

The *Tajaribu's-Salaf*, a Persian version of the Arabic *Kitabu'l-Fakhri*, composed by Hindushah ibn Sanjar as-Sahibi al-Kirani in 723/1323

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THAT so attractive and useful a historical manual as the *Kitabu'l-Fakhri* should be represented, so far as is known, by only one complete manuscript,¹ on which all the printed editions are based, is a fact so remarkable that Ahlwardt, who first edited the text in 1860, has thought it necessary to suggest an explanation.² Good as this manuscript appears to be, it presents several lacunæ, and in particular some uncertainty prevails as to the name of the author and the proper title of the work. On these questions the Persian manuscript which forms the subject of this notice throws a certain amount of light.

The manuscript in question (now marked **G. 3**) was one of forty-seven which I bought from the late Hájji 'Abdu'l-Majíd Belshah in January, 1920. It is written throughout in a small, clear, modern *naskh*, with rubrications; was transcribed in Dhu'l-Hijja, 1286/March, 1870; comprises 190 ff. of 22·7 × 16 centimetres and 19 lines; and presents a continuous text containing about 108,000 words, and beginning:—

ادامت تهليل و تمجيد و اقامتِ تسبيح و تحميد حضرت
ذو الجلال را سزد كه بحكمتِ بالغه و قدرتِ كامله

¹ This was the only MS. (895 of the *Ancien Fonds Arabe*, now 2441 of the *Fonds Arabe*) used by Ahlwardt, whose *editio princeps* was published at Gotha in 1860. H. Derenbourg, who re-edited the text in 1895, discovered another MS. (982 of the *Ancien Fonds Arabe*, now 2442 of the *Fonds Arabe*) which contains the first part only. The text has been reprinted in Cairo in 1317/1900 and 1923.

² See pp. xxx-xxxii of his *Einleitung*.

موجوداتِ سماوی و ارضی را از مكامنِ عدم بمظاهر
وجود رسانید آخ.

The comparatively short and simple doxology is followed by a clear, concise, and business-like preface of 43 lines, beginning:—

محرّر این احوال و مقرر این اقوال الفقير الى الله العني
هندوشاه ابن سنجر بن عبد الله الصاحب الكيرانى (؟) عفى
الله عنه ميگويد . . .

“ Says the reporter of these events and the recorder of these sayings . . . Hindúsháh ibn Sanjar ibn ‘Abdu’lláh aṣ-Ṣáhibí al-Kírání,¹ may God pardon him . . . ”

The substance of what he says is as follows:—

Moved by the reports which had reached him of the generosity, justice, learning, and virtue of the Atábek Nuṣratu’d-Dín Aḥmad, son of the late Atábek Nuṣratu’d-Dín Yúsuf Sháh, son of the Atábek Shamsu’d-Dín Alp-Arghún, son of Malik Naṣru’d-Dín Hazárasp, the author desired to visit his court, but felt that he could not do so without offering some visible tribute of his devotion and loyalty, which, as he was a poor man, must needs take the form of a book to be dedicated to the Prince in question. As regards the subject, he finally decided in favour of history, a branch of learning distinguished by five special advantages (*fá’ida*) which he enumerates. He entitled his book *Tajáribu’s-Salaf* (“ Experiences of our Predecessors ”), and borrowed most of

¹ I cannot offer a satisfactory explanation of these two *nisbas*. The first may indicate some relationship to the *Ṣáhib-Diwán Bahá’u’d-Dín Juwayní*. The only place called *Kírán* of which I can find mention is a castle (*Qal’a-i-Kírán*), to which two references occur in vol. ii of the *Ta’rikk-i-Jahán-gushá* (Gibb Series, xvi, 2), p. 182, l. 17, and p. 185, l. 1. From a casual reference in the *Tajáribu’s-Salaf* it would appear to have been situated near Nakhjuwán.

its contents from the *Munyatul-Fudalá fí tawárikhi'l-Khulafá wa'l-Wuzará* ("the Scholars' Desire, on the histories of Caliphs and Wazírs"), composed by the late Šafíyyu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn 'Alí al-'Alawí at-Ṭiqṭaqá for the library of his lord and patron Jalálu'd-Dín Zangí Sháh ibn Badru'd-Dín Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad of Dámghán. He decided to omit nothing contained in that book, but to add some matters derived from other sources. The year 723/1323 is indicated in the margin of f. 2a as the date when he formed this resolution and embarked on this enterprise.¹ It appears that this important detail was accidentally omitted by the scribe in copying the text, of which the concluding portion containing the particulars of authorship, etc., runs thus:—

بناءً على هذه القاعدة این کتاب را که موسوم است
بتجارب السلف در علم تواریخ جمع کرده آمد و اکثر
آرا از کتاب منیة الفضلاء فی تواریخ الخلفاء و الوزراء
از مصنفات مرتضی سعید ملک المحققین صنفی الحق
والملة والدين محمد بن علی العلوی الطقطقی رحمه الله تعالى
که جهة دار الکتب مخدوم و مرتبی این ضعیف صاحب
اعظم خدیو معظم مالک اسلام زبده الیالی والایام اعقل
الملوک و افضلهم اکمل الؤلوة و اعدلهم ذو الحزم المتین و
الرأی المبین نقاوة الموجودات من الماء و الطین اخو کبار
السلطین السابق فی مضمار المکارم علی الاکرمین

¹ On f. 156b, 724/1324 is mentioned as the current date.

جلال الحقّ و الدّنيا و الدّين زنگی شاه بن الصاحب السعيد
 بدر الحقّ و الدّين حسن بن احمد الدامغانی أعزّ الله أنصاره
 و ضاعف أقداره و خلّد (f. 3a) جلاله و مدّ على المسلمين
 ظلاله ساخته است و آنرا بفصیح ترین عبارتی پرداخته
 نقل کرده شد بشرط آنکه هر آنچه در آن کتاب موجود
 است در این نسخه هم موجود باشد مع الزوايد الملتقطه من
 غيره، امید بفيض فضل یزدانی واثق است که مقبول نظر
 سعادت بخش گردد و چون صیتِ سایر این حضرت بهمة
 آفاق و اقطار ممالک برسد ان شاء الله تعالى و حده العزیز،

The "Hazáraspid" Atábek of Luristán, Nuṣratu'd-Dín Aḥmad, who reigned from A.H. 696 to 733 (A.D. 1296 to 1333),¹ and to whom this Persian version of the *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí* is dedicated, is mentioned in laudatory terms by Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí in his *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*,² composed in 730/1329-30, while he was still reigning, having made Luristán, according to this historian, "the envy of Paradise." Our author and his book are briefly mentioned by Ḥájji Khalífa, No. 2432,³ but, as he does not cite the opening words, he may not actually have seen it. The original *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí*, on the other hand, is not mentioned in this great bibliography either by this title or by that of *Munyatul-Fuḍalá*, by which Hindúsháh knew it. Its author's name is given in the usual form, except that the words "Ibn Ṭabátabá" are omitted, as they

¹ See S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammedan Dynasties*, pp. 174-5.

² E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xiv, i, pp. 545-6, ii, pp. 136-7.

³ Flügel's edition, vol. ii, p. 191.

are in the second and incomplete manuscript discovered by Derenbourg; but the name of the Prince for whose library the Arabic original was composed is here given as Jalálu'd-Dín Zangí Sháh ibn Badru'd-Dín Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad of Dámghán, whereas the original *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí* is dedicated to Fakhrú'd-Dín 'Ísá ibn Ibráhím, from whose title it derives its name. I am at present unable either to explain this discrepancy or to give any particulars as to the above-mentioned Jalálu'd-Dín Zangí Sháh.

Another modern MS. of the *Tajáribu's-Salaf* (*Suppl.-Pers.* 1552 = *Schefer* 237) is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and is briefly noticed by Blochet¹ and Amar.² "Comme on le voit," says the latter (p. xxviii), "il s'agirait d'une traduction fortement remaniée. D'ailleurs le fait que l'auteur a donné aussi l'histoire de Mahomet, montre qu'il n'a pas suivi exactement le plan d'Ibn at-Ṭiḡtaḡá. Mais laissons à M. Blochet le soin de nous renseigner d'une façon précise sur ce point d'histoire littéraire, qu'il a étudié d'une manière spéciale."

Hindúsháh, the author of the Persian version, explicitly states that he proposes to treat only of post-Islamic times, because of the uncertain and legendary character of the earlier period, but that, though the author of the original Arabic work (*muṣannif-i-aṣl*) has begun his book with the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, he has thought it better to give a brief account of his life, based on the Persian translation of Ṭabarí's great history. This account is very short, extending only from f. 3a, last line, to f. 6a, l. 13, and treats of (1) the Prophet's genealogy; (2) his wars; (3) his wives; (4) his amanuenses; (5) his personal appearance; (6) his names and titles; (7) his death. On the other hand, he

¹ *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. i, p. 251, No. 373 (Paris, 1905).

² *Archives Marocaines*, vol. xvi: *al-Fakhrí traduit de l'Arabe et annoté*, par Emil Amar (Paris, 1910), pp. xxvi-xxviii. The MS. in question was copied in 1304/1886-7.

entirely omits the first part or section (*faṣl*) of the original (ed. Ahlwardt, pp. 19–88; ed. Derenbourg, pp. 20–100) dealing with “Royal Affairs and Imperial Politics”, so that the correspondence between the two versions only begins with the “First Dynasty” or “Dynasty of the Four” [Orthodox Caliphs], f. 6*b*, l. 15 of my MS. = p. 89, l. 3 of Ahlwardt’s text. Hindúsháh distinguishes three “principal” (*aṣli*) and three “derivative” (*far‘i*) dynasties, viz. the Orthodox, Umayyad, and ‘Abbásid Caliphs on the one hand, and the Fátimids, Buwayhids, and Saljúqs on the other. The rulers of these “derivative” dynasties, which arose under the ‘Abbásid Caliphs and usurped their power in an ever-increasing degree, are discussed under the reigns of the Caliphs contemporary with each of them, and as their importance steadily increases as time goes on, they occupy a larger space in the Persian version as the narrative proceeds, so that the correspondence between the two versions is much closer in the earlier than in the later portion of the work, as may be seen from the following comparative table:—

pp. 89–189 of Ahlwardt’s Arabic text	=	ff. 6 <i>b</i> —50 <i>a</i> of the Persian text.
pp. 190–290	“	ff. 50—93
pp. 290–390	“	ff. 93–186

Thus the first hundred pages of the original Arabic are represented by 44 ff. of the Persian; the second hundred by 44 ff.; and the third hundred by 93 ff., so that the last half of the Persian version contains very much more new material connected with the “derivative” or “subsidiary” dynasties than the first, which follows the original pretty closely, though it is seldom a mere slavish translation. Sometimes explanations are added of rare words occurring in the original,¹ as, for instance, of the word *tásúma* (“sandal”) on p. 89, l. 8 of Ahlwardt’s text (MS., f. 6*b*, last line):—

¹ So the word نَعْر (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 94, l. 12) is explained on f. 13*a*

as a frontier post between the lands of Islám and the lands of the unbelievers, “such as the town of Dawín once was, having on the one side Nakhjuwán and on the other Georgia.”

و تاسومه بغدادیان نعلی را بگویند که دوالها بر آن دوخته
باشند و آنرا کسی پوشد که بر پای زخمی دارد و کفش
تواند پوشید،

Particulars lacking in the Arabic original, even Arabic verses, are often added, and reference is sometimes made to other works consulted by the translator. Thus, in enumerating various illustrious persons descended from Abú Bakr, such as Shaykh Shihábu'd-Dín 'Umar as-Suhrawardí, author of the *'Awárifu'l-Ma'árif*, Ibnu'l-Jawzí, and Fakhru'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ar-Rází, the author of the great commentary on the *Qur'án*, he refers (f. 8*b*) in connexion with the last-named to the *Mu'jamu Ahli'l-Adab*, by which he presumably intends Yáqút's *Mu'jamu'l-Udabá*. Other works cited include Ṭabarí's history (f. 17*b* ; probably the Persian version by Bal'ámí), Ibn Qutayba's *Kitábu'l-Ma'árif* (f. 20*b*), the Persian *Jawámi'u'l-Hikáyát* of Muḥammad 'Awfí (ff. 34*a*, 34*b*, 138*b*), Abú Isháq aṣ-Ṣábí (f. 119*a*), and Anúsharwán ibn Khálid's *Nafthatu'l-Maṣḍúr* (f. 138*b*). At the end of his account of the execution of al-Ḥalláj (f. 100*b*), he says that Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥakím al-Kíshí, one of his former masters and teachers, composed a Persian treatise on the prayer [of al-Ḥalláj], beginning :—

اُقْتُلُونِي يَا ثِقَاتِي اَنْ فِي قَتْلِي حَيَاتِي،

فَمَاتِي فِي حَيَاتِي وَ حَيَاتِي فِي مَمَاتِي،

One of the longest additions to the original, occupying ff. 112*b*, l. 8, to 128*b*, l. 8, inserted between the reigns of the Caliphs at-Ṭá'í and al-Qádir (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 337, l. 4), deals with the *wazírs* of the Buwayhids ; and concerning the *wazírs* of the House of Saljúq also, especially the celebrated Nizámu'l-Mulk, many additional particulars are given.

Sometimes Hindúsháh expressly dissents from his original, as in the following remarks (f. 154a) on the place of burial of the Caliph al-Mustarshid, who was assassinated at Marágha at the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 529 (13th August, 1135) :

و جنازهٔ اورا قضاة و ائمه و اشراف و اعظم ممالك بر
 سرگرفتند و در مراغه بردند و در مدرسهٔ که در محلهٔ
 قضاة است و بمدرسهٔ اتابك مراغه باز خوانند دفن
 کردند و گنبد عالی ساختند و در آن مدرسه اتفاقاً پنج
 گنبد است در پس صُفّهٔ درس و یکی از آن خلیفه
 مسترشد است و این ضعیف بارها آن مشهدِ متبرک را
 زیارت کرده است و استغاثه خواسته، امّا مصنف
 مرتضیٰ سعید صفیّ الدین چنین نوشته است که
 مسترشدرا بدهی بردند که بر درِ مراغه است و این درست
 نیست للمشاهده،

He seems, however, either to misquote his original or to have had before him a different text, for the author of the *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí* (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 350, l. 13) says: "Then [the body of] al-Mustarshid was carried to Marágha on the heads of the 'ulamá and nobles, and was buried there, and his tomb is still well known there, under a fine dome, which I saw when I reached Marágha in the year 697/1297-8."

The Persian version is generally sufficiently near the Arabic original to be of some value in determining doubtful readings. Thus the words :—

لقد اعترضتُ منذ أيام جباب سليمان فوجدتُ اثر
الذهن في اكمامها فظننته طيباً

(Ahlwardt's ed., p. 152, last line: Derenbourg's ed., p. 174, l. 15) are translated by Amar (p. 205): "Il y a quelques jours, en effet, j'ai vu par hasard les *djoubba* (robes amples) de Soulaymân, j'y ai trouvé la trace de la graisse dans les manches. J'ai cru qu'elles avaient du appartenir à un médecin." In the most recent Cairo edition of the text (1923, p. 116)

the reading طيباً ("physician") has been emended to طيباً ("perfume"), and this correction is borne out by the Persian text, which runs (f. 37a of my MS., l. 11):—

از چند روز باز جامه‌ء سليمان بن عبد الملك بر من
عرض ميکردند نشان روغن بر آستينها بديدم گفتم
مگر عير باشد،

"Some days ago they were showing me the garments of Sulayman ibn 'Abdu'l-Malik. I saw on the sleeves the traces of oil. I said, 'It must be *'abîr*.¹'"

This confirms the emendation (I suppose conjectural) of the latest Cairo edition of the Arabic text, and no doubt other doubtful readings might be similarly elucidated. The Arabic verses, on the other hand, are neither very clearly nor very correctly transcribed, and are never translated in the Persian version, and such variants as my MS. presents are seldom, so far as I have examined them, improvements. Thus, for instance, in the well-known verse applied by 'Alî to Ibn Muljam:—

أريد جباؤه ويريد قتي، عذيرك من خليك من مراد،

¹ "A certain perfume and unguent made of saffron, musk, ambergris, and fragrant oils."

my MS. (f. 18a, l. 12) substitutes *حياه* for *حباہ*, an ingenious rather than a satisfactory emendation.

In conclusion it is worth noticing that the Persian version tends to a greater refinement than the Arabic original, as may be seen from the following paraphrase of ll. 3-8 of p. 133 of Ahlwardt's edition:—

شرح استلحاق معاويه زياد بن ابيه را، سمیه مادر زياد از زانيات جاهليت بود و شوهری داشت نامش عبيد، شبي ابو سفیان بخانه ابو مریم خمار افتاد از او زنی بغيه طلبيد، ابو مریم نام سمیه بُرد، ابو سفیان گفت اگرچه او بس کريهه و ناخوش است اما چاره نيست، ابو مریم سمیه را پيش او آورد، ابو سفیان با او مباضعت کرد و او بزباد حامله شد،

So likewise, a little further on, ll. 11-17 of p. 134 of Ahlwardt's edition are thus paraphrased:—

و اتفاقاً ابو مریم خمار از جمله گواهان بود و در همان مجلس قضیه سمیه و اجتماع ابو سفیان با او بر صورت مذکور تقرير کرد، زياد گفت ترا آورده اند تا گواه باشی يا ابطالِ نسب کنی،

This avoidance of unnecessary coarseness is a notable feature of the Persian version, which if printed would make an admirable historical textbook for Persian students.