *muzdawadj* [q.v.] of Arabic poetry can hardly be compared with it. Although the factual evidence pointing to an Iranian origin for the Persian *mathnawī* is very limited, the importance this form has had from the very beginning makes it at least likely that it continues some kind of older indigenous literary form. Three main groups can be distinguished in the Persian epic: (a) the heroic epic, based on ancient Iranian mythology, the legendary as well as the historical lives of the kings of Iran and other heroic cycles that became attached to this [see further *HAMĀSA*, ii]. (b) The romantic epic, elaborating in most cases famous stories about a pair of lovers whose names provide the title of the poem. These stories come from quite different origins. Some of them are episodes taken from the heroic epic (e.g. *Khusraw* u *Šīrīn*), others go back to Iranian (e.g. *Wis* u *Rāmin*), Hellenistic (e.g. *Wāmiḳ* u *Adhrā*) and Arabic sources (e.g. *Laylā* u *Madīnūn*), or are derived from the *Kurʿān* (*Yūsuf* u *Zalīkhā*). Nearly all of them developed into literary models which were imitated by successive generations of poets. The poetical language of the romantic *mathnawī* is more rhetorical than that of the heroic epic. Lyrical intermezzi often interrupt the intrigue. There are always a few passages added with moralistic aphorisms. With the growing influence of mystical philosophy on literature, the romantic tales acquired an allegorical meaning. (c) The didactic *mathnawī* includes a diversity of works the main purpose of which is instruction of one kind or another. This can be the vulgarization of science, moral precepts of a secular nature or the exposition of philosophical, religious or mystical truth. The poems

of this category belong to epic literature in as far as they make use of narratives to typify the theoretical subject-matter. Frame-stories are also used to wrap the contents in an attractive epic form (cf. e.g. Rūdaki's *Kalīla* u *Dimna* and several of the mystical *mathnawīs* of 'Aṭṭār). In the great tradition of the so-called Šūfi *mathnawī* anecdotes became particularly important. In these last works stories can be found that were taken from the *Kurʿān*, from *Hadīth*, from the *kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʿ* and the hagiography of Šūfi saints as well as from a great number of other sources. (Of some of the most important among these works the narrative elements have been analysed and related to their sources; cf. on Sanāʿī: M. Raḍawī, *Taʿlīkāt-i Hadīkat al-ḥakīka*, Tehran 1344 sh.; on 'Aṭṭār: H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955; on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī: R. H. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī of Jalālud-dīn Rūmī*, vols. vii and viii (*Commentary*), London 1937-40; Badi' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Maʿākhidh-i kiṣaṣ wa tamhīlāt-i Mathnawī*, Tehran 1333 sh.; idem, *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī-i Sharīf*, 3 vols., Tehran 1346-8 sh., left unfinished). A favourite allegorical technique is the *zabān-i ḥāl*, "the speech of state". This means that animals, things, or even metaphysical and legendary beings are introduced as speakers illustrating through a description of their own mode of existence the abstract ideas put forward by the author.

As metre and rhyme were, in the classical tradition, regarded as almost indispensable to a genuine literary composition, prose could only play a modest role in Persian literature. It had, moreover, to compete with the *mathnawī* in most narrative genres. Still, when considered from a more impartial point of view, a rich and varied literature of prose works of artistic value appears to exist. Anecdotes are also a favourite instrument of prose-writers even if their works are of an entirely utilitarian intent. It is, for that reason, not always possible to draw a clear line between artistic and non-artistic prose. A survey of different genres of story-telling in prose is given s.v. *ḤIKĀYA*, ii.

Conspicuous traits of the stylistic development of Persian prose are the interspersing of prose with poetical fragments and the increasing abundance of rhymed prose for which full advantage was taken of the possibilities offered by the vocabulary of Arabic. From the Mongol conquest onwards the tendency towards formal embellishment went to such extremes that meaning became almost completely subordinated to form. A trend to simplify the language of literary compositions started early in the 13th/19th century. For a detailed history of Persian prose style see M. T. Bahār, *Sabkshīnāsi, yā taʿrīkh-i taṭawwur-i naṭh-r-i fārsī*, 3 vols. Tehran 1321 sh.

In the course of this survey there has been occasion to refer to several of the genres current in Persian literature, in particular in as far as they were connected with one of the poetical forms. In addition to this, some reference should be made to the genre of the *ḥalandariyyāt*, named after the *ḥalandar* [q.v.], a type of wandering *darwīsh* who practices in its extreme form the antinomian way of life of *malāmatiyya* [q.v.] mysticism. Poems of this genre can be quatrains (Bābā Tāhir, 'Aṭṭār) or may have a form intermediate between the *kaṣīda* and the *ghazal* (cf. esp. Sanāʿī). It seems to have absorbed the literary tradition of provocative identification of the poet with forms and symbols of non-Islamic religions (*kufriyyāt*) which is attested already in Arabic poetry of 'Abbāsīd times and in Persian poetry appears as early as Daḳīkī [q.v.]. The *ḥalandariyyāt* later on

merged with the mystical *ghazal* (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, 487 ff.; idem, *Oriens*, xii (1959), 14 ff.). Another genre worth mentioning here is the *shahr-āshūb* or *shahr-angiz*, short poetical witticisms on young artisans, usually quatrains but also occurring as *kašidas*. In the latter case, they have been worked out to a satire on a whole town. Although themes of this kind can be found at quite an early date they really became popular only from the 10th/16th century onwards. The importance of the *shahr-āshūb* poems as documents of social conditions has been overrated (cf. A. Mirzoev, *Sayyido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadžikskoy literatury*, Stalirabad 1955, 143 f., cited by J. Rypka, *History* 297, 302 f. See also on this genre: M. Dī. Maḥdījūb, *Sabb-i Khurāsāni*, 677-99; A. Gulčīn-i maʿāni, *Shahr-āshūb dar shīʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1346 sh.). There are also genres that are strictly bound to prosodic forms, e.g. the *Sāḳī-nāma*, a short *mathnawī* piece in the metre *mutakārib* on themes belonging to the topic of wine-drinking. The oldest specimens date from the 8th/14th century (Salmān-i Sāwādī, *Hāfiz*). An anthology of works of this type was compiled by ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Kāzwinī in 1028/1619 (*Tadhkirā-i Maykhāna*, ed. by Gulčīn-i maʿāni, Tehran 1340 sh.).

The poetical language, its images and metaphors have only been explored to a limited extent so far. The nature themes in the early court poetry have been inventoried and analysed by C.-H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Inventaire et analyse des thèmes*, Paris 1969. Especial attention is given to the symbolism of the erotic-mystical *ghazal* in the chapter on *Motivi e forme della poesia persiana* of A. Bausani's *Storia*, 239-95; cf. idem, *Persia religiosa*, Milan 1959, 298-354; Manūčīhr Murtaḍawī, *Maktab-i Hāfiz yā muḥaddama bar Hāfiz-shināsī*, Tehran 1344 sh. The Zoroastrian background of many themes is examined by Muʿīn, *Mazdayasnā wa taʿthīr-i ān dar adabiyāt-i pārsī*, Tehran 1326 sh., 1338 sh.<sup>2</sup>. On various topics of lyrical poetry see further: A. Schimmel, *Die Bildersprache Dschelāladdīn Rūmī's*, Walldorf-Hessen 1950; eadem, *Schriftsymbolik im Islam*, in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift E. Kühnel*, Berlin 1957, 244-54; eadem, *Rose und Nachtigall*, in *Numen*, v/2 (1958), 85-109; E. Yarshater, *The theme of wine-drinking and the concept of the beloved in early-Persian poetry*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xiii (1960), 43-53. The fundamental study by H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Nizāmīs*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, deals in particular with the use of metaphor in Persian poetry. A new approach to the study of the language of poetry and literary prose makes use of the method of statistical wordcount: cf. R. Koppe, *Statistik und Semantik der arabischen Lehnwörter in der Sprache Alawī's*, in *Wissensch. Zeitschrift d. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, gesellsch. u. sprachwiss. Reihe*, ix (1959-60), 585-619; W. Skalmowski, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik der arab. Lehnwörter im neupersischen*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 171-5 (on Saʿdī and Hāfiz) and M. N. Osmanov, *Častotnyy slovar' Unsuri*, Moscow 1970. Some aspects of literary technique have been studied by G. Richter, *Persiens Mystiker Dschelāl-Eddīn Rūmī: eine Stilleutung*, Breslau 1933; W. Lentz, *Beobachtungen über den gedanklichen Aufbau einiger zeitgenössischer Prosastücke*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 166-208; idem, *Aḥfār als Allegoriker*, in *Isl.*, xxxv (1960), 52-96.

The rhetorical schemes played an important part in the style of Persian lyricism, especially in the art of the panegyric *kašīda*. Poems based on an intensified use of these figures were called *kašīda-i mušan-*

*naʿ*. A specimen of this is the poem designed by Kīwāmī of Gandja (6th-12th century) as a textbook on the subject (cf. Browne, ii, 47-76). An analysis of one of the masterpieces of poetical rhetoric has been given by J. Rypka, *Hāqānis Madāʿin-Qašīde rhetorisch beleuchtet*, in *AO*, xxvii (1959), 199-205. The exposition of the schemes by Persian theoreticians is derived from the Arabic works on *badiʿ* and *balāgha* [qq.v.]. The oldest extant work is the *Tarjūmān al-balāgha* by Muḥ. b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī (probably second half of the 5th/11th century; ed. with facsimile of the unique MS. by A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949). It was adapted about a century later by Rashīd al-Dīn Waḥwāt in his *Hadāʾik al-shīʿr*. The most authoritative work dealing with the disciplines of prosody as well is *al-Muʿdjam fi maʿāyir ashʿār al-ʿadjam* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kays al-Rāzī, *Shams-i Kays* for short (ed. by E. G. Browne and M. Kazwīnī, London 1909; ed. by Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1314 sh., 1338 sh.).<sup>3</sup> For a survey of works on the theory of literature see the introduction by M. Kazwīnī to the last-mentioned work and F. Tauer, in J. Rypka et al., *History*, 432 ff.

## II. Historical Survey.

### a. Periodization of Persian literary history.

Most histories of Persian literature derive the arrangement of their subject-matter largely from the divisions of dynastic history. This method is to a certain extent justified by the fact that royal courts have always been very important in the literary life of Iran. Schools of poetry can quite conveniently be identified and labelled by reference to the political centres on which they depended. Apart from the theoretical objections that can be brought forward against the exclusive use of a political frame of reference, one of the main practical disadvantages is that it cannot account for literary developments that intersect the boundary lines of political history. An arrangement based on a classification of forms and genres, as has been chosen for instance by H. Ethé and, more recently, by A. Bausani, can do more justice to the intrinsic history of literature as an autonomous artistic tradition. In the present survey, a broad historical scheme has been adopted which leaves sufficient room to trace out at least the most essential lines of the purely literary development. Within each historical section a secondary arrangement according to the main genres of literature (lyric poetry, epic poetry, prose) has been followed as far as possible.

Several attempts have been made to work out a more fundamental theory of periodization. A. Zarre has based his trifold division of Iranian literature as a whole on the principles of Marxist literary theory. The feudal period encompasses both the classical Persian literature and the literature of the Middle Iranian period (cf. *Očerk in Vostok, sbornik*, ii, 26). Suggestions for a much more refined scheme based on autonomous literary developments as well as on political and economic factors have recently been made by A. N. Boldfrev and I. S. Bragin'skiy (cf. I. S. Bragin'skiy et al., *Problemy periodizatsii istorii literatury narodov Vostoka*, Moscow 1968, containing reprints of articles published earlier in *Narodī Azii i Afriki*, 1963/6, 290-314 and *ibid.*, 1965/2, 100-10; see also the summary in *Central Asian Review*, xii (1964), 132-9). S. Nafisi has borrowed the terms of his scheme (realism, naturalism, symbolism, etc.) from the historians of European literatures (cf. *Shāh-kārhā-i naṯr-i Fārsī-i muʿāṣir*, i, 23 ff.). A quite different system, developed by Oriental students of Persian literature, both in Iran and on the Indian subcontinent, makes use of a geographical nomen-

clature but is essentially based on stylistic criteria. This theory distinguishes three different styles each of which is typified by the poetry of a specific region during a certain period of time. (a) The style of *Khurāsān* or *Turkistān* (*sabk-i Khurāsāni*, *sabk-i Turkistāni*), i.e., the comparatively simple and balanced style of early Persian poetry up to the *Saldjūk* period. It is ruled by the principle of harmonious use of images and metaphors within the limits of one line (*murā'āt al-naẓir*). The language both of prose and verse is still the old *darī* which has not yet been overloaded with Arabic loanwords and expressions. The main forms of poetry are the *ḡaṣīda* and the *maḥnawī*, especially the heroic genre. (b) The style of 'Irāk (*sabk-i 'Irāki*) is characterized by a development towards a rhetorically more sophisticated type of poetry, the language of which is much more influenced by Arabic. There is also a tendency to use difficult learned allusions. In the course of the period of the 'Irāki style, the *ghazal* and the romantic epic become the most prominent forms of poetry. It is equally the time of the rise of *Sūfi* literature in all its various forms. Most of these developments affect prose literature as well. There exists some uncertainty about the exact beginnings of this style. The shift of the main centre of literary life to the west during the second half of the 6th/12th century is reflected in its name, but unmistakable traces of similar stylistic trends can be found in the literature produced in the eastern parts of the country from the end of the preceding century onwards. (c) The Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī* [q.v.]) is in its origin as a clearly defined poetical style more narrowly associated with historical and geographical factors than the two others. These factors are the radical changes in Iranian society resulting from the victory of the *Ṣafawids* in the 11th/16th century and the migration of many Persian poets to Indian courts, which took place simultaneously. The characteristic traits, as they have been described by A. Bausani, are: deviations from the rule of harmonious use of imagery, leading to a "baroque" extension of the stock of images and metaphors allowed in poetry, the predominance of mystical-philosophical themes, and an extreme tendency towards allegory. This style reached its full development with the Indian poets, but was also followed for some time by poets in Iran until the middle of the 12th/18th century when a return to the classical models (*bāzgaṣṭ*) took place. This neo-classicism prevailed in traditional poetry and criticism until quite recently. (For a general survey of the theories of periodization see J. Rypka, *History*, 112 ff. See also M. Dī. Maḥdījūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsāni dar shi'r-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345/1967 and, on the *sabk-i Hindī*, A. Mirzoev, *Sayyido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadzhikskoy literatury*, Stalinabad 1955; E. E. Bertel's *K. voprosu ob "indiyshkom stile" v persidskoy poezii*, in *Charisteria orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia Ioanni Rypka... sacrum*, Prague 1956, 56-9; A. Bausani, *Contributo a una definizione dello "stile indiano" della poesia persiana*, *AIUON*, NS, vii (1957), 167-78).

b. *From the Sāmānids to the Mongol invasion (4th/10th—beginning of the 7th/13th centuries)*

As has been observed already in the section on the beginnings of Persian literature, the poetry of the time of the *Tāhirids* and the *Ṣaffārids* has been almost completely lost. Only from the early 4th/10th century onwards does the available material gradually increase, although our documentation remains scanty till the beginning of the next century, from which time date the oldest *diwāns* that have been preserved.

For the earlier period our knowledge entirely depends on the fragments transmitted by a number of sources of quite different nature. The most important categories are the anthologies (*tadhkīra* [q.v.]), foremost the *Lubāb al-albāb* by 'Awfī [q.v.], lexicographical works, the oldest extant work being the *Lughat al-Furs* by Asadī [q.v.], and works on literary theory. Usually the fragments do not amount to more than one or two lines. Complete lyric poems of the 4th/10th century are very rare. Perhaps the most ancient specimen is a *ḡaṣīda* on the cultivation of wine by Rūdakī preserved in the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*. The first attempt to reassemble these scattered pieces was made by H. Ethé in a series of monographs published between 1872 and 1875. Several scholars both inside and outside Iran have continued this line of research (cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (ix<sup>e</sup>-x<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, *Fragments rassemblés, édités et traduits*, 2 vols., Tehran-Paris 1964, with further references).

The court of the Sāmānid *amīrs* in *Bukhārā* in the 4th/10th century is the first great centre of literature about which some detailed information is available. Both the *amīrs* and the prominent men of their entourage, like the Bal'amīs [q.v.] and the members of the military clan *Simdjūr*, encouraged men of learning and poets to use the vernacular as a literary language. There was much interest in Iranian lore but on the whole the literary tradition conformed to the existing patterns of Islamic culture. A particularly splendid episode was the reign of Naṣr II (301/914-331/942), the patron of Rūdakī [q.v.] (d. 329/940-1), who was the most distinguished figure of Sāmānid literature. More than 100 *bayts* from his works have been retrieved, considerably more than of any of his contemporaries. He cultivated a great variety of forms but the traditional accounts that ascribe to Rūdakī the invention of several forms of poetry are certainly unhistorical. There are indications that the literary activities of the *Ismā'iliyya* [q.v.] exerted some influence on the intellectual circles at the Sāmānid court. The anonymous commentary on a didactical *ḡaṣīda* by Abu 'l-Ḥaytham Gurgāni (ed. by H. Corbin and M. Mu'īn, Tehran-Paris 1955; cf. G. Lazard, *op. cit.*, i, 24) contains references to the interest taken in the doctrines of this *Ismā'ili* philosopher by Rūdakī and two other poets: *Shahīd* of *Balkh*, who himself is also known as a philosopher, and Muṣ'abi, one of the viziers of Naṣr II. Another notable poet of the earlier Sāmānid period was Farāblawī. To a later generation belong Abu 'l-'Abbās *Rabīdjāni*, Abū *Shu'ayb* of *Harāt*, Ma'rūfī of *Balkh* and *Dakīkī* [q.v.]. This last, who is best known through his epic work, was also a great master of the early lyrical style. Much attention has been paid to his allusions to Zoroastrianism, which are best explained as early instances of the topic of the *kufriyyāt* and should not be taken at their face-value. From the increasing number of poets of the last decades of this century, special mention should be made here of *Kīsā'ī* (born 341/952), the first to write religious poems showing his *Shī'ite* sympathies. Other names are Abu 'l-Ḥasan *Lawkari*, *Sipihri*, *Badi'* *Balkhī*, *Khusravāni*, Abu 'l-Mathal, *Shākīr*, *Djullāb*, 'Ammāra *Marwazi*, *Amīr Aghādījī* and *Ismā'īl Muntazir*, the last two mentioned being members of the Sāmānid house.

The local rulers of *Caḡhāniyān*, the *Āi-i Muḥtādī*, were equally interested in Persian poetry. They patronized *Dakīkī* during a part of his career and later *Mundīk Tirmidhī* as well as some of the great poets of the *Ghaznavid* period. To the west, Persian poetry penetrated to the court of the *Ziyārids* in *Gurgān* and even to the residence in *Rayy* of the *Būyid* vizier

"Šāhib" Ismā'il b. 'Abbād al-Ṭālakāni [see IBN 'ABBĀD] (326/938-385/995), who is also renowned as a writer and a patron of Arabic letters. Among the first poets at these courts were Manṭiqi Rāzi (d. between 367/977 and 380/991) and Khusrāwi Sarakhsī (d. before 383/993). The popularity of poetry in dialects (Ṭabari, Gilaki) in northern Iran during this period is worthy of note.

The Turkish Ghaznavids inherited the cultural traditions of their former masters, the Sāmānids. Their remote capital, Ghazna, was, during the first half of the 5th/11th century, the most brilliant centre of intellectual and literary life in Iran. All this was the result of a conscious policy pursued by the early Ghaznavids to attract scholars—the most celebrated among them being al-Bīrūnī [q.v.]—and poetical talents to their court. It was inspired by a keen sense of the propagandist value of patronage. The writers and poets of this time put great emphasis on the glory of the dynasty and on its legitimacy. Poets accompanied the sultans on their campaigns, particularly on the raids into Indian territories, and celebrated their victories (e.g. the destruction of the temple of Shīva at Sōmnāth in 416/1026). Sultan Maḥmūd himself entered into literature on account of the stories about him and his favourite slave Ayāz [q.v.].

Thanks to a much fuller documentation of the literary production, we can for the first time study the lyricism of the Khurāsāni style in all its details in the works of the poets of the early Ghaznavid school. The period is dominated by three poets who exerted an influence on Persian poetical style that lasted throughout the centuries: 'Unṣurī [q.v.] (d. 431/1039-40), Farrukhī [q.v.] (d. 429/1037-8) and Manūčihri [q.v.] (d. about 432/1040-1). 'Unṣurī, the poet laureate of the court of Sultan Maḥmūd, is first of all a great panegyrist, which made his work a favourite source for the older writers on the rhetorical schemes. The descriptive art of the prologues is more fully developed in the poetry of Farrukhī, especially in the formalized descriptions of nature. His style is characterized by the use of parallelism in the structure of the two parts of the distich. Manūčihri shows a certain amount of individuality within the common tradition in the choice of his images. He is especially famous on account of his strophic poems.

The works of the other poets of the period have only been transmitted in a very imperfect way. We can have at least some idea about the poetry of Labībī [q.v.] (d. after 429/1037-8) and 'Asḍiādī (d. ca. 432/1040-1). Rābi'a Kuzdāri of Balkh is probably the earliest female poet of Iran, although the chronology of her life is uncertain. She became the heroine of a popular romance (cf. Fr. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati*, 27-42). The poet Bahrāmī is known to have composed some treatises on prosody which were used as textbooks for a considerable time but have not been preserved. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Bustī (d. between 400/1009 and 403/1013) is said to have left two *diwāns*, one in Arabic and one in Persian.

A second centre of patronage was the residence of Amīr Naṣr, a brother of Sultan Maḥmūd and governor of Khurāsān. In Rayy lived the poet Ghada'iri (d. 426/1034-5) who, in spite of his service to the Būyid court, was in close contact with the Ghaznavid sultan as well.

The defeat of Sultan Mas'ūd I at the hands of the Saldjūks in the battle of Dandānḳān (432/1040) divides the history of the Ghaznavids into two parts. After this event they lost control over the western parts of their empire and drew back upon the eastern half, i.e., the present-day Afghānistān and the con-

quered areas on the Indian subcontinent. They did not abandon their cultural interest, however. Poetry was now also patronized at the court of the Ghaznavid viceroy in Lahore. This can be regarded as the starting-point of Indo-Persian literature. Quite prominent names are to be found among the first poets at the court of the Panḍjāb: Abu 'l-Farāḍī Rūnī (d. after 492/1098-9) and Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān [see MAS'ŪD-I SA'D] (438/1046-7—515/1121-2). The former brought many new elements in the style of the panegyric *kašīda* which anticipated later developments finally resulting in the style of 'Irāk. His work is known to have influenced Anwarī. Mas'ūd-i Sa'd is especially famous because of his prison-poems, reflecting personal experiences, although as a genre the *ḥabsiyyāt* were already a part of the Arabic-Persian tradition. The importance attached to poetry in the capital itself is demonstrated by the large frieze containing poetical inscriptions that has been unearthed in the ruins of the palace of the sultan (cf. A. Bombaci, *The kufic inscription in Persian verses in the court of the Royal Palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni*, Rome 1966). The reign of Sultan Bahram-shāh (512/1118-552/1151) was very fruitful. Mukhtārī (d. probably 554/1159 [q.v.]) was a versatile writer of *kašīdas*. The fame of Sanā'ī [q.v.] (d. about 535/1140-1) is particularly based on his religious and moralistic poetry. A great number of his *kašīdas* belong to the genres of the "ascetic poems" (*suḥbiyyāt*) and the *ḥalandariyyāt*. A similar preoccupation with religious and ethical themes is to be found in the *diwān* of the great Ismā'īlī poet and philosopher Nāšir-i Khusrāw [q.v.] (d. about 465/1072-470/1077). Sanā'ī's extensive collection of *ghazals* has been mentioned already on account of its significance for the history of this poetical form. Another notable poet of the *ghazal* was Sayyid Ḥasan-i Ghaznawī Ashraf (d. 556/1160-1).

The foundation of the Saldjūk sultanate in Iran reunified the country both politically and in a religious sense. This new situation gave the cause of Persian letters a better chance to win the western provinces. Asadi [q.v.] of Ṭūs compiled his dictionary *Lughat al-Furs* in order to make the writers in other parts of Iran acquainted with the vocabulary of the eastern literary language. He himself emigrated to Ādḥar-bāyḍjān where he found a patron in Abū Dulaf, the ruler of Nakhčuwān. The first prominent poet born in the west was Kaṭrān [q.v.] (d. after 465/1072-3). He attended the local courts of Tabriz and Ghazna. Local centres of power emerged also in other parts of the country and offered the poets a greater variety of chances. Best known among the provincial panegyrists was Azraḳī [q.v.] (d. before 465/1071-3), who glorified the governor of Harāt as well as the Saldjūk Sultan of Kirmān. The central seat of power, the court of the Great Saldjūks, was during the 5th/11th century not very conspicuous for its interest in poetry. We know a few names such as Lāmi'ī (d. ca. 455/1063) and Burhānī (d. 465/1072-3), but the one truly great poet was the latter's son Mu'izzī [q.v.] (d. between 519/1125 and 521/1128), who later on joined the group of poets at the court of Sandjar in Marw. Here the art of the *kašīda* was elaborated with great rhetorical refinement. A great master of this art was Anwarī [q.v.] (d. probably 585/1189-90). Other lyricists of great talent were Adib-i Šābir (d. between 538/1143 and 542/1148) and Djabali (d. 555/1160).

In Central Asia Turkish dynasties continued to favour Persian panegyricism. Under the Ilk-Khāns, Bukhārā had its own school of poets led by the rivals 'Am'āk (d. ca. 543/1148-9) and Rašīdī of Samar-

kand. The most interesting figure was the satirist Sūzani [q.v.] (d. 562/1166-7) who directed his ridicule against several of his colleagues. In the time of the Kh̄wārazm-shāhs the most influential man of letters was Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt [q.v.] (d. 573/1177-8 or 578/1182-3). Besides being a poet, he was a prolific writer in Arabic and Persian prose.

The growing insecurity of life in Khurāsān from the middle of the 6th/12th century onwards, mainly a result of fresh invasions of Turkish Ghuzz tribes, caused an increasing number of poets to emigrate to the west. This trend is exemplified in the career of Aḥir-i Akhsikati (d. ca. 570/1174-5) and Zahir-i Fāryābi [q.v.] (d. 598/1201-2), who both travelled to the Salḡjūq court in 'Irāq and further to the Ildegizid atabegs in Āḡharbāyḡjān. At the same time there emerged a short-lived but not insignificant school of poets in Iṣfahān dependent on the patronage of local aristocrats such as the Āl-i Khudjānd and the Āl-i Sa'īd. To this group belonged Djamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahāni (d. 588/1192-3) and his son Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'il [q.v.] (d. 635/1237-8) as well as the lesser known Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa. Closely related to the work of these poets was the school of Āḡharbāyḡjān. It comprised the encomiasts of the many local rulers of north-western Iran, among whom the Ildegizids and the Shirwānshāhs were the most prominent. The outstanding lyrical poet was Khākāni [q.v.] (d. 595/1199), the last great poet of the ḡṣīda of pre-Mongol times. Mention should also be made of Falaki Shirwāni [q.v.] (d. about 550/1155-6), whose *diwān* contains a number of remarkable *ḡṣīyyāt*, and Muḡjir-i Baylākāni (d. about 594/1197-8), one of Khākāni's pupils.

The *ghazal* continued its development into one of the majors forms of lyricism throughout the 6th/12th century. The course of this process since late Ghaznavid times can be traced in the *diwāns* of Adib-i Šābir, Anwari, Djalāl al-Dīn Iṣfahāni, Zahir Fāryābi and Khākāni. The mystical application of the symbolism of the *ghazal* shows itself in an unequivocal form only at the very end of this century in the work of Farid al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār [q.v.].

Another form that became a favourite of Salḡjūq times was the *rubā'ī*. We find it in the 5th/11th century often used for the expression of mystical thoughts. The poems are ascribed to famous Šūfi *shaykhs* like Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [q.v.], Anšārī [q.v.] and Abū 'l-Ḥasan Kharaḡāni (d. 425/1033-4). The *du-baytīs* of Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān [q.v.] (d. 401/1010) contain early examples of the *ḡalandari* themes. They show their affinity to popular poetry by the use of dialect forms. At the end of the period the mystical quatrain is again well represented in the *Mukhtār-nāma* of 'Aṭṭār, a huge collection of *rubā'īyyāt* arranged according to topics by the poet himself (cf. H. Ritter, *Philologica* xvi, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 195-228). The philosophical agnosticism of the famous quatrains of 'Umar-i Khayyām [q.v.] (d. probably 515/1121-2) has some affinity to this mystical trend but cannot be identified with it. This short poem lent itself to the expression of quite profane topics as well. Anacreontic and erotic themes closely related to those of the *ghazal* are to be found in the poems of the female poet and singer Mahsati [q.v.]. Like Rābi'a, she is historically a rather vague personality and appears also as the heroine of a popular novel. It should be noted that most Persian poets have left collections of quatrains.

Among the fragments of Sāmānid poetry there is a remarkably large number of *mathnawī*-lines, but it is very often impossible to define the exact nature of the poems from which they originate. It is clear,

however, that in addition to the versions of the heroic epic in prose, already at the turn of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries an attempt was made to treat the same subject-matter in the form of a *mathnawī*. The poor remnants of this work by Mas'ūdi of Marw just permit the conclusion that it comprehended the whole range of the royal epic as we know it in the classical form of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [q.v.], which was completed about 400/1009-10. Through the latter work a fragment from the unfinished *mathnawī* of Daḡīkī has been preserved. After Firdawsī the heroic epic continued in the form of monographic poems dealing with the adventures of individual heroes. Especially favourite were the members of the Sīstānian dynasty of vassals to which Rustam belonged. The most important writer of this genre is Asadī [q.v.] (the theory of the two Asadis now has few defenders) with his *Garshāspnāma*. The strong influence of the romance of Alexander shows itself in the emphasis on philosophical discussions and journeys to far and mysterious countries. The tales about Alexander [see ISKANDARNĀMA] formed the only part of the epic of the kings that ultimately survived as a separate genre in the literature of the *mathnawī*. The classical model of this branch was provided by the double *Iskandarnāma* of Niẓāmī [q.v.]. [See further ḤAMĀSA, ii].

The earliest subject of a romantic *mathnawī* that can be identified is the story of *Yūsuf u Zalikḡhā* [q.v.], based on the 12th sūra of the Qur'ān. Of the several versions known to have been composed in pre-Mongol times only one has been preserved. This poem used to be ascribed to Firdawsī but recent research has rejected this and attributed it to a certain Amāni who wrote it after 476/1083 for a Salḡjūq prince (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 157 f.). It contains references to two versions of the 4th/10th century by Abū 'l-Mu'ayyad and Baḡhtiyāri. The same story was later treated by 'Am'āk. From the romances written by 'Unšuri [q.v.], *Wamiḡ u 'Aḡhrā*, a story going back to Hellenistic sources, has been partly recovered recently. Two others, *Khing-but u surkh-but*, inspired by the statues of Buddha at Bāmiyān, and *Shādbahr u 'Ayn al-Hayāt* have been lost. Another recent discovery is *Warḡau Gulshāh* by 'Ayyūkī, a contemporary of Sultan Maḡmūd. It is a love story, situated in Arabia in the lifetime of the Prophet, and not unlike the European romance of Floire and Blancheflor. Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century Faḡhr al-Dīn Gurgāni [q.v.] elaborated an ancient Parthian tale, transmitted up to his times by Pahlavi literature, in the *mathnawī*, *Wis u Rāmīn*. The significance of this work for the history of Persian literature lies not only in its origin, thoroughly investigated by V. Minorsky, but equally in the influence it exerted on the further course of courtly romance. Several stylistic conventions and topics were introduced by Gurgāni and afterwards developed by a long line of imitators. A particularly close relationship appears to exist between this work and *Khusrāw u Shirīn* of Niẓāmī [q.v.] (d. 605/1209). While Gurgāni's story itself was abandoned, Niẓāmī set the pace for future generations both as far as the subject-matter and the formal conventions are concerned. The same can be said of his other romances: *Haft Paykar*, the romanticized life-story of Bahrām Gūr, serving also as a frame-story for seven splendidly told fairy tales, and the celebrated Arabian story of *Laylā u Madjūnīn*. Niẓāmī treated these subjects with great psychological depth. On the other hand he enriched the romantic *mathnawī* by using the imagery of lyric poetry to the full, treating it with all the rhetorical

ingenuity characteristic of the 'Irāki style. He is justly regarded as the real founder of the Persian romantic epic. The *Khusrāwnāma* by 'Aṭṭār [q.v.] also belongs to this category.

The *mathnawī* was from the earliest times onwards used for didactic purposes as well. Rūdākī composed versions of the Indian collections of fables and tales *Kalīla u Dimna* [q.v.] and *Sindibād-nāma* [q.v.]. They were both repeatedly remodelled by later writers both in prose and in verse. To the same group of works belongs the *Bilawhar u Yūdāsaf* (*Būdāsaf*) [q.v.], fragments of which have been recovered from the Turfan manuscripts. Although written with Manichaean characters, the language of this text shows unmistakable signs of a New Persian original which can be dated in the Sāmānid period (cf. W. B. Henning, *Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdākī, in A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 89-104). Narratives of this kind were from pre-Islamic times onwards especially valued on account of the element of moral instruction they contained. They can therefore be classified as a branch of the didactic epic. Another type is represented by the *Āfarinnāma* of Abū Shākūr of Balkh completed in 336/947-8. Quite a number of fragments have been retrieved which can be ascribed to this work with some certainty. As far as we can judge from these remnants, it consisted of a series of aphorisms predominantly of a moralistic nature and illustrated by the use of inserted anecdotes. If this description is correct, it would mean that the *Āfarinnāma* prefigured a structural type on which most later works of secular or mystical didacticism were based. The first and perhaps most important instance of this is the *Hadīkat al-Ḥakīka* of Sanā'ī [q.v.], usually regarded as the beginning of a long tradition of Ṣūfī *mathnawīs*. The anecdotes in this work are very short and entirely subordinated to the theoretical contents they serve to exemplify. Although the poem has sometimes been described as an encyclopaedia of Ṣūfism, the *Hadīka* contains, in fact, besides mystical elements, a wide range of other themes such as philosophy, ethics, science and even panegyrics. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that diverging lines of development originate from this point in the history of the genre. On the one hand, the *Makḥzan al-asrār* of Niẓāmī, dealing mainly with secular ethics, is notwithstanding its different metre and the far more rigid composition, according to the statement of the poet himself written in competition with the work of Sanā'ī. On the other hand, 'Aṭṭār's *Asrār-nāma*, built on the same principle, is entirely devoted to mysticism. In both works the narrative has become a fully elaborated element in its own right. Quite a different type of structure is revealed by the "frame-story" *mathnawīs* of 'Aṭṭār [q.v.], the most famous of which are the *Ilāhīnāma*, the *Manṭiq al-tayr* and the *Muṣibat-nāma*.

Some of the *mathnawīs* produced in this period cannot be classified into any of the three categories outlined above. Still in the Sāmānid period belongs the *Dānišnāma* of Ḥakīm Maysarī composed between 367/978 and 370/981. It gives a popular exposition of medical theory and practice and therefore hardly belongs to literature proper (cf. G. Lazard, *Premiers poètes*, i, 36 ff.). Metaphysical doctrines combined with ethical maxims and some amount of gnostic speculation are to be found in the *Rawṣhanā'ināma* of Nāṣir-i Kḥusraw, in which no anecdotes have been used. A number of short *mathnawīs* has been ascribed to Sanā'ī, but only two of these can with certainty be regarded as authentic: *Karnāma-i Balkhī* containing both eulogy and satire, the latter directed against

some of the Ṣūfīs and poets of Ghazna, and *Sayr al-'ibād ila'l-Ma'ād* depicting the gnostic's journey through the cosmos followed by a panegyry. To a similar type belongs the *Hunarnāma* of Muḥtārī. A very original work is the *Tuḥfat al-'Irāqayn* of Khākānī. Conceived as the poetical journal of a pilgrimage, it contains a variety of other materials as well, out of which the repeated addresses to the sun deserve to be noted.

Among the many cultural achievements of the Sāmānid period, the creation of a Persian prose literature takes a very prominent place. Nearly all the works of this early time that have been handed down are non-artistic writings and cannot concern us here. Still, some information is available which points to the existence of a number of works in prose that, at least on account of their subject-matter, are relevant to literary history. To this group belong the prose versions of the epic of the kings, three of which are known to have existed although no more than the introduction to one of them, composed in 346/957 by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ma'marī (or Mu'ammari), has been preserved. It is not quite certain whether the fragments dealing with the hero Garshāsp, cited in the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān* and attributed there to Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad of Balkh, have been taken from the *Shāhnāma* version of this prolific writer or from a separate "Book of Garshāsp". Monographs of this last type were written about several heroes who play some role in the epic cycles. They have all disappeared, but to a large extent their contents have been transmitted by way of the numerous *mathnawīs* of the same genre produced during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. In prose, heroic themes are further developed in an extensive literature of popular novels. To the 6th/12th century belong the works of Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭarsūsī (or Ṭartūsī). His *Dārābnāma* elaborates the legends about the last of the ancient Iranian kings with many fantastic details. It ends with a treatment of the history of Alexander, one of the favourite subjects of this narrative literature. Another novel of Ṭarsūsī deals with a hero of Islamic times, Abū Muṣlīm (cf. I. Mélikoff, *Abu Muslim, le Porte-Hache du Khorassan, dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne*, Paris 1962). The chivalrous romance *Samak-i 'Ayyār*, which was originally written by Ṣaḍāka b. Abi 'l-Kāsim of Shīrāz, but has only been preserved in a later version dated 585/1189, is entirely a work of fiction.

An alternation between versions in prose and in verse is equally observable in the tradition of the Indian collections of fables and stories. For two of these there is evidence of Persian prose renderings in the Sāmānid period (*Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Sindibād-nāma* [qq.v.]). They have been replaced by later adaptations made with an intent to make these works more palatable to the literary taste of a later generation. The principle of the frame-story, so characteristic of these Indian books, was borrowed for a Persian imitation in the *Bakhtiyār-nāma* [q.v.], while the animal fable introduced by the *Kalīla wa Dimna* was cultivated in the collection entitled *Marzbānnāma*, which was originally composed in the Ṭabari dialect. [See further *ἩΚΑΥΑ*, ii].

The fashion of embellishing prose by the application of rhymed and measured phrases was known already from the early 5th/11th century from the sayings attributed to the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [q.v.] and, more particularly, from a string of *risālas* usually ascribed to Anṣārī [q.v.] (cf. on the philological problems attached to these texts and their authenticity, G. Lazard, *La langue des plus*



*anciens monuments*, 111 f.), of which the small collection of prayers called *Munādīāt* has become quite celebrated. The style of Arabic prose, as it had developed in the time of the Būyids in the hands of such masters of the *risāla* as Ibn ‘Abbād [q.v.] and al-Hamadhānī [q.v.], very much affected the style of elegant Persian prose. A clear instance of this influence is the introduction of the genre of the *makāma* [q.v.] into Persian literature by the *kaḏī* Ḥamid al-Din of Balkh or Ḥamidī [q.v.] (d. 559/1164). One of the best examples of the sophisticated style of pre-Mongol times, still very much appreciated in present-day Iran, is the version of *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad [q.v.], a secretary to the late Ghaznavid Sultan Bahrāmshāh. Other specimens of the style current among secretaries, theologians and men of learning and letters include pieces of official or personal correspondence preserved from the hands of several prominent men (e.g. the *Faḏā’i al-Anām* by Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, the correspondence between his brother Aḥmad al-Ghazālī and ‘Ayn al-Ḳudāt al-Hamadhānī, and further the letters handed down from poets such as Sanā’i, Khāḳānī and Rashid-i Waṭwāt).

The characteristic traits of artistic prose are not confined to those works that can be classified as *belles lettres* in the strict sense of the term but occur in many works of a more “utilitarian” purpose as well. The same can be said of the art of narrative, whether of pointed anecdotes or of short stories. They are especially abundant in works of history and biography. It need not surprise, therefore, if a work like the *Ta’rikh* of Bayhaḳī [q.v.] is reckoned among the masterpieces of early Persian prose. Even a listing of all the writings that in some way or the other are interesting from the aesthetic point of view would by far exceed the limits of this article. Only one group of prose-works cannot be left unmentioned here. In spite of great individual differences, these works share a common feature in that, as a kind of *Fürstenspiegel*, they have been written for the instruction of those in power and they abundantly make use of anecdotes and tales functioning both as illustrative examples and as a means to enliven the theoretical exposition. To this group belong the *Kābūs-nāma* by ‘Unsur al-Ma’ālī Kay-Kā’ūs [q.v.] (d. 492/1098-9), the *Čahār Maḳāla* by Niẓāmī ‘Arūḏī [q.v.] (d. about 560/1164-5), the *Siyāsat-nāma* by Niẓām al-Mulk [q.v.] (d. 485/1092) and the *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* by al-Ghazālī [q.v.] (d. 505/1111). All these works were written in a comparatively sober style.

Mainly on account of the relevance of its subject-matter to the study of certain themes of lyric poetry, mention should also be made of the *Nawrūznāma*, a treatise on the origins and customs of the ancient Iranian New Year’s festival. It contains, among other things, a reference to the ceremonial use of poetry at the Sāsānian court and an account of the legendary origins of the cult of wine. The authorship of ‘Umar-i Khayyām [q.v.] is denied by most scholars.

Apart from the wealth of narratives contained in such works as the commentaries on the *Ḳur’ān*, the biographies of prophets and Ṣūfī saints, and mystical treatises, there is little in the religious prose literature of the pre-Mongol period that needs to be mentioned on account of its great artistic value. An exception, however, should be made for the allegorical tales, describing the spiritual journey of the gnostic, by Ṣhihāb al-Din Yaḥyā Suhrawardī [q.v.] (d. 587/1191). Another famous mystic, Aḥmad al-Ghazālī [q.v.] (d. 520/1126), examined the psychology of love in a string of concise and subtle aphorisms

entitled *Sawānīb*. As it is presented in this work, the theory of love can be applied both to the earthly and to the mystical beloved.

c. *From the Mongol period to the rise of the Ṣafawids (7th/13th-9th/15th centuries).*

The successive invasions of the Mongols, resulting in the founding of the empire of the Ilkhāns, did not fail to affect the course of literary history just as it affected all other sections of Iranian society. The destruction of the great cities of Transoxania and Khurāsān, the enormous loss of life, the sharp decline of the economy, the disappearance of dynastic centres, all brought to an end the predominance of the north-eastern provinces in the Islamic civilization of Iran that had lasted for so many centuries. Not before the 9th/15th century could these areas for a short while regain some of their old cultural importance under the reign of the Timūrids. The shift of literary activity from the east to the western parts of the country, already in process from the middle of the 6th/12th century onwards, became definite as a result of these events, but it was no longer the north-western part that profited from this development. The Mongol Khāns, who established the centre of their rule in this area, assimilated far less easily to Persian culture than their Turkish predecessors. They were willing to accept and support those products of Islamic civilization that they regarded as useful, such as historiography and the natural sciences, but never developed any taste for the aesthetic achievements of its literature. The few instances of patronage to poetry known from the court of the Ilkhāns did not emanate from the rulers themselves but from erudite high officials of Persian descent in their service, like the Djuwaynis [q.v.]. While the vocabulary of the great historians of this period was very much influenced by Mongol and Turkish (cf. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-71 and H. H. Zerezeade, *Fars dilinde Azerbaydjan sözləri*, Baku 1962) the language or artistic literature shows hardly any trace of this. The *kaṣīda* on an earthquake in Nishāpūr of Pūr-i Bahā-i Djānī, a deliberate attempt to introduce loanwords from the language of the conquerors into the poetical idiom, is an isolated phenomenon (cf. V. Minorsky, *Charisteria Orientalia... Ioanni Rypka... hoc volumen sacrum*, Prague 1956, 186-201; BSOAS, xviii/2 (1956), 262-78).

In spite of all this, some of the greatest works of Persian literature were produced during these centuries. Favourable conditions for a continuation of the literary tradition were present in those parts of the country that had escaped from the devastations of Mongol warfare. For the first time, southern Iran, more specifically Shirāz, began to take part in the history of Persian poetry. A strong impulse was given by the arrival of many refugees, among whom the prominent theoretician of literature Ṣhams-i Ḳays [q.v.] should be mentioned. New centres also arose outside the boundaries of Iran. The capital of the Saldjūqs of Rūm, Konya, became the seat of a major school of mystical literature established there by immigrants. The cultivation of Persian letters on the Indian subcontinent became more and more independent after the foundation of the Sultanate of Dīhli in 602/1206.

In those days, however, poetry was no longer exclusively dependent on the economic and social support provided by patronage. From the 5th/11th century onwards, Ṣūfism penetrated Persian literature just as it gradually permeated Persian society as a whole. As a social phenomenon, this meant that a new

public and a new environment had come into being which created a wider range of functions for the poet and his art. Poetry could serve to express the ineffable experiences of the mystic through an ever more refined use of its symbolic language, or illuminate the subtleties of mystical doctrines from its vast resources of narrative material and techniques. It could also be used as a liturgical element in the "musical sessions" (*samāʿ*, [q.v.]) of the Ṣūfī circles. The traditional place of the *mamdūh* could be taken either by the spiritual leader (*pir*) or by a human manifestation or "witness" (*shāhid*) of the Eternal Beloved. For the poet who wanted to devote himself entirely to mysticism without any attachment to secular patronage, this new environment was provided by the communities of mystics, out of which the Ṣūfī fraternities (*ṭarīqas*) developed in the course of this period. The first notable example of this withdrawal of poetry from the world is Farid al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, of whom no relation to any *maecenas* is known.

The most striking result of these developments to be noticed in literature is the sharp decline of the *kaṣīda* as the main form of lyric poetry. To some extent this can be explained by the lack of interest in panegyrics shown by the chief court of the times. But the same trend can be observed at those courts where the traditions of courtly lyricism were continued on similar lines as before. In many instances the *ghazal*, which had now become the favourite poetic form, seems to have taken over the panegyric functions of the *kaṣīda*.

The ubiquity of the *ghazal* in Persian literature between the 7th/13th and 12th/18th centuries tends to obscure the fact that the *kaṣīda* never quite disappeared from the scene. At the beginning of this period Saʿdī [q.v.] of Shīrāz (d. 691/1292) cultivated the ode, which he largely used for religious and moral admonition on the lines of Nāsir-i Khusraw and Sanāʿī. Apart from Salmān-i Sāwādī [q.v.] (d. 778/1376), who glorified the Djalālīrīds of Baghdād, in the 9th/15th century Djāmī should also be mentioned as a prominent poet of the *kaṣīda*. Most other poets also wrote at least some poetry in this form, although it is true that the production of *kaṣīdas* during this period lags far behind that of the *ghazal*.

In the main line of the history of lyric poetry two strains, which seem to be distinguished by the different demands put upon the poets by their social environment, become visible. One of these strains is the purely mystical *ghazal* which leaves no room for any ambiguity concerning its fundamental meaning. Its model was provided by the *diwān* of ʿAṭṭār (see, for an analysis of his *ghazals* in comparison to those of the earlier Sanāʿī and the later Hāfiz: H. Ritter, *Oriens*, xii (1959), 1-88). The foremost representative of this type of the *ghazal* after ʿAṭṭār is Djalāl al-Dīn [q.v.] Rūmī (d. 672/1273), in Iran usually known as Mawlāwī. His life as a spiritual leader and a poet in the community of mystics at Konya is the best documented instance of the entourage in which an uncompromisingly mystical literature could flourish. His immense collection of *ghazals*, the *Kullīyyāt-i Shams*, is attributed by the poet himself to Shams al-Dīn al-Tabrizī as an act of identification with the person regarded as the *shāhid*. These poems are either expressions of mystical love, formulated under emotional stress without much care for formal perfection, or they serve to illuminate essential topics of mystical doctrine by means of a rich and sometimes very original imagery. In spite of this idiosyncrasy of Mawlāwī's poetry, it became in its turn a model for the literary tradition of the frater-

nity of the Mawlāwiyya [q.v.], which was formed out of the spiritual community of Konya after his death. This is especially noticeable in the lyrical poetry of his son Sultan Walad [q.v.] (d. 712/1312) and his grand son Ulu ʿArif Çelebi (d. 719/1320). Another poet who cultivated this type of *ghazal*, though with a greater technical sophistication, was ʿIrāqī [q.v.] (d. 688/1289). In the course of his eventful life he practised the way of life of the *ḫalandar darwishes*, the traces of which can be found in his works.

The second type of *ghazal* was cultivated by those poets who did not abstain from the established conventions of courtly poetry even if their works display the all-pervasive influence of Ṣūfism. The double character of the *ghazal*-style, referred to above, is characteristic of this type. Although there are great differences in the intensity of mystical influence, some overtones of a transcendental connotation can be noticed in nearly all erotic poetry written in this period. The Shīrāzī school is particularly famous on account of the full development of this kind of *ghazal*. The oldest of the two great poets of the *ghazal* who flourished in this city was Saʿdī. His lifetime covered most of the 7th/13th century when Shīrāz was ruled by the Salghurid Atabegs. Nearly all his *ghazals* are contained in three large collections, the *Ṭayyibāt*, the *Badāyīʿ* and the *Khawātim*. They show Saʿdī's perfect mastery of all the themes connected with the *ghazal* as a genre as well as of their associative interplay. Mystical notes can be observed, but they are harmoniously fused with secular themes. His graceful style, which also pervades the other literary works of this very versatile author, influenced the idiom of Persian more than the work of any other writer. Among his contemporaries, the names should be mentioned of Imāmī of Harāt (d. 667/1268-9 or 676/1277-8) who attended the court of Kirmān, Maḥmūd al-Dīn Hamgar (d. 686/1287), a citizen of Shīrāz, and Humām al-Dīn [q.v.] of Tabriz (d. 714/1314), who glorified the members of the Djuwaynī family.

During the 8th/14th century, Shīrāz was in turn ruled by the Indjūs and by the Muẓaffarids. The names of these two dynasties are forever connected with that of Hāfiz [q.v.] (d. 792/1390), often nicknamed *Khawādja* or Lisān al-Ḡhayb. He was much more a specialist of the *ghazal* than Saʿdī, as his not very extensive *diwān* contains only a few poems in other forms. Of these, the short *mathnawī* piece *Sākīnāma* has acquired some celebrity. According to A. J. Arberry, Hāfiz developed in the course of his career the refined art of the *ghazal*, as he inherited it from Saʿdī, by introducing the device of contrapuntal interaction of several themes within one single poem. Very often no more than a short allusion in one or two lines was applied to evoke, in the mind of the hearer who was familiar with the literary tradition, associations with a whole thematic complex. This technique was the essential novelty of Hāfiz's art (cf. *BSOAS*, xi (1943-6), 699-712; *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*, Cambridge 1953, 28 ff.). The most characteristic themes he employed—e.g. the cult of wine, the tavern, the cup-bearer, the *pir-i muḡhān* who reveals esoteric wisdom from the cup of Djāmshīd (*djām-i Djām*), the disdain of the antinomian mystic for the hypocritical piety of the ascetic, showing itself in a provocative playing with non-Islamic religious symbols—were derived from such traditional topics of Arabic and Persian literature as the *ḫamriyyāt*, the *ḫalandariyyāt* and the *kufrīyyāt*. Outstanding features of the style of Hāfiz are also his frequent use of ambiguity (*ihām*) and his irony. In spite of his pre-

dilection for mystical subjects, several of his *ghazals* have proved to be designed as paeneyric poems.

There were several other prominent poets of the *ghazal* in the time of Ḥāfiẓ: 'Ubayd-i Zākāni [q.v.] (d. 772/1371), more renowned as a satirist, left a small but exquisite collection of lyrics. He shows a preference for short poems usually of seven lines, a trait also observable with Kamāl-i Khudjandi [q.v.] (d. probably 803/1400-1). The *ghazals* of Kh<sup>w</sup>ādju-i Kirmāni [q.v.] (d. 753/1352 or 762/1361) and Salmān-i Sāwādji are of particular importance on account of the influence they exerted on Ḥāfiẓ, as has been acknowledged by the poet himself.

In the early 9th/15th century, the unambiguously mystical *ghazal* is cultivated again by Muḥanimad Shirin Maghrībi [q.v.] (d. 809/1406-7). By this time the poetical symbolism of the genre had been reduced to a system of fixed emblems denoting elements of the pantheistic philosophy of Ibn al-'Arabi [q.v.], which had become predominant in Persian mystical thought. They lend themselves quite easily to a more or less mechanical interpretation, as often applied in commentaries or other essays on the allegorical language of Ṣūfī poetry. Of a quite similar nature is the poetry of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh [q.v.] of Kirmān (d. 834/1431), the founder of one of the most important Ṣūfī orders of Iran, and of Shāh Kāsim al-Anwār [q.v.] (d. 837/1433-4), who also wrote some poetry in Turkish and in the Gilaki dialect.

The first sign of a revival of Persian letters in Khurāsān was the literary activity at the local courts that asserted themselves during the interval between the decline of the Ilkhānid empire and the rise of Timūr: the Shīfite Sarbadārs of Sabzawār and the Kurts of Harāt. This short period produced a notable poet in Ibn-i Yanin [q.v.] (d. 769/1368), who together with Anwari, is reckoned among the best writers of the fragmentary poem (*hi'ā*). The old traditions of courtly poetry were more completely restored in the times of the Timūrids of the 9th/15th century. The wide range of cultural activities being cultivated in this period, as well as the active interest shown by several princes of the Timūrid house, are very reminiscent of the European renaissance. As far as literature is concerned, the flowering of all the visual arts connected with the production of manuscripts (calligraphy, miniature-painting, bookbinding) and philological projects such as the redaction of the *Shāhnāma*, usually attributed to the prince Bāysonghor [q.v.], should be mentioned in this connection. The main trait of literature itself is its classicist attitude. The Timūrid writers apply themselves to an ever more refined use of the transmitted forms and genres without adding much new to it. Some amount of novelty may, however, be granted to a genre of a rather bizarre kind introduced by Būshāk [q.v.] (first half of the 9th/15th century) of Shirāz, who wrote a number of literary parodies on famous poets using culinary themes in his *Diwān-i Afīma*. On the same lines Kāri of Yazd (prob. 2nd. half of the 9th/15th century) composed a series of parodies based on terms current in the craft of the tailor (*Diwān-i Albīsa*). Other rhetorical devices like the enigma (*mu'ammā*) and topical verses such as the chronogram (*ta'rīkh*) enjoyed a great popularity.

The most splendid centre of Timūrid culture was Harāt during the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn [q.v.] Baykara (873/1469-911/1506). Two great personalities dominated the literary scene of this court. 'Alī-Shir Nawā'ī [q.v.] (d. 906/1501), counsellor of the sultan and himself a patron of literature, wrote some

Persian poetry under the pen-name Fāni but his main significance lies in the many works he composed in the eastern-Turkish literary language, known as Çağhatay. In addition to a great number of non-artistic writings, they comprehended the complete range of literary forms current in Persian poetry. In this way Nawā'ī created a series of classical models for the Turkish literature of subsequent ages, both in Central Asia and in the Ottoman empire [see further TURKSLITERATURE]. Closely associated with Nawā'ī was the Persian poet and Ṣūfī shaykh Djāmi [q.v.] (d. 898/1492), whose productivity and versatility were even greater than those of his patron. He has often been called the last classical poet of Persian literature, a qualification based on the presumption that with the rise of the Ṣafawids a period of decadence began, lasting for nearly three centuries. But it is true that the works of Djāmi can be regarded as a vast summary of the entire mediaeval literature of Iran, comprising both its courtly and its mystical traditions. His lyrical work has been collected in three volumes, the first containing the poetry of his youth (*Fāḥiḥat al-Shabāb*), the second that of his middle age (*Wāsiḥat al-'Ikā*) and the third the production of his later days (*Khātīmat al-Ḥayāt*). With this arrangement he imitated the Indian poet Amīr Khusrāw [q.v.] (d. 725/1325) who, together with Sa'di and Kamāl-i Khudjandi, also provided models for his *ghazals*. Other *ghazal*-poets of the Timūrid period worthy of note are Kātibi [q.v.] of Turshiz (d. 838/1434-5) and Amīr Shāhi of Sabzawār (d. 857/1453).

In the *mathnawi*-literature of the post-Mongol period, the five poems of Niẓāmi, joined by a later tradition into an artificial unity known as the *Khamsa* [q.v.], had become a conventional model that constituted an irresistible challenge to numerous poets both in Persian and in Turkish literature. The first of the long line of imitators was Amīr Khusrāw. He kept himself strictly to the scheme of Niẓāmi, reproducing most of its structural features, but showed his originality by laying special emphasis on certain elements of the stories or by choosing new subsidiary tales in *Haft Bihisht*, his imitation of *Haft Paykar*. The *Khamsa* of Kh<sup>w</sup>ādju Kirmāni deviates much farther from the original pattern. It comprises two romantic epics with new stories (*Humāy u Humāyūn*, *Nawrūz u Gul*) as well as three didactical poems of a mystical and ethical nature. Djāmi enlarged the scheme to seven poems in his *Haft Awwang*. The most celebrated of these is his version of *Yūsuf u Zalikhā* in which the Qur'ānic story has been elaborated into an extensive allegory. Another of his new subjects is the philosophical novel *Salāmān u Absāl*. Many poets readapted only single poems of the Niẓānian canon. The *Laylā u Madjnūn* of Maktabi of Shirāz, written in 895/1489-90, one of the most successful instances among the works of this kind. (A full list of the known imitators of the *Khamsa* has been compiled by H. Ethé, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 245-8; see also the following works on the tradition of the individual poems, usually dealing with the Turkish versions as well: (1) on *Makhzan al-Asrār*—E. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannie Trudī. Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 204-14. (2) on *Laylā u Madjnūn*—H. Araslı, *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Belleten* 1958, 17-39; A.-S. Levend, *Arap, Fars ve Türk Edebiyatlarında Leylā ve Mecnun hikāyesi*, Ankara 1959; E. E. Bertel's, *op. cit.*, 275-313. (3) on *Khusrāw u Shirin*—H. W. Duda, *Ferhad und Shirin. Die literarische Geschichte eines persischen Sagenstoffes*, Prague 1933; G. Y. Aliyev, *Legenda o Khosrove i Shirin v literaturakh narodov Vostoka*, Moscow 1960. (4) on *Haft*

*Paykar*—Hikmet T. Ilaydın, *Behram-i Gúr men-kabeleri, Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v (1935) 275-90. (5) On *Iskandarnama*—E. E. Bertel's *Roman ob Alek-dandre i ego glavnie versii na Vostoke*, Moscow-Leningrad 1949, reprinted in *Isbrannle Trudl. Navoi i Džami*, Moscow 1965, 283-413).

In spite of the overwhelming influence of these models, new ways were also sought for the further development of epic literature in the *mathnawī* form. Amīr *Khusraw* introduced items taken from contemporary history, either romances or glorious events in the reigns of the sultans of Dihli. This example was followed by Salmān-i Sāwādī in his *Firāknāma*, whereas the *Dīamshid* u *Khwarshid* of the same author is in its outline related to *Khusraw* u *Shirin* of Nizāmi. An important new development was also the growing tendency to allegorize the courtly romance. In analogy to the semantic transformation that had been applied to the themes and images of the *ghazal*, the plots and characters of epic literature could equally be exploited for an allegorical representation of mystical ideas, such as the relationship of the mystic and his transcendental Beloved, or the purification of the human soul in the course of its journey through the cosmos. It is difficult to assess when and where the transformation of a particular narrative theme has actually taken place. The process affected old favourite tales of Persian literature like *Laylā* u *Madīnūn* and *Yūsuf* u *Zalīkhā*. But new protagonists acting according to more or less stereotyped plots were introduced as well. This allegorical fashion became particularly prominent during the Timūrid period, although a forerunner can already be found in 'Aṣṣār [q.v.] (d. 779/1377-8 or 784/1382-3), who attended the court of the Djalā'irid Sultan Uways. A very influential writer, at least as far as the history of Persian literature outside Iran is concerned, was Fattāhī [q.v.] (d. 852 or 853/1448-50), in whose main work, *Dastūr-i 'Ushshāḥ*, the protagonists are the abstract concepts Beauty (*Husn*) and Heart (*Dil*). 'Arīfī of Harāt (d. ca. 853/1449) construed his *Hāināma* or *Gūy* u *Čawgān* on symbols provided by the game of polo as well as on the equally conventional theme of the king and the beggar. To this last feature of his work refers the title of an imitation by Hilālī [q.v.] (d. 936/1529-30), *Shāh* u *Gadā*. The theme of the candle and the moth, another commonplace of mystical lyrics, was treated by Ahlī of Shīrāz (d. 942/1535-6) in his *Sham'* u *Parwānā*.

The history of the mystic *mathnawī* after the Mongol invasion opens with the *Mathnawī-i Ma'nawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the most impressive work of its kind. It is especially renowned for the riches of its narratives, the complicated style of its composition, consisting of an endless associative concatenation of primary and secondary tales, and for the kaleidoscopic structure of its ideological contents. The doctrinal background of this great work, by traditional commentators usually identified with the pantheism of Ibn al-'Arabī [q.v.], is far from being fully understood. The poet consciously attached himself to the tradition of Sanā'ī and 'Aṭṭār. Together these three poets had a very great impact on the subsequent generations of mystical poets and writers, but it is not possible to survey completely those compositions which develop one aspect or another of their works since only a few have been published. (See for the most complete survey: H. Ethé, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 298-301).

The earliest follower of Mawlawī's work was his son Sultān Walad who explained the meaning of his father's works in a series of *mathnawīs* giving at the same time invaluable information about his life.

Among these poems the *Waladnāma* is the most celebrated. In the '*Ushshāḥnāma* of 'Irāqī, characterized by the insertion of *ghazals*, the theme of mystical love is elaborated. The topic of the *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* is the visionary journey of the mystic through the cosmos. The authorship of this interesting work is uncertain. Old manuscripts attribute it either to the well-known Šūfī *shaykh*, Awhād al-Dīn Kirmānī, or to a certain Šhams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardsīrī Kirmānī (cf. the edition by Badi' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, Tehran 1349 sh.). A pupil of the former, Awhādī [q.v.] (d. 738/1337-8), wrote his once very popular *Djām-i Djām* as an imitation of Sanā'ī's *Hadiqa*. Its more ethical than mystical spirit is also reminiscent of another masterpiece of the didactic *mathnawī*, the *Būstān* of Sa'dī. Written almost simultaneously with Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, with all the brilliance and clarity of the style of Sa'dī, the *Būstān* certainly surpassed the latter's celebrity, but nowhere does it even approach Rūmī's depth of thought. Although some of its chapters deal with mystical topics, on the whole the work seems to be designed for little more than elegantly presented moral admonition. From the 8th/14th century three other writers of mystical *mathnawīs* are worthy of note: Ḥusaynī Sādāt [q.v.] (d. after 729/1328), 'Imād al-Dīn Faḥīh, a contemporary of Ḥāfīz, (d. 773/1371), and Maḥmūd-i Šhabistārī [q.v.] (d. about 720/1320-1). The last mentioned wrote *Gulshān-i Rāz*, which among other things contains an explanation of the symbolic language of Šūfī poetry.

An interesting personality, standing more or less aside from the trodden paths of Persian literature, is Nizāri [q.v.] (d. 720/1321). Being an Ismā'īlī, he incurred the condemnation of orthodox critics which the vehement sarcasm often displayed in his works did nothing to prevent. He wrote three *mathnawīs*: a love-story, *Azhar* u *Maḥzar*, a short but highly original parody on the customary didacticism, *Dastūr-nāma*, and a versified book of travel, *Safar-nāma*.

Among the prose-works produced in these centuries, again a work by Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, stands out as the most perfect example of classical Persian style for which it serves as a textbook up to the present day. It treats of much the same subjects as the *Būstān* but presents them in a more entertaining form. The anecdotes are told in a terse, rhythmic prose sometimes approaching the metrical patterns of poetry. The poet's moralising reflections upon the narratives are mostly put into the form of Persian or Arabic poetical fragments. Like so many other great works of Persian literature, it very soon became a model that was copied by a long row of imitators. One of these was Djalāmi, in whose *Bahāristān* even more room is given to poetry than in Sa'dī's work. The stylistic type of the *Gulistān* was the target of parody in some of the best works of 'Ubayd-i Zākānī, by far the greatest satirist Iran has ever produced (*Akh-lāḥ al-Ashraf*, *Rishnāma*); [see also HDP, ii].

The tendency towards an ever more prolix rhetorical embellishment of Persian prose came to its full strength in Mongol times and continued to dominate the style of prose-writing for several centuries to come. It gave most works on history, the sciences, ethics, religion and other scholarly subjects the appearance of artistic writings. The *Ta'rikh* of Waṣṣāf [q.v.] (d. 735/1334), the last of the great historians of the Ilkhāns, has become proverbial for this extremely florid style. Another work that set the pace in the use of a literary idiom inflated with Arabic words was the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, another

version of the *Kalīla wa Dimna* written by Ḥusayn Wā'iz-i Kāshifī [see KĀSHIFĪ] (d. 910/1504-5), a very prolific and versatile author attending the Timūrid court of Harāt.

d. *From the rise of the Ṣafawids to the late Kādjār period (beginning 10th/16th-end 13th/19th centuries).*

The establishment of the Ṣafawid state in Iran was not merely a political event. Through the introduction of Imāmi Shī'ism [see ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYYA] as the official religion of Iran, radically new conditions were created which were not very favourable to the flourishing of literature. Especially during the 10th/16th century neither the theocratic rulers nor the powerful Shī'ite clergy, which had acquired a great influence on official policy, were particularly interested in the traditional court literature. The cultivation of religious poetry was, on the other hand, greatly encouraged. The founder of the dynasty, Shāh Ismā'il [q.v.], was himself a writer of Turkish poems, in which he expressed ideas related to the doctrines of extreme Shī'ite sects. As soon as religious policy was firmly in the hand of the Imāmi 'ulamā', deviations of this kind were no longer possible. The themes of Ṣafawid religious poetry were mainly taken from the stories about the martyrdom of the imāms. Devotion to the 'Alid family is very often expressed in pre-Ṣafawid literature as well. It can even be found with authors whose Sunni persuasion is beyond doubt. At least from the Būyid period onwards, the Shī'ite communities in Iran had tried to win more support by sending around the bazaars popular reciters of poems on the "virtues" of 'Alī (*manāqibkhwānān*, *manāqibīyyān*) who made use of the works of Shī'ite poets like Kīwāmi of Rayy (6th/12th century). These texts were mainly *kaṣīdas* (cf. Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'rikh*, ii<sup>3</sup>, 192 ff.). A Shī'ite epic, modelled on the style of the *Shāhnāma*, was introduced by Muḥammad b. Ḥusām (d. 875/1470) with his *mathnawī*, *Khāwarān*-(or *Khāwar*)-*nāma* [see further ḤAMĀSA, ii]. Another work of the Timūrid period, the collection of tales about the holy martyrs, *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, written in artistic prose by Muḥammad Wā'iz-i Kāshifī [q.v.], was used as a textbook for the Muḥarram celebrations and even lent its name to the function of a reciter of religious poetry, the *rawḍakhwān*.

The most important Ṣafawid poet of this genre was Muḥtaṣam [q.v.] of Kāshān (d. 996/1587-8). He is especially famous on account of a *marthiya* on the holy martyrs known as the *haft-band*, i.e., a poem consisting of twelve seven-line stanzas. The *kaṣīda* was also used for this kind of elegy. *Mathnawīs* on the imāms were composed by Ḥayratī (d. 961/1553-4 or 970/1562-3) and by Fāriḡh of Gilān who wrote his work in 1000/1591-3 to celebrate the conquest of Gilān by Shāh 'Abbās I. There was, in fact, a subtle connexion between the praise of the 'Alid family and the glorification of the dynasty, as the Ṣafawids regarded themselves as descendants of the imāms. Shī'ite literature both in poetry and prose continued to be extremely popular till the present day. It has a solid base in religious sentiment as well as in the demand for liturgical texts to be used on various occasions.

The propagation of Shī'ite traditions and doctrines among the population of Iran could not be achieved by means of poetry alone. While the learned theological works continued to be written in Arabic, there was a growing need for works of a more popular kind in Persian on the different branches of religious science. A number of theologians set themselves this task. The comparatively simple style they used favourably contrasts with the verbosity still current in

the literary prose of this period. Notable among these writers were Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī or Shāykh-i Bahā'ī [see AL-'ĀMILĪ] (d. 1031/1622), who should also be mentioned on account of his Persian poetry, and Muḥammad Bākīr al-Maḍjīlī [q.v.] (d. 1111/1699-1700).

Šūfism as a form of religious life was declining in Ṣafawid times as a result of the enmity of the religious leaders, which sometimes took the form of actual persecution. As mysticism and poetry had become very closely connected during the preceding centuries, this could not but unfavourably affect literary production. Yet the mystical strain could never be deleted entirely from Persian poetry. It is particularly evident in the poetical works of the members of the flourishing school of philosophy founded by Mullā Ṣadrā of Shīrāz, e.g. Muḥsin-i Fayḍ of Kāshān (d. 1090/1679), Mir Abu 'l-Qāsim Fīndarīskī (d. ca. 1050/1640-1) and the teacher of Mullā Ṣadrā, Mir Muḥammad Bākīr-i Dāmād [see AL-DĀMĀD] (d. 1040/1630). The poet Saḥābī of Astarābād (d. 1010/1601-2), who spent most of his life at the holy shrine of Naḍjaf, expressed pantheistic mysticism in a *diwān* which consisted almost entirely of quatrains.

Secular poetry suffered not only from the changes in the intellectual atmosphere but also from political changes. The disappearance of local courts reduced the market for the professional poet to one dynastic centre. Apart from the successive residences of the Ṣafawids, only Shīrāz remained as an important literary centre. Yet there was a great deal of continuity with the preceding Timūrid period. Just like the painters of the school of Bihzād [q.v.], the poets travelled to the west as soon as the new power had established itself there. That the royal family was not completely averse to court poetry is shown by Sām Mirzā (d. 974/1566-7), a son of Shāh Ismā'il I, who described the history of poetry during the first half-century of Ṣafawid rule in his *tadhkīra*, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmi*. Even the court of Shāh Ismā'il had its eulogist in Umīdī (d. 935/1519). The genre of *shahrāshūb* poems on the young artisans of a particular city was revived by Lisānī (d. 940/1533-4). It became a great fashion both with the Persian poets of his time and with the contemporary Ottoman poets (e.g. Mediḥī [q.v.]). The historical connection between these two schools is still uncertain. Another favourite topic was short poems on a single dramatic incident, under the heading "*kaḍā u ḡadar*". Some scholars have interpreted these genres as indications of a growing tendency towards realism in poetry (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 296).

During the long reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930/1524-984/1576) courtly poetry gradually regained more ground. Waḥshī [q.v.] of Bāfk (d. 991/1583) excelled in the didactic and romantic *mathnawī* as well as in strophe poems. Even Muḥtaṣam did not shun panegyricism and Ḥayratī combined his religious art with satire.

To the most ambitious young talents, however, Iran did not offer sufficient opportunities for a literary career. Far better prospects offered themselves on the Indian subcontinent where the Mughal emperors resumed the splendid cultural traditions of their Timūrid ancestors. From the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards, an increasing number of Persian poets went to India and gave there a new impulse to the tradition of Indo-Persian letters. The most decisive literary development of the Ṣafawid period is connected with this migration of poets: the emergence of a new poetical style which in modern criticism has received the name *Sabk-i Hindī* [q.v.].

This Indian style, the main characteristics of which have been sketched above in the section on the periodization of Persian literature, distinguishes itself markedly from the earlier poetical styles. The causes of this greater amount of independence from the established literary canons have been sought in changes in the social conditions (A. Mirzoev) or in a relaxation of critical attention to the work of the poets especially in Safawid Iran (A. Bausani). Under the influence of the negative verdict given almost unanimously by neoclassicist literary critics since the 12th/18th century, the characteristics of this style have for a long time been regarded as symptoms of a general poetical decadence. The rich imagery and the often highly original use of metaphors in the poems influenced by the Indian style has only quite recently become more appreciated. There is still a great deal of uncertainty about the actual beginnings of this new stylistic trend. Traditionally, an important role as an initiator is assigned to Bābā Fighānī [q.v.] (d. 925/1519), a poet of the *ghazal* continuing the style of Hāfiz who attended the court of the Ak Koyunlu in Tabriz. It is certain, anyhow, that from the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards its characteristics can be detected almost everywhere in Persian poetry. The works of 'Urfi [q.v.] of Shīrāz (d. 999/1590-1), one of the earliest poets who went to India, and of his patron at the court of Akbar, Fayḍī [q.v.] (d. 1004/1595), although their renown was much greater in Indo-Persian and Turkish literature than in Iran, were very influential. Many of the prominent representatives of this style were Iranian by birth but made their literary careers at Indian courts (e.g. Nazīrī of Nīshāpūr (d. 1021/1612-3), Zuhūrī [q.v.] of Khudjand (d. 1024/1615), Tālib of Amul (d. 1036/1626-7), Abū Tālib Kalīm of Hamadān (d. 1061/1651)). The Safawid poets who remained in Iran, or returned there after a stay in India, applied the devices of the Indian style as well but generally with a great deal of moderation. By far the most talented among them was Sā'ib [q.v.] of Tabriz (d. 1088/1677-8). Other notable poets in Iran during the 11th/17th century were Zulālī [q.v.] (d. 1024/1615), who wrote the *Sab' sayyāra*, a set of seven didactic and romantic *mathnawīs*, Faṣīḥī-i Anṣārī of Harāt (d. 1046/1636-7), Djalāl-i Asīr (d. 1049/1639-40 or 1069/1658-9), who was famous as a "drunken" (*rind*) poet, and Nāzīm of Harāt (d. 1080/1670). Some independence from the current literary fashion was shown by Shīfā'ī (d. 1037/1628), the physician of Shāh 'Abbās I, who wrote satires as well as *mathnawīs* in the style of Sanā'ī and Khāḳānī.

The Safawid period did not produce any artistic prose work of great value. Mention might be made of *Latā'if al-tawā'if*, a collection of anecdotes about the various social classes by Safī [q.v.] (d. 939/1532-3), the son of Husayn-i Wā'iz-i Kāshīfī. A typical man of letters of this time was also Kāshīf-i Kumayt [q.v.]. Much more fertile in this respect was again Indo-Persian literature. Already in the 8th/14th century it had produced a major work in the *Tūfīnāma* of Diyā' al-Dīn Nakhshabī [q.v.] which was adapted in this period by Muḥammad Qādīrī. The interaction of Hinduism and Islam in the culture of the Mughal empire resulted in translations of the classical works of Sanskrit literature, *Mahābhārata* and *Ramāyana*, as well as in the religious writings of Dārā Shukōh [q.v.]. The poet Zuhūrī achieved fame with a series of short sketches written in a highly affected form of prose. The poor state of Iran during the first few decades of the 12th/18th century, the time of the Afghān invasion and the subsequent downfall of the Safawid

dynasty, is reflected in the *Tadhkirat al-ahwāl* or *Ta'rikh-i Hazīn*, a book of memoirs by Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn [q.v.] (d. 1180/1766-7). Under the rule of Nādir Shāh national pride was restored in Iran, which showed itself in a flowering of panegyricism on the great conqueror. The leading man of letters was Mahdī Khān [q.v.], secretary as well as historiographer to Nādir. He used the bombastic style of Waṣṣāf in his main work, *Durra-i Nādīrī*, but wrote his various other works in a much simpler fashion.

About the middle of the 12th/18th century a new school of poetry asserted itself in Isfahān and Shīrāz. The poets of this school, headed by Muḥtāk (d. 1171/1757-8) and Shu'la (d. 1160/1747), turned their backs on the Indian style and proclaimed a literary return (*bāzgašt-i adabī*) to the more harmonious standards of the earlier styles. They looked, for the models of their poems, to the *diwāns* of the great poets of the pre-Mongol period. The *kaṣīda* was restored to its former prominence as a poetical form. This movement very soon dominated the literary scene and its aesthetic ideals have governed traditional poetry in Iran up to the present day. (See further M. T. Bahār, *Bāzgašt-i adabī*, in *Armaghān*, xiii-xiv (1311-2 sh.), *passim*; idem, *Sabkshīnāsī*, iii, 318 f.; J. Rypka, *History*, 306-8).

To the first generation of neo-classicist poets belonged Muḥammad 'Ashīk (d. 1181/1767-8), Hātīf [q.v.] (d. 1198/1783), Shīhābī of Turshīz (d. 1215/1800-1) and Luṭf 'Alī Beg Ādhar (d. 1195/1780-1), the author of the *tadhkira Ātashkade*, a first-hand source on the *bāzgašt*-movement. After the founding of the Kādjar dynasty, Fath 'Alī Shāh (reigned 1212/1797-1250/1834) tried to revive the ancient traditions of the royal maecenate at his court in Tehran. The centre of the circle of poets gathered here, who all emulated the classics, was Šabā [q.v.] (d. 1238/1822-3). He was highly appreciated in his own days on account of his panegyric *kaṣīdas* and of his *mathnawī*, *Shāhanshāhnāma*, picturing the contemporary wars with Russia in the style of the old heroic epic. Worthy of note are also Šabāhī Bīdgūlī (d. 1218/1803), Šahāb (d. 1222/1807-8), Mīdīmār (d. 1225/1810) and Naṣhāt (d. 1244/1828-9). A peculiarity of this period was the formation of small literary societies (*andjūmans*) (see DJAM'YYA). In the next generation the cultivation of classicism reached its richest development in the work of Kā'ānī [q.v.] (d. 1270/1854), a virtuoso of the poetical language. He showed, however, his awareness of the reality of his time in satirical poems and in his prose-work, *Kitāb-i parišhān*. Kā'ānī was the first Persian poet who had some knowledge of European languages.

The tradition of the mystical *ghazal* was resumed by Furūghī [q.v.] (d. 1271/1857-8) of Bīstām, who also used the pen-name Miskīn. A remarkable personality was Yaḡmā [q.v.] (d. 1276/1859) of Djandak. He lived both as a *darwīsh* and as a panegyrist of the Kādjar court while he was at the same time a redoubted satirist. His independent frame of mind showed itself in the invention of a new type of religious elegy in a style related to popular songs, known as *nawha-i sīnazar*. An interesting trait of his use of the language is the puristic effort to replace Arabic words by Iranian equivalents. Several poets of this century founded literary dynasties as their sons continued to work on the same lines as their fathers. Besides Šabā and Yaḡmā, a famous instance of this is the family of Wiṣāl [q.v.] (d. 1262/1846), a learned poet living in Shīrāz.

During the last period of the unchallenged rule of classical poetry, the long reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh

(1848-96), the institution of the encomiast of the court was already declining. Only a few names are worthy of mention: the religious poet Surūsh (d. 1285/1868), Humā (d. 1290/1873-4), a poet of the *ghazal*, and the mystic Shaybāni [q.v.] (d. 1308/1890), in whose pessimistic lyrics an element of social criticism can be noticed. Minor poets, who distinguished themselves in other fields of literary activity or in public life, were the historian Muḥammad Taqī Siphir [q.v.] (d. 1297/1880) and Riḍā Kūli Khān [q.v.] (d. 1288/1871). The latter, who used Hidāyat as his poetical name, was the leading literator of his time. He wrote a number of authoritative works on political, literary and religious history as well as a lexicon. The *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣahā'*, the last great *tadhkira* of the old style, in which most of the materials on literary history contained in earlier works of this kind was compiled, became particularly famous.

e. *Modern literature (19th-20th centuries).*

The impact of western civilization, which began to affect life in Iran in the course of the 19th century, did not leave its solid literary tradition untouched. The ancient structure of Persian literature was attacked by the forces of change from several sides. Political developments put an end to the system of court poetry and caused a fundamental change in the attitude of the poet towards his art. The modern poet, whether he continued to work on traditional lines or not, could no longer make a living out of poetry. He had become, in a certain sense, an amateur who composed his poems on his own account. This led, on the one hand, to a much greater involvement of literature in the political and social vicissitudes of the nation, on the other, to a more individual form of poetical expression, the models of which were provided by European literature. New concepts like nationalism, democracy and social justice demanded the attention of the modern intellectual. The earliest poets of the modern period who, during the struggle for the Iranian constitution [see IRAN, HISTORY], had to express these ideas with some urgency, could only make use of the classical forms of poetry, which proved to possess a remarkable adaptability. Eventually, however, the formal system could not remain unchallenged. Especially in poetry a long battle was waged on the question whether it was permissible to evolve a new type of poetry (*shī'r-i naw*) through experiments with prosody, or even to use entirely free verse (*shī'r-i āzād*), or not. In this struggle the classical style of poetry was shown to have deep roots in Iranian culture. Perhaps the most important formal innovation was the emergence of a genuine prose literature based on the forms of the novel and the short story, which were borrowed from modern European literature.

While the actual birth of the modern literature of Iran took place during the turbulent years between 1890 and the beginning of the First World War, the process leading up to fundamental changes started early in the Kādjār period. Simultaneously with the classicist renaissance at the court of Fath 'Alī Shāh, a much more progressive attitude could be observed in the entourage of 'Abbās Mirzā [q.v.], the heir-apparent and governor of Āḥarabāyājān. Confronted with the necessity of military reform on account of successive defeats in the wars with Russia, several measures were taken which proved to be of great consequence to the future course of cultural life in Iran. For the first time students were sent to Russia and Western Europe. One of their tasks was to study typographical techniques. A printing-press was founded in Tabriz in 1816-7. Very soon typography (*lāpī-*

*surbi*) was replaced by lithography (*lāp-i sangī*), which remained the principal form of printing during most of the 19th century. In 1834 the first Iranian newspaper was published in Tehran, the *Rūznāma-i akhbār-i wakāyi'* which had only a limited circulation. A more direct influence on literature was exerted by the efforts to simplify the style of official correspondence, a good example of which was given by Abu 'l-Kāsim Farahāni (1799-1835), better known by his title Kā'im-makām [q.v.], i.e., deputy-minister of 'Abbās Mirzā.

A second episode of cultural modernization was the short term of office of Mirzā Taqī Khān [q.v.], also known as Amir-i Kabir or Amir-i Nizām, as prime-minister of the young Nāsir al-Din Shāh. It ended abruptly with the execution of the Amir-i Kabir in 1852. The publishing of a newspaper was resumed in 1851 (*Rūznāma-i wakāyi'-i illiḥkiyya*, in 1860 renamed *Rūznāma-i dawlat-i 'aliyya-i Irān*). In the following decades the number of periodicals rapidly increased. Although they were all more or less mouthpieces of the government, they helped to spread new ideas through the information they provided about the world outside Iran. During the last few decades of the century political emigrants spread pan-Islamic or liberal ideas in a number of papers published in Istanbul, Cairo, Calcutta and London. [See *DJARDNA*, ii, with further references].

Another initiative of the Amir-i Kabir was the founding of a polytechnic school (Dār al-Funūn) in Tehran (1852), which provided a modern education in technical and natural sciences with some attention to the humanities as well. The staff of the school, directed by Riḍā Kūli Khān, consisted mostly of European teachers. The Dār al-Funūn formed the beginning of modern academic education in Iran [see *DJĀMI'Ā*]. An immediate effect was an increased demand for the translation of books from European languages, among which French was by far the best known in Iran. The list of the earliest translations contains, besides textbooks and scientific works, also *belles lettres*, e.g. works by Al. Dumas, Daniel Defoe and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (cf. E. G. Browne, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 154-66). Many translations are attributed to Muḥammad Hasan Khān [q.v.] (d. 1896) who successively used the titles Šanī' al-Dawla and I'timād al-Saltana, but they were chiefly made by a corps of translators working under his direction in the government's printing office (Dār al-Tibā'ā) and the bureau of translators (Dār al-Tarḍjama).

Among the preliminaries to the modern period mention should also be made of the religious movement of the Bāb [q.v.], which manifested itself for the first time in 1844. From the very beginning the Bābis displayed a great literary activity, encompassing theological and historical writings as well as poetry. The most celebrated figure is the female poet and martyr of the Bābi cause, Kurrat al-'Ayn [q.v.] (d. 1851). (See further E. G. Browne, iv, 198-220; idem, *Materials for the study of the Bābi Religion*, Cambridge 1918, 341-58).

The heralds of modern "committed" poetry were Muḥammad Bākīr Bawānāti (d. 1891-2), who as early as 1882 published a *ḥaṣīda* attacking the imperialist policies of Britain and Russia, and Akā Khān Kirmāni (d. 1896), a prominent political exile in Istanbul and a follower of *Djāmāl al-Dīn al-Afghāni* [q.v.]. The latter contrasted the decadence of Iran in the late Kādjār period with its ancient splendour in his historical *mathnawī*, *Sālār-nāma* or *Nāma-i bāstān*. An interesting feature of this work was the attack launched

on classical literature (with the single exception of Firdawsi whose *Shāhnāma* stood as a model for the poem), which was considered as a principal source of degeneration in the Islamic history of Iran. The political movement against the despotism and misrule of the Kādījārs and the foreign forces that supported it brought quite different groups of the population together. Several eminent erudites of the old cultural tradition contributed to the creation of a patriotic poetry: e.g. Sayyid Ahmad Adib-i Pishāwari (ca. 1845-1930), 'Abd al-Djawād Adib-i Nishāpūri (1864-5—1926), and especially Mirzā Šādiq Khān, better known by his pen-name Amīrī or his honorific Adib al-Mamālik (1860-1917), who abandoned a successful career as a court-poet in 1898 to become a journalist. In the first decade of the 20th century the proliferating press became the chief medium for the publication of poetry. One of the best periodicals was the *Nasīm al-Shimāl* edited in Rasht by Ashraf-i Gilāni (1871-about 1930), a writer of satirical poems (*fukā-hiyyāl*) criticizing in particular the conservative Šhi'ite 'ulamā' in a simple language full of colloquial expressions. 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā (about 1880-1956) published his poems under the name Dakḥaw in the *Šūr-i Isrāfil*. Besides his great merits in other fields of literature and scholarship, he was the first to try some formal experiments. Muḥammad Taqī Bahār [q.v.] (1886-1951), a master of the classical forms who already in his early years had earned the title *malik al-šhu'arā'* as a panegyrist, put his great talents entirely at the service of the constitutional movement, successfully applying the old forms to the expression of new contents. Throughout the first half of this century Bahār was the leading modern poet of Iran. Forms of popular poetry like the folk-song (*surūd*) and the ballad (*tašnif*), usually recited to the accompaniment of music, became favourites with the political poets. A famous composer, as well as an impressive performer of *tašnifs*, was Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Ārif of Qazwin (about 1880-1934).

The core of the new nationalist ideology was Iranism, i.e., the glorification of the pre-Islamic past of Iran, of which the Iranian intelligentsia had become conscious mainly through the results of western philological, historical and archaeological research. Zoroastrianism very often appeared as the enlightened counterpart of the obscurantism that was felt to be fostered by traditional Islam. Those works of the classical literature that seemed to express a similar feeling of nostalgia for the glorious past, like the *Shāhnāma* and the *kašida* on the ruins of al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon) by Khākānī, enjoyed a great popularity. The foremost philo-Iranian poet was Ibrāhīm Pūr-i Dāwūd (1886-1968), who later in his life became a distinguished student and translator of the *Avesta*.

To Abu 'l-Kāsim Lāhūti (1887-8—1957) a revolutionary change of social conditions was the main goal of the political struggle in which he took a most active part until he was forced to flee to the Soviet Union in 1922. There he wrote the long poem (*man-zūma*), *Kirimi*, as a tribute to communism. Afterwards, he became the leading poet of the Soviet Republic of Tādjikistān [q.v.]. Farrukhī Yazdī (1889-1939) continued to fight for his socialist ideals in Iran. His best poetry is to be found among his *ghazals*, written in a conventional style in spite of their quite modern contents.

Although his short life was filled with radical political action, Muḥammad Riḍā 'Ishki [q.v.] (1894-5—1924) is more significant in the history of literature on account of his formal and thematical innovations. He has been styled the first romantic

poet of Iran, because of the strong influence of French romantic and symbolist poetry on his work. This is particularly noticeable in his greater poems, *Kafan-i siyāh*, *Ideāl* and *Rastākḥiz*. His experiments with prosody were chiefly concerned with the strophe-poem (*musammal*). Many other poets endeavoured to extend the possibilities of the 'arūd system, but, until the period after the Second World War, few dared to follow the example of a complete rupture from traditional forms given by Muḥammad Isfandi-yārī, better known as Nimā Yūshidj [q.v.] (1897-1960). His *Afsāna* (1921) marks the beginning of his efforts to create a type of free verse that was no longer bound by the old rules of metre and rhyme but was based directly on the rhythm and music of the language.

During the period between the wars contemporary politics almost completely disappeared as a theme of literature. All the same, many poets displayed a concern with individual social problems, most prominent among which was the position of women in Iranian society. This was the main topic of Tradj Mirzā (1874-5—1925), a prince of the Kādījār house, whose simple yet graceful style made him one of the most beloved poets of modern times. The talented female poet Parwin-i I'tišāmī (1906-7 or 1910-1941) showed a deep concern with the miseries of the poor. Satirical verse was still very popular but had to respect the bounds set by official censorship. Especially renowned for their satirical poems were Kulzum (b. 1891), Rūhāni (b. 1896) and Muḥammad 'Alī Nāsih (b. 1898).

The mainstream of Persian poetry still consisted of the poets who applied in varying degrees modern elements in their works but remained essentially faithful to tradition. A point of focus of literary life was the *andjuman-i adabi-i Irān* founded by Waḥid-i Dastgardi (1880-1942), who, since 1919, edited the authoritative literary periodical of this period, *Armaḡhān* (cf. F. Machalski, *Vahid Dastgardi and his "Armaḡhān"*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iv (1963), 81-103). M. T. Bahār established a circle of poets of his own as well as the journal *Naw-Bahār* (1921-51). *Wafā* (1923-5) was edited by the popular poet Nizām-i Wafā (b. 1887-8). The progressive writers expressed themselves in *Āyanda* (1925-40). The most brilliant poet among the many who first appeared on the literary stage between 1920 and 1940 was Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shahrivār (b. 1906-7). In his *ghazals* inspired by Ḥāfiẓ he displays a remarkable ability to blend the old poetical idiom with a modern sentiment.

From 1941 till about 1950 there was a great increase in political and literary activities. In 1946 the first congress of Iranian writers was held in Tehran (cf. *Nukhustin Kongre-i nawisandagān-i Irān*, Tehran 1325 sh.). Several new periodicals were started, e.g. *Sukhan* (1943), the organ of the progressive poets and prose writers, edited by Parwiz Nātil Khānlari (b. 1913), and *Yaghmā* (1948), edited by the poet Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'i (b. 1901). Among the scholarly journals which pay much attention to the study of literature mention should be made of *Yādgar* (1944-9), *Farhang-i Irān-zamin* (since 1953), and of the periodicals of the Faculties of Arts of the Iranian universities e.g. *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyāt*, Tehran (since 1953), *Nashriyya-i Dānishkada-i adabiyāt-i Tabriz* (since 1948), *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyāt*, Isfahān (since 1964), and *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyāt*, Mashhad (since 1965).

The most conspicuous feature of the poetry of the post-war period is the acceptance by an expanding group of poets and literary critics of the ideas on free verse as they had been put forward by Nimā



Yūshīdī. The debate between modernists and the defenders of the classical tradition was resumed with great intensity in the literary journals. The leading advocates of a modernized prosody were Farīdūn Tawallūf, who published a manifesto as an introduction to his volume of verse *Rahā* (1951), P. N. Khānlārī and Nadīr-i Nādirpūr. They also belong to the most prominent poets of the new style. The criticism of the classicists is not only directed against deviations from the traditional forms but equally against the unusual metaphors applied by these poets. (See further on the latest developments of Persian poetry: V. B. Klyashchorina, *Sovremennaya persidskaya poeziya. Očerki*, Moscow 1962; B. Alawi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung*, 225-35; Fr. Machalski, *New Poetry in Iran*, in *New Orient*, iv (1965/4), 33-6; Mansour Shaki, *Modern Persian Poetry*, in *Yādname-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1907, 187-94; Dār-yūsh Shāhīn, *Rāhiyān-i shī'r-i imrūz*, *Djungi az nawsarāyān-i shī'r-i imrūz*, Tehran 1349 sh.<sup>5</sup>).

The tendency towards a simplification of the language and style of prose writing continued to become stronger throughout the 19th century. Whereas the Kā'im-makām still wrote in a style that was very close to the classical concept of literary elegance, the growing necessity to express new impressions and ideas demanded the creation of a much more direct way of writing and the use of a form of language that was understandable to a greater number of people. Abundant material for a study of the modernization of prose is to be found in the works of the translators and journalists of the second half of the century. But already before 1850 an example of a graceful sober new style had been given by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ṭasūḍīl in his translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*. A similar concern for directness of expression is displayed by several memoirs and books of travel written by prominent men of the Kādjār period. The most celebrated example of this was given by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [q.v.] in the books of travel he composed after each of his many journeys to Europe, to 'Irāk, and to the provinces of Iran.

The propagation of new ideas on political, social and scientific issues was the principal aim of many early writers of modern prose. A number of political essays was composed by Malkūm Khān [q.v.] (1833-1909), e.g. *Kitāb-e ghaybī* of 1859, a proposal for a radical reform of the public institutions of Iran addressed to the shah. He made great efforts to adapt Persian to its modern functions and even suggested a change of the writing system. The Ādharbāyḍjānīan writer 'Abd al-Rahīm Nāḍīdjārzāda, better known as Ṭālibof [q.v.] or Ṭālibzāda (ca. 1845-1910), devoted himself in particular to the vulgarization of modern science in an attractive literary form (e.g. the dialogue between a father and his son in *Kitāb-i Aḥmad*, the device of an imaginary journey in *Masālik al-Muḥsinīn*). Mīrzā Ākā Khān Kirmānī should also be named among these pioneers, especially on account of his *Ā'ina-i Iskhāndari*, a history of ancient Iran.

On the eve of the constitutional revolution two works were written that are usually regarded as the beginning of modern fiction in Iran. The picaresque novel of James Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, was adapted in Persian by Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī (d. 1897-8), a teacher of Persian living in exile in Istanbul (cf. H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian Prose*, 21 ff.). In spite of its pitiless criticism of traditional Persian life, the work became extremely popular in Iran. The second work is *Siyāhatnāma Ibrāhīm Beg*, an original novel by Zayn al-'Ābidīn Marāghā'ī [q.v.] (d. 1910). The first volume was com-

pleted in 1887 and published in 1888 at the press of the emigrant paper *Akhtar* in Istanbul (cf. the introduction to the reprint, Calcutta 1910, by Ākā Muḥammad Kāzīm-i Shīfrazī). It is a fictitious book of travel describing the deplorable state of Iran in late Kādjār times. The narrative structure is rather loose and dissolves in the two subsequent volumes (published in Calcutta, 1907 and 1909) into a string of instructive and moralistic excursions. In this respect, the author follows an ancient indigenous tradition of moralizing prose writings, the influence of which can be traced in many later Persian novels as well.

During the years of the revolution, political journalism became militant in Iran. The best specimens of this are the satirical sketches contributed to the journal *Sūr-i Isrāfīl* by Dihkhudā under the heading *Čarand-parand*. He frequently used colloquial words and expressions, by which he led the way for the *avant garde* writers of a later generation. An anonymous work of this period is *Ru'yā-i šādika*, written by a group of supporters of reform about 1900. It contains an attack on those in power in Iṣfahān clothed in the form of a vision of doomsday.

The first genre of fictional prose to become fully developed and achieve a great popularity was the historical novel. The earliest was *Shams u Tuḡhrā* of Muḥammad Bākīr Khusrāwī, the first part of a trilogy situated at the time of the Mongol rulers of Iran, published in 1909. It was followed in 1919 by *'Ishk u Saḥānat of Shaykh Mūsā Nathrī*, a novel about Cyrus the Great. The same period was treated by Ḥasan Badī' in *Dāstān-i bāstān* (1920-1). The ruin of the Sāsānids and the Arab conquest provided the background to *Dāmgustārān yā Intikām-ḥwāhān-i Mazdak*, which in 1921 opened a long series of novels by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ṣan'atizāda. The best writers of this genre took pains to base their works on historical research. Sometimes they even supplied notes with references to their sources. The choice of the subjects, taken either from pre-Islamic or Islamic history, was dictated by nationalistic sentiments. Occasionally, contemporary history provided the material, e.g. in *Dalīrān-i Tangistān* of Ḥusayn Ruknzāda Adamiyyat, which is situated in southern Iran during the First World War. Quite often, these works show the influence of European novels of the romantic period. (See further on the historical novel: E. E. Bertel's *Persidskiy istoričeskij roman XX veka*, in *Problemi literatury Vostoka, Trud Moskovo-kogo Instituta vostokovedeniya*, i (1932), 111-26; B. Nikitine, *Le roman historique dans la littérature persane moderne*, in *JA*, cciii (1933), 297-33; Fr. Machalski, *Historyczna powieść perska*, Krakow 1952 (in Polish with a French summary); H. Kamshad, *op. cit.*, 41-53).

From 1920 onwards the range of fictional prose became considerably wider. Many novelists began to pay attention to the social problems which were either caused or brought to the moral consciousness by the accelerated process of westernization. Themes like the inferior position of women in Iranian society, the disorientation and immorality of modern youth, prostitution and corruption were taken as subjects for a long series of novels most of which had very little artistic value. Among the best works of this kind is *Tīhrān-i makhūf* (1922) of Murtaḍā Muṣḥfīk Kāzīmī, giving a gloomy picture of modern life in the capital. Worthy of note are also *Man ham girya kardā-am* (1933) of Djahāngīr Djālīlī (1909-38) and *Tafriḥāt-i shāb* (1932) of Muḥammad Mas'ūd (d. 1947), whose pen-name was Dihātī. The latter was much criticized on account of his negativism. In

1942 he started to publish a series of autobiographical novels of great interest, beginning with *Gulhā-i kī dar dījahannam mirūyad*, which was left unfinished. The most popular writer of the period between the wars was Muḥammad Hīdījālī (b. 1899). His novel *Zībā* (1931) is distinguished by the clever description of a corrupt bureaucracy. He also published many short stories and essays with a strong element of didacticism. 'Alī Daštī opened his career as a writer with *Ayyām-i mahbas* (1921), a collection of sketches and essays written in prison, which was later on enlarged with recollections of his life as a politician during the reign of Rezā Shāh Pahlavī. In recent years Daštī has become a successful novelist as well as an important critic of the classical poets (e.g. *Naḫštī az Hāfiz*, 1957).

The most significant contemporary writers have shown a distinct preference for the short story and the novelette. These forms were developed to a much higher level of artistic perfection than the longer novel. An event of major importance in the history of modern Persian prose was the appearance in 1921 of *Yakī būd yakī nabūd*, a volume of satirical stories by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Djamālzāda (b. 1891-2). It was the first completely successful attempt to apply the narrative technique of European literature. The first edition was accompanied by a manifesto advocating the right of existence of a realistic literature, the value of which as a means of public education is particularly stressed. In order to be able to reach the broad masses of the people, the literary language should not only be simplified but also made more democratic by the assimilation of elements from living speech which were not regarded as correct forms according to the prevailing standards of literary culture. In spite of the fact that he has lived in Europe during most of his life, Djamālzāda never lost his interest in the exploration of the resources of colloquial Persian, which eventually resulted in the compilation of a special dictionary of colloquial words (*Farhang-i lughāt-i 'ammiyāna*, edited by M. Dī. Mahdījūb, Tehran 1341 sh.). His later novels and short stories were not published before 1941. The autobiographical work *Sār u tah-i yak karbās* (1956) is of popular interest.

The principles laid down by Djamālzāda were applied with great talent by Šādiq Hīdāyat [q.v.] (1903-51) in his early stories collected in the volumes *Zīnda bi-gūr* (1930), *Sī kaṭra khūn* (1932) and *Sāya-rawshan* (1933), as well as in the novelette '*Alawiyya Khānum* (1933). This can be observed especially in the stories which portray the life of the middle and lower classes of Iranian society. The most celebrated aspect of his work is the analysis of mental suffering for which Hīdāyat made use of the literary technique of surrealism. The novelette *Būf-i kūr* (1937) received international attention when a French translation was published in 1953. The short novel *Hādīdī Aḫā*, which was published in 1945, is his best satirical work.

To the same school of writers belongs Buzurg 'Alawī (b. 1907). He is, however, much more involved in politics than the preceding authors. The collection *Āmadān* (1934) earned him an early recognition as an important writer. His *Āshmhāyash* (1952) is one of the best modern Persian novels. Among the writers who made their debut after the Second World War the outstanding writer of the short story is Šādiq Čubak (b. 1916) whose first collection *Khayma shab-bāzi* was published in 1945. His latest works are the novels *Tangstīr* (1963) and *Sang-i šabūr* (1966). Other notable writers of the last few decades are

Muḥammad I'timāzāda (Bihādīn), who is especially known on account of his novel *Dukhtar-i ra'iyat* (1951), Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad (1923-69) and Taqī Mudarrīsī. The extensive novel *Shawhar-i Ahū Khānum* (1961) of 'Alī-Muḥammad Afghānt (b. 1925) was received with great enthusiasm both by the public and the critics in spite of its technical defects. (See on the latest development of modern prose: B. Alawī, in *Yādnāma-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1967, 167-72; M. Zavarzadeh, in *MW*, lviii (1968), 308-16).

Drama (*numāyish*) has never been a part of the classical tradition but has existed on the level of folk literature for a long time in many different forms (cf. J. Cejpek, *Dramatic Folk-literature in Iran*, in J. Rypka et al., *History*, 682-93). Much attention has been given to the Iranian passion plays (*ta'ziya* [q.v.]), the development of which culminated in the Kādjār period. Modern playwrighting in Iran is entirely derived from European literature. The oldest specimens are translations of some of the most famous comedies of Molière. Of greater importance were the modern comedies of Ākhundzāda [q.v.], written in Azeri Turkish and adequately translated into Persian by Muḥammad Dī'afar Karācādāghī. They were published for the first time in 1874 (reprinted Tehran 1349 sh.). The plays of Ākhundzāda inspired the first original dramatic works: a series of comedies said to have been written by Malkum Khān [q.v.], although his authorship of at least some of these has been denied recently (cf. *Central Asian Review*, xv (1967), 21-6). Interesting features of these early comedies are the element of social criticism they contain and the use of colloquial expressions in the dialogues. From the First World War onwards play writing became a great fashion in Iran. From the vast production of plays only the historical dramas *Parwīn dukhtar-i Sāsān* (1930) and *Māziyār* (1933) of Šādiq Hīdāyat are named here because of their importance for the history of literature [See further MASRAHIYYA].

*Bibliography*: in addition to the references in the text, only works of a general character can be mentioned here. For monographs, editions of texts and translations see especially the bibliographies in H. Ethé's contribution to *Gr.I.Ph.*, *passim* and, for works published after 1900, in J. Rypka, *History*, 757-808. The articles in Iranian periodicals have been recorded in *Irādī Afshār*, *Fihrist-i maḥālāt-i Fārsī*, i: 1328 k.—1338 sh., Tehran 1340 sh., ii: 1339-1345 sh., Tehran 1348 sh. For books published in Iran see *Khān-Bānā Mushār*, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i tāpī-i Fārsī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1337-42 sh., supplemented by Karāmat Ra'nā Husaynī, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i tāpī-i Fārsī*. *Dhayl-i Fihrist-i Mushār*, Tehran 1349, sh.; cf. also I. Afshār and H. Banī-Ādam, *Kitāb-shināsi-i dahsāla-i (1333-1342) kitābhā-i Irān*, Tehran 1346 sh. The current production of books can be followed in the periodical *Rāhnumā-i kitāb* (since 1337 sh.), as well as in the annual surveys *Kitābhā-i Irān*, edited by I. Afshār, and *Kitābshināsi-i millī-i intishārāt-i Irān*, a publication of the Wizārat-farhang wa hunar.—As no comprehensive bio-bibliographical survey of the classical literature exists, reference to the catalogues of Persian manuscripts is still indispensable. A bibliography of catalogues has been compiled by I. Afshār in *Kitābshināsi-i fihristihā-i nushkhāhā-i khaṭṭī-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1337 sh., which has been supplemented by O. F. Akimushkin and Yu. E. Borshchevskiy in *Narodī Azii i Afriki*, 1963/3, 169-74 and *ibid.*, 1963/6,

228-41. Several important new catalogues have been published during the last decade; a) in Iran: M. T. Dānīsh-pazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭi-i kitābkhāna-i Dānīshkāda-i adabiyāt, Tihrān*, Tehran 1339 sh.; idem and 'Alī-Naḳlī Munzawī, *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-i Sipāhsālār*, iii-iv, Tehran 1340-6 sh.; Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Anwār, *Fihrist-i nusakh-i khaṭṭi-i kitābkhāna-i millī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1342-7 sh.; the cataloguing of the Kitābkhāna-i markazī-i Dānīshgāh-i Tihrān, the Kitābkhāna-i Maḍjilis-i Shūrā-i millī and the Kitābkhāna-i Astān-i quds-i Raḍawī, Mashhad, has been carried on by several scholars. A systematically arranged synopsis of Persian manuscripts is being supplied by 'Alī-Naḳlī Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭi-i Fārsī*, i-ii, Tehran 1348-9 sh. b) in other countries: A. M. Mirzoev and A. M. Boldřev, *Katalog vostočnikh rukopisey AN Tadžikskoy SSR*, 2 vols., Stalinabad/Dushanbe 1960-8; F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı sarayı müzesi kütüphanesi, Farsça yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961; H. W. Duda, *Die persische Dichterhandschriften der Sammlung Es'ad Ef. zu Istanbul*, in *Isl.*, (1964), 38-70; S. de Beauceceuil, *Manuscripts d'Afghanistan*, Cairo 1964; N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, et. al., *Persidskie i tadžikskie rukopisi Instituta Narodiv Azii AN SSSR, Kratkiy alfabetniy katalog*, Moscow 1964; A. Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde Farsça manzum eserler*. I: *Universite ve Nuruosmaniye kütüphaneleri*, Istanbul 1968; G. M. Meredith Owens, *Handlist of Persian manuscripts*, 1895-1966, The British Museum, London 1968; W. Heinz and W. Eilers, *Persische Handschriften (Verzeichnis der orient. Handschr. in Deutschland, xiv/1)*, Wiesbaden 1968.—The traditional works of literary history, the *tadhkiras*, have been recorded by Storey, i/2, 781-923 and A. Gulčīn-i Ma'ānī, *Ta'riḫ-i tadhkirahā-i Fārsī*, i, Tehran 1348 sh.—The most important modern surveys are: J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, Vienna 1818; Sir Gore Ouseley, *Biographical notices of Persian poets*, London 1846; H. Ethé, *Die höfische und romantische Poesie der Perser*, Hamburg 1877; idem, *Die mystische, didaktische und lyrische Poesie der Perser und das spätere Schrifttum der Perser*, Hamburg 1887; idem, *Neupersische Literatur*, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 212-68; I. Pizzi, *Storia della poesia persiana*, 2 vols., Turin 1894; P. Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1901, 1909<sup>2</sup>, enlarged Persian translation by Riḍāzāda Shafak, Tehran 1349 sh.<sup>2</sup>; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, i: *From the earliest times until Firdawsi*, London 1902, Persian translation by 'Alī-Pāshā Šālih, Tehran 1334 sh.; ii: *From Firdawsi to Sa'dī*, London 1906, Persian translation by Faṭh Allāh Muḍjābā'ī, Tehran 1341 sh.; iii: *The Tartar dominion (1265-1501)*, Cambridge 1922, Persian translation by 'A. A. Hikmat, Tehran 1327 sh.; iv: *Modern times (1500-1924)*, Persian translation by Sayf-pūr Fātimī, Iṣfahān 1310 sh. and R. Yāsīmī, Tehran 1329 sh.<sup>2</sup>; Šhiblī Nu'mānī, *Šhi'r al-Adjām*, i-iv, 'Allgafh 1906-12, v (unfinished), A'zamgafh 1919 (in Urdu), Persian translation by M. T. Fakhr-i Dā'ī Gilānī, Tehran 1316-8 sh.; A. Krlmskiy, *Istoriya Persii, ego literatur i dervisheskoy teosofii*, 3 vols., Moscow 1909-17; E. E. Bertel's, *Očerki istorii persidskoy literatur*, Leningrad 1928; Djalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, *Ta'riḫ-i adabiyāt-i Irān*, 2 vols., Tabriz 1348/1929-30, Tehran 1342 sh.<sup>2</sup>; Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Sukhan wa Sukhanwarān*, 2 vols., Tehran

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On the literature of Persian Jews see JUDAEO-PERSIAN LITERATURE.

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viii.—ART AND ARCHITECTURE, [see Supplement].

**IRĀNĪ** [see Mughals].

**IRATEN** (Ayt > Aḥ Yiratān; Ar. Banū Ratān), a Berber tribal group of Great Kabylia, whose territory is bounded on the north by the Sebaw, in the west by the Wādī Aīssi (Wādī 'Aysi), which separates them from the Ayt Yenni, in the south by the Ayt Yahyā and in the east by the Ayt Frawsen. It is a hilly country from 3000 to 3500 feet in height, producing olives and figs and some cereals. The

inhabitants are settled in several villages, of which the most important are Adni, Tawrirt Ameḡḡkran, Usammer and Agemmun. The Iraten numbered some ten thousand, belonging to the *commune mixte* of Forth-National.

We know little about the history of the Iraten. Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbers*, tr. de Slane, i, 256) mentions them as inhabitants of "the mountain between Biḡjāya [Bougie] and Tedellys [Dellys]". They were nominally under the governor of Bougie and were on the list of tribes liable to *kharādī*, while being in fact independent. At the time when the Marīnid al-Ḥasan undertook his campaign in Ifrīḡiya, they were subject to a woman called Šhamsī, of the family of the 'Abd al-Šamad, from whom their chiefs came.

Throughout the Turkish period, the Iraten maintained their independence, secure behind their mountains. They formed one of the most powerful federations in Kabylia, which comprised five 'arsh: Ayt Irḡjen, Akerma, Usammer, Awggasha and Umalu, and could put in the field a force of 2800 men. They kept their independence until in 1854 the French, under Marshal Randon, for the first time penetrated into the Kabylia mountains. To prevent an invasion of their territory the Iraten agreed to give hostages and to pay tribute. Nevertheless, their land remained a hotbed of intrigues against French rule, so that Randon in 1857 decided to subdue them completely. The French troops, leaving Tizi-Ouzou on 24 May, conquered all the Kabyl villages in succession and on 29 May defeated the army of the Iraten and their allies on the plateau of Sūk al-Arb'ā. To keep them in check Randon at once began to build Fort-Napoléon (later Fort-National) in the heart of their country and thus placed "a thorn in the eye of Kabylia". The Iraten were then quiet for 14 years, but in 1871 they again took to arms and participated in the siege of Fort-National, which however the rebels did not succeed in capturing. (For subsequent events, see ALGERIA).

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**IRBID**, the name of two places:

I: (Irbid/Arbad), the centre of the *kaḏā'* of 'Adjlūn [q.v.] in Transjordan (32° 33' N., 35° E.). According to al-Ṭabarī, the Umayyad caliph Yazīd II died at Irbid which, the chronicler states, at that time formed part of the region of the Balḡā' [q.v.].