

THE REIGN OF ZANGĪ

(521-541/1127-1146)

by

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## ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the biography of Atabeg Zangī and the conditions prevailing during his reign; it contains a survey of relevant sources and notes on modern works which render information reflecting the subject. It is in six chapters together with an appendix concerning his titles.

The first of the chapters endeavours to portray the background to his life by a biographical survey of his childhood, training and youthful development, the changing circumstances of which finally produced the great and even ruthless Atabeg who ruled Mosul.

In the second chapter his service to the Seljuqs in the East and West are discussed. The struggles for power between the Maliks and Zangī's involvement with them is its theme, together with the role played by the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate.

Chapter three deals with Zangī's conflicts with the Latin States in the East. His wars against the Crusaders are discussed here as also are their dealings with the Atabegs of Damascus, followed by Zangī's endeavours to rule that city.

An expedition led by the Byzantine Emperor, John II Comnenus, is described in chapter four. In this, his project for the capture of the Muslim towns in Syria is the chief topic as is also Zangī's reaction against the Byzantines.

In chapter five, the Turcomans and Zangī's operations against them in Shahrazūr, the Artuqids in Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Mārdīn and the Kurds in the north of Mosul are the main theme.

The final and sixth chapter which deals with the revolt of Malik Farrukh-Shāh, for whom Zangī acted as Atabeg, and the siege of Qal'at Ja'bar, ends with the murder of Zangī during this, his last operation.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abū al-Fidā'	<u>al-Mukhtaṣar fī Tārīkh al-Baṣhar.</u>
Abū Shāma	<u>Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn al-Nūriya wa al-Şalāhiya.</u>
Anna Comnena	<u>The Alexiad.</u>
<u>Ano. Syr. Chl.</u>	The first and second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle.
<u>AUDTCFTAD</u>	Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi.
Al-'Aynī	<u>'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān.</u>
Al-'Azīmī	<u>Tārīkh al-'Azīmī.</u>
Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.)	<u>Chronography by Abu' l-Faraj (Gregory).</u>
<u>BEO</u>	<u>Bulletin d'Etudes Orientale.</u>
Bib. Nat.	Bibliothèque Nationale.
Bidlīsī	<u>Sharaf-Nāma: Tārīkh-i Mufaṣṣal-i Kurdistān.</u>
BM	British Museum
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.</u>
Al-Bundārī	<u>Zubdat al-Nuṣra wa Nukhbat al-'Usra, (Turkish trans.) Irak ve Horasan Selçukluları Tarihi.</u>

- Chalandon, F. Jean II Comnene (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnene (1143-1180)
- CHI The Cambridge Medieval History.
- CHR The Cambridge History of Iran.
- Cinnamus Historia.
- CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
- CSHB Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.
- EI<sup>1</sup> Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed.
- EI<sup>2</sup> Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed.
- Elisseeff, N. Nūr ad-Dīn un grand Prince Musulman de Syrie au temps des Croisades (511-568H./1118-1174).
- Fulcher of Chartres A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127.
- GAL Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur.
- GMS Gibb Memorial Series.
- Al-Ḥusaynī (Turkish trans.) Ahbār ʾūd-Devlet is-Selçukiyye.
- Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bughya, Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab.  
Zubda, Zubdat al-Ḥalab.
- Ibn ʿAsākir Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq.
- Ibn al-Aṣḥīr, al-Atābakīya al-Tārīkh al-Bāhir fī Dawlat al-Atābakīya.  
al-Kāmil al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh
- Ibn al-Azraq Tārīkh Mayyāfariqīn.

- Ibn al-Furāt Tārīkh al-Duwal wa al-Mulūk,  
(English trans.) Ayyubid Mamlukes and  
Crusaders: selection from the Tārīkh al-  
Duwal wa al-Muluk of Ibn al-Furāt, U.  
and M.C. Lyons, Cambridge, 1971.
- Ibn al-Jawzī Kitāb al-Muntazam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk  
wa al-Umam.
- Ibn Kathīr al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya.
- Ibn Khallikān Wafayāt al-A‘yān wa Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān,  
(de Slane's trans.) Biographical Dictionary.
- Ibn Qādī Shuhba al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī al-Sīra al-Nūriya.
- Ibn al-Qalanisi Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq,  
(Gibb's trans.) The Damascus Chronicle of  
the Crusades.
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa  
al-Qāhira.
- Ibn Tīqtaqā al-Fakhri fī al-Ādāb al-Sultāniya.
- Ibn Wāsil Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār banī Ayyūb.
- ‘Imad al-Dīn (Kharīdat) Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa Jarīdat al-‘Asr.
- JA Journal Asiatique.
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
- Köymen, M.A. Büyük Selçuklu İmaratorluğu Tarihi.
- Matthew (Turkish trans.) Urfalı Mateos Vekayī-Nāmesi  
(952-1136) ve Papaz Grigor'un Zeyli  
(1136-1162),  
(French trans.) Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse  
(962-1136) avec la continuation de Gregoire le  
Prêtre Jusqu'en 1162.

<u>MCIA</u>	<u>Materiaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum.</u>
MS	Manuscript.
Muḥammad al-‘Imrānī	<u>Kitāb al-Anbā’ fī Tārīkh al-Khulafā’.</u>
Nicetas	<u>Chronicle.</u>
Ostrogorsky, G.	<u>History of the Byzantine State.</u>
Qāḍī ‘Imād al-Dīn	<u>al-Bustān al-Jāmi‘ li-Jāmi‘ Tawārīkh al-Zamān.</u>
Al-Qalqashandī	<u>Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā.</u>
Rashīd al-Dīn	<u>Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh.</u>
Rāwandī	<u>Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr wa Āyat al-Surūr,</u> (Turkish trans.) <u>Rahat-Ūs-SŪdŪr ve Ayet-Ūs-Surur.</u>
<u>RCEA</u>	<u>Repertoire Chronologique d'Epigraphie Arabe.</u>
<u>REI</u>	<u>Revue des Etudes Islamiques.</u>
<u>RHC</u>	<u>Rocueil des Historiens des Croisades.</u>
Runciman, S.	<u>A History of the Crusades.</u>
Segal, J.B.	<u>Edessa "The Blessed City".</u>
<u>SI</u>	<u>Studia Islamica.</u>
Sibṭ	<u>Mir’āt al-Zamān.</u>
(MS)	(Manuscript Copy, Aḥmad III, No.2907c).
(Jewett)	(A facsimile reproduction, J.R. Jewett).

SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
Stevenson, J.B.	<u>The Crusaders in the East.</u>
<u>TM</u>	<u>Türkiyat Mecmuası.</u>
<u>Usāma ibn Munqidh</u>	<u>Kitāb al-ʿIṭbār.</u>
William of Tyre	<u>A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea,</u> (English trans. by E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey).
Zahīr al-Dīn	<u>Saljūq-Nāma.</u>
<u>ZDPV</u>	<u>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins.</u>

## NOTE ON THE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

The method of transliteration adopted for this thesis is that used in the Encyclopaedia of Islam with the exception that "ḳ" is rendered as "q" and "dj̣" as "j".

The Arabic form of "ya' " has in most instances been rendered as "y" while the definite article "al" has been retained throughout, even before antero-palatals (hurūf shamsiya) including its medial use in compound names but excluding incidences as "Allah" when it is rendered as "ullah", e.g. "ʿAbdullah".

The system followed for transliteration of Turkish names and terms is that employed by İslām Ansiklopedisi.



INTRODUCTION

## SURVEY OF SOURCES

Sources used during this study may be classified into five groups. The works of historians, Muslim and non-Muslim, correspondence, poems, inscriptions and coins, have alike been consulted in an endeavour to present as complete a picture as possible of Zangī's reign.

### Muslim historians

Ibn al-Qalānisi, who was also known as Abū Ya' lā, (d.555/1160) was the author of Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq.

This is a chronicle of events in Damascus covering the period 448-555/1056-1160. In it he quotes some passages from Hilāl al-Ṣābī's (d.448/1056) Tārīkh, which are chiefly concerned with Damascus, and together with Dhayl they cover the wider period of 363-555/973-1160. Ibn al-Qalānisi groups Hilāl al-Ṣābī's work according to the events occurring under each governor holding authority in Damascus during the period 363-448/973-1056.

From the year 448/1056 he follows events in chronological order giving a clear and precise picture of the daily life of Damascus. From the time Tughl-Tegīn assumed control in 497/1103 he records events in greater detail.

Ibn al-Qalānisi was born in 465/1073 in Damascus of a respected family which boasted its descent from the Arab tribe of Tamīm. He was

well educated and studied literature, theology and law. He became a secretary (katib) in the office of Chancery (Diwan al-Rasā' il) and finally rose to the position of its head ('Amīd).

He twice held the office of Ra'īs (Mayor), which was considered to be the highest civil office in Damascus. By this appointment he had access to official documents, although he rarely quotes from them. There is one official document, however, concerning Zangī, from which he does actually quote and this is the more valuable as he was himself a witness of the event.<sup>1</sup> He speaks of the alliance between the Damascenes and the Franks against Zangī, and the latter's attacks on Damascus are vividly recorded in his chronicle.

He was of a mature age when the first Crusaders appeared in Syria. His information is of exceptional interest because it presents the contemporary evidence of a Damascene official, and Zangī's role in this connection.

His Dhayl, together with the extracts from the work of Hilāl al-Sābī served as a source for later historians, among whom were Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>2</sup>

1. See below

2. Ibn al-Athīr seldom mentions his written sources by name but mentions Ibn al-Qalānisi in al-Kāmil, X, 394.

Ibn al-‘Adīm, Abū Shāma, Ibn ‘Asākir, Ibn Khallikān and Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī. This work has been edited and also partially translated.<sup>1</sup>

Al-‘Azīmī (483-556/1090-1161), a poet and a schoolmaster, was born in Aleppo. He wrote several Tārīkhs; one of them entirely concerned Aleppo while al-Muwassal ‘Ala al-Aṣl al-Mu’assal, was written in the form of annals. A probable abridgment of this work which is to be found in Istanbul (Bayezid Kütübhanesi, No. 398), is a unique copy. Part of this abridgment, which contains the annals from 455-538/1063-1144, has been edited.<sup>2</sup>

Some quotations from his work have survived chiefly through the works of Ibn al-‘Adīm who states, "I copied it from the hand writing of ‘Alī al-‘Azīmī".<sup>3</sup>

Al-‘Azīmī's work was used by later historians, including Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Furāt and al-‘Aynī.<sup>4</sup>

1. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq, ed. by H.F. Amedroz, Beirut 1908; English trans. by H.A.R. Gibb, (part of which deals with the history of the Crusades), The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, London 1932 (French trans. by R. Le Tourneau, Damas de 1075 a 1154, Damascus 1952); see also, C. Cahen, 'Ibn al-Qalānīsī', EI 2, III, 815; F. Rosenthal, A history of Muslim Historiography, 135; N. Elisseeff, I, 9-11.
2. C. Cahen, "La Chronique abregee d'al-Azīmī", JA, CCXXX, (1938), 353-448.
3. See below.
4. C. Cahen, "Al-‘Azīmī", EI<sup>2</sup>, I, 823; idem, "Les Chroniques Arabes Concernant La Syrie, L'Egypte et la Mésopotamie de la conquete Arabe a la conquete Ottomane dans les bibliotheques d'Istanbul", REI, X, 1936, 336-337; idem, Syrie du Nord, 42-43; C. Brockelmann, GAL, s.I, 586; F. Rosenthal, op. cit., 136, 155; N. Elisseeff, I, 11-13.

Muḥammad al-‘Imrānī (d. approx. 560-566/1165-1170), who wrote Kitāb al-Anbā’ fī Tārīkh al-Khulafā’, was an Iraqi chronicler. He was himself a spectator of the events which took place in Baghdad while Zangī was ruler of Mosul. His first hand information concerning al-Mustarshid and al-Rāshid's connection with Zangī is very informative.

His work is more detailed than most historians of his own time, particularly concerning al-Rāshid's struggle with Mas‘ūd. He states that al-Rāshid repaired the broken city walls after the assassination of al-Mustarshid and distributed iqṭā‘ among his followers whom he invited to Baghdad. This seems to have angered Mas‘ūd who forced an entry into the city. Zangī, after realising the hopelessness of the struggle had retreated to Mosul and al-Rāshid managed to escape and join him there. Muḥammad al-‘Imrānī also speaks of al-Rāshid's attempt to find new supporters whilst in Mosul and Nişībīn and afterwards from Sinjār. There he communicated with the Artuqids, the Seljuqid Sulṭān of Asia Minor, Mas‘ūd (510-551/1116-1156), and Muḥammad b. Danīshmend of Melitine (529-536/1134-1142), but without support for his cause. Other information for the same period given by Muḥammad al-‘Imrānī is also presented by contemporary historians.<sup>1</sup>

According to C. Cahen, Muḥammad al-‘Imrānī used the works of Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 562/1167) and Ḥamdānī (d. 526/1131) for his earlier writings.<sup>2</sup> His work is still in manuscript; two copies of it are known to be extant in

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1. Muḥammad al-‘Imrānī, Kitāb al-Anbā’, 158a-159b.
  2. C. Cahen, "Chroniques Arabes d'Istanbul", REI, 1936, 337.

Istanbul. One of them is in Fatih, No.4819, and the other in Veli Efendi, No.2360. The work ends with the year 560/1165.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn al-Azraq, the author of a local history, Tārīkh Mayyāfāriqīn, records that he was born at Mayyāfāriqīn in 510/1116.<sup>2</sup> He writes of his presence in various towns and places in al-Jazīra and Syria. He says that he visited Mārdīn in 529/1135, Āmid in 536/1141-1142, Mu'dan in 542/1147-1148 and Mosul in 544/1150, selling iron on behalf of the Artuqid Ḥusām al-Dīn Timur-Tāsh. He also visited Baghdad several times and went to Tiflīs, al-Rayy, Akhlāṭ. En route to Damascus he passed through Edessa, Manbij, Ḥalab, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā. He arrived in Damascus in 565/1169-1170 and on his return to Mayyāfāriqīn in 570/1174-1175 he passed through Ḥarrān, Ra's al-'Ayn and Mārdīn.<sup>3</sup>

In 562/1166-1167 he held the office of Waqf at Mayyāfāriqīn.<sup>4</sup>

During his journeys he collected material for his Tārīkh and while he was in Baghdad he wrote a full account of the conflict between Sulṭān Mas'ūd and the Caliphs al-Mustarshid and al-Rāshid and the role Zangī played

1. See also, C. Brockelmann, GAL, S.I, 586; N. Elisseoff, I, 14; C. Cahen, "The historiography of the Seljuqid period", HME, 63; idem, Syrie du Nord, 49.
2. Ibn al-Azraq, Tārīkh Mayyāfāriqīn, 160a.
3. Ibid, 167b, 170a, 172b, 169a-b, 175a, 162a, 181a, 186a, 190b-191b, 193a, 190b.
4. Ibid, 190b.

in their struggles. He speaks of the campaign of al-Mustarshid against Mas'ūd; the Caliph's assassination in Mas'ūd's camp while he was a prisoner, and he suggests that the assassination was probably arranged by Sulṭān Sanjar.<sup>1</sup> He also gives an account of the activities of al-Rāshid and his offer to Zangī to procure the Sultanate for Alp-Arslān who was under Zangī's guardianship. Because of this offer, Zangī went to Baghdad but retreated before Sulṭān Mas'ūd. He describes how Zangī's withdrawal to Mosul was followed by the flight of al-Rāshid who later went to Isfahān to meet Malik Dā'ūd and met his death there by assassination.<sup>2</sup>

Besides all these events which concern the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, the Seljuqs and Zangī, the author also gives valuable information about Zangī's relations with the Artuqids. He speaks of Zangī's campaigns in Diyār Bakr and his alliance with Timur-Tash against Dā'ūd;<sup>3</sup> also of the campaign of 539/1144 just before Zangī's capture of Edessa. The murder of Zangī is also fully recorded by the author.<sup>4</sup>

He was himself a spectator of the events occurring during Zangī's lifetime in al-Jazīra and Iraq. His work was used by later historians; such as Ibn Khallikān and Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī.

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1. Ibid, 165a-b.
  2. Ibid, 167b.
  3. Ibid, 168a.
  4. Ibid, 170a-172a.

Ibn al-Azraq is the only known Arabic local historian of al-Jazīra for Zangī's period and his work is extant in manuscript, except that which concerns the Marwānids.<sup>1</sup> There are two manuscript copies of it in the Oriental Room of the British Museum; one of which is numbered 5803, and contains 200 folios. The other is also an abridged version to be found in the same room of the museum, number 6310, which ends with the year 560/1165.<sup>2</sup>

The autobiographer Usāma b. Munqidh (488-584/1095-1188) was born in Shayzar. He was a warrior, a hunter, a poet and a man of letters. His work, Kitāb al-I'tibār,<sup>3</sup> is important to this study as he was a witness of the siege of Shayzar led by the Emperor John Comnenus in 532/1138. It is interesting also for its account of the strange customs of the time and the curious methods of hunting employed.

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1. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, Tārīkh al-Fāriqī, ed. by Badawī 'Awad, Cairo 1959.
  2. H.F. Amedroz, "The Marwanid Dynasty at Mayyāfāriqīn in the tenth and eleventh centuries", JRAS, 1903, 123-154; idem, "Three Arabic MSs on the history of the city of Mayyāfāriqīn", JRAS, 1902, 785-812; C. Cahen, "Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides", JA, 1935, 219-279; N. Elisseeff, I, 18-20; S. Dahan, "The origin and development of the local histories of Syria", HME, 115-116.
  3. Kitāb al-I'tibār, ed. H. Derenbourg (Paris, 1886); translated by G.R. Potter (London, 1929) and by P. Hitti who both edited and translated it into English (Princeton, 1930).



He speaks of the several occasions he spent in Zangī's company and of their hunts together. Usāma b. Munqidh not only was on good terms with the Aṭabeg of Damascus but was sent by Mu'īn al-Dīn Anar as envoy to negotiate terms of peace with the Franks. Later Saladin became his friend and patron.<sup>1</sup>

‘Imād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī (519-597/1125-1201) wrote several books. He visited Mosul in 542/1147-1148 and he was well received by Zangī's vizier, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad, and Zangī's son Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī. By his eye-witenss account of the siege of Baghdad by Sultān Muḥammad in 551/1156 he won further evidence of favour from both the Caliph al-Muqtafī and his vizier ‘Awn al-Dīn b. Ḥubayra who in 554/1159, appointed him as his nā’īb in Wasiṭ. Two years later, after the death of this vizier, he joined the service of Saladin.

He wrote two works on the history of Syria and a study of Saladin; al-Barq al-Shāmī covers the years 562-589/1166-1193. This is an account of the wars of Saladin and two parts of it are extant. An abridgment of the earlier part of this book has been made by al-Bundārī, entitled Sanā al-Barq al-Shāmī, and part of this exists in a unique manuscript in Istanbul (Esad efendi No.2333) and was recently edited and published.<sup>2</sup>

There are extensive and numerous citations from al-Barq, in an abridged form, in Abū Shāma's work al-Rawḍatayn.

1. See also, F. Rosenthal, op. cit., 151; N. Elisseeff, I, 20-22.

2. ‘Imād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, al-Barq, ed. R. Şeşen, vol. I, Beyrut 1971.

Al-Fath al-Qussī fī al-Fath al-Qudsī includes the years 583-589/1187/1193.

This has also been edited while a French translation of it has been made but is not yet published.<sup>1</sup>

His Nuṣrat al-Fatra deals with the history of the Seljuqs. It was extracted from Anūshīrwān b. Khalid's (d.538/1137) personal memoirs, Futūr Zamān al-Ṣudūr wa Ṣudūr Zamān al-Futūr and was evidently not known by other historians. 'Imād al-Dīn rendered these memoirs into Arabic with much additional material and in his own style before 562/1166 and entitled the work Nuṣrat al-Fatra. It survives only in an abridgment made by al-Bundārī in 623/1226 for al-Mu'azzam 'Isā of Damascus.<sup>2</sup> It was simplified and re-named Zubdat al-Nuṣra wa Nukhbat al-'Uṣra, and has been edited.<sup>3</sup>

Although 'Imād al-Dīn based his Nuṣrat on the lost Memoirs of Anūshīrwān the events recounted are nevertheless from his own experiences and those of his relatives who held high offices.

In Zubdat al-Nuṣra some episodes are recorded concerning Zangī which are not found elsewhere. Precise details are given of the Maliks under Zangī's care, together with the information that Malik Dā'ūd's assassination

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1. 'Imād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, al-Fath, ed. C. de Landberg, Leiden 1886, also Cairo 1322/1904; French trans. by H. Masse; also see, C. Cahen, "Chroniques Arabes d'Istanbul", REI, 1936, 338; idem, "The historiography of the Seljuqid period", HME, 67-71; idem, Syrie du Nord, 37, 50-52; H.A.R. Gibb, "The sources of the life of Saladin", Speculum, XXV, 1950, 58-72.
  2. See also, M.T. Houtsma, (C. Cahen), "Al-Bundārī", EI2, I, 1309.
  3. Al-Bundārī, Zubdat al-Nuṣra, ed. M.T. Houtsma, Recueil de Textes Relatifs à l'Histoire des Seljoucides, II, Leiden 1889; a Turkish translation was made by K. Burslan, Istanbul 1943.

was accomplished with Zangī's knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

‘Imād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī also produced an anthology of the Arab poets of the 6th/12th century, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa Jarīdat al-‘Aṣr, which is a continuation of Yatīmat al-Dahr of al-Tha‘ālibī. It contains many poems eulogising Zangī and his nobles. Some parts of this anthology were published.<sup>2</sup>

Two books among the many written by Ibn al-Athīr (d.630/1233) give useful information concerning Zangī's period. His al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh is a universal history, while al-Bāhīr fī Dawlat al-Atābakīya is a monograph of the Atabegs of Mosul.

Ibn al-Athīr was born of a rich family in Jazīrat Ibn ‘Umar in 555/1160. His father took service under Zangī and Ibn al-Athīr records that he was in charge of the offices of Dīwān and Treasury. In addition to the post held in Jazīrat Ibn ‘Umar, he was also engaged in trade and Ibn al-Athīr records that he was robbed in 581/1185.<sup>3</sup> He was the second of three brothers. Majd al-Dīn served Mujāhid al-Dīn Kaymaz, the vizier of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II (d.615/1218) as Kātib al-Inshā’. He was entrusted later with the Dīwān al-Rasā’ il of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd himself and after Mas‘ūd's death retained

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1. Al-Bundārī, 195, 205-206 (Turkish trans., 178, 186).
  2. ‘Imād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, Kharīdat, part: Egyptian poets ed. Cairo, Ahmad Amin and Shawqī Dayf, 2 vols., 1951-1952; Iraqi poets, Baghdad, al-‘Aṭārī and Jamīl Sa‘īd, 2 vols., 1955-1964; Syrian poets, Damascus, Shukrī Fayṣal, 2 vols., 1955-1959, and Maghribi poets, Tunis, 1966.
  3. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 220.

the office under Nūr al-Dīn Arslān-Shāh II (d.616/1219).

His brother, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn was attached to the service of Saladin by al-Qādī al-Fadīl. By the wish of al-Malik al-Afdal Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī, the son of Saladin, he was transferred into his service. After the death of Saladin, having obtained for himself the Kingdom of Damascus, al-Afdal chose Ḍiyā' al-Dīn for his grand vizier. In 607/1211 he went into service with Afdal's brother, al-Malik al-Zahīr Ghāzī, but soon left him and went to Mosul. There he was employed by the last Zangid, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d.619/1222) as Kātib al-Inshā'. When power was seized by Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' he retained his office and in 637/1239-1240 he was sent to the Caliph of Baghdad as envoy, and there died.

Ibn al-Athīr does not seem to have held office under the Zangid although Ibn Khallikān records that on one occasion he was sent as ambassador by the Zangid to Baghdad.<sup>1</sup>

He had studied many subjects under the learned men of the period and himself became a celebrated historian.<sup>2</sup>

While Ibn al-Athīr was writing his two historical works, he used various sources which he did not mention except on a few occasions. He very often says he heard the story from his father or a trusted man. He mentions Ibn 'Asākir, al-'Imād al-Kātib and Ibn Qalānīsī whose works concern the present

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1. Ibid , II, 288-290.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 39, 203, 205, 387.

study. His work has, however, been cited by many later historians such as Abū Shāma, Ibn Wāṣil, Abū al-Fidā', Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Kathīr, al-Aynī, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba.

His work, al-Kāmil, embraces the history of the world from its creation and ends with the year 628/1231. During Zangī's period it is chiefly concerned with the activities of the Turcomans and the Seljuqs in Western Iran, Iraq and al-Jazīra. It has been a useful source of information for this thesis, although some inaccuracies have been duly noted.

The monograph, al-Bāhir fī Dawlat al-Atābakīya, is a complete life not only of Zangī himself, but Zangī's father and Zangī's successors. It pictures Zangī's childhood, his youth and rise to fame. His many triumphs are portrayed and the eulogies of contemporary poets are quoted by Ibn al-Athīr. Nūr al-Dīn Arslān-Shāh I (d. 607/1211) officially sponsored the monograph but died before its completion. Ibn al-Athīr, however, extended his writing to include Nūr al-Dīn and finally presented the book to al-Qāhir 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd II, the son of Nūr al-Dīn. Ibn al-Athīr and members of his family appear to have received kindness and consideration from the Zangid. It was probably partly for this reason that he compiled his book added to which the events connected with the Zangid took place in the proximity of his native village. Desire for the continuation between the families may also have been one of the motives which prompted his writing.

Nevertheless some action on the part of Zangī were, by any standards,

reprehensible, Ibn al-Athīr glosses them by attributing Zangī's ambitions to be motivated by religious ardour.<sup>1</sup>

There are several manuscript copies of al-Kāmil<sup>2</sup> and the work has been edited several times,<sup>3</sup> while there is one known manuscript copy of al-Atābakīya in Paris (Bibl. Na. Arabe No.818). This has been edited twice<sup>4</sup> and a French translation was made by B. de Meynard.<sup>5</sup>

The universal history, Mir'at al-Zamān, by Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (581-645/1185-1257) comprises the creation of the world and reaches as far as the year 654/1257.

Grandson of the historian Ibn al-Jawzī, he was born in Baghdad. His father Ḥusām al-Dīn was a freed mamlūk, who served under 'Ayn al-Dīn Abū al-Muzaffar Yahyā ibn Ḥubayra (d.560/1165), the vizier of the Caliphs al-Muqtafī and al-Mustanjid. The vizier and his grandfather superintended his education in Baghdad by the most distinguished scholars of the period.

1. H.A.R. Gibb, "Notes on the Arabic materials for the history of early Crusades", BSOAS, VII, 1953, 739-754; M.H.M. Aḥmad, "Some notes on Arabic Historiography...", HME, 88-90; N. Elisseeff, I, 36-39; F. Rosenthal, "Ibn al-Athīr", EI2, III, 724-725.
2. See C. Cahen, "Chroniques Arabes d'Istanbul", REI, 1936, X, 339.
3. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 14 vols., ed. Tornberg, Leiden 1851-1876; in Cairo 1301/1884, 12 vols, and in 1348/1929.
4. Ibn al-Athīr, Tārīkh al-Dawlat al-Atābakīya fī al-Mawṣil, ed. Paris 1876, RHC, Historiens Orientaux, II; and by A.A. Tolaymāt, al-Tārīkh al-Bāhir fī Dawlat al-Atābakīya, Cairo, 1963.
5. Ibn al-Athīr, Histoire des Atabegs, trans. into French by B. de Meynard, RHC, Historiens Orientaux, II, 2, Paris, 1876.

After his grandfather's death he went to Damascus where he continued his education. The Ayyubid al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā (d. 624/1227) was his patron and he became the most favoured ʿālim in the Malik's court. He became a popular figure in Damascus where he taught in Madrasas and spoke in the Mosques. When he died al-Malik al-Nāṣir II Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn attended his funeral.

His most famous work is the Mir'āt by which he achieved distinction among the historians of the 13th century. He also freely used the works of earlier historians and cited Muḥammad b. Hilāl Abū Ḥasan Ḡhars al-Ni'ma, Muḥammad b. Tāhir al-Maqdisī, al-Hamadānī, al-Sam'ānī. For his information concerning the 12th century and Zangī he cited Ibn al-Qalānisi, Ibn 'Asākir, Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Azraq, Imād al-Dīn Iṣfahanī and Ibn al-Athīr.<sup>1</sup>

Later Mir'āt was abbreviated and also added to by Musa b. Muḥammad al-Yūnūnī (d. 726/1326) who wrote a Dhayl extending it to the year 713/1313. Two differing versions of Mir'āt are extant, one abbreviated and the other in greater detail, and selected parts of Mir'āt have been edited.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 660/1261), descendant of a prominent Aleppo family, was born in 488/1132. His grandfather and great-grandfather were

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1. See also, C. Cahen, "Chroniques Arabes d'Istanbul", REI, X, 1936, 339-340; idem, "Ibn al-Djawzī", EI2, III, 752-753; F. Rosenthal, History of Muslim Historiography, 41, 97, 126; M.H.M. Ahmad, "Some notes on Arabic historiography during the Zangid and Ayyubid periods (521/1127-648/1250)", HME, 91-92; B. Lewis, "Kamāl al-Dīn's biography of Rāsīd al-Dīn Sīnan", Arabica, XII, 1962, 227; C. Brockelmann, GAL, S.I, 589; F.E. Karatay, Topkapı sarayı müzesi kütüphanesi Arapça yazmalar kataloğu, İstanbul, 1966, III, 355-356; N. Elisseff, I, 47-49.
  2. Parts concerning the Crusades, RHC, Historiens Orientaux, Paris, 1884, III, 517-570; Facsimile of a bad copy, J.R. Jewett, Chicago, 1907, =

successively Chief Qādīs of Aleppo and Ibn al-‘Adīm's father, Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad, continued in the service of the Zangid.

He received a good education and was well trained in the art of calligraphy. He was appointed as school-master in Aleppo. On several occasions he visited southern Syria, Iraq and Egypt, often as an envoy. He also held the post of vizier in Aleppo for a while.

His book, Bughyat al-Ṭalab, is very informative concerning the lives of the inhabitants of the area. The biography of Zangī is of special importance to this study. Some of his information, quoted from lost North Syrian works, is unique. He states that he used oral, documentary information and mentions many contemporary chroniclers. Among those are Ibn ‘Asākir (499-571/1105-1176), Usāma ibn Munqidh (488-584/1095-1188), al-‘Azīmī (483-556/1090-1161) and for late 12th century information he cites the work of Husayn ibn ‘Alī al-Dārī.<sup>1</sup>

Among his quotations from al-‘Azīmī's work appears the information that Zangī was from the tribe of Sāybū and that his grandfather's name was Turghan.<sup>2</sup> Again Ibn al-‘Adīm quotes from the same source concerning Zangī's truce with Joscelyn of Edessa,<sup>3</sup> and Zangī's marriage with the daughter of

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= covering 495-654/1102-1256. This copy was again edited in Hyderabad, 1951-1952; Extract concerning the Seljuqs and containing Tārīkh Ghars al-Ni‘ma, (448-480/1056-1087), ed. A. Sevim, in Ankara, 1968.

1. B. Lewis, "Ibn al-‘Adīm", EI<sup>2</sup>, III, 695-696; C. Cahen, Syrie du Nord, 62-63; F. Rosenthal, op. cit., 147-148; N. Elisseff, I, 49-51.

2. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Bughya, III, 267b.

3. Ibid, VI, 208a.



Riḍwān b. Tutuḥ.<sup>1</sup> Another interesting point is also cited concerning the Maliks under Zangī's care. He writes, "Zangī asked the Caliph to mention the name of Alp-Arslān in the Khutba on the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd", he also added that the Caliph refused, saying that the Malik was too young, and only Sulṭān Sanjar could appoint a successor. He continues his quotation with the capture of Dubays by Böri and his transference to Zangī.<sup>2</sup>

In Bughya, Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAdīm, incorporated a biography of Aq-Sonqur Porsuqī in which connection he refers to ʿAbdulmuʿim ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī (vol.III, fol.277b), Abū Ghālib ʿAbdulwāhid ibn Ḥusayn (vol.III, fol.278a), al-Khāfiz ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (vol.III, fol.279a), Abū al-Fawāris Ḥamdān b. ʿAbdurrahīm al-Athāribī (vol.III, fol.279a). Volume VI of the Bughya, containing a biography of Zangī, cites the names of Abū al-Muḥāsin ibn Salāma al-Ḥarrānī (fol. 210b, 211a, 214a) and Abū Shujāʿ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Daḥhān al-Faraḍī (fol.213b).

Unfortunately a large part of Bughya has perished and only ten volumes have survived. They are in manuscript form in Istanbul<sup>3</sup> and a few extracts from this work have been published by some modern scholars.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid, VI, 208b.
  2. Ibid, VI, 209a.
  3. See, C. Cahen, "Chroniques Arabes d'Istanbul", REI, X, 1936, 359-360.
  4. J. Sauvaget, "Extraits du "Bugyat at-Ṭalab", " REI, VII, 1933, 395; B. Lewis, "Three biographies from Kamāl al-Dīn", Mélanges Fuad Köprülü, 1953, 325-344; idem, "Kamāl al-Dīn's biography of Rāsid al-Dīn Sinān", Arabica, XII, 1966, 235-267; A. Sevim, "Bugyet'ü't-ṭaleb fī Tarih-i Haleb'e göre Emir Ak-Sungur", AUDTCFTAD, IV, 1966, 101-125; idem, "Alp-Arslan", Bellekten, XXX, 1966, 205-242.

In addition there is Zubāt al-Ḥalab, a narrative history of Aleppo. This work has been edited.<sup>1</sup>

Abū Shāma (599-665/1203-1268) wrote Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn al-Nūriya wa al-Ṣalāḥiya,<sup>2</sup> which is a chronicle. It commences with Nūr al-Dīn, the son of Zangī, and greatly emphasises the activities of his father. Included in this work are some poems which seem to be of documentary importance and were part of a propaganda of incitement to join the Jihād.<sup>3</sup>

He does not rely on merely one quotation from the works of authors whom he cites, but supports their assertions by quoting all available sources. He gives his own explanation of events such as when he gives the reason why Sulṭān Mas'ūd refrained from marching on Zangī.<sup>4</sup>

Many Muslim writers, contemporary with Zangī together with some later Muslim historians who give information relevant to Zangī are discussed. He is also mentioned by others listed below. Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597/1201),

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1. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubāt al-Ḥalab fī tārikh Ḥalab, 3 vols., ed. S. al-Dahhān, Damascus, 1951-4, 1971.
  2. Abū Shāma, Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn, 2 vols., ed. in Boulaq, 1871-1875; also by M.H.M. Aḥmad, vol. I, Cairo 1958.
  3. M.H.M. Aḥmad analyses the book and discusses the life of Abū Shāma, Ph.D. Thesis, Studies on the works of Abū Shāma 569-665 A.H. (1203-1267), SOAS, No.147, 1951; idem, "Abū Shāma", EI2, I, 150; C. Cahon, Syrie du Nord, 79-89; F. Rosenthal, op. cit., 38, 282; N. Elisseff, I, 51-54; E. Sivan, L'islam et la Croisade, 43-50.
  4. Abū Shāma, I, 92-93.

al-Muntazam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa al-Umam; al-Husaynī (d.622/1225), Zubāt al-Īawārīkh; Ibn Khallikān (d.681/1282), Wafayāt al-A‘yān; Ibn Waṣīl (d.697/1298), Mufarrij al-Kurūb; Abū al-Fidā’ (d.732/1331), al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar; Ibn Ṭiqṭaqā, al-Fakhrī fī al-Adāb; Ibn Kathīr (d.774/1373), al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya; Al-‘Aynī (d.855/1451), ‘Iqd al-Jumān; Ibn Qādī Shuhba (d.874/1470), al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī al-Sīra al-Nūriya; Abū al-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrī Birdī (d.874/1470), al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhira.

#### Non-Muslim historians

Latin, Greek, Armenian and Syriac sources also supply information concerning Zangī.

William of Tyre's Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum<sup>1</sup> appears to be the only important Latin source giving any relevant information for this period. William was born in the East where he obtained his early education. He studied Latin, French, Arabic, Greek and Hebrew. He was trained as a priest and became Archbishop of Tyre (1148-1164 A.D.). Amalric I, King of Jerusalem, gave him charge of the education of his son Baldwin. William's close contact with the young Prince during his studies, enabled him to meet the King and probably current events were discussed between them.

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1. English trans. by E.A. Dabcock and A.C. Krey, A history of deeds done beyond the sea, 2 vols., New York, 1943.

The earlier period (to 521/1127) covered by his work derives much of its information from Walter the Chancellor and Fulcher of Chartres, while the archives of the Kingdom appear to supply much of the later period.

The material for the years 521+529/1127-1144, almost the whole period of Zangī's reign, was derived from interviews with his father's contemporaries and some of it from personal observation. His accounts of events in Muslim Syria are not always reliable and dates<sup>1</sup> are frequently incorrect, as are also several names of places. His chief interest centred around the churches of Tyre, and Zangī is barely mentioned.

Many later European historians contributed sequels to his work.<sup>2</sup>

Prominent among Greek historians is Anna Comnena's work Alexiad.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the book ends with the year 511/1118. John Cinnamus<sup>4</sup> and Nicetas Choniates<sup>5</sup> cover the reigns of John and Manuel Comnenus, but the works of both only mention the Franks in the East when they come into direct contact with Byzantium. They give very little information concerning either the Emperor John's campaign in Syria or his siege of Shayzar.

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1. For William's chronology see, W.B. Stevenson, Crusaders in the East, 361-371.
  2. Editions and continuations of his work see, A.C. Krey, "William of Tyre", Speculum, (April, 1941), 149-166; . A.S. Atiya, The Crusade historiography and bibliography, 31.
  3. For the edition of Alexiad see, A.S. Atiya, The Crusade historiography and bibliography, London, 1962, 41.
  4. J. Cinnamus, Epitome Historiarum, ed. I. Meineke, CSHB, Bonn, 1836.
  5. N. Choniates, Historia, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB, Bonn, 1835.

Consequent upon their close neighbourhood with the East, Armenian and Syriac sources give more detailed information than those of either Latin or Greek. The main Armenian source for the first Crusade is Matthew of Edessa (d.530/1136). His chronology covers the years 340-530/952-1136, while Gregory of Kaysun continued Matthew's work until the year 557/1162.<sup>1</sup>

A Syriac Chronicle, written by an unknown priest, has a special value among non-Muslim sources. The work was written in about 637/1240 at Edessa. The writer, no doubt, relied on Arabic sources in addition to that of Michael the Syrian.<sup>2</sup> There are occasional errors in data but his description of the siege of Edessa and its subsequent conquest by Zangī appears to be authentic despite the fact that it was written 100 years later than the events occurred.<sup>3</sup>

Bar Hebraeus (d.685/1286), also known as Abū al-Faraj, was another 14th century Syriac historian. His work, Chronography,<sup>4</sup> a universal

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1. Matthew of Edessa, History (Armenian text), Jerusalem, 1862; French trans. by E. Dulaurier, Paris 1858; Turkish trans. by H.D. Andreasyan, Urfali Mateos Vekayī-Nāmesi (952-1136) ve Papaz Grigor'un Zeyli (1136-1162), Ankara, 1962.
  2. For further information see J.B. Segal, "Syriac chronicles as source material for the history of Islamic people", HME, 254-256.
  3. A.S. Tritton and H.A.R. Gibb, "The first and second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicler", JRAS, part I, 63-101, part II, 273-305.
  4. Bar Hebraeus's Chronography was edited and translated by E.A.W. Budge, Chronography by Abu'l-Faraj (Gregory), 2 vols., Oxford, 1932; see also, J.B. Segal, Edessa, 266.

history, is based on the Syrian Michael. His work is also one of the most detailed accounts among the non-Muslim sources.<sup>1</sup>

### Correspondence

Correspondence holds an important place among the sources. The only extant direct letter to Zangī is preserved in a mere paragraph which was copied by Ibn al-Qalānisī in his Dhayl Tārikh Dimashq during his secretarial duties in Dīwān al-Rasā'il (Correspondence Bureau or Chancery). The letter was written to Zangī by Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'il, Atabeg of Damascus, urging him to assume authority in Damascus. According to Ibn al-Qalānisī it was in Ismā'il's own hand.<sup>2</sup>

### Poems

Several poems written during Zangī's period are to be found among books of history and of collected poems. Ibn Qaysarānī, Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥamāwī, Ibn Munīr and Usāma ibn Munqidh all wrote poems which concern Zangī and Ibn Qaysarānī composed a number in honour of his victories over the Franks. In addition he composed some which eulogised Zangī's viziers and other notables, among whom are Vizier Jamāl al-Dīn Abī Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī and the Qādī Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Shahrizūrī who was Zangī's envoy. Many poems were employed as propaganda for the Jihād. After Zangī conquered Edessa, Ibn

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1. J.B. Segal, "Syriac chronicles as source material for the history of Islamic people", HME, 257-258.
  2. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 245-246 (Gibb's trans., 230).

Qaysarānī wrote a further poem suggesting that the next conquest would be Jerusalem. Another composition by Usāma is not in praise of Zangī, but commemorates the escape of Tuman to the amīr Anar (Unur) in Damascus from the service of Zangī.<sup>1</sup>

### Inscriptions

Three inscriptions are to be found in Aleppo, two of which are complete. One of them is Mashhad Muhassin, dated 537 A.H., while the other, a fragment, is in the Grand Mosque. In Ba'albak there are three others which are relevant but all are incomplete. In one case only the commencing line has survived and in the other two instances the five final lines of the inscriptions are alone intact. Mosul, Zangī's own capital, contains no relevant inscriptions which time surely must have either obliterated or damaged.<sup>2</sup>

Many titles ascribed to Zangī, written in Arabic, Turkish and Persian on these inscriptions, are not found elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 'Imād al-Dīn, Iṣfahānī, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr, (ed. by Shukrī Fayṣal, Damascus, 1955), I, 102, 108-110, 154, 170-172, 246, 470, 533, 536; Abū Shāma, al-Rawḍatayn, (ed. M.H.M. Aḥmad, Cairo, 1958), I, 38-40; E. Sivan, L'Islam et la Croisade, 43-50; idem, "Le caractère sacré de Jérusalem dans L'Islam aux XI<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles", SI, XXVII, Paris, 1967, 154-155.
  2. RCEA, VIII, 1936, Nos. 3093, 3111-3112; E. Herzfeld, MCI, I, 1955, 182-189, 193-199.
  3. See Appendix.

### Coins

The testimony given by coins is scanty; there are only two in the Museum of Baghdad which were actually struck by Zangī.<sup>1</sup> One of them was struck between the years 521-515/1127-1130 at Sinjār, and the other bearing the date 540/1145-1146 was struck in Mosul. On the earlier coin is inscribed the names of Sanjar, Maḥmūd and that of the Caliph al-Mustarshid. Zangī appears also as Atabeg. The weight of this dīnār is 4.103 grams and its diameter is 26 mm. Both coins include the name of Sanjar. The later coin also bears that of Mas'ūd and the Caliph al-Muqtafi in addition to those of Malik Alp-Arslān. The title given to Sanjar of al-Sulṭān al-A'ẓam (Supreme Sulṭān) shows that Zangī acknowledged him as such. He also shows loyalty to Sanjar's subordinate rulers, Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd. On this coin the name of Malik Alp-Arslān, who was under the care of Zangī, completes Zangī's homage to him as ruler of the territory and confirms the acceptance of his own appointment as Atabeg.<sup>2</sup>

Two other coins in the British Museum are of Byzantine origin. It is interesting to note that "Imād" (i.e. part of Zangī's title) and the probable damgha (emblem) "×" of Zangī have been impinged on these coins which

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1. The earlier coin is numbered 4288 and the later numbered 7592 in the coin section of Baghdad Museum.
  2. Al-Ḥusaynī, "Atabeylere ait İraq müzesinde bulunan üç nadir altın sikke hakkında tahlili bir inceleme", trans. into Turkish by R. Genç, SAD, III, 611-624.



were obviously in current use during Zangī's period of power. The origin of this particular damgha is not known as it does not appear in Dīwān lugāt al-Turk of Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh of Rashīd al-Dīn, Seljuq-Nāma of Yaziji-Oghlū 'Alī and Shajara-i Tarākima of Abū al-Ghāzī<sup>1</sup> but its impingement on some later coins shows that it had been taken into use by the House of Zangī.

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1. See F. Sūmer, Oğuzlar, 208.

## NOTES ON SELECTED RELEVANT MODERN

### WORKS

Several modern authors have dealt with the history of Syria, Iraq and al-Jazīra in the first half of the twelfth century. Most of these are connected with either the first Crusade or with the Seljuqs. In all of these writings the name of Zangī inevitably occurs.

An interesting study of the period, written in 1907 by W.B. Stevenson and entitled, The Crusaders in the East, devotes an entire chapter to Zangī. Although briefly, the author gives a clear picture of the conditions in Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor at the time of the Latin invaders and their establishment in the East. In a special chapter, relevant to this thesis, he describes Zangī's involvement with the Franks and his relationship with the Atabegs of Damascus. He also gives separate chapters on Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Salāḥ al-Dīn.

Later, in 1934, another history of the Crusades was written by F. Grousot in which he gives a glimpse of the life in Syria during that period and mentions Zangī's campaigns against the Franks and Artuqids. There is also a short article concerning Zangī written in 1935 by K.V. Zettersteen which appeared in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

C. Cahen, in Syrie du Nord: a époque des Croisades et la principauté Franque d'Antioche, gives a vivid description of the events occurring

between the Franks and the Muslims and the incidence of Zangī's involvement in them.

In 1948 Ḥasan Habashy wrote Nūr ed-Dīn and the Crusaders, which described the wars of Nūr al-Dīn against the Crusaders. Zangī was briefly mentioned as being the father of Nūr al-Dīn.

In A History of the Crusades, which was published in 1951 by S. Runciman, Zangī is mentioned only in connection with his intrigues and battles against the Franks and Byzantines.

M.A. Köymen wrote Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi in 1954.

It is a history of the Seljuq Empire and its relations with the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. Zangī's name appears on account of his relationship with the Seljuqid Sultāns.

In Ḥusayn Munis' book, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, published in Cairo, 1954, he speaks of Zangī when he refers to the origin of Nūr al-Dīn.

H.A.R. Gibb, in A History of the Crusades, edited by K.M. Setton, published a chapter, "Zengi and the fall of Edessa", in 1962. In this chapter he clarifies the confusion over the events which concern the two Maliks under Zangī's guardianship and describes his capture of Edessa.

A. Sevim in his work, Suriye Selçukluları, which was published in 1965, described the first appearance of the Seljuqs in Syria and wrote about Zangī's father, Aq-Sonqur, who was the first Seljuq governor of Aleppo.

Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd is also the subject of another book by N. Elisseoff which was published in 1967. As the title, Nūr al-Dīn: un grand

Musulman de Syrie au temps des Croisades, indicates, Nūr al-Dīn is the main topic and Zangī also receives mention.

An interesting and informative study is found in L'islam et la Croisade: idéologie et propagande dans les réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades, published in 1968 by E. Sivan. He defines "Jihād" in Islam during the period of the Crusades and discusses Zangī's role in this connection.

J.B. Segal in his work, Edessa 'the blessed city', which was published in 1970, leaves nothing to add concerning the siege and the subsequent capture of Edessa by Zangī.

The only book which directly concerns Zangī was published in 1971 by 'Imād al-Dīn Khalīl, under the title 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī'. This was submitted to the Baghdad University as an M.A. thesis and recently, in 1971, was published in Beirut. The work was written strictly according to Arabic sources and mainly depended on Ibn al-Athīr's work, al-Bāhir fī Dawlat al-Atābakīya. He wrongly attributed Zangī's actions to religious motives and shows him as the protagonist of the "Jihād". He reveals an obvious prejudice against the Franks and Byzantines.

The importance of the office which Zangī held under the Suljuqs is not clarified and in it the relations between the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate and the Seljuqid states remain somewhat obscure, which leads to some misunderstanding in this work.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND TO 'IMĀD AL-DĪN ZANGĪ'S LIFE

(1088-1127 A.D.)

## CHAPTER I

### BACKGROUND TO 'IMĀD AL-DĪN ZANGĪ'S LIFE (1088-1127 A.D.)

Zangī<sup>1</sup> was the only surviving son of Qasīm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur. He was born in Aleppo in 480/1087-1088, where, not long after, his father became the ruler of the town. Aq-Sonqur was brought up and had been trained in the court of the Seljuq Sultān Alp-Arslān, and when Malik-Shāh succeeded his father, Alp-Arslān, Aq-Sonqur entered his service.<sup>2</sup>

According to Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-'Adīm, the name of Aq-Sonqur's father was Turghān, who was from the Turkish tribe of Sābyū.<sup>3</sup>

When Sultān Malik-Shāh took possession of Aleppo and its citadel on II Sha'abān 479/3 December 1086, Aq-Sonqur was one of his commanders. After the surrender of the city the Sultān went to Antioch where he was acknowledged by Hasan b. Tāhir, the vizier of Sulaymān b. Qutulmush. He appointed one of his officers, Yaghī-Siyān, as governor, after which the Sultān returned to Aleppo. There he appointed Nuḥ al-Turkī as commander of the citadel and, on

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1. The reason why he was named "Zangī" is not clear, perhaps because he was the only surviving child. The translation of "Zangī" is "Black African" which may have been given to him in deference to an old Turkish belief. A name which concealed the parents' real feeling was often given to prevent evil from overtaking the child. Another possibility is that it perhaps related to a swarthy complexion. See C.E. Bosworth, The Islamic Dynasties, 121.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakīya, 4; Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, VI, 206b.
  3. Ibn al-'Adīm, ibid.; see also, A. Sevim, "Bugyetūt-taleb fi tarih-i Haleb'e göre Emīr Ak-Sungur", AUDTCFTAD, IV, No. 6-7, 104.

the advice of his vizier, Nizām al-Mulk, Aq-Sonqur as ruler of the town.<sup>1</sup>

Sulṭān Malik-Shāh further honoured Aq-Sonqur with the title of Qasīm al-Dawla, and finally left him with a garrison of 4,000 cavalry. As he returned through Edessa, the Sulṭān appointed another of his officers, Bozān, as its governor.<sup>2</sup>

Qasīm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur was the first Seljuq ruler of Aleppo and during his reign he brought stability and security to it. Produce and merchandise were plentiful and cheap. He concentrated upon the best interest of the Aleppines and in turn they loved and respected him until his assassination by Tāj al-Dawla Tutush, the brother of Malik-Shāh.<sup>3</sup> When Zangī later was appointed as governor of Aleppo the respect in which the Aleppines had held Aq-Sonqur stood his son in good stead and ensured him a welcome.

Tutush previously had been sent to Syria by Malik-Shāh. He was a man of keen and relentless ambitions and when in 485/1092, Malik-Shāh died, he planned to succeed him. For this purpose he moved near to Aleppo, where he forced Aq-Sonqur to join him. Aq-Sonqur's loyalty, however, lay with Maḥmūd,<sup>4</sup>

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1. Al-‘Aynī, XXI, 262b.

2. Al-‘Azīmī, 366-367; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 105; idem, al-Atābakīya, 6; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 100-101; idem, Bughya, VII, 198a-b; al-Bundārī, 81 (Turkish trans. 83); Matthew of Edessa (Turkish trans) 172; Abū Shāma, I, 18; Abū al-Fidā’, II, 207; Rāwandī, 129 (Turkish trans. 127); Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 46-47; Zāhīr al-Dīn, 31; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.) I, 231.

3. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 107; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 102-103; idem, Bughya, III, 267b-268a; Abū Shāma, I, 19.

4. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 106.

Malik-Shāh's younger son, and when he realised Tutush's ambition and learned of the struggle for the sultanate between Malik-Shāh's sons, circumstances forced Aq-Sonqur into temporary recognition of Tutush. For similar reasons Bozān and Yaghī-Siyān also joined Tutush on his way to Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile in Khurāsān Mahmūd's mother, Terken Khātūn, who was acting as regent for Mahmūd, was killed (487/1094). The eldest son of Malik-Shāh, Berk-Yaruq, a boy of thirteen, was proclaimed sulṭān.<sup>2</sup> This presented an opportunity to Tutush who was on his way to claim the succession when Aq-Sonqur and Bozān, together with their followers, deserted him. Because of their desertion Tutush was obliged to return to Syria. Sulṭān Berk-Yaruq accompanied Aq-Sonqur and Bozān to al-Rahba and from there they were escorted by the Sulṭān's troops to Aleppo. Angered at their behaviour, Tutush prepared himself for an attack upon them, while Aq-Sonqur made counter-preparations. He received reinforcements from Bozān and also from Kūr-Bughā, the governor of Mosul, and Yūsuf b. Ābiq, governor of al-Rahba. The armies met on 8 Jumādā 487/26 May 1094 by the stream of Sab'īn, near Tell al-Sulṭān, which lay six parasanges to the east of Aleppo. Aq-Sonqur lost the battle and was taken prisoner by Tutush. When brought into his presence Tutush asked him "What would you do if I were your prisoner?"; Aq-Sonqur replied, "I would execute you"; upon which Tutush

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1. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Atābakīya*, 12; Ibn al-Adīm; *Zubda*, II, 102-103; Abū Shāma, I, 65; Ibn Wāsil, I, 23; Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 58.

2. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *op. cit.*, 11-12; Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 59; see also C.E. Bosworth, "The political and dynastic history of Iranian world - A.D. 1000-1217", *CHI*, V, 77-78.



gave the command to carry out this sentence upon Aq-Sonqur (487/1094).<sup>1</sup>

At the time of his father's death Zangī was a mere boy of seven years old. His mother was killed, probably by accident, when her husband Aq-Sonqur was amusing himself by practising knife throwing. Full of contrition he sent his wife's body to Khurāsān for burial.<sup>2</sup>

Not long after Aq-Sonqur's death Qiwām al-Dawla Kūr-Bugha took Zangī under his protection and Mosul became the place of Zangī's education and early training. His first experience in battle was the siege of Āmid. When Kūr-Bugha died in 494/1101, Mūsā al-Turkomānī succeeded him but he was murdered shortly afterwards. Mosul then passed into the hands of Shams al-Dawla Chigirmish, a former mamlūk of Malik-Shāh and ruler of Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, who cared for Zangī until his own death by murder in 500/1106-1107. Zangī did not forget the kindness he had received from him and later, when he himself became the atabeg of Mosul, he granted iqta' to Naṣr al-Ghūrī, Chigirmish's son, whose daughter Zangī afterwards married. While Chavli Saqava ruled Mosul, Zangī remained in his service until, because of disobedience to the Sultān, Chavli was replaced by amīr Mawdūd. Zangī took

1. Al-'Azīmī, 370; Ibn al-Jawzī, IX, 77; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 157; idem, al-Atābekiyya, 15; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 106-110; idem, Bughya, III, 272b; al-Bundārī, 84 (Turkish trans. 85); Abū Shāma, I, 65; Ibn Wāsil, I, 22-25; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 232; Rashid al-Dīn, II, part 5, 59; Zāhir al-Dīn, 36; see also O. Turan, Selçuklular tarihi ve Türk-Islam medeniyeti, 176-178; A. Sevim, Suriye Selçukluları, 114-115; N. Elisseff, II, 284-285; H.A.R. Gibb, "Ak-Sunqur b. 'Abd Allah", EJ2, I, 324.

2. Al-'Azīmī, 367; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 105; idem, Bughya, III, 272 a-b.

part in Mawdūd's battles against the Franks<sup>1</sup> and remained with him throughout the campaigns of 504/1111 and of 506/1113. At the siege of Tiberias, Zangī's bravery was outstanding, but unfortunately for him, Mawdūd was also assassinated. In 507/1114 he served under Porsuqī whose actual name was, by strange coincidence, the same as that of Zangī's father Aq-Sonqur.<sup>2</sup> During this period he assisted Aq-Sonqur in many campaigns against the Franks, as he also did when Sulṭān Muḥammad Tapar sent Aq-Sonqur Porsuqī against them with troops from Mosul. When this campaign ended Zangī returned to Mosul where he remained in the service of the Sulṭān's son Malik Mas'ūd and his Atabeg Chavush Beg.<sup>3</sup>

In 511/1118 Sulṭān Muḥammad Tapar died and left five sons, Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd, Toḡhril, Sulaymān-Shāh and Seljuq-Shāh. Each of them had been allotted to posts in different parts of the empire. He named his eldest son Maḥmūd as his successor. Sulṭān Muḥammad Tapar's brother Sanjar had been made ruler of the eastern provinces, and almost immediately after Maḥmūd's succession he proclaimed himself sulṭān and defeated his young nephew Maḥmūd

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1. Ibn 'Asākir, 385.
  2. Aq-Sonqur was a mamlūk serving the amīr Porsuq, who had himself been a mamlūk in the sulṭān's service (Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, III, 275a). The names are Turkish; Aq-Sonqur meaning "White Ger Falcon" and Porsuq "Badger". Arab chroniclers quote the name as al-Bursuqī because in Arabic there is no letter 'p', and the suffix 'i' is nisba (meaning 'of' or 'from'). For the names of mamlūks, see J. Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de mamelouks", JA (1950), 31.
  3. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakiya, 20-24; Abū Shāma, I, 62-68; Ibn Wāsil, I, 28-29; W.B. Stevenson, 121.

at Sāveh in 513/1119.<sup>1</sup> When peace was restored Sanjar gave one of his daughters, Mah-Malak Khātun, to Maḥmūd in marriage and sent him to the western part of the empire.<sup>2</sup> He gave Maḥmūd the title of sulṭān and named him as his heir. Sanjar himself remained in the eastern part of his empire which included all the territory as far as Rayy, and assumed the title of al-Sulṭān al-A'zam (the greatest sulṭān or supreme ruler).<sup>3</sup>

The opposition to Maḥmūd's accession in Iraq first came from Malik Mas'ūd. He received support from local Turcomans and Kurdish chiefs, and particularly from the Mazyadid Dubays b. Ṣadaqa, an Arab.<sup>4</sup> The father of Dubays, Ṣadaqa, had previously utilised the hostility between the brothers Muḥammad Tapar and Berk-Yaruq in order to raise his own prestige, while he was the amīr of Hilla. Dubays saw that his own power could also be increased by encouraging the hostility between Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd.<sup>5</sup> In Rabī' I, 514/June 1120 Maḥmūd's army, under the commander-in-chief, Aq-Soqur Porsuqī, defeated Mas'ūd at

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1. Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 80-82.
  2. Rāwandī, 205 (Turkish trans. I, 198); Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 106; Zahīr al-Dīn, 53.
  3. On coins of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Sanjar appears as al-Sulṭān al-A'zam and Maḥmūd as al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam. The term "al-Sulṭān al-A'zam" actually appears on the coins of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tapar, which were struck in Iṣfahān in 506 H. (S. Lane-Poole, Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum, III, 42-43, nos. 81-82; D. Sourdcl, Inventaire des monnaies Musulmanes anciennes du musée de Caboul, 92, no. 578; Markoff, Inventarnii katologi Musulmanskih moneti imperatorskavo Ermitaja, 371, nos. 51-52; C. Alptekin, "Selçuklu paraları", SAD, III, 536-545.)
  4. For Dubays see Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, V, 315 a-b.
  5. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakiya, 22; Abū al-Fidā', II, 243.

Asadābād. Mas'ūd received Maḥmūd's pardon and was given Ādharbāyjān, although he lost the iqṭa' of Mosul to Aq-Sonqur. Mas'ūd's other supporter, Dubays, was forced to take refuge among his wife's relatives, the Artuqids of Mārdīn.<sup>1</sup>

Together, Sulṭān Maḥmūd and the Caliph al-Mustarshid (512-529/1118-1135) sent a messenger to Artuq b. II-Ghāzī asking him to sever relations with his son-in-law Dubays. Artuq refused their request although he astutely reaffirmed his oath of loyalty to the Sulṭān and the Caliph. By this means Artuq was not only able to retain contact with the Caliph but to act as mediator on behalf of Dubays and it was not long before the latter was able to return to his capital Hilla. He then made the mistake of dismissing the Seljuq Shihna<sup>2</sup> and banishing his followers from the city. This action incurred the Caliph's anger and he called upon Maḥmūd to send an expedition against him, from which Dubays fled without a fight. The Caliph, however, realizing that Dubays would again stir up trouble, asked Maḥmūd to leave Aq-Sonqur as shihna of Iraq in Baghdad. Aq-Sonqur was installed in the post and his instructions were to remain on the defensive. This policy on the part of the Caliph had the desired effect upon Dubays, who prepared to attack Baghdad. The Caliph immediately mobilised his forces and together with Aq-Sonqur's troops, they engaged Dubays in battle on Friday Rabī' I, 516/9 June 1122. Aq-Sonqur was defeated and the victorious Dubays unexpectedly refrained from his usual practice of looting. By this politic behaviour, he endeavoured to pose as a real statesman, and the

1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Aḥbākīya, 23-24; Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 108; Zāhīr al-Dīn, 54; Bar Hebraeus, (Budge's trans.), I, 249.

2. For the office of shihna see, A. K. S. Lambton, "The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the Atabat al-Katāba", BSOAS, XX, 380-382.

Caliph entered into an agreement with him.<sup>1</sup>

Sulṭān Maḥmūd strongly disapproved of any agreement made with Dubays without his knowledge and consent. The Great Sulṭān Sanjar, fully aware of the position in Iraq, sent a message by the envoy Harawī<sup>2</sup> asking Maḥmūd to appoint Aḥmad b. Nizām al-Mulk, the brother of Maḥmūd's vizier 'Uthmān as the Caliph's vizier. Meanwhile the vizier Ibn Sadaqa had been replaced by a nā'ib. The Caliph, however, concurred and Aḥmad received the appointment.<sup>3</sup> It was not by coincidence that the post of the Caliph's vizier and similar offices with both the Great Sulṭān Maḥmūd had been filled by relatives of one family. Sanjar's vizier 'Abdurrazzāq Tūsī was the nephew of Nizām al-Mulk and Sanjar used this means to cement good relations between the Caliphate and the states.

Such an arrangement did not suit Dubays and he accused the Caliph of a breach of agreement and by renewed attacks on the city, he forced the

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1. The agreement between the Caliph and Dubays contained certain conditions. One was that Aq-Sonqur should be banished from Baghdad; his brother Mansūr should be freed by the Caliph's influence and the Caliph's vizier, Ibn Sadaqa, be executed. These conditions were not carried out, and Dubays used the omission to again attack Baghdad. (Ibn al-Jawzī, IX, 235; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 428; Sibṭ, (Jewett), 61-62.
  2. Zayn al-Islām Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Harawī, grand judge, was sent as a messenger to Sanjar on behalf of the Caliph and Maḥmūd; after approximately one year he returned, and on his way to Baghdad he called on Maḥmūd with Sanjar's instructions. (Ibn al-Jawzī, IX, 222). A few years later he was sent to Sanjar again with a proposal from the Caliph to marry his daughter. En route to Baghdad he was assassinated by Ismā'īlis in Hamadān (Sibṭ, (Jewett), 69).
  3. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, x, 425; Ibn Ṭiqṭaqā, 273.

Caliph to take serious action against him. The Caliph, not content with being merely a religious leader, endeavoured to raise an army of his own, appointing Nazar, one of his eunuchs, commander-in-chief. He then gave orders for mobilisation, proclaiming the war to be Jihād (Holy War). Messengers were sent to all amīrs for help; Aq-Sonqur went to Baghdad to assist the Caliph in his suppression of Dubays's activities, although on this occasion he did not take supreme command, but organised the army. From Mosul reinforcements arrived under the command of Altun-Tāsh al-Āburī and Zangī, both of whom were under the order of Aq-Sonqur, to establish themselves at Wāsiṭ in lower Iraq, where the population welcomed them. This was the first time Zangī had assumed responsibility for an important military operation. He received Wāsiṭ as iqṭāʿ and was charged to maintain the Sultān's authority over this province. Thus augmented, the Caliph's troops, together with the Sultān's, were now ready to face Dubays, who had organised his army well. His men had been promised much loot when they should reach and sack the palace of the Caliph. This, however, was vain boasting. Dubays' army was defeated near the town of Nil<sup>1</sup> in Muharram 517/ March 1123 close to the canal from which it took its name, and most of his men were either killed or captured, although Dubays himself escaped.<sup>2</sup>

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1. The battle took place at Mubārrakiyya on the canal Nil which is near Hilla (Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakīya, 25-26; for the canal see G. Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 72-73).
  2. Ibn al-Jawzī, IX, 235; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 429; idem, al-Atābakīya, 25-26; Sibṭ (Jewett), 61-62; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 193.

In 518/1124-1125 Sulṭān Maḥmūd relieved Aq-Sonqur of his functions as Shihna of all Iraq, and appointed Bārān-Qushī Zakawī. Aq-Sonqur was given command of the Mosul army which was to take part in a further campaign to stop the Frankish advance. Aq-Sonqur summoned Zangī, who, however, preferred to receive his orders direct from the Sulṭān. Instead of obeying the summons Zangī went to Iṣfahān where he was cordially received and presented with the iqṭā' of Baṣra. He was also given a sum of money and married the rich widow of Amīr Kūn-Ṭoḡhdī who became his second wife.<sup>2</sup>

After his crushing defeat Dubays conceived another plan. He attached himself to Malik Ṭoḡhril, the brother of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and incited him to establish a new state in Iraq under his own rule. The idea seems to have appealed to Ṭoḡhril who was willing to cooperate with Dubays. Dubays perhaps dreamed of future aggrandisement through the rise of Ṭoḡhril. The plan, however, did not reach fruition as the Caliph, together with his vizier Ibn Ṣadaqa,<sup>3</sup> left Baghdad and advanced towards Ṭoḡhril and Dubays who were near Baghdad. There was no time in which to plan for battle and rather than risk defeat, Malik Ṭoḡhril went eastward. Deserted by Ṭoḡhril, Dubays

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakīya, 28; Abū Shāma, I, 73; Ibn al-Adīm Bughya, II, 375a-b; Ibn Waṣil, I, 30; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 193.
  2. Ibn al-Jawzī, IX, 249; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, x, 439; idem, al-Atābakīya, 27.
  3. Ibn Sadaqa was re-appointed after Aḥmad had been dismissed by the Sulṭān Maḥmūd (Ibn al-Jawzī, IX, 443).

endeavoured to make his own peace but failed; perhaps because of the more far-sighted vizier's influence with the Caliph. Dubays had no choice but to return to Toghril and together they took refuge with the Great Sulṭān Sanjar and endeavoured to poison his mind with tales of Maḥmūd's disloyalty to Sanjar and his closeness to the Caliph. Sanjar wisely welcomed his nephew Toghril, but temporarily cast Dubays into prison.<sup>1</sup>

In 519/1125 a quarrel broke out between the Caliph and the Shiḥna of Baghdad. The Caliph, ambitious for greater prestige, resented the Sulṭān's power and desired to lessen it in his caliphate. Bārān-Qush Zakawī considered it to be his duty to inform Maḥmūd, and in Rajab 519/August 1125 he went to Iṣfahān in order to alert the Sulṭān to this danger. The Caliph's rising confidence in his own military expertise, together with the encouragement of his vizier, Ibn Ṣadaqa, was becoming an increasing menace. Ibn Ṣadaqa, he said, had written letters to Arab and Kurdish amīrs to unite with the Caliph and the Shiḥna was threatened. These conditions, under which he himself could not function, had caused him to lay the matter before the Sulṭān.<sup>2</sup>

Maḥmūd, perhaps, felt that his own interest would be better served by an alliance with the Caliph who had defeated his brother Toghril. Sanjar, now the protector of Toghril, was older and wiser than Maḥmūd and also had

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1. Al-ʿAzimī, 396; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 443; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 91.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., X, 447-448; Abū Shāma, I, 74; Ibn Wāsil, I, 30-31; M.A. Köymen, II, 81.



a greater experience of the nature of the Caliph. He advised his nephew not to trust him and was so certain that Maḥmūd would realise the treachery and ambition of the Caliph's nature that he selected a vizier for him who was charged to deliver the ultimatum. Maḥmūd realised the wisdom of Sanjar's demands, broke his agreement with the Caliph and prepared to go to Baghdad,<sup>1</sup> thus reversing the Caliph's plans. This sudden withdrawal by Maḥmūd somewhat alarmed the Caliph who thereupon endeavoured to deter his departure by a plea of famine in that area.<sup>2</sup>

The Caliph used this pretext in order to cover his own unreadiness. He needed one more year in which to strengthen his military resources and for administrative preparation. With this in mind he even offered Maḥmūd a large sum of money to prevent him from carrying out his intention. All his efforts, however, failed to produce the desired result and the Caliph left his residence on the left bank of the Tigris to take up a defensive position. Maḥmūd's attitude, however, was one of conciliation and he sent a delegation to the Caliph, headed by Bārān-Qush Zakawī, whom the Caliph accused of influencing the Sulṭān against him. By this time the relations between Maḥmūd and the Caliph had become so

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1. Ibn al-Jawzī (*al-Muntazam*, IX, 254-255) mentions Sanjar's letter but Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*al-Kāmil*, X, 447-448) records it as Maḥmūd's own choice of action.
  2. Ibn al-Jawzī, *ibid*; Sibṭī (MS), XIX, 92b-93a; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *ibid*; the latter again gives a different view concerning the famine in the area as being caused by Dubays' looting. Muhammad al-ʿImrānī, (*Kitāb al-Anbāʾ fi Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, 154a) supports Ibn al-Aṭhīr. In addition the Caliph is said to have pointed out that there would not be enough food to support two armies after the district had suffered from Dubays' looting. This appears to confirm the supposition that the Caliph also had an army there.

strained that solution by force was inevitable.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Mustarshid launched an offensive commanded by 'Afif towards the south in an endeavour to secure control of lower Iraq. In obedience to an order given by the Sulṭān, Zangī took immediate action. From Baṣra he marched along the bank of the Euphrates to Waṣīt. He sent a warning to 'Afif to give up his project and return to his master. This warning was ignored and a battle ensued in which the troops of 'Afif were completely routed. Zangī, who according to Ibn al-Athīr, had no desire to capture 'Afif, allowed him to escape. He returned to the Caliph who, upon learning of his defeat, was alarmed and hastened to reinforce the city's defence, and placed the garrison under the command of his Chamberlain (Ḥājib), Ibn al-Ṣāhib.<sup>2</sup>

Maḥmūd arrived at the head of his troops on 18 Dhu'l-Hijja 520/ 4 January 1126 at the outskirts of Baghdad. He again proffered a peaceful solution which the Caliph refused, and fighting broke out; first at the edge of the city, afterwards spreading into the town. The Sulṭān's men pillaged the Caliph's palace<sup>3</sup> and the population joined the fighting by attacking

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1. Ibn al-Jawzī, IX, 254-255; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 447-448.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, ibid; idem, al-Atābakīya, 29-30.
  3. According to al-Bundārī, 152; (Turkish trans., 144) the looting was arranged by Maḥmūd's vizier Dargazīnī, who was, however, accused of receiving a bribe, dismissed and imprisoned. He was afterwards freed and appointed as vizier to Maḥmūd's wife by the wish of Sanjar; afterwards Dargazīnī was again raised to the post of Maḥmūd's vizier (Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 459).

the Sulṭān's palace and also that of the vizier. At this point of the contest the advantage seemed to be on the side of the Caliph who had successfully repulsed all attacks, until Zangī arrived after travelling by land and river. Zangī's undoubted military talents turned the scale in the Sulṭān's favour. He moved with astonishing rapidity through a region of marshes and canals, requisitioning all available boats en route from Wasīf, Baṣra and Baṭīḥa and sending his troops up the Tigris valley. With the approach of such powerful reinforcements, added to the desertion of the Kurdish Amīr of Irbīl, Abū al-Hayjā, the Caliph panicked. The Sulṭān's troops had carried the battle into the streets of the city and Zangī's men penetrated strategically from the river, disembarking on the banks and attacking the Caliph's forces from the rear, until, overwhelmed by superior force and strategy, the Caliph asked for peace. Maḥmūd was willing to agree, although his commanders considered such clemency to be foolish. Maḥmūd, none the less, granted the Caliph's plea, but demanded from him a large sum of money and a considerable quantity of weapons and horses.<sup>1</sup>

The strong personality and obvious capability of Zangī quickly singled him out to qualify for promotion. The skill and foresight he had shown during the recent struggle had proved his ability to control a difficult situation. When Maḥmūd, therefore, contemplated a return to Isfahān, Zangī was an

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 215-216; Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 3; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 449-450; idem, al-Atābakīya, 30; Rāwandī, 205 (Turkish trans., I, 198); Abū Shāma, I, 74; Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 107; Zahr al-Dīn, 53; M.A. Köymen, II, 80-111; N. Elisseff, II, 327-329.

obvious choice as his representative in Baghdad. His qualities of leadership combined with his military skill were sufficient to check any future attempts by the Caliph to regain control. In Rabī' I, 520/April 1126 the Sultān entrusted him with the post of Shihna of Baghdad with which he also successfully combined the fiefs he had previously held in Wāsīt and Baṣra.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, events were taking place in Mosul which were to influence Zangi's future. On Friday, 9 Dhu'l -Qa'da 520/26 November 1126, as Aq-Sonqur Porsuqī was on his way to deliver the Khuṭba at the great Mosque of Mosul, he was attacked and assassinated, despite the coat of mail he was wearing.<sup>2</sup> All his attackers, who were disguised as dervishes, were lynched by the crowd and only one of them managed to escape.<sup>3</sup> Al-Bundārī writes of the assassination, and claims that it was arranged by Qiwām al-Dīn Nāṣir ibn 'Alī al-Dargazīnī, the vizier of Sultān Maḥmūd. He adds that the assassination had been planned some years previously but until this time opportunity had been lacking. He states that the vizier al-Dargazīnī was jealous of Aq-Sonqur but

1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakiya, 30; Abū Shāma, I, 74; Ibn Wāsil, 31; Abū al-Fidā', II, 250; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 92; M.A. Köymen, II, 110.

2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 214 (Gibb's trans., 177); al-'Azīmi, 397; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 446-447; *idem*, al-Atābakiya, 31; al-Bundārī, 144-145 (Turkish trans., 137); Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, III, 275a-279b; Ibn al-Azraq, 163a; Qāḍī 'Imād al-Dīn, 120; Abū Shāma, I, 75; Ibn Wāsil, I, 31; Abū al-Fidā', II, 239; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 252; B. Lewis, The Assassins, 105.

3. Ibn al-'Adīm, who quoted from the Tārīkh of Abū al-Fawaris Hamdān ibn 'Abdurrahmān, gives in Bughya (III, 279a-b) and in Zubda (II, 235) a further account of the incident. He says that some of the assassins were killed, some were arrested and afterwards executed. One, however, who actually escaped was from Kafr Nasih, a village in the district of 'Azāz, north of Aleppo.

had failed to induce the Sultān to banish him.<sup>1</sup>

Aq-Sonqur's son, 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, was in Aleppo at the time of his father's assassination and he received the news from his father's friends. He left Aleppo immediately for Mosul which he entered at the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja 520/ January 1126, where he was acknowledged by the army. He remained in Mosul awaiting official confirmation from Sultān Maḥmūd at Iṣfahān of appointment to his father's post.<sup>2</sup>

'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd was both capable and wise, and strong enough to hold the post. He retained his father's influence over his staff and endeavoured to maintain his precepts. A former Turkish mamlūk of his father's, named Chavli, was appointed as his vizier. Mas'ūd's position became strongly established but, later, his ambitions began to expand and he conceived the idea of the conquest of Syria and took part in the Holy War against the Franks. He was, however, checked in the application of his programme by the person of the Atabeg of Damascus, Tugh-Tegīn. For three years the Atabeg had strengthened his power in Central Syria. On Rabi' II 520/May 1126, he had seized the town of Palmyra (Tadmur), an important halting place on the commercial routes which linked Syria with al-Jazīra and Baghdad. In the spring of 521/1127 'Izz al-Dīn

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1. Al-Bundārī, 145 (Turkish trans., 137-138).

2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 214 (Gibb's trans. 178); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 447; idem, al-Atābakīya, 32; Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, III, 279a-b; Ibn Wāsil, I, 31; Abū al-Fidā', II, 250; 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd's land included Mosul, al-Jazīra, Aleppo, Hamā, Jazīrat ibn 'Umar which passed to Zangī after his death (Abū Shāma, I, 75).

Mas'ūd was determined to mobilize his forces in an attempt to extend his land in Syria. Ṭugh-Tegīn in Damascus also conceived a similar idea and made preparations to march against Mas'ūd's troops. The course of events, however, was dramatically changed. A few days later Mas'ūd suddenly died while he was besieging al-Rah̄ba; on the day of his death Rajab 521/ July 1127, the army of Mosul disintegrated and part of its strength joined Ṭugh-Tegīn.<sup>1</sup>

In Mosul, the vizier Chavli assumed control and proclaimed Mas'ūd's younger brother<sup>2</sup> as sovereign. He sent a delegation to Baghdad to obtain official investiture for his protégé, composed of Qādī Bahā' al-Dīn, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Qāsim al-Shahrazūrī and the former chamberlain of aq-Sonqur, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghī-Basān. To emphasise his request he also sent a large sum of money. These delegates, whose loyalties were with Zangī, and who were afraid of Chavli, had no wish to remain in his service. The Sultān Maḥmūd also appears to have had a bias in favour of Zangī which probably was confirmed by the delegates. Zangī had obviously developed the characteristics of a firm ruler, and Maḥmūd therefore appointed him to the governorship of Mosul. At the same time he placed his son Alp-Arslān under his

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 213 (Gibb's trans. 178); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 453; idem, al-Atābakīya, 32; Abū Shama, I, 75; Abū al-Fidā', II, 250.
  2. Cf. C. Cahen, Syrie du Nord, 306; N. Elisseeff, II, 330.

guardianship, by which action Zangī received the title of Atabeg.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly later events proved the wisdom of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's choice.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Zangī was guardian to two Seljuq Maliks, one Farrukh-Shāh, had been captured from Dubays; this was probably the child whom Dubays had seized when he left Maḥmūd just after the Sulṭān's wife, Maḥ-Malak Khātūn, died (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 461). Al-Bundārī (205-206; Turkish trans., 186) records that "Zangī was the guardian of two Maliks, the one known as Alp-Arslān lived in a castle in Sinjār. The other Farrukh-Shāh (also known as Malik Khafajī) lived in Mosul. The latter, who was entrusted to the care of Amīr Dubays, was captured by Zangī during a battle. Zangī treated him well as also did Sukmana Khātun, Zangī's wife, and they both helped to form his character and assisted his education." There appears to be some confusion in the sources over names and events connected with them. Dubays actually left the malik he had seized at Qal'at Ja'bar.

Al-'Azīmī, 399; Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 5; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 453-454; idem, *al-Aṭabakīya*, 34-35; Abū Shāma, I, 75-76; Abū al-Fidā', II, 250; Ibn Khallikān, I, 51; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 31-33; Qādī 'Imād al-Dīn, 120; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, 92; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 253; *Ano. Syr. Chl.*, part I, 101; Bidlisi, 478-479; C.E. Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 126-127, C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, 306.

CHAPTER II

ZANGĪ'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SELJUQS AND THE  
CALIPHATE



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At the time of his appointment to Mosul, Zangī was in Baghdad. As Atabeg he probably realised that this would arouse opposition from Chavli, and as a precaution he took over Bawāzīj which might have served the ex-vizier as a base. His foresight stood him in good stead, for when Chavli heard that Zangī was approaching Mosul, he collected his forces and left the city to intercept him. Discretion, however, seems to have prevailed and he cast himself at Zangī's feet in token of submission to the Sultān's orders, and together they ceremoniously entered the city.<sup>1</sup>

The position caused the inevitable re-organisation of official personnel. Amīr Chavli received al-Raḥba, Naṣr al-Dīn Chaqir was appointed as the Dizdār of the citadel of Mosul and was made superintendent of all castles in that region. Both of Chavli's delegates received recognition for their previous services to Zangī; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yaghī-Basān was made amīr ḥajīb (chamberlain), whilst Bahā' al-Dīn Shahrazūrī became qādī al-quḍāt (grand judge) and Zangī's personal adviser.<sup>2</sup>

The governor of Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, a former mamlūk of Aq-Sonqur Porsuqī, refused to recognise Zangī's authority. Zangī diplomatically offered

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, 163b; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 454-455; Abū Shāma, I, 76; Ibn Wāsil, I, 34; Qādī 'Imād al-Dīn, 120.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, *ibid*; *idem*, al-Atābakīya, 33-35; Abū Shāma, *ibid*.

him a sum of money in return for co-operation but the amīr refused his offer and Zangī then crossed the Tigris with his troops, some of whom swam, while others crossed in boats. He took up his position at the foot of the town at a spot known as al-Zalāqat. The garrison, which made a sally to prevent the formation of a bridge-head, was overwhelmed and fell back in confusion. The strength of Zangī's forces and the failure of his own troops caused the amīr to negotiate a treaty without delay. This agreement proved providential for Zangī, for on the following night the Tigris suddenly flooded. The waters of the river reached the walls of the town and al-Zalāqat was covered with mud. But for this timely capitulation a large part of Zangī's troops would have perished in the floods. The townsfolk considered the occurrence as an omen of good fortune for him.<sup>1</sup>

From there he marched on to Sinjār without further opposition, occupied it and sent shihnas to all the important towns throughout the territory.<sup>2</sup>

The ravages of anarchy, added to the persistent threats made by the Franks, caused Zangī to hasten to take over his appointment as ruler of Aleppo.

Meanwhile, after the murder of Aq-Sonqur, 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd had appointed Tumān as his representative in Aleppo, but later replaced him by the mamlūk Qutlu Beg.<sup>3</sup> Tumān, however, refused to be displaced until

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 455-456; idem, al-Aṭabakīya, 36; Abū Shāma, I, 77; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 34-35; Abū al-Fidā', II, 250.

2. Ibn Wāṣil, I, 36.

3. For Qutlu Beg (Khutlu Āba) see Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, V, 132a-134a.

he realised that 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd had suddenly died. Upon hearing this he offered to yield the citadel to Qutlu Beg upon payment of 1,000 dīnars. Qutlu Beg, however, was useless as a governor. Conditions in Aleppo went from bad to worse; injustices and looting became all too frequent; and the Aḥdāth (militia) of Aleppo revolted, led by Faḍā' il b. Badī'. Qutlu Beg and his followers were arrested, but the revolt had gained such momentum that it was impossible to restore order. The situation was almost an open invitation to the Franks, who appeared at the gates of the city.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the situation with which Zangī was faced. He sent an advance guard to Aleppo led by two commanders, Sonqur al-Dīrāz and Ḥasan Qarā-Qush, to establish his status as representative of the Sulṭān. They arrived at Aleppo (Dhu'l-Hijja 521/December 1127) bearing with them the diploma of the Sulṭān investing Zangī with Aleppo in addition to the posts already awarded to him in Mosul and al-Jazīra. The population of Aleppo welcomed Zangī's commanders and order was restored. Zangī appointed Ḥasan Qarā-Qush as his deputy in Aleppo, and Sulaymān and Qutlu Beg were sent to Mosul at Zangī's request. There he reconciled the two men, but sent his ḥājib, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yaghī-Basān, together with a troop to take over the citadel. After these preparations, Zangī himself crossed the Euphrates near Qa'lat al-Najm, one day's march to the north-east of Aleppo, and captured Manbij. Then, in Jumādā, II 522/June 1128, he entered Aleppo and was

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1. Ibn al-Qalanīsī, 218 (Gibb's trans., 182-183); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 457; Ibn al-'Adīm, op. cit., VI, 210a-212a; Ibn Wāsil, I, 37-38.

welcomed enthusiastically by its population and his friends.<sup>1</sup>

The amīrs Sonqur al-Dirāz and Ḥasan Qarā-Qush already in Aleppo with a strong army, had used the name of Zangī's father, Qasīm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur, as propaganda to ensure a good reception for Zangī. He lost no time in restoring law and order once again and distributed iqṭā's among the amīrs and soldiers. Qutlu Beg was arrested and sent to Fada' il b. Badī', who blinded him thus causing his death. In order to consolidate his position, Zangī married the daughter of Ridwān b. Tutush.<sup>2</sup>

While Atabeg Zangī was temporarily occupied with his many duties of governorship, Sulṭān Sanjar summoned Maḥmūd to Rayy. His immediate obedience to this command convinced Sanjar that the tales concocted by Dubays and Toghri'l were completely false and that there was no doubt of Maḥmūd's loyalty to him. Sanjar, meanwhile, had released Dubays from prison. Sulṭān Maḥmūd received instructions from Sanjar to go to the Caliph's capital, Baghdad, which he entered unopposed on 19 Muḥarram 523/14 January 1129. Maḥmūd was deputed by Sanjar to reconcile Dubays and the Caliph. He realised, however, the difficulties he would face if Dubays accompanied him,

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1. Al-'Azīmī, 400; Ibn al-Qalānisi, 218 (Gibb's trans., 183); Ibn al-Aṭhīr, al-Kāmil, X, 457-458; idem, al-Atābakīya, 38; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 244; idem, Bughya, VI, 210b-213a; Abū Shāma, I, 77; Ibn Wāsil, I, 38-39; Ibn Khallikān, I, 51; Abū al-Fidā', II, 250-251; Matthew, Turkish trans., 286-287; French trans., 320.
2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, ibid; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, al-Kāmil, X, 457-458; idem, al-Atābakīya, 38; Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, VI, 210b-213a.

and first approached the Caliph alone in an endeavour to discharge this duty. The Caliph, however, refused reconciliation. Later, when Dubays came to Baghdad as a guest of Maḥmūd, the Caliph thought it wiser to take no action against him. Maḥmūd was charged to carry out the policy of Sanjar, which was to take Mosul from Atabeg Zangī and bestow it upon Dubays. This was in complete disagreement with the Caliph's views, who much preferred Zangī to retain this position. When Zangī realised that Maḥmūd had been ordered to displace him he, in turn, offered Maḥmūd 100,000 dīnārs and went to him bearing valuable gifts. They spent three days together and Maḥmūd confirmed his appointment in Mosul, bestowed upon him robes of honour, and instructed him to appear in Mosul prior to returning to Aleppo. Before he left Baghdad, Maḥmūd appointed Bihruz as shihna of Baghdad with which appointment he also included the governorship of Hilla.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of Sanjar's instructions, Maḥmūd acted as an independent Sultān. He ignored Sanjar's request concerning Dubays, and he left Baghdad taking Dubays with him to Hamadān. At this juncture, Maḥmūd's wife, Mah-Malak Khātūn, died. She was the daughter of Sanjar and had been charged by him to watch Dubays' interests and protect him if necessary. Sanjar's court would therefore seem to have been the safest place for him. Instead, he foolishly fled to Syria taking with him the young son of Maḥmūd. Various groups joined him on

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 460; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 244; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 40; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 254; two sources, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, (II, part 2, 389) and Ibn Khallikān (I, 51), both state that the Caliph offered Maḥmūd 100,000 dīnārs to prevent Dubays' appointment; see also M.A. Kāymen, II, 123, 134-139; C. Cahen, Syrie du Nord, 348.

his way to Hilla, but its ruler, on learning of Dubays' approach, fled to Maḥmūd and Dubays entered Hilla in Ramaḍān 522/July 1128. The first to receive the news of these events was the Caliph, who at once mobilised his force. When Sulṭān Maḥmūd realised the situation he summoned Qizil and Aq-Sonqur Aḥmadīlī, the commanders of the army and guarantors of Dubays' actions, and demanded that they should solve the matter. Dubays realised that his forces were not strong enough to fight the joint troops of the Caliph and the Sulṭān, and asked for clemency from the Caliph. He not only offered him loyalty but also the equivalent of any looting suffered by, or damage done to, any part of his territory. Dubays was, however, at the same time acting treacherously. He was accumulating money and recruiting men, until his forces numbered some 10,000 cavalry.<sup>1</sup>

Maḥmūd suddenly appeared in Iraq and his presence put an end to Dubays' plans. It may have been that Maḥmūd wanted to forestall any agreement between the Caliph and Dubays. Dubays was taking no risk and offered Maḥmūd 200,000 dīnārs and 300 horses in the hope of placating the Caliph through Maḥmūd's influence. Maḥmūd refused to trust Dubays, who was forced to abandon Hilla. From there Dubays went to Baṣra where he occupied himself with looting all the Sulṭān's and the Caliph's money and treasure that he could find. Maḥmūd, however, sent Qizil with 10,000 cavalry to Baṣra but Dubays eluded capture by withdrawing to the desert.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, al-Kāmil, X, 461; M.A. Köymen, II, 141-144.

2. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 12; Sibṭī (MS), XIX, 130a; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ibid; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 44.

While Maḥmūd was in Baghdad, his brother Mas'ūd, who until this time had been under the protection of Sanjar, gathered some troops to prepare himself for an attack on Maḥmūd. Sanjar may have allowed Mas'ūd to collect troops in order to teach Maḥmūd a lesson and punish him for his disobedience concerning his instructions. Maḥmūd hastened to leave Baghdad, contrary to the desire of the Caliph, who urged their recent agreement as a reason for him to remain. Maḥmūd, however, disclaimed acknowledgement of any such terms and stated that all previous treaties had been broken. He nevertheless suggested that the Caliph should acknowledge Dā'ūd, his son, as Maḥmūd's successor, which he refused to do on the grounds that the successor would be appointed by Sanjar. Maḥmūd's withdrawal, however, gave the Caliph an opportunity to increase his own prestige.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, Dubays, who had received neither post nor emolument from Maḥmūd, appeared in Syria in 525/1131 at Qa'lat Ja'bar. Here he left the young Seljuq prince with the ruler, Najm al-Dawla Mālīk,<sup>2</sup> and according to the Muslim sources, he joined forces with the Franks for a short time. He appears to have been deserted by the Muslims until the governor of Sarkhad, Fakhr al-Dawla Ghūmūsh-Tegīn,<sup>3</sup> died. The governor's wife despatched a messenger to Dubays offering him the governorship in return for marriage. This offer he gladly accepted as he was anxious to be out of the reach

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1. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 20.

2. Al-'Azīmi, 404-405.

3. Ibn al-Qalanīsī, 231 (Gibb's trans., 205).

of the Caliph al-Mustarshid Billāh in Iraq and refuge in Syria was most opportune. Fortune, however, appears to have forsaken Dubays. His escort melted away, and he found no-one who could direct him to Sarkhad and finally wandered into a Bedouin encampment at Banū Qīlat, east of the Ghuta of Damascus. The lord of Damascus, Tāj al-Mulūk Bōri who had immediately been informed of his presence, seized the opportunity to bring Dubays captive to Damascus and on Monday 6, Sha‘ban 525/6 July 1131 he was consigned to the citadel where he remained prisoner. Tāj al-Mulūk Bōri had promised that the person of Dubays should be delivered to Caliph al-Mustarshid Billāh, but Zangī had other ideas on this subject, and was also in a better bargaining position as he held several Damascene prisoners. Sevinch, son of Tāj al-Mulūk Bōri, was among them and Zangī offered him and the other prisoners, together with 50,000 dīnārs, in exchange for the person of Dubays. The offer was too strong for Tāj al-Mulūk Bōri to refuse, particularly as consent would obviate an attack upon himself. A large detachment of Zangī's army brought the Damascene prisoners to Qārā, a small town north of Nabad, where on 8 Dhu‘l-Hijja 525/2 October 1131 the exchange took place. Dubays' anxiety concerning his own fate was alleviated by Atabeg Zangī, who received him courteously, probably by Sanjar's instructions,<sup>1</sup> and gave him money<sup>2</sup> and weapons.<sup>3</sup>

1. Ibn al-Azraq, 164a.

2. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 249 (it was 100,000 dīnārs).

3. Ibn al-Qalanīsī, 230-231 (Gibb's trans., 205); Sibṭ (Jewett), 83; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 470-471; idem, al-Atābakīya, 46-47; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 247-249; Ibn Waṣīl, I, 45; Qāḍī ‘Imād al-Dīn, 122; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 255.



Meanwhile the Caliph's escort, which included Abū Bishr al-Jazrī and Sadīd al-Dawla ibn al-Anbārī, had set out to receive Dubays, but learned en route that Zangī had rescued him. They continued their journey until they reached Tāj al-Mulūk Bōri in Damascus and remained there for a few days before returning to the Caliph. As the escort was on its return to Baghdad, Zangī's soldiers captured them near al-Rahba as they were crossing the Euphrates. Anbārī, the secretary of the Caliph, suffered great hardship from imprisonment and ill-usage before he was freed and allowed to return to Baghdad.<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, who always portrays the better side of Zangī, excuses his behaviour to the Caliph's escort by stating that their defamatory remarks had been repeated to him.<sup>2</sup> From this time Zangī adopted an anti-Caliph policy. This became more apparent during the Seljuq quarrels after the disappearance of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who died in Shawwāl 525/September 1131.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after Maḥmūd's death his son Dā'ūd was proclaimed as Sulṭān, and was supported by his father's vizier Abū al-Qāsim Dargazīnī and the governor of Marāgha Aq-Sonqur Aḥmadīlī. His suzerainty was, however, accepted only in Jibal (Iraq-i 'Ajam) and Ādharbāyān, where the khujba

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1. Al-'Azīmī, 404-405; Ibn al-Qalānisī, 231-232 (Gibb's trans. 206); Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 250; Ibn Wāsil, I, 45.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 470-471.
  3. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 230; al-Bundārī, 156 (Turkish trans., 147); Ibn al-Azraq, 163b; Sibī (MS), XIX, 110; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 471; idem, al-Afābakīya, 42-43; Qāḍī 'Imād al-Dīn, 122; Abū Shāma, I, 79; Ibn Wāsil, ibid; Zāhir al-Dīn, 54; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part 2, 10.

was read in his name.<sup>1</sup>

His uncle Mas'ūd was the first to dispute his authority and occupied Tabrīz. Dā'ūd surrounded the city, but shortly after they came to an agreement. Mas'ūd requested the Caliph to announce him in the Khujba but he was refused. The Caliph repeated that only Sanjar could give an effective order concerning this, and re-affirmed his opinion by a special message to Sanjar stating that no-one's name except that of Sanjar himself should be read in the khujba.<sup>2</sup>

Mas'ūd contacted Zangī suggesting a mutual alliance and was delighted when Zangī agreed.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear in the sources why Zangī helped Mas'ūd. It may have been his personal choice of a stronger and more reliable character.

Another candidate for the sultanate was Malik Seljuq-Shāh whose atabeg Qarāja al-Sāqī raised a large army in Baghdad. He was welcomed by the Caliph, but Seljuq-Shāh's name was not read in the khujba although the Caliph allied himself with them against Mas'ūd and Zangī. Zangī set off from Mosul to join Mas'ūd but Qarāja al-Sāqī learned of his departure. He left a small number of the troops in Baghdad with Malik Seljuq-Shāh for defence against any action which might be taken by Mas'ūd. With the larger part of the forces he moved rapidly on Zangī, and attacked him at

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1. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 24; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 471; Abū al-Fidā', III, 5.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 474; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 256.
  3. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 475.

Sāmarrā. Zangī was surprised and subsequently defeated by this unexpected attack, whereby he had lost a number of his men, causing him to withdraw to Takrit. His Dizdār was a Kurd named Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and he built a bridge to assist Zangī to cross the Tigris and return to Mosul to reassemble his forces. While Qarāja al-Sāqī was busy attacking Zangī, Mas'ūd, whose forces were not joined with those of Zangī, had been having some skirmishes with Seljuq-Shāh who asked Qarāja al-Sāqī to return at once to assist him. When Mas'ūd heard of Zangī's defeat he withdrew to Varāya; from there he sent a message to the Caliph to inform him of Sanjar's arrival at Rayy. He also offered the Caliph an alliance together with Seljuq-Shāh against Sanjar. An agreement was reached between them that Iraq should be governed by a deputy of the Caliph and Mas'ūd should be the Sulṭān, while Seljuq-Shāh was nominated as his successor ( Jumādā I 526/March-April 1132).<sup>1</sup>

Following this agreement Mas'ūd went to Baghdad and took up residence in the house of the Sulṭān (Dār al-Sulṭān) while Seljuq-Shāh stayed in the house of the Shihna. From that time Sanjar's name was eliminated from the khutba. It was necessary for Sulṭān Sanjar to go to Rayy in the western part of his empire in order to settle the dangerous situation which was augmented by the quarrel between his nephews. He was welcomed by Maḥmūd's ex-vizier Qiwām al-Dīn Nāṣir ibn 'Alī al-Dargazīnī. The vizier had finally left Iraq,

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 25; Sibṭ (MS), XIX, 111; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 475; idem, al-Aṭabakiya, 43; Ibn Wāsil, I, 48-49; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 256-257.

taking with him all his wealth, to join Sanjar to whom he had always given loyal service and also to his nephew Malik Ṭoḡhril. The Sulṭān Sanjar sent a message to Zangī to go to Baghdad together with Dubays and take the opportunity of entering while the resident troops were absent. At the same time he appointed Zangī as Shihna of Baghdad<sup>1</sup> and granted Dubays the iqṭā' of Hilla. Sanjar himself, however, led his army against the allied forces of his nephews and defeated them. The Caliph himself, however, had preferred to watch the course of events and withheld his troops until he could see the result, then returned to Baghdad on the pretext that the capital was in danger. Sanjar pardoned Mas'ūd and presented him with Ādharbāyjan as iqṭā'. The Atabeg Qarāja al-Sāqī was killed, while Ṭoḡhril was proclaimed as sulṭān and his name was read in the khutba in all the territories; al-Dargazīnī became Ṭoḡhril's vizier (Jumādā II 526/May 1132), and Sanjar hastened to return to Khurāsān to quell the riot in Transoxania.<sup>2</sup>

The news of Zangī's departure for Baghdad reached the Caliph while he was at Khānaqīn. He rode to 'Abbāsiyya and encamped there<sup>3</sup> together with 2,000 cavalry. The right flank of his army was commanded by Jamāl al-Dawla Iqbāl, while the left was under the command of Nazar; the Caliph took command of the head. Zangī's troops together with those of Dubays numbered some 7,000 cavalry. Zangī began his attack on the right flank of

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1. The probable explanation of this was that Zangī, on Sanjar's instructions, was dismissed when Maḥmūd was ordered to give the post to Dubays; but Maḥmūd allowed Zangī to retain it. Later he was re-appointed by Sanjar as shihna of Baghdad.
  2. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 26; al-Bundārī, 158-159 (Turkish trans., 149); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 476-477; Rāwandī, 208 (Turkish trans., I, 201); Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 110; Zāhīr al-Dīn, 54; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 256-257.
  3. Al-'Azīmī, 405-406.

the Caliph's forces and put them to flight. The Caliph, sword in hand, charged and defeated Zangī who had been forsaken by Dubays, and killed or captured many of Zangī's men. Notwithstanding the fact that Zangī was almost always victorious when fighting against the Franks, he was defeated by a comparatively small force led by the Caliph. The outcome of the defeat was that Zangī returned to Mosul while the Caliph remained at the scene of the battle for one night, then returned to Baghdad.<sup>1</sup>

After his defeat Dubays went to Hilla where he again mobilised but the Caliph reinforced his commander. Iqbal's troops defeated Dubays who hid in a forest for three days, then fled to Wasit where the Wasit army with those of the amirs Bahtiyar-Shah and Ibn Abir Jabir joined him. The joint forces were, however, again defeated by Iqbal and another Turkish commander of the Caliph, Baran-Qush Bazdar.<sup>2</sup>

The first menace to Sulṭān Ṭoḡhril arose from his nephew Dā'ūd who had been defeated. Dā'ūd joined with Mas'ūd who had not relinquished his claim. He allied himself with the Caliph against Sulṭān Ṭoḡhril and a battle was fought in Rajab 527/25 May 1133. Ṭoḡhril was defeated and Hamadān was captured by Mas'ūd while Ṭoḡhril took refuge in the territories of his uncle Sanjar. Mas'ūd's name was read in the khutba, and he received

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 474-475; idem, al-Atābakīya, 45-46; Ibn Wāsil, I, 50; Abū al-Fida', III, 9; and according to al-'Azīmī (405-406) and Ibn al-'Adīm, (Zubda, II, 251) the battle took place at 'Aqraqūf in Sha'bān/May-June.
  2. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 27; Sibī (Jewett), 85; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 478.

the traditional robes of honour from the Caliph.<sup>1</sup>

The march upon Baghdad and the subsequent arrest of his messenger, added to the release of Dubays, caused the Caliph to send Bahā' al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ al-Iṣfarāynī, the preacher, to Mosul to remonstrate with Zangī. The messenger was, however, arrested upon arrival and the Caliph on receipt of the news immediately advised the Sulṭān of what had occurred. He further informed Mas'ūd that he intended to attack Mosul as a reprisal. Mas'ūd was engaged at that time in Ādharbāyḡān fighting his brother Toghriḡ. The Caliph took advantage of his absence and left for Mosul, in mid-Sha'ban 527/end of June 1133, at the head of his army. Although part of the Caliph's army was with Mas'ūd, it had become very large.<sup>2</sup> Some Turkish commanders had also joined him and altogether there were now 30 commanders in his service. A few years previously he could have only relied upon two or three responsible men, such as Iqbāl, Naẓar and 'Afīf. The growth of this army had been almost phenomenal, taking into consideration the short time that had elapsed. The Caliph set out for Mosul, which he reached on 20 Ramaḍān/26 July, and laid siege to the city. The Atabeg Zangī had strategically left Mosul before the Caliph's arrival leaving Nāṣr al-Dīn Chaqir, the Dizdār, as deputy in his absence, while he himself set off for Sinjar. Zangī's strategy was to occupy

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 238 (Gibb's trans., 220); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 480; Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, III; Zahir al-Dīn, 55.

2. The Caliph's army has been estimated to number some 30,000 soldiers, 12,000 of which were cavalry (Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 2-3; idem, al-Atabakiya, 47; Abū Shāma, I, 79).

key positions on the roads thus cutting food supplies between sections of the Caliph's army and frustrating any possible communication between them. Meanwhile, a plot which had been hatched in the city by partisans of the Caliph, had been uncovered by Naṣr al-Dīn Chaqir and the plotters had been arrested and crucified. The Caliph continued the siege for a while before he abandoned it and returned to Baghdad. The sources give several accounts of this event. The most likely solution of his ignominious return was the Caliph's realisation that he could not succeed. Upon his return to Baghdad, Atabeg Zangī, with his usual perspicacity, wisely contacted him and by gifts and diplomacy again restored peace.<sup>1</sup>

In the western part of the Seljuq empire, fighting was still raging among the princes. After a first defeat, Ṭaghril re-organised his army and put his vizier al-Dargazīnī to death for his unsuccessful efforts. Dā'ūd's separation from Mas'ūd had the effect of benefitting Ṭaghril and several of Dā'ūd's commanders joined him, among whom was Dubays. Ṭaghril's army met and defeated Mas'ūd's army, in 523/1134, inflicting heavy losses at Qazvīn, to the west of Rayy. Weary and dispirited, Mas'ūd went to the Caliph asking for help. He hoped that the Caliph would join him in person and thus help him to defeat his brother Ṭaghril. The Caliph hoped that Mas'ūd would himself face his brother and sent the Shihna of Baghdad, Amīr Chavī al-Qāsim, to report on whether Mas'ūd showed signs of doing so. In the midst of these

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, 164a; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 2-3; idem, al-Atābakīya, 47; Qādī 'Imād al-Dīn, 122; Abū Shāma, I, 79; Ibn Wāsil, I, 52-53; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 257.

preparations the sudden death of Ṭoḡhril was announced in 3 Muḥarram 529/  
24 October 1134. Without losing any time and no longer waiting for the  
Caliph's reactions, Mas'ūd set out for Hamadān without allowing Ṭoḡhril's  
commanders, Sonqur Khūmār-Tegīn, governor of Hamadān, Qīzīl, Bārān-  
Qush Bāzdār,<sup>1</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṭuḡhan Yörüq,<sup>2</sup> Chavli, the ruler of  
Zanjān and Ḥaydār b. Shīrgīr,<sup>3</sup> to plan their future actions and proclaimed  
himself ruler. Together with Dubays, Ṭoḡhril's commanders  
offered their services to the Caliph who suspected treachery because Dubays was  
among them. When the commanders realised that Dubays was the stumbling-  
block to their own acceptance, they tried to capture him, but he escaped and  
went to Sulṭān Mas'ūd.<sup>4</sup>

The strength of the Caliphate in Iraq, added to long unsolved disputes  
among the princes, made the commanders prefer service with the Caliph who was  
willing to accept them. They persuaded him that Mas'ūd was treacherous  
whereupon he cut Mas'ūd's name from the khutba and substituted those of Sanjar  
and Dā'ūd. At the instigation of some of the amīrs the Caliph left  
Baghdad to campaign against Mas'ūd and Jamāl al-Dawla Iqbāl was left in charge  
of the capital. The warnings of the Caliph's vizier Ibn al-Anbārī and the  
treasurer Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭalha not to take action against Mas'ūd were ignored.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 41.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 14.

3. Al-Bundarī, 175 (Turkish trans. 162-163).

4. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 41; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 14-15; Rashīd al-Dīn, II  
part 5, 111; Zahīr al-Dīn, 55.

5. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 44-45; Ibn al-Athīr, ibid; Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 114;  
Zahīr al-Dīn, 56.



At this time Atabeg Zangī was besieging Damascus. The Caliph despatched Ra'īs Bishr b. Karīm b. Bishr to Zangī as envoy, together with gifts and robes of honour and ordered Zangī to join him in his forthcoming fight against Mas'ūd. Zangī sent reinforcements to the Caliph but he himself returned to Aleppo.<sup>1</sup>

The Caliph's progress towards Hamadān, across the Zagros, was slow, and Mas'ūd on his way was able to divert the allegiance of some of his commanders. One Turkish commander Beg-Ābā deserted the Caliph but another, Porsuq b. Porsuq, joined him. A clash between the two forces of the Caliph and Mas'ūd took place on 10 Ramaḡān 529/24 June 1135, but the Caliph's Turkish commanders refused to take the situation seriously and Mas'ūd won an easy victory. In vain the Caliph tried to rouse his army but to no avail. He was taken prisoner together with several notable dignitaries and commanders, and the reinforcements sent by Zangī arrived too late to be of use.<sup>2</sup>

Mas'ūd was in Marāgha with the Caliph as his prisoner and treated him with respect. Together they set off for Hamadān where they reached an agreement, the main points of which were that the Caliph should be allowed to return to Baghdad, but was under obligation to contribute a large sum of money to defray

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 245 (Gibb's trans., 235-236); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atabakiya, 49.
  2. Al-'Azīmi, 410-411; Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibid; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 15; idem, al-Atabakiya, 49; Ibn al-Azraq, 164b-165a; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 250; Muhammad al-'Imrāni, 156a; Rawandī, 227 (Turkish trans., I, 218); Zakīr al-Dīn, 56.

the expenses of the recent war.<sup>1</sup> Further, he promised never again to command an army. The Caliph who had remained for about one and a half months with Mas'ūd, then prepared to return to Baghdad. At this time Sulṭān Sanjar sent a delegation to Mas'ūd who, upon being informed of this, he, together with his commanders and his army, went to meet them. The Caliph, who seems to have been left exposed in his tent with only a few men to guard him, was killed by a large group of Isma'īlis.<sup>2</sup>

Sanjar and Mas'ūd were not averse to the murder although, when Ibn al-Anbārī and Kamāl al-Dīn Ṭalḥa were summoned to Mas'ūd's presence he made a pretence of being so. The question of al-Mustarshid's succession was raised by Mas'ūd and the ex-vizier stated that the Caliph's son, al-Rashid, had already been proclaimed as his father's successor. Mas'ūd reluctantly accepted their announcement and ordered Beg-Ābā, who had been appointed as shihna of Baghdad, to give loyalty to al-Rashid.<sup>3</sup>

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1. The sources differ concerning the amount, some give 400,000 dīnārs (Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 22) and other 700,000 (Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 54).
  2. Al-'Azīmī, 410-411; Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 47; Muḥammad al-'Imrānī, 158a; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 17; idem, al-Atābakīya, 48-50; al-Husaynī, 75; Rāwandī, 228 (Turkish trans. I, 218); Rashīd al-Dīn, 114-115; Zahīr al-Dīn, 56; Abū Shāma, I, 79; Abū al-Fida', III, 79; Ibn Ṭīqāqa, 270-271 (English trans., 292-293); Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 19; and according to Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans., I, 260), the assassins were among the delegation sent by Sanjar. See also, M.A. Köymen, II, 255-284; C.E. Bosworth, "The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world (A.D. 1000-1217)" in CHI, V, 129; I. Kafesoglu, Harezmşahlar Devleti Tarihi, 26.
  3. Al-'Azīmī, ibid; Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 50; al-Bundārī, 177-178 (Turkish trans., 164); al-Husaynī, ibid; Rashīd al-Dīn, ibid.

It would appear that the Seljuqs were quietly removing any obstacles to their complete authority in Iraq and that Dubays had been used by them to induce the Caliph to feel the need of support by the Sulṭān's army. Now that the Caliph was dead, the need had passed, and Dubays was marked as the next victim. In fear of his life Dubays tried to escape but in vain. Mas'ūd sent an Armenian to assassinate him and it was accomplished while he was camping near to the small town of Huway.<sup>1</sup>

Two months after al-Rāshid's succession, Mas'ūd sent one of his commanders, Barān-Qush Zakawī, to the new Caliph at the head of a troop demanding the money which his father al-Mustarshid had promised to pay. Al-Rāshid refused the demand on the grounds that the money would have been paid if his father had returned safely. He added that the treasure which had been promised to defray the expenses of the recent battle had been carried by his father and had been looted during the fighting.<sup>2</sup> Al-Rāshid stated that he did not even possess such a vast sum of money. When he learned that Barān-Qush Zakawī intended to search his palace, and take the money by force, he endeavoured to raise an army strong enough to prevent the threat and gave orders for the repair of the city wall. His troops under the commander-in-chief

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 251-252; al-'Azīmī, *ibid*; Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 52-53; al-Bundārī, 178; (Turkish trans., 165); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 18; Ibn al-Azraq, 166a-b; al-Husaynī, *ibid*; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 250; *idem*, Bughya, V, 315a-b; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 18; Abū al-Fidā', III, 10; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 260-261.
  2. Ibn Tiḡtaqā (270, English trans., 292) states that the coins were carried in chests loaded onto 170 mules, while the baggage was transported by 100 camels. The total value of the consignment was estimated at 10 million dinars.

Kanj-Ābā forced Bārān-Qush and the Shihna of Baghdad to leave the capital. Bārān-Qush took the road to Hamadān while the Shihna Beg-Ābā withdrew to Wasīf. From this a new situation arose.<sup>1</sup>

While in the service of Mas'ūd the border commanders had learned to distrust him. They realised that both their safety and their interests were in danger and agreed to meet in Baghdad and ally themselves with the Caliph. It was probably by his invitation that they chose Baghdad as their meeting-place. According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī, the Caliph wrote to Zangī offering to include the name of Alp-Arslān in the khutba if Zangī would assist him against Mas'ūd.<sup>2</sup>

The first to arrive was Malik Dā'ūd, who came from Ādharbāyjan on 4 Šafar 530/14 November 1135; shortly afterwards Zangī arrived from Mosul, and some other Turkish commanders followed them, such as Bārān-Qush Bāzdār, ruler of Qazwīn, Alp-Qush, ruler of Işfahān, Boz-Ābā, Ibn Porsuq and Ibn Aḥmadīlī. Two Arabs also came, one of whom was Iqbāl and the other Šadaqa ibn Dubays, who had succeeded his father Dubays as ruler of Hilla. They all gathered in Baghdad and persuaded al-Rāshid to attack Mas'ūd. This was in defiance of the agreement written in his own hand that he would not raise an army against Mas'ūd. The penalty would be forfeiture of the Caliphate.<sup>3</sup>

They agreed that Mas'ūd should be replaced. The two likely candidates for the post were Malik Dā'ūd and Alp-Arslān b. Maḥmūd, who was under the

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1. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 54; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 22; Ibn Tiqtaqa, 275 (English trans., 297).
  2. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 20.
  3. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 26-27.

protection of Atabeg Zangī.<sup>1</sup> Zangī himself received a warm welcome from the Caliph to his capital, but Malik Dā'ūd was more or less ignored and permission to read his name in the khutba was not granted. At this he became angry and endeavoured to assert himself, and began to destroy the city wall.<sup>2</sup> He further asserted himself by appointing Bārān-Qush Bāzdār as shihna of Baghdad.<sup>3</sup> Although these high-handed measures angered the Caliph and cemented his liking for Zangī, he allowed Dā'ūd's name to be read in the khutba. At this time the Caliph arrested several dignitaries among his own followers; possibly he felt insecure because of the influx of the other commanders and their followers into the capital. Among those arrested were Jamāl al-Dawla Iqbāl and Naṣīh al-Dawla Abū 'Abdullāh al-Ḥasan, the Ustaddār, whom he accused of having allied themselves with Mas'ūd. His vizier Abū al-Rida ibn Ṣadaqa fled to Zangī's protection. Zangī contacted Malik Dā'ūd and induced him to offer the vizier the same post in his service. Some days later, upon Zangī's representations, the Caliph re-instated the vizier in his service.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Sibṭ (MS), XIX, 126b; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 258; Ibn Waṣīl, I, 63.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 23.

3. Idem, al-Kāmil, XI, 22.

4. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 57; Ibn al-Athīr, ibid; idem, al-Aṭabakīya, 51-52; Ibn Ṭīqtaqā, 276.

Zangī's own power and personality seem to have developed to a striking degree. The arrest of the dignitaries by the Caliph had caused great consternation in the city and disorder among the troops. Zangī was the first to go in person to the Caliph's palace and raise a protest. He said that Iqbal should be released. His money and property which had been confiscated, Zangī claimed, was actually the revenue from Hilla and property of the Sultān. He affirmed that the money was necessary for the upkeep of his army and the Caliph was obliged to give Zangī the sum of 200,000 dīnārs.<sup>1</sup>

Malik Dā'ūd's and the Caliph's respect increased when Zangī's diplomacy and foresight caused him to remove Seljuq-Shāh from his occupation of Wasīt. The Shihna, Beg-Ābā, was arrested and his property confiscated, while Seljuq-Shāh left Wasīt without a fight. When Zangī returned to Baghdad the order for mobilisation was given; the customary oath of allegiance and trust was made between the Caliph, Malik Dā'ūd and Atabeg Zangī, and they were then ready to face Sultān Mas'ūd.<sup>2</sup>

When Sultān Mas'ūd realised the situation in Baghdad, he himself set off from Hamadān for the Caliph's capital. Zangī's spies reported the news of Mas'ūd's preparation to attack the allied army, which had mobilised for action behind the city walls. Zangī, together with 700 of his men, succeeded in routing this part of Mas'ūd's troops by making a night-time surprise sortie.

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1. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 56 (he records that it was 300,000 dīnārs); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 23; idem, al-Atābakīya, 51-52.
  2. Idem, al-Kāmil, XI, 23; idem, al-Atābakīya, 51-52; Ibn Wāsil, I, 63-64.

Meanwhile Mas'ūd wrote to all the commanders in Baghdad urging them to unite with him. Zangī, however, managed to intervene and prevent any secession. Mas'ūd's attempted to bribe Zangī by an offer to acknowledge his sovereignty over the territories which he already held on condition that he unite with him. Treacherously he was at the same time promising that whoever would kill Zangī should have his lands.<sup>1</sup> Mas'ūd also sued Caliph al-Rāshid for conciliation but was refused. Mas'ūd then besieged the city for 51 days,<sup>2</sup> and during this time Baghdad suffered from several days of looting and killing. The difficulties in Baghdad were increased by Malik Da'ūd's desertion. Mas'ūd, however, failed to capture the city, and some of his commanders were persuaded by Zangī's men to join forces with him. Mas'ūd withdrew to Nahrawān and Tōluntāy, ruler of Wāsīt, brought reinforcements from that city by land and river to help his cause. Mas'ūd renewed his attack and succeeded in entering the western parts of Baghdad. The only course open to Zangī was to leave the city, but before he left he asked al-Rāshid to join him and together they went to Mosul (4 Dhu'l Qa'da 530/14 August 1136).<sup>3</sup>

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1. Muḥammad al-Imrānī, 159a.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr records in al-Atābakīya (51-52) 51 days, but in al-Kāmil (XI, 26) 50 days.
  3. Al-ʿAzīmī, 411; Ibn al-Qalānisī, 256; Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 59; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 26; idem, al-Atābakīya, 53-54; Sibī (MS), XIX, 127b; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 259-260; Ibn al-Azraq, 167b; al-Bundārī, 179-180 (Turkish trans., 166); al-Huṣaynī, 75; Rāwandī, 228-229 (Turkish trans., I, 219); Abū Shāma, I, 80; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 65-66; Abū al-Fida', III, 10; Ibn Tīqṭaqā, 275-276.

Sulṭān Mas'ūd entered Baghdad and the population accepted the measures necessary to return to normal life. He also asked al-Rāshid to return to Baghdad, but he refused. Mas'ūd lost no time in seizing the opportunity to contact Sanjar, and suggest that the Caliph be replaced. Sanjar replied by saying that the choice should rest with the nobles of al-Mustarshid, the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī b. Durrat, the ex-vizier Ibn al-Anbārī and the treasurer Kamāl al-Dīn Ṭalha who had been taken prisoner during the fight between Mas'ūd and al-Mustarshid. They were released and proffered their allegiance to Mas'ūd.<sup>1</sup> Then Mas'ūd called the governors, judges, nobles and the witnesses together and showed them the contract which al-Rāshid had previously signed.<sup>2</sup> They decided that al-Rāshid was no longer eligible to hold the post of caliph. When Mas'ūd asked them whom they considered to be capable of filling this office, Sharaf al-Dīn Zaynebī, who later became the vizier of the new Caliph,<sup>3</sup> mentioned the name of 'Abdullāh Ibn Mustazhir. Mas'ūd had already accepted this nomination, which had been previously suggested by the nobles of al-Mustarshid. He was installed as Caliph and the title of al-Muqtafī al-'Amrillāh was implemented with his name on 18 Dhu'l-Qa'da 530/18 August 1136. Mas'ūd no doubt had made an agreement with him before he was actually invested with the title and had probably also asked from him a large sum of money.

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, 166a.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 26-27.
  3. Al-Bundārī, 183 (Turkish trans., 169).



Thus impoverished, the Caliph would not be wealthy enough to cause future trouble by raising an army. Mas'ūd had confiscated gold, silver and even the horses and mules from the palace leaving only four horses for the Caliph's use and three mules to carry water from the Tigris to the palace. On 20 Dhu'l-Qa'da/20 August the new Caliph was proclaimed and his name read in the Khujba together with those of Sanjar and Mas'ūd. He was recognised by all but Atabeg Zangī, who continued his allegiance to al-Rāshid.<sup>1</sup> When the news reached Mosul, Zangī and al-Rāshid sent their separate envoys to the Sultān in Baghdad. Al-Rāshid's envoy was ignored but Zangī's envoy, Kamāl al-Dīn Shahrazūrī, with a letter addressed to Dīwān al-'Azīz, was welcomed. When he attended the Dīwān, he was requested to salute the Caliph, but he said, "the Caliph is with us in Mosul; we and all the people have already saluted him". The following day, upon his next attendance at the Dīwān, he said, "We have already saluted al-Rāshid but if you could legitimately dispose of al-Rāshid, we are ready to salute al-Muqtafī". Again governors, judges, nobles and witnesses were gathered and formally, for the second time, deposed al-Rāshid. He then saluted al-Muqtafī. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the sudden change of mind by the envoy is accounted for by bribery.<sup>2</sup> The idea of bribery however,

1. al-'Azīmī, 411; Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 59-60; Sibī (MS), XIX, 127b; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 26-27; idem, al-Atābekīya, 53; Abū Shāma, I, 80; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 260; Ibn al-Azraq, 166a; Rawandī, 229 (Turkish trans., I, 220).

2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakīya, 53-54.

seems unlikely, in view of the character of the envoy which the records show was of high calibre, and that he was in the service of Zangī and not able to make his own decisions. There is no doubt that acceptance had become inevitable as both the Great Sulṭān Sanjar and Sulṭān Mas'ūd had left Zangī no alternative but to break his promise to al-Rāshid.<sup>1</sup> Zangī then cut the name of al-Rāshid and Dā'ūd from the Khuṭba which was read in his territories, substituting the names of al-Muqtāfi, Sanjar and Mas'ūd. The new Caliph expressed his pleasure at Zangī's acknowledgement by presenting him with several villages among which the sources named Harbī, Hadīrah, Sarīfayn and Hilla and probably also with some courtesy titles.<sup>2</sup>

Zangī's action in this particular roused protest from al-Rāshid, particularly as Zangī recommended him to seek refuge with Malik Dā'ūd, emphasising that he himself was unable to fight Sulṭān Mas'ūd.<sup>3</sup>

Sulṭān Mas'ūd, however, sent 2,000 cavalry to Mosul to capture al-Rāshid, but he had already left the city for Ādharbāyjan. He then went to Hamadān. There al-Rāshid met Malik Dā'ūd, Mengū-Bars the ruler of Fars, and also Boz-Ābā, ruler of Khūzistān; together they fought a losing battle

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1. Sanjar sent an envoy, Yūmnī al-'Irāq al-Hādīm to Zangī ordering him to send al-Rāshid from his land (Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 67); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakīya, 53-54; Abū Shāma, I, 80-81; al-Husaynī, 75-76.
  2. Al-'Azīmī, 411-412; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakīya, 54; Ibn al-Azraq, 167b; Ibn al-Qalānisī, 256-257; al-Husaynī, 76; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 260; Abū Shāma, ibid; Ibn Wāsil, I, 68-70; Ibn Tīqtaqa, 297-298; M.A. Kāymen, II, 286-302.
  3. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 67.

against Mas'ūd. Soon after, al-Rāshid was murdered by assassins from Khurāsān in Iṣfahān.<sup>1</sup>

Atabeg Zangī's diplomacy, which was now taxed almost to its limit, concentrated on Syria which had, meanwhile, been entered by Byzantines. Although realising that any assistance from Mas'ūd might result in the loss of his own position in the territory he nevertheless diplomatically invited his aid to expel the Byzantines. Sultān Mas'ūd was in no special hurry to assist Zangī but promised to send him some troops. Zangī's envoy, Kamāl al-Dīn Shahrazūrī, hired men to pray loudly during the Friday prayer, invoking the deity with as much noise as possible for assistance in this Holy War. The population were emotionally stirred and went to the palace of Sultān Mas'ūd with cries of "Jihād, Jihād" (Holy Wars). Mas'ūd called Zangī's envoy and asked for an explanation of the somewhat unusual situation. The envoy, though fearing death at his hands, explained the matter as lucidly as possible, and Mas'ūd allowed him to select some 10,000 cavalry to aid Zangī. By a strange twist of fate the Byzantines left the environments of Aleppo and Zangī had to employ more diplomacy to cancel the aid he had invoked.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, 167b; al-Bundārī, 181 (Turkish trans., 167); Muhammad al-Imrānī, 160a; Rawandī, 229 (Turkish trans., I, 219-220); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 40-41; idem, al-Atābakīya, 54; Ibn al-Adīm Zubda, II, 260; Abū Shāma, I, 80; al-Husaynī, 76; Zahir, al-Dīn, 56; Ibn Tīqtaqa, 276 (English trans., 298); Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part 1, 24-25; B. Lewis, The Assassins, 68; M.A. Köymen, II, 304.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 38; idem, al-Atābakīya, 62-63; Abū Shāma, I, 89-90; Ibn Waṣīl, I, 79-81.

The governors and amīrs of the provinces were always more or less in rebellion against Sultān Mas'ūd. At this time Mas'ūd suspected, and not entirely without foundation, that Zangī was assisting to spread it. It seemed that when Mas'ūd endeavoured to quell insurrection in one part of his territory, another sprang up, and Zangī's own power always increased. Mas'ūd, therefore, decided that these activities must be checked and Zangī himself liquidated. During a comparatively peaceful period in 538/1144, Mas'ūd went - as at previous times - to Baghdad for a while. There he decided to attack Atabeg Zangī. He demanded that Zangī should come to Baghdad, which he refused to do, proffering as an excuse the sacred cause in which he was engaged to fight the infidel. Envoys and messengers passed to and fro between them and finally Zangī promised to pay Mas'ūd 100,000 dīnars.<sup>1</sup> Certainly Mas'ūd would have found great difficulty in replacing Zangī. His successes both diplomatically and on the battlefield, especially against the Franks, had been outstanding. Mas'ūd would have preferred to appoint Malik Dā'ūd to Zangī's post, but was prevented by Dā'ūd's assassination, while he was riding through the market of Tabrīz.<sup>2</sup> It was rumoured that the assassination had been planned by Zangī.<sup>3</sup>

In the main, however, Zangī was loyal to the Sultāns although he occasionally swerved during some hostility among the princes. It would seem

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 61; idem, al-Atābakīya, 65; Abū Shāma, I, 93; Ibn Wāsil, I, 91.
  2. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 32.
  3. Al-Bundārī, 195 (Turkish trans., 178); B. Lewis, The Assassins, 68.

that Zangī believed that any government of an independent state would inevitably be given to a member of the Seljuq family. For a time, it will be remembered, he supported Alp-Arslān's succession, but gave up the idea in face of extreme difficulties. By sending him the keys of Mosul together with his own son Sayf al-Dīn, Zangī accepted Mas'ūd's authority.<sup>1</sup> A coin struck by Zangī in 540/1145-1146 at Mosul is further evidence of his loyalty to the Seljuq Sulṭāns. On it the names of the Great Sulṭān Sanjar and his vassal, Sulṭān Mas'ūd, appear together with his own and that of Malik Alp-Arslān, which indicates that Zangī ruled the state in the name of Alp-Arslān.

After the cessation of hostility between the princes he turned his attention to the common enemy - the Franks - until his decease in 541/1146.

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Aṭabakīya*, 65; Abū Shāma, I, 93; Ibn Waṣīl, *ibid.*, Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 258.

CHAPTER III

ZANGĪ'S CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE FRANKS AND  
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When Zangī was appointed as Atabeg of Mosul, the Franks controlled extensive lands along the Mediterranean coast of Syria; only the interior towns of Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ and Damascus were retained by Muslims. All trade routes between Damascus and the rest of the country were cut, and only those leading to Raḥba and Raqqa were open. Central Syria, including Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā, suffered from Frankish raids launched from the left bank of the Orontes; and on the province of Aleppo from attacks by the Prince of Antioch. The North, Diyar Bakr, under Artuqid rule, was constantly threatened by troops from Edessa, who attacked the fertile lands of Ḥarrān and Raqqa and even sent squadrons to Ra's al-'Ayn on the Khābūr. Aleppo was obliged to pay the Prince of Antioch half the income from its territory or else hand over part of its harvests; while Damascus was compelled to relinquish its Christian slaves to envoys from the Kingdom of Jerusalem whenever they appeared in the city. These then were the conditions when Zangī became the Atabeg of Mosul.<sup>1</sup>

Mosul was a most convenient base from which to organise campaigns against the Franks. Its proximity to the Turcomans of the east facilitated

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 457-458; idem, al-Atabakiya, 32-33; Abū Shama, I, 77; Ibn Wasīl, I, 38-39; Ibn Qādi Shuhba, 92-93.

recruitment of soldiers from the hinterland. Its situation was not only excellent for self-defence but also its capacity to assist other cities when necessary. Damascus and Aleppo were under Frankish pressure, while Aleppo at this time had degenerated to merely an outpost. Joscelin I of Edessa had arrived at its walls, and left after receiving tribute. Famine was rife when the new Prince of Antioch, Bohemond II, appeared at its gate. The inhabitants weakened by hunger, ravages of anarchy and the persistent threats of the Franks, scarcely defended themselves, and really needed a strong champion to succeed Aq-Sonqur Porsuqī and his son.

Ibn al-Athīr, Abū Shāma, and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, together with other later Muslim historians, reflect that Zangī probably planned to unite and control all Muslim towns in Syria. When his son Nūr al-Dīn made the final step in this direction these historians felt it had probably originated with Zangī himself. They had a bias toward him and attributed his motives rather to creating a Jihād than to that which was more likely, personal ambition. The conquest and union of Syria was his first objective. Many of his predecessors had desired but failed to achieve this end. He temporarily abstained from attack on the Latin states and meanwhile prepared to conquer Damascus. He accordingly despatched an envoy to Joscelin I of Courtenay, count of Edessa, offering a truce which, after an exchange of envoys, was agreed upon. It lasted only a short while but the respite was welcomed by everyone in the area, and the



Edessans even sent Zangī food and drink.<sup>1</sup>

The truce gave Zangī an opportunity to consolidate his plans and to organise his resources. Joscelyn needed a similar brief respite. A dispute had arisen between him and Bohemond II of Antioch which concerned 'Azāz. Bohemond considered 'Azāz as being part of the territory of Antioch. In order to prevent further bloodshed, Baldwin of Jerusalem hastened north and forced them into a truce.<sup>2</sup>

These circumstances enabled Zangī to shape the affairs of his own state from Aleppo. The death of Ṭugh-Tegīn, at this time, was fortunate for Zangī. Ṭugh-Tegīn was succeeded by his elder son, Tāj al-Mulūk Bōri. Unfortunately for the immediate consummation of his plan, Zangī was forced to go to Baghdad to prevent the appointment of Dubays b. Ṣadaqa in his place before he was able to return to Aleppo. Under the pretext of a Jihād he sent to Tāj al-Mulūk Bōri for troops. It was not the first occasion on which he had requested assistance from the Atabeg, but this time it was part of a strategy to weaken Damascus. Bōri was, however, too wary to commit himself until he had received a solemn assurance from Zangī that he would not attack his territory. Then he sent him a contingent of 500 horsemen under the command

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 456; idem, al-Atābakīya, 37; Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, VI, 200a; Abū Shāma, I, 77; Ibn Waṣil, I, 36; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 273; Matthew, Turkish trans. 286, French trans. 320; J.B. Segal, 244; W.B. Stevenson, 124.

2. William of Tyre, I, 34-35.

of Amīr Shams al-Umarā al-Khawāss together with a number of amīrs and officers. He also ordered his son Bahā' al-Dīn Sevīnch, who had just settled in Ḥamā, to join the troops in Aleppo. Zangī gave a warm welcome to Sevīnch but after three days he treacherously imprisoned him, together with his amīrs, in the citadel of Aleppo, and permitted their tents and equipment to be looted. He next moved to Ḥamā, which was an easy conquest (18 Shawwāl 524/ 24 September 1130). The amīr of Ḥims, Samsām al-Dīn Qīr-Khān b. Qarāja<sup>1</sup> who had served in Zangī's army, had been an accomplice in organising the treachery against Bōri. In payment for his services he demanded Ḥamā and offered, in exchange, a large sum of money. Zangī feigned agreement, accepted the money and made a pretence of installing Qīr-Khān as governor and ordered his name to be quoted in the midday prayer. The same evening however, Qīr-Khān was arrested and Zangī appointed a governor of his own choice, before continuing towards Ḥims. At this time Bōri of Damascus was in conflict with Baldwin of Jerusalem and Zangī seized the opportune moment to march on Ḥims, where he forced his prisoner Qīr-Khān to induce his son and his deputies to open the gates. Qīr-Khān's son, realising that the plea was made under duress, ignored it. Unfortunately for Zangī his equipment was insufficient for an adequate siege of the city. For forty days his squadrons endeavoured to prevent food supplies from reaching Ḥims but the approach of

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1. Ibn al-‘Adīm (Zubda, II, 243) and Ibn Wāsil (I, 71) record this name as "Khaṭīr-Khān", while al-‘Azīmī (403) and Qādī ‘Imad al-Dīn (121) name him as "Khayīr-Khān".

winter compelled him to raise the siege and return to Aleppo (Dhu'l-Hijja 524/November 1130). The amīr Sayf al-Dawla Sawār b. Āy-Tegīn,<sup>1</sup> who had left the service of the Atabeg of Damascus and now served Zangī, was given the custody of Qīr-Khān, Sevinch and the Damascene amīrs who had been retained in fetters. These hostages secured Zangī from attack by Damascus; particularly since Bōri was unable to produce the 50,000 dīnārs demanded as ransom for his son, Sevinch.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, the Franks seem to have ignored Zangī's manoeuvre in Syria, probably because of several unforeseen events. In Rabi' I 524/February 1130, Bohemund of Antioch met his death at the hands of Turcoman elements. His widow, Alice, desired to become regent for her daughter Constance, and even requested Zangī's support to achieve this end. By his aid she hoped to acquire Antioch for herself. Her request was, however, intercepted and the messenger was killed. Baldwin had other plans and went to Antioch to settle the succession on his son-in-law. He removed Alice from the city and, instead, gave her the two coastal ports of Lādhiqiya and Jabala, while Joscelin of Edessa acted for the young Constance as regent of the principality.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 245.
  2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 227-229 (Gibb's trans., 200-202); al-'Azīmi, 402-403; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 463-464; idem, al-Atābakīya, 38; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 245-246; idem, Bughya, VI, 208b; Abū Shāma, I, 77-78; Abū al-Fidā', III, 3; Ibn Waṣil, I, 41-42; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 199; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, 94.
  3. William of Tyre, I, 43-45; Ano. Syr. Chl., part I, 99.

These events had their impact on Zangī's plans. He, together with 1,000 horsemen invaded the territory around Antioch, first raiding al-Aṭḥarīb whose garrison had made frequent incursions on Aleppine territory. Baldwin advanced to its relief and a battle ensued in which the Franks were defeated. He then marched on Ma'arrat Meṣrīn after he had plundered and destroyed the suburbs of al-Aṭḥarīb. Zangī also threatened Hārīm but the Franks proffered half the revenues of the district which they had previously collected to induce him to retreat. His army had been heavily depleted and Zangī returned to Aleppo. It may have been for this reason that he had made so little use of his opportunities. Artuqid activities also caused him concern and he set off from Aleppo on a campaign against Diyār Bakr.<sup>1</sup>

Bohemond's death was followed by that of Baldwin in Jerusalem (25 Ramadān 525/21 August 1131). He was the only remaining leader of the first crusade, and had fought for twenty years in Edessa and ruled twelve years in Jerusalem. His policy was to present a united front in opposition to the Muslims, and his death weakened the Frankish hold both in the North and South. Shortly after his death Joscelin I of Edessa also died. He was succeeded by his son Joscelin II. The new king of Jerusalem was Fulk of Anjou, grandfather of Henry II of England. He was also Baldwin's son-in-law and heir. After his accession to the throne of Jerusalem, Alice revived her claim to Antioch. Pons of Tripoli and Joscelin II of Edessa supported her

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1. Al-ʿAzīmī, 403; Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, *al-Kāmil*, X, 466-467; idem, *al-Aṭabakīya*, 39-42; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 42-43; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 200; Ibn Qaḍī Shuhba, 97.

but Fulk occupied Antioch as the protector of the young Constance.<sup>1</sup>

Before 527/1132 had ended, Fulk faced problems of his own in Jerusalem, consequent upon the disloyalty of Hugh of Jaffa. At the same time Pons of Tripoli had suffered defeat at the hands of a band of Turcomans and had taken refuge in the castle of Ba'rin.<sup>2</sup>

During Zangī's absence there was very little activity against the Franks on the Antioch frontier. In Aleppo, Zangī's commander, Sawār, confined himself to a few skirmishes with Joscelin; the most important of his raids against them being that upon Tell Bāshir (17 Jumādā II 527/25 April 1133) when the knights of the city were defeated. These combined circumstances impelled the Frankish ruler in Jerusalem to go to the North. He led his army to the frontiers of Aleppo where he arrived at Nawāz, to the southwest of al-Atharib. Together with the 'askar of Aleppo and many Turcomans, Sawār marched against him. Several skirmishes took place without definite victory on either side. The losses suffered by Sawār were greater and he withdrew from Qinnasrīn to Aleppo.

The Franks continued to advance by successive stages to Qinnasrīn, al-Muqāwama and Naqira, north of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. With his depleted forces Sawār attacked again and engaged a party of Franks, some of whom were killed and others captured, after which he returned to Aleppo. At this

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1. William of Tyre, I, 47, 51-53; Ano. Syr. Chl., part I, 100.
  2. William of Tyre, I, 70-71.

junction a party of Frankish cavalry advanced on Aleppo from Edessa and once again Sawār, together with Amīr Ḥasan al-Ba'albakī, attacked them fiercely at Balat Shimāl. The outcome was in Sawār's and Amīr Ḥasan's favour and the Franks were either exterminated or captured without exception, after which the victorious troops returned to Aleppo.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'īl had succeeded his father Tāj al-Dawla Bōri, who was assassinated by Ismā'īlis in Rajab 526/May-June 1132, and had wrested Ba'albak from his brother. In Shawwāl 527/August 1133 he captured Dānyās from its Frankish Lord, Rainier of Brus, and upon his return to Damascus he learned of the conflict between Zangī and the Caliph, al-Mustarshid Billāh. He immediately seized the opportunity to march upon Ḥama which capitulated on 2 Shawwāl 527/6 August 1133 after an attack which lasted for two days. This accomplished, he made Shayzar a tributary of Damascus and two months later he captured Shaqif Tirun a fortress in the district of Sidon. These activities galvanised the Franks into action, but on 12 Rabi' II 529/30 January 1135, however, Ismā'īl was assassinated and this raised many problems in Damascus.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibn Qalānisi, 239-241 (Gibb's trans., 220-223); al-'Azīmi, 404; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 482; Sibṭ (Jewett), 200; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 247, 252; William of Tyre, I, 57-58; see also W.B. Stevenson, 132.
  2. Al-'Azīmi (405) merely records the death of Bōri and the succession of Ismā'īl; Ibn al-Qalānisi, 238-239 (Gibb's trans., 218-220); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 478 and XI, 3, 5-6; Sibṭ (Jewett), 87, 89; Ibn 'Asākir, III, 15; Ibn Wāsil, I, 53; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 204, 206; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 12; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, 97-98.

Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'īl had taken into his service a Kurd from Hims known as Badrān the Infidel (al-Kāfir).<sup>1</sup> He allowed him to collect money from his subjects regardless of the method used. Badrān not only had imprisoned the young brother of Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'īl, Sevinch, but had also allowed him to die of starvation. Yūsuf b. Fīrūz, shihna of Damascus, fled to his son at Palmyra (Tadmur). Such was the situation when Zangī was next able to turn his attention to Damascus. Ismā'īl had secretly written to him upon learning of Zangī's intention to blockade the city, and urged him to do so so strongly, that he even threatened to surrender the city to the Franks if he delayed for any reason. The letter, according to ibn al-Qalānisī, was in his own hand-writing. His action and his greedy motives, however, were realised by the notables of Damascus who were not only exasperated, but feared for their own safety if Zangī should conquer the city. Many plots were conceived against him and the extent of unrest was brought to the notice of Ismā'īl's mother, Khātūn Safwat al-Mulk Zumurrud, who remonstrated in vain. At length she realised that his death was the only answer to the problem and, much to the relief of the people of Damascus, she complied with his assassination on 14 Rabi' II 529/2 February 1135. Allegiance to his brother Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd, Malik of Hims, was declared immediately.<sup>2</sup>

1. Ibn al-Furāt (I, 145) records his name as "Qümüsh al-Badrān" (English trans. by M.C. Lyond, 115).
2. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 245-247 (Gibb's trans., 228-232); Qādī 'Imād al-Dīn, 123; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 11-12; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 255-257; Sibt (Jewett), 90, 93; Ibn Wāsil, I, 57; Abū al-Fida', III, 8-9; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 18; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, 98-99, 103.

Meanwhile, news reached the Damascenes that Zangī had crossed the Euphrates and was proceeding westwards. Zangī's envoys arrived at Damascus where the situation was the reverse of their expectations. They were well received and Zangī was asked to modify his plans. Zangī ignored their request and speeded up his advance. In Jumādā I 529/mid-February 1135 his huge army camped approximately ten miles north-east of Damascus between 'Adhrā' and al-Qusayr. In Damascus defences were set up and the town made ready to endure siege. Its army was commanded by Amīr Shujā al-Dawla Bazwāj and the Amīr Mu'īn al-Dīn Anar. Zangī strategically left 'Adhrā' and encamped in the south at al-Aqaba al-Qiblīya; suburbs were abandoned in panic and their population came into the city. There were several encounters between Zangī's men and the militia of Damascus without any appreciable result. Zangī then asked for peace and recognition of his suzerainty from Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. He requested that Maḥmūd should come to his camp to pay homage to the Sultān Maḥmūd's son, Alp-Arslān, who had accompanied him. Couching his letter in friendly terms, Atabeg Zangī promised to bestow upon him robes of honour and to give him safe conduct back to his city. This request for the personal presence of Shihāb al-Dīn was refused, but his brother Tāj al-Mulūk Bahrām-Shāh went in his stead. The visit coincided with the arrival of Ra'īs Bishr b. Karīm b. Bishr, who had been sent as an envoy from the Caliph al-Mustarshid Billāh. He brought robes of honour for Zangī, together with an



order to return to Mosul. The Caliph was on the point of a quarrel with Sultān Mas'ūd and asked for reinforcements from Zangī. His envoy Bishr accompanied Zangī's representative Qādī Bahā' al-Dīn ibn al-Shahrazūrī into Damascus. There it was agreed that the name of Alp-Arslān b. Maḥmūd should be mentioned in the Khuṭba for the first time, on Friday 28 Jumāda I 529/15 March 1135. On the day following this agreement Zangī withdrew to the north without the conquest he had hoped to achieve and the name of Alp-Arslān was not again read in the Khuṭba. In Ḥamā Zangī discharged its governor, Shams al-Umarā al-Khawāss, because of the many complaints made against him by the inhabitants and before returning to Aleppo replaced him by the former governor of Kafr Tāb, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Yaghī-Basān.<sup>1</sup>

Between 524-528/1130-1134 many battles were fought on the western frontier. Neither castles nor towns appear to have been lost or gained either by Amīr Sawār of Aleppo or the Franks of Antioch and Edessa. After the siege of Damascus Zangī campaigned against Antioch. He first attacked the Frankish strongholds which lay in the neighbourhood of Aleppo. On 1 Rajab 529/17 April 1135 he laid siege to al-Athārib which commanded the approach to Aleppo from Antioch and was approximately 25 miles west of Aleppo. Taken by surprise, the Franks offered no resistance. Zaradnā, one of the outlying posts of the eastern frontier of Antioch, was the next to

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 248-249 (Gibb's trans., 235-236); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 12-13; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 257-259; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 57-58.

capitulate without serious resistance. This preliminary success was followed by the capture of Kafr Tāb and soon the entire country between Aleppo and Hamā was restored to the Muslims. In the north of Aleppo his commander, Sawār, harried the Franks by attacking Tell Bāshir, Ayntab and 'Azāz. Meanwhile Bertrand, Count of Tripoli, launched an offensive against Zangī with an attack on Qinnasrīn, south of Aleppo, in an attempt to block the road which crossed Syria from north to south. He was, however, repulsed and Zangī returned to the siege of Hims.<sup>1</sup>

Zangī's triumphant campaign during the years 529-530/1135-1136 was largely assisted by the weakness of Antioch. His success brought Fulk, who was nominal regent of Antioch, to the north. The authority in Antioch had been held by the Venerable Patriarch Bernard, until his recent death. The populace had at once acclaimed the Latin Bishop of Mamistra, Radulph of Domfront, as his successor and he had assumed the patriarchal throne without waiting for a canonical election. He contacted the dowager Princess Alice, Bohemond's widow, who was living at Ladhīqiya, offering her the regency she had previously desired. Fulk, however, was persuaded by Alice's sister, his wife Melisende, to abstain from interference in the matter. Alice was, however, allowed to return to Antioch. Fulk retained the regency but his power was weakened by the alliance between Alice and Radulph which rendered Fulk

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1. Al-'Azīmī, 406-408; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XI, 4; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda*, II, 259; *idem*, *Bughya*, VI, 207a; Abū al-Fidā', III, 3-4.

unable to protest against Radulph's irregular election. Alice strategically sent to Constantinople to offer her daughter, the Princess Constance, in marriage to the Emperor's younger son Manuel. This was disapproved of by the crusaders, but the Greek element, who were strong in the city, welcomed the offer. Meanwhile Raymond of Poitiers made a personal offer of marriage to Constance. As a result of these intrigues and the lack of confidence engendered by them there was no one in Antioch able to take the offensive against Zangī.<sup>1</sup>

During the last ten days of the month of Shawwāl 529/beginning of August 1135, Zangī attacked Hims with increased vigour. The governor of the city, Mu'īn al-Dīn Anar, who had distinguished himself during Zangī's siege of Damascus, offered strong defence. Zangī burnt the harvests of the surrounding country in order to starve the population into submission but news of the Caliph's departure with intent to siege Mosul, caused him to raise the siege of Hims and forced him to return to Mosul in Dhu' l-Qa'da 529/end of August 1135. The sons of Qīr-Khān b. Qarāja and the regent Khumārtash realised that Zangī was determined to siege Hims and hold it. The neighbouring town of Hama had fallen to his ambition while the defenders of Hims had been weakened by lack of provisions and Zangī's constant raids. They knew that they were powerless to hold the city against him and sent

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1. Cinnamus, 16; William of Tyre, I, 59-61, and he also records that when Raymond married Constance, she was under ten years of age (77-79).

envoys to Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, requesting him to despatch an officer of his own choice to take the city under his command. They signified also their own willingness to occupy any position that he might judge to be suitable. Yūsuf b. Fīrūz, who realised the potentials of Ḥimṣ as a formidable fortress desired to use it as his own headquarters instead of Palmyra. To this end he suggested a personal visit to Damascus to formulate an agreement. This was a satisfactory conclusion for Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd to whom the fortress was surrendered, and Palmyra was given to Khumārtash. On Sunday Rabi' I 530/29 December 1135 the exchange was effected and the Chamberlain Yūsuf b. Fīrūz received the desired governorship of Ḥimṣ which he temporarily delegated to Amīr Mu'īn al-Dīn Anar.<sup>1</sup>

Zangī had been frequently involved in the wars between the Caliph and the Sultān Mas'ūd, for over a year. His commander Sawār, during negotiations concerning the exchange of Ḥimṣ had exploited the situation by invading the territory. Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd after interchanging envoys and letters, achieved peaceful relations for a stated period. The terms were effective and the reconciliation between both sides was established on a sound basis.<sup>2</sup>

Sawār resumed his attacks from Aleppo against the Frankish provinces.

A body of Turcomans had joined him and carried out a surprise sortie against

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 252-255 (Gibb's trans., 237-238); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 24.
  2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 252 (Gibb's trans., 238); Abū al-Fidā', III, 10-11.

the territory of Lādhiqiya, where there was little guard against the unexpected attack. Loaded with booty, Sawār's troops returned to Aleppo after having devastated more than a hundred villages in the area. Some Turcomans who were with him went to Shayzar, and from thence to Diyār Bakr while some afterwards went to al-Jazīra.<sup>1</sup>

The political situation in Damascus was obscure. Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd had allowed Yūsuf b. Fīrūz, the former chamberlain, to return there, probably because he needed support to face the Amīr Shuja al-Dawla Bazwāj. The amīr had never forgiven Yūsuf b. Fīrūz for having agreed to the execution of Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'īl (17 Jumādā II 530/30 March 1136). Bazwāj and his accomplices had fled to Ba'albak but returned to Damascus a few weeks later. In Rajab 531/end of March-April 1137, the Damascene army, under the command of Amīr Bazwāj marched towards Tarābulus and was met by its Count whose army he routed. Bazwāj also succeeded in capturing the castle of Wādī ibn al-Aḥmar.<sup>2</sup>

In mid-Sha'bān (early May) of the same year, the Mosul army crossed the Euphrates and Zangī again appeared in Syria. After spending some time at Aleppo recruiting a contingent of about five hundred foot-soldiers he marched on Hims. He had despatched Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghī-Basān in advance,

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 255-256 (Gibb's trans., 239-240); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 25; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 260-261; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, 106.
  2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 258 (Gibb's trans., 241); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 32.

probably in the hope that the gates would be opened for him. The deputy governor of Damascus, Mu'īn al-Dīn Anar, thwarted Zangī's hopes of easy capture. He had barely commenced his siege of the town when he learned that the Franks were approaching. Realising that there could be no rapid capitulation, Zangī concluded an armistice with Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd of Damascus, and raised the siege on 20 Shawwāl 531/11 July 1137.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately following this, Zangī prepared to attack Ba' rīn (the Frankish Montferrand) and wrest it from the hands of the Franks. The importance of Ba' rīn, which was on the route from Tripoli to Ḥamā, had long since been recognised. It was invaluable as a base for operations and communications between Aleppo and Ḥims. When the news of Zangī's intention was brought to Count Raymond of Tripoli, son of the late Count Pons, he at once despatched swift messengers to Fulk requesting his immediate help in the desperate situation. Fulk quickly assembled his forces but Zangī surprised the Franks on the march and engaged them in battle in the hills. A considerable number of Franks were killed and their baggage, animals and equipment became the booty of Zangī's army. Raymond II and some of his knights were among those taken prisoner, while Fulk took refuge in the castle of Ba' rīn together with William de Bury, the constable, Renier de Brus, Guy de Brisebar, Baldwin of Ramla, Humphrey of Toron and many others. The situation in the Frankish

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 258-259 (Gibb's trans, 242-243); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 36; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 261; Ibn Wāsīl, I, 71-72.

states was rendered more uneasy by Byzantium. Manks and priests endeavoured to rouse assistance in the Christian states, stating that conquest by Zangī was more serious than the Byzantine threat. If Zangī should conquer the castle of Ba' rīn no one could be found to defend them, and the Muslims would march on Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Inside the besieged castle Fulk and those knights who were with him unanimously decided to appeal to the Prince of Antioch and Joscelin of Edessa and also to Jerusalem for aid. The Byzantine emperor, however, was challenging Antioch and the Prince hesitated to leave his city depleted in case of attack. The need of defence for the castle of Ba' rīn at last decided him to do so, although it was heavily blockaded by the emperor's forces, and march to the rescue. With almost incredible speed Joscelin of Edessa mobilised and set off for the same purpose while William, Patriarch of Jerusalem, responded similarly. Zangī himself, however, set up about ten mangonels. The Franks were short of food and other essentials, as they had been taken by surprise and were forced to capitulate. It is said that the very walls of the castle shook under the battery of Zangī's engines. Mill stones and huge pieces of rock were hurled and fell into the midst of the citadel. They shattered the houses within, causing dismay among the population. Food was lacking and the water supply had failed. They stipulated that safe conduct should be guaranteed, which Zangī at first refused to do, until he learned that reinforcements were on their way from Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 33.

and Edessa and that the Byzantine Emperor was at the gates of Antioch. Zangī wisely accepted these terms and payment of 50,000 dīnārs and the besieged left in safety only to meet the reinforcements which had arrived too late.<sup>1</sup>

During the siege of Ba'rin a part of Zangī's troops had taken Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, north of Ḥamā, and Kafir Ṭāb from the Franks. In Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān some families asked for the return of their lands which had been in Frankish possession. Zangī asked to see any documents which gave proof of such ownership but was told that the Franks had confiscated or destroyed the title-deeds. The land registers in Aleppo were consulted. Entry for payment of land tax on any holding was taken as proof of ownership and the land was restored to the claimant.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, Zangī's general, Sawār, had engaged the Byzantine army in some skirmishes, but when they prepared to settle in Cilicia for the winter season Zangī took advantage of the situation and once again appeared in Ḥamā during Muḥarram 532/September-October 1137. He marched on Ḥims and subjected it to siege which he after abandoned. He then proceeded to Ba'albak from which he levied tribute, although it was governed from Damascus, and thence passed uninterrupted to Biqā'. From there he captured the fortress

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 258-259 (Gibb's trans., 242-243); al-'Azīmi, 411-412; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 33-34; idem, al-Aṭabakīya 59-61; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 261-262; William of Tyre, I, 85-92; Ibn Waṣīl, I, 72-74; Abū al-Fida', III, 12; Ibn al-Furāt, I, 145.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 34; Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, I, 175; Ibn Waṣīl, I, 74-75; Abū al-Fida', III, 12.



of al-Majdal (‘Ayn Jar), from the Damascenes and claimed the submission of the governor of Bānyās, Ibrāhīm b. Turghut. He was now ready to resume the siege of Hims and in Rabī‘ II 532/December 1137 he left Damascene territory and went to Hamā to call for reinforcements from Aleppo in order to consummate his plans. The Franks and the Byzantines, however, united against him. He was forced to return the reinforcements to Aleppo, and found it expedient to raise the siege.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile Amīr Bazwāj's troops, together with some Turcomans, set out from Damascus for Tripoli. They were met by the lord of the town whom they ambushed. The amīr repeated the strategy in a number of places and near the fortress, at a place called Mount of the Pilgrims, the Franks were put to flight.<sup>2</sup> Many Franks were slain and Bazwāj returned to Damascus. His arrogance and ruthlessness, especially toward Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, had estranged the two men and Bazwāj left for the quarters of the Franks on 15 Jumādā I 532/30 January 1138 where he remained. A reconciliation was achieved but Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd plotted against and killed him in the citadel of Damascus on Monday 6 Sha‘bān/18 April of the same year.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 263 (Gibb's trans., 245); al-‘Azīmī, 413-414; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 263-264.

2. This place could be al-Qūra (Ibn al-Qalānisī, 262).

3. Ibn al-Qalānisī, ibid; Sibṭ (Jewett), 99; William of Tyre, I, 82.

Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd needed a strong replacement for Amīr Bazwāj and the office fell to Mu'īn al-Dīn Anar. Robes of honour and the appointment of isfahsalār (commander-in-chief) were bestowed upon him with the title of Atabeg.<sup>1</sup>

After the Byzantine retreat the territory which they had occupied was ready for occupation by Zangī. His ambition was, however, always concerned with Damascus and he began to attempt the conquest of Hims. The resistance of Hims, however, had not diminished. To obtain entry into the city and to ensure its conquest he hit upon the expedient of marriage with the mother of Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd, Khātūn Safwat al-Mulk Zumurrud. The marriage was concluded on 19 Ramaḍān 532/31 May 1138 and Zangī hoped that the conquest of Hims would facilitate his entry into Damascus. He had met Zumurrud Khātūn under the walls of Hims in the presence of envoys from the Caliphs of Baghdad, Egypt, the Byzantine Emperor, and from Damascus. Zangī on his part gave his daughter to Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd in marriage. The dowry of the dowager Khātūn brought Hims and its citadel to Zangī. By this act he had hoped to further his main ambition for a completely united Muslim Syria, but the propaganda failed and he deserted the Khātūn. Hims was now his, but before marching on Damascus he captured the castle of 'Araqa, the property of the Count of Tripoli,<sup>2</sup> then he re-occupied

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 264 (Gibb's trans., 247-248).

2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakīya, 57.

the strongholds in the eastern part of Antioch. Buzā'a fell to him on 19 Muḥarram 533/16 September 1138, some part of his troops under the command of al-Yaghī-Basān conquered Kafr Ṭāb and finally on 1 Ṣafar 533/7 October 1138, the town of al-Aḥḥarīb was re-captured.<sup>1</sup>

In Damascus Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd learned that there had been a Frankish raid in the neighbourhood of Bānyās. He followed the raiders but without overtaking them returned to the city. On 23 Shawwāl 533/23 June 1139, he was assassinated in his bed by three of his most trusted men, the slave Alp-Qush the Armenian,<sup>2</sup> the eunuch Yūsuf and the groom of the bed-chamber, Kharkawī. The murderers fled from the citadel, but Alp-Qush managed to escape. The other two men were captured and crucified on the wall over the Jābiya Gate.<sup>3</sup>

Amīr Mu'īn al-Dīn Anar took charge of the situation and invited Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Taj al-Mulūk, amīr of Ba'albak, to become ruler. He expelled his own brother, Bahrām-Shāh who fled from the city first to Aleppo and thence to Zangī in Mosul.<sup>4</sup> Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad immediately hastened to Damascus and assumed the power of his half-brother, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. He was formally invested with authority and given

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 266-267 (Gibb's trans., 252); al-'Azīmī, 414-415, 417; Qādī 'Imad al-Dīn, 124; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 268-269; Sibṭ (Jewett), 100; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 279; Ibn Wāsil, I, 76-77; Abū al-Fidā', III, 12-13; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 212; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, 108.
  2. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 26.
  3. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 268-269 (Gibb's trans., 253).
  4. Al-'Azīmī, 417.

the oath of allegiance and loyalty. Stability returned to Damascus and the new sovereign gave Ba'albak to Anar as a fief. Moreover he married Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad's mother. When, however, the news of the murder of Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd reached his mother, Khatūn Safwat al-Mulk Zumurrud, she wrote to Zangī to incite him to revenge and to urge him to march against Damascus.<sup>1</sup>

In the early days of Dhu'l-Hijja 533/August 1139 Zangī, himself, crossed the Euphrates after his campaign against the Artuqids, and arrived at Aleppo, while his advance guards commanded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Yaghī-Basān, took the route through Ḥamā. On 7 Dhu'l-Hijja 533/5 August 1139, Zangī's forces proceeded to Ḥamā to collect the siege equipment which was stored there. Two weeks later he led a large army which took up its position in front of Ba'albak. Zangī set up no less than fourteen mangonels and bombarded the city night and day. Under this fierce blockade it finally surrendered on the 14 Ṣafar 534/10 October 1139,<sup>2</sup> but the citadel continued to resist. The Turkish garrison offered to capitulate if an assurance were given that there would be no reprisals. The guarantee was given but on 24 Ṣafar 534/21 October 1139, Zangī violated his word and crucified thirty-seven

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 269 (Gibb's trans., 254).

2. Al-'Azīmi, 418.

members of the garrison; only a few managed to escape.<sup>1</sup>

When Zangī had repaired the ravages he had caused to Ba'albak and its tower, he prepared himself for descent upon the city of Damascus. In Rabi' I 534/November 1139, Zangī halted at Biqā' from whence he sent his capable envoy, Qādī Kamāl al-Dīn Shahrazūrī to Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, demanding surrender of the city for which he promised to allow him to dictate his own terms. On the rejection of his demand, he crossed the mountains north of Harmon and encamped at Dārāyyā, about five miles south-west of Damascus (13 Rabi' II 534/6 December 1139). From there his advance guards routed a detachment of Damascenes and on 28 Rabi' II 534/21 December 1139 he advanced towards the town repulsing a body of militia near Musallā. He renewed his strategy in an endeavour to gain the support of Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad to surrender the city and accept instead Ḥims, Ba'albak or any other city he might prefer. Meanwhile Qādī Kamāl al-Dīn Shahrazūrī probed among the chiefs of the Damascene militia in an endeavour to induce them to adopt this course. His agents found some supporters and a day was fixed when the accomplices would open the gates. By this time the defence of Damascus was almost ready

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 267-270 (Gibb's trans., 253-256); al-'Azīmī, 417; Qādī 'Imād al-Dīn, 124-125; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 35-36; idem, al-Atabakīya, 58-59; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 272-273; Sibṭ (Jewett), 104, 106; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 273-274; Ibn Wāsil, I, 85-86; Abū al-Fidā', III, 15; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 215-216; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, 109-110.

and the Damascenes as a whole were determined to defend their town. Zangī realised that their formidable opposition made a battle inevitable even though the gates were opened to him. The narrowness and maze of the streets would be a great disadvantage to Zangī's troops and he gave up the project.<sup>1</sup>

After suffering for some time from an incurable illness Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad died on 8 Shaʿbān 534/29 March 1140. The leaders of authority in Damascus under Muʿīn al-Dīn Anar agreed that Muḥammad's son ʿAbd al-Dawla Abū Saʿīd Ābaq (Uvaq) should be proclaimed successor to his father and gave him the oath of loyalty. On hearing this, Zangī advanced towards Damascus hoping for some benefit which might accrue to his advantage if dissention arose concerning the accession. His hopes did now, however, materialise. His treachery against Baʿalbak had created a feeling of distrust and fear of his future conduct, and caused the leaders of Damascus to declare themselves ready to oppose him to the death, rather than submit to capture by him. Muʿīn al-Dīn Anar, together with the notables of the city, preferred to call for assistance from the Franks. They despatched Usāma ibn Munqidh to Jerusalem as envoy to Fulk, and offered to pay 20,000 dīnārs per month for costs incurred during the assault if the Franks would assist them to wrest the strategically important town of

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 270-271 (Gibb's trans., 256-258); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 48; idem, al-Atābakīya, 58-59; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 273; Ibn Wāsil, I, 87.

Bānyās from Zangī's governor Ibrāhīm b. Turghut and also promised to deliver the castle into their hands. In addition, Anar pointed out the danger to Jerusalem if Zangī gained Damascus. Fulk was convinced that Anar's hypothesis was reasonable. The Franks demanded a stipulated sum to be paid forthwith for initial costs and also a number of hostages as a prevention of treachery.<sup>1</sup> These conditions were accepted and preparation was made to send reinforcements to Damascus. All Frankish cities and castles were alerted against Zangī and concerted effort was enjoined in order to check his ambitions. Zangī prepared to meet the threat and retired from his camp at Dārayyā on Sunday 15 Ramaḍān/4 May and made for Hawrān. It would appear that he preferred the Franks to attack rather than face and attack their combined armies. After waiting for a month he returned to the Ghūta of Damascus and then camped at 'Adhrā, north of the city, on Wednesday 24 Shawwāl/12 June, when, after burning several farms, he returned to his base at Ḥamā. Meanwhile Turghut, the ruler of Bānyās, had set out with the intention of raiding Tyre and encountered Raymond, Lord of Antioch, en route to support the Franks. A battle was fought and Turghut's army was routed. He, together with some of his troops, was killed. The remainder of Turghut's army returned to Bānyās and fortified themselves there. The Amīr Anar

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1. According to the terms of the truce, Frankish captives in Bānyās were to be freed; among them was the wife of the Valiant Rainier of Brus (William of Tyre, I, 76-77).

proceeded to lay siege to Bānyās and during the month of Shawwāl/May-June it was bombarded with catapults. A considerable detachment of the Frankish army was stationed towards the west of the city while Anar took up his position on the east. Finally, when all hope of reinforcements from Zangī had failed, the town capitulated. Anar honoured his agreement and surrendered Bānyās to the Franks, and the Damascene army returned to its base. Bānyās was granted to Rainier.<sup>1</sup>

Zangī now turned his attention to the strengthening of Ba'albak and invited some Turcomans to live in the town. He presented Amīr Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's father, with Ba'albak as a fief,<sup>2</sup> and he himself again encamped under the walls of Damascus. At dawn on Saturday 5 Dhu'l-Qa'da 534/22 June 1140, he reached the Musallā and approached the city wall unperceived as the people were still asleep. When his arrival became known, shouts and cries were raised and the people collected arms and assembled on the walls. The gate was opened and cavalry and foot-soldiers made a sortie. Zangī had sent detachments of his troops to Hawrān, the Ghūta, the Marj and all outlying districts to raid and so prevent attack from them,

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 271-272 (Gibb's trans., 259-261); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 49; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 273-274; William of Tyre, I, 105-112; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 87-89; Abū al-Fidā', III, 15-16; Ibn Qaḍī Shuhba, 110-111; Āno. Syr. Chl. (part II, 274) appears to have confused this event with the siege of Ba'albān.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakīya, 59; Bidlisi, 84.



while he remained with his personal guards. He engaged the Damascenes in combat thus preventing their pursuit of his detachments who were carrying out the raids as planned. Many were wounded and a considerable number of lives were lost on both sides. Zangī then halted at Marj Rāhit on the same day, until his men re-assembled with their spoils. The Damascenes, who realised that by his action Zangī had cut their food supplies, now offered to acknowledge his suzerainty and pronounce his name in the Khuṭba. News from the north caused Zangī to return there and he accepted the proffered terms, never again to lay siege to Damascus.<sup>1</sup>

While Zangī was consolidating his positions on the northern and eastern frontiers, the western frontier was attacked by the Franks of Antioch. The Frankish attack was a reprisal against the Turkish Amīr Laḡah who had entered Zangī's service and Zangī's general, Sawār, together with those Turcomans who had assisted them in their fights against the Franks. The Franks first attacked Sarmīn where they ransacked olive groves; from thence they stormed on to Jabal and Summaq and subjected both towns to plunder. When Zangī's commander, Sawār, replied to these assaults, the Turcoman squadrons under Sawār's son A'lam al-Dīn (Ramadān 536/April 1142) wisely avoided the Frankish army at Jisr al-Hadid. The troops from Aleppo crossed the Orontes and arrived at the gates of Antioch and there collected a great

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 273 (Gibb's trans., 262); Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 274; Ibn Wasīl, I, 89.

deal of booty.<sup>1</sup>

In the following year the Lord of Antioch made a sortie and annexed Aleppine territory as far as Buzā'ā, while Joscelin of Edessa advanced to the Euphrates in the hope of reaching the land held by Raymond. Sawār had forced Raymond's troops back towards the north in order to keep contact with Mosul. He also made a truce with Joscelin which widened the breach between Joscelin and Raymond.<sup>2</sup>

The Franks of Jerusalem were well satisfied with the truce between themselves and the Damascenes. Anar gave Fulk no cause for offence. The potential security of the situation caused Fulk to cement it by building strong castles to protect the Franks in that area. The alliance between Fulk and Anar was sealed by the fact that Anar soon afterwards paid a visit to the King's court at Acre.<sup>3</sup> There Fulk showed his honest desire for friendship with the Damascenes. He complained to Fulk of the raids against their flocks by Rainier of Brus, from Bānyās. Fulk gave orders to Rainier to stop his forays and pay compensation to his victims. Soon afterwards Fulk was killed by a fall from his horse during a royal hunt (538/1143). His eldest son Baldwin

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 274-275 (Gibb's trans., 263); al-'Azīmi, 420-421; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 59; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 275; Ibn Wāsil, I, 90.
  2. Al-'Azīmi, 422; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 275-277; William of Tyre, I, 140.
  3. Usāma ibn Munqidh, 196.

was only thirteen years of age. His wife Melisande took the reins of leadership and strictly adhered to her husband's policy.<sup>2</sup>

The Franks from Edessa held the entire left bank of the Euphrates from al-Bīra (Bīrejīk) to Balīs. They continued with their incursions into the upper basin of the Khābūr. Some of their cavalry had reached Raqqā, Nisībīn, Āmid and even the suburbs of Mārdīn, and Harrān had been threatened. Their power represented a serious threat to Zangī. Sultān Mas'ūd ordered him to capture Edessa from the Franks and the order coincided with Zangī's own interest. Zangī, however, carefully concealed this fact in order not to arouse their suspicion. He set off towards Lake Vān at the end of 538/Spring 1144 for an expedition against the Kurds, which caused anxiety to the new Artuqid ruler, Qarā-Arslān, who opened negotiations with the Franks of Edessa for assistance. Zangī's spies immediately informed him of the agreement between them and he strategically seiged the towns of Jamālīn al-Muwazzaz and Tell-Muzan amongst others, thus severing communications between the Franks and the Artuqids before attacking Āmid. Qarā-Arslān appealed to Joscelyn to create a diversion. Joscelyn made a raid in order to intercept Zangī's communications but this elicited no reaction from Zangī, who was in Diyār Bakr. Reassured by his absence, Joscelyn left

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1. William of Tyre, I, 134-137.

with a strong contingent for his own lands west of the Euphrates. The amīr of Ḥarrān, Faḍlullah b. Ja'far, sent word to Zangī that as Edessa was empty of troops, this was a golden opportunity to attack the city. Zangī immediately sent a detachment under the command of Yaḡhī-Basān to surprise Edessa, but they were confused by the darkness of the rainy November night and they lost the road. When, however, they finally reached the city they found it was not completely defenceless. Zangī received word of this by pigeon-post and approached the city along the Ḥarrān road and within two days he joined forces with Yaḡhī-Basān in the early morning of Tuesday, 30 Jumādā I 539/28 November 1144. Jihād was proclaimed and together Turcoman and Kurdish reinforcements joined Zangī to blockade the city. Zangī was stationed to the north opposite the Gate of Hours, on the hill above the Church of the Confessors. Malik Alp-Arslān b. Maḥmūd took his place to the east and the vizier Jamāl al-Dīn camped to the north of Zangī on the Hill of Observers. Amīr Yaḡhī-Basān was posted on a hill to the west opposite the Fountain Gate. Higher on the slope another detachment encamped to the north-west, at the upper part of Wādī Sulaymān near the fence of Barṣauma, under the command of Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī b. Beg-Tegīn (known as 'Alī Kūchūk), the ruler of Irbīl. At the East Gate where the road led to Fort Kīsas he posted yet another detachment. Near to the garden of Bozān, another contingent was stationed under the command of Abū 'Alī, ruler of Zā'faran and Araqīn. A further detachment encamped to the

north-east on the banks of the Euphrates. South of them were various tribes of Turcomans and at the south Gate towards Harrān were some tribes of Kurds. Higher up the hill were many foot soldiers, Arabs and men of Aleppo while on the west, opposite the citadel, Hasan of Mabbuj pitched his camp.<sup>1</sup>

Few troops remained in Edessa and its defence was maintained by three bishops. The Latin Hugo was in overall command, assisted by the Armenian Archbishop John, and the Jacobite Basil bar Shumana. The three sects were at variance among themselves and the population, most of whom were artisans, merchants or priests and deacons, were ignorant of the use of arms. They had appealed in vain to Anrioch and Jerusalem for aid. Joscelin had retired to Tell Bāshir, probably realising that his own forces were no match for Zangi's army. The city, nevertheless, valiantly resisted the attack which was fierce. Seven mangonels constantly bombarded the city walls while the Turks rained arrows upon and dug trenches under the bridge outside the North Gate. Zangi hoped that the people of Edessa would surrender and thus avoid both bloodshed and the destruction of their city, but his demands were answered with insults,<sup>2</sup> and the threats of danger to themselves were ignored. Realising that sharp measures were needed, Zangi pressed the siege and his

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1. Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 281-282.

2. Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 268.

Khurāsānīan and Aleppine sappers dug huge passages under the city's foundations and coated the pit-props with naphtha. In the hope of averting disaster, Basil persuaded the Latin Archbishop to sue Zangī for a truce hoping that perhaps reinforcements might reach the city before it was too late. The plea did not, however, reach Zangī. After a final appeal to the population to surrender, which was again ignored, Zangī fired the naphtha under the beams at the North Gate. Fierce flames, smoke and a bombardment lasting three hours, during which two towers and part of the outside wall collapsed, gave the advantage to the Turcomans who burst into the city through the breach (26 Jumādā II/24 December). Sacking and looting, to say nothing of massacre, continued throughout two days until Zangī called a halt. The panic-stricken population surged toward the citadel, but its gate had been closed by the order of Archbishop Hugo. When Zangī entered the city he saw an old man, who he learned was the Jacobite Metropolitan Basil. He conveyed him to his tent and treated him well. Zangī's quick perception realised that the quarrels between Franks, Jacobites and Armenians could be turned to his advantage. The order to halt killing was passed and the people were given food and other necessities and afterwards allowed to return to their homes. Some two thousand, however, whose resistance had been stronger, were captured in the upper citadel and carried into slavery. About ten thousand others were released, and the town's

administration was restored to its people. Zangi's aim was to show that his policy was not anti-Christian but anti-Frank, and that his quarrel was against foreign invaders. Very few Franks escaped massacre and the Latin churches were ransacked. Jacobites and Armenians were allowed to resume services again in their own churches.

Four days after the capture of Edessa Zangi left the city. He appointed Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Kūchūk as governor and left a garrison together with seven lieutenants under his command. He also left orders to replace destroyed buildings and reassured the citizens by promises of justice to everyone.<sup>1</sup>

Zangi then marched towards Sarūj, from which the Franks had fled in Rajab 539/January 1145. After two months he besieged al-Bīra which controlled the crossing to Tell Bāshir and was the last possession of Joscelin on the east bank of the Euphrates. A tight blockade had rendered the town almost ready to capitulate when he learned of the murder of his na'ib Naṣr

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 279-280 (Gibb's trans., 266-268); Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 112; al-Bundārī, 205-206 (Turkish trans., 186); Ibn al-Azraq, 170b; Qādī 'Imād al-Dīn, 127; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 64-65; idem, al-Atābakīya, 66-70; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 278-280; idem, Bughya, VI, 210b; William of Tyre, I, 140-144; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 282-285; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 268-270; Matthew, Turkish trans., 297-299, French trans., 326-328; Ibn Wāsil, I, 93-94; Abū al-Fida', III, 17; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 219; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 34-35; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, 115-117; J.B. Segal, 244-247; A.H.R. Gibb, "Zangi and the fall of Edessa", A History of the Crusaders, I, 449-462.

al-Dīn Chaqir. This forced Zangī to raise the siege and return to Mosul in Dh'ul-Qa'da 539/May 1145.<sup>1</sup>

The conquest of Edessa brought acclamation from east and west. The Caliph al-Muqtafī bestowed the titles of "Zayn al-Islām", "al-Malik al-Mansūr", "Nāṣir al-Amīr al-Mu'minīn" upon him, thus raising his status to a par with that of the sulṭān's sons. His fame spread and even more titles and lavish gifts were showered upon him.

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1. Ibn al-Qalanīsī, ibid; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakīya, 70; idem, al-Kāmil, XI, 66; al-Bundārī, 205 (Turkish trans., 186); Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bughya, VI, 211a; Ibn al-Azraq, 170b; Qādī ʿImād al-Dīn, 127; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 270.



CHAPTER IV

ZANGĪ AND THE BYZANTINE CAMPAIGN INTO SYRIA

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During the siege of Baʿrīn, Zangī had been informed that a large Byzantine army<sup>1</sup> led in person by the Emperor, John II Comnenus (1118-1143 A.D.) was on the point of entering Syria. The Emperor's approach, together with relief to Baʿrīn from Antioch and Edessa, forced Zangī to allow the garrison to pay a ransom and evacuate the fortress. The Emperor's action was partly caused by the hostile activities of the Danishmends of Melitene and Leo the Armenian in Cilicia.<sup>2</sup> He was also anxious to consolidate an agreement previously made between the Franks and the Emperor Alexius I (1081-1118 A.D.) This agreement stipulated that for military help given to them the crusaders would return conquered lands to their former owners if such lands were reconquered. In return Alexius promised to supply the crusaders with victuals and war materials, and would in addition lead the crusading army. The only dissentient among the crusaders was Raymond of

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1. According to an anonymous Syriac Chronicler (part II, 275) the army was estimated at 400,000 soldiers. Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAdīm (Zubda, II, 267) records that in the siege of Shayzar there were 100,000 foot-soldiers and 100,000 cavalry. These figures are probably over-estimated.
  2. Cinnamus, 14; Nicetas, 27-28; F. Chalandon, 116-118; J.M. Hussey, "The later Macedonians, the Comneni and the Angeli 1025-1204", CMH, IV, part I, 223.

Toulouse. The agreement was in force almost immediately prior to the capture of Antioch (27 Jumādā 491/3 June 1098).

Prince Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, had established himself in Antioch as an independent ruler which was a violation of the agreement. Alexius protested and Bohemond not only ignored the protest but was in open hostility against him. When he met Alexius before the walls of Dyrrachium he was defeated and became his vassal by the treaty of Devol in 1108 A.D. He was afterwards granted Antioch as an imperial fief.<sup>1</sup>

When Bohemond died, his nephew Tancred claimed Antioch as an inheritance, but the Emperor Alexius sent an embassy to protest against his attempt to re-establish the city's independence.<sup>2</sup> The deputation was ignored and the matter was not re-opened until John II Comnenus, who had greatly strengthened his position in the Balkans, arrived to claim Antioch which he regarded as part of his empire.<sup>3</sup>

The Emperor, John, had hoped this would be achieved by a marriage alliance, since Princess Alice had offered the hand of her daughter Constance to Manuel, the son of John Comnenus, but his hopes were doomed when

1. Anna Comnena, 263; Fulcher of Chartres, 193; William of Tyre, I, 83-84; see also G. Ostrogorsky, 363-366; S. Runciman, II, 50-51.
2. Anna Comnena, 262-263; Fulcher of Chartres, 150-151.
3. According to Ibn Wāsil (I, 76), the approach of the Emperor, John, was an answer to the Frankish appeal to Ba'rin for help.

Constance married Raymond of Poitiers who was already in possession of Antioch. The first Byzantine contingents landed in Attalia at the beginning of 531/1136 and were joined later by others. The Emperor used the route by the Mediterranean Sea in order to transport his army's baggage by ship.<sup>1</sup> His appearance in the south-east of Asia Minor surprised both Muslims and Christians. From Attalia he advanced eastward into Cilicia which he wrested from Leo the Armenian, the maternal uncle of Joscelin II of Edessa. From Cilicia the Emperor sent a message to the effect that all Franks who wished him well should come to acknowledge his suzerainty. His call was answered only by Baldwin of Marash, who paid homage and asked for protection against the Turks.<sup>2</sup>

The Emperor swept on conquering Mersin, Tarsus, Adana and Mamistra all of which yielded without resistance. He advanced to the plain of Antioch, his army spreading over the hills and on the plains wreaking havoc among villages in the area. In Muharram 531/August 1136 he appeared before the walls of Antioch and encamped on the north bank of the Orontes.<sup>3</sup>

Previous to the Emperor's approach Raymond, Prince of Antioch, had left Antioch to go to the assistance of Fulk, king of Jerusalem, who was

1. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 262; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 275.
2. Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 275-276.
3. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 258 (Gibb's trans., 240-241); al-‘Azīmī, 411; William of Tyre, I, 84; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 275-276; Cinnamus, 16; Nicates, 29; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 264; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 262; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 76.

besieged in the castle of Ba'ṣrīn by Zangī. In the meanwhile, Fulk had been released and Raymond was met by him at Buḡaya. Fulk himself returned to Jerusalem and Raymond hastened back to Antioch having learned of the impending siege. Fortunately the Byzantine siege was not completed and Raymond was able to enter the city. For several days there was active warfare between the two armies. The Byzantine army's machines bombarded the city to weaken its morale and break down its defences. Raymond, seeing that no help could arrive from outside and uncertain of the temper of the population, capitulated to the Emperor's forces. A solemn oath of allegiance was imposed upon him together with the promise that whenever the Emperor desired to enter Antioch or its citadel, either during war or peace, the prince should not refuse to allow him a free passage. Furthermore the rulership of Aleppo, Shayzar, Ḥamā and Ḥims would, after conquest, be given to Raymond upon the immediate surrender of Antioch to the Emperor. It was also agreed that they would share the campaign against those cities in the following summer. The Emperor then returned to Cilicia together with his army, to spend the winter on the seacoast near Tarsus.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Cinnamus, 18-19; Niceas, 36; William of Tyre, I, 92-93; Ibn al-Qalanīsī, 258 (Gibb's trans., 241); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 34-35; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 277; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 264; F. Chalandon, 129-133; S. Runciman, II, 213; W.B. Stevenson, 139.

The presence of the Emperor did not affect Zangī's plan of laying siege to Damascus, in Dhu'l-Qa'da 531/September 1137. An embassy from the Emperor arrived in Hims to assure Zangī of his cordiality. Zangī sent the messengers back to John under escort bearing many gifts.<sup>1</sup>

The appearance of John Comnenus worried Aleppo. Because of the Byzantine army's proximity and not knowing the real intention of the Emperor, the Aleppines fortified the town and repaired the trenches.<sup>2</sup>

Before the Emperor returned temporarily to Cilicia, the amīr Sawār launched a raid on the north of the lake of Antioch annihilating a Byzantine detachment. Following this, a new Byzantine embassy arrived to assure Aleppo that the Emperor's project was against Leo the Armenian.<sup>3</sup>

Early in 532/1138 the Emperor and Raymond prepared their agreed attack upon the Muslim towns. Joscelin of Edessa and other principal powers had already been summoned to join the Emperor.<sup>4</sup>

By the order of the Emperor, Raymond arrested about 500 Muslim merchants and Aleppines in Antioch and its neighbouring towns in order to

1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 262 (Gibb's trans., 244); al-'Azīmi, 413; F. Chalandon, 133-134.
2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 263; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 262-263.
3. Ibn al-'Adīm, ibid.; F. Chalandon, 133.
4. William of Tyre, I, 94; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakiya, 62; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 264.

camouflage his intentions (Jumādā 532/February–March 1138).<sup>1</sup> Before the end of March, John Comnenus, together with his army, returned to Antioch and the Franco-Byzantine army marched first against Buzā‘a, 28 miles north-east of Aleppo. It capitulated after six days' defence (25 Rajab 532/9 April 1138), but most of the inhabitants were massacred with the exception of some 400 who professed Christianity in order to save their lives. Among these were the Qādī of the town and some notables.<sup>2</sup> During the following ten days the allied forces raided from all directions. The local population took refuge in the grottoes but were driven out by smoke.<sup>3</sup>

Messengers were sent from Aleppo to alert Zangī, who was at Hims. He asked reinforcements from Sultān Mas‘ūd in Baghdad, a request which he afterward countermanded. In the meanwhile he despatched troops, together with four of his commanders among whom was Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī Kūchūk, to augment his fighting force which was already in Aleppo. They entered the town on 27 Rajab 532/10 April 1138, six days before the

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 263–264 (Gibb's trans., 246).

2. Ibn al-‘Adīm (Zubda, II, 265; Bughya, I, 281–282) records a massacre of 6,000, Ibn al-Qalānisi (265, Gibb's trans., 249–250) and Ibn al-Athīr (al-Kāmil, XI, 36) record that 5,300 of the population of Buzā‘a were killed. According to Ibn Wāsil (I, 78), it was 5,800 who were killed.

3. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 265 (Gibb's trans., 250); al-‘Azīmi, 414.

Emperor's arrival.<sup>1</sup>

The Franco-Byzantine army approached Aleppo and descended on al-Nā'ūrā, a few miles east of Aleppo. They set out for the city on Monday 6 Sha' bān/18 April and encamped by the river Quwayq. The Emperor had hoped to surprise the city but a considerable force made a sortie against his army. The siege was carried for three days and when he realised the strength of the town's resistance he withdrew on the morning of Wednesday, 8 Sha' bān 532/18 April 1138, towards Salda.<sup>2</sup>

Instead, the Emperor marched on al-Athārib. Its garrison fled in panic and the allied forces occupied the town on Thursday, 9 Sha' bān/21 April. From there the Emperor marched to Shayzar leaving his Muslim captives in the town. Amīr Sawār realising that the town would be left with very little protection, entered it and freed the captives on Saturday, 11 Sha' bān/

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1. Al-'Azīmī (414) and Ibn al-'Adīm (Zubda, II, 264) record that the number of the cavalry sent by Zangī was 500; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābakiya, 62-63.
  2. Ibn al-Qalānisi (265-266, Gibb's trans., 249-251); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 36; idem, al-Atābakiya, 62-63; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 265-266; Ibn Waṣīl, I, 78; An anonymous Syriac Chronicler (part II, 278-279) records that the Frankish leaders showed a pretended affection for the Emperor but deliberately gave him misleading advice when they suggested an attack on Shayzar instead of Aleppo; F. Chalandon, 136-137.



23 April.<sup>1</sup>

On the day that al-Aṭḥarīb fell to the Emperor, Zangī left Ḥamā for Salamiya, despatching his heavy equipment to al-Raqqā. He remained with the cavalry realising that a mobile force would serve his purpose to the best advantage.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the Byzantine army advanced southward, capturing Ma'arra and Kafr Ṭāb, and simultaneously an army of Turcomans arrived to strengthen the forces of Zangī, commanded by the Artuqid amīr Dā'ūd.<sup>3</sup>

The city of Shayzar was situated on a high rock, defended on one side by the river Orontes. It was governed by an independent amīr Abū al-ʿAsākir Sulṭān ibn ʿAlī ibn Muqallid ibn Naṣr Munkiz al-Qinānī al-Manqibī. The Emperor hoped that because of this Zangī would not concern

1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 265-266 (Gibb's trans., 249-251); Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 37; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 266-267; Ibn Wāsil, I, 77-78. While al-ʿAzīmī records that there were 20,000 Turcomans with Dā'ūd, Ibn al-ʿAdīm (Zubda, II, 268) gives the number as 50,000.
2. Ibn al-Qalānisī, ibid; Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, ibid; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ibid; Ibn Wāsil, ibid.
3. Ibn al-Qalānisī, ibid; Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, ibid; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ibid; Ibn Wāsil, ibid.

himself with the fate of the city.<sup>1</sup> He accordingly lay siege to it from a strategic position. They had brought 18 mangonels<sup>2</sup> with them which, according to Usāma ibn Munqidh, were "frightful". The lower levels of the city were taken with little difficulty and no mercy was shown to the citizens except to a few who were of the Christian faith.<sup>3</sup>

The citadel, however, occupied a naturally impregnable position being constructed on a rocky spur protected by two bluffs. In vain the Byzantine army used every effort to capture it and many attacks were led by the Emperor who exhibited great personal courage. The Frankish leaders, however, did not take the situation seriously. It may have been that Joscelin had no wish to force Raymond to hold Shayzar.<sup>4</sup>

When Zangī was informed of the siege he realised that the Emperor was avoiding open conflict with him and was reassured by this foolish policy. He took the opportunity to strengthen his own borders and commenced to blockade food supplies to the Emperor's army and reduced it almost to famine conditions. Zangī was shrewd enough to realise that there

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 37; idem, al-Atābakīya, 55; An anonymous Syriac Chronicler (part II, 279) praises Abū al-ʿAsakir, Sulṭān's qualities as a mediator.
  2. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 267; Ibn Wāsil (I, 78) records that 16 mangonels were set up.
  3. Usāma ibn Munqidh, 113.
  4. William of Tyre, I, 95.

was disagreement between the Emperor and the Frankish leaders who wanted to meet Zangī in the open field. Zangī, however, knew that cavalry could not cope with an attack from the combined forces.<sup>1</sup>

After twenty-four days of bombardment by the mangonels which were, according to Usāma ibn Munqidh "big enough to throw a large mill-stone to a long distance",<sup>2</sup> the amīr of Shayzar, Abū al-ʿĀsākīr Sulṭān, offered an indemnity if the Emperor would raise the siege. The Emperor, seeing the treachery of the Franks in wasting his time by the siege of this stronghold, without informing the Frankish leaders accepted the offer and withdrew. He even left the heavy siege equipment, a part of which was later burnt and another part restored by Zangī.<sup>3</sup>

The Emperor returned to Antioch and insisted on making a ceremonial entry into the city. He also demanded that his army should have free

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XI, 37-38; *idem*, *al-Atābakīya*, 55-56; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, VI, 213b; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 81-82; *Ano. Syr. Chl.*, part II, 279.

2. Usāma ibn Munqidh (113) also records that the mangonels threw stones which were twenty to twenty-five ratls in weight.

3. Cinnamus, 19-20; Nicetas, 37-41; Ibn al-Qalānisi, 255 (Gibb's trans., 251-252); al-ʿAzīmī, 415; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XI, 37-38; *idem*, *al-Atābakīya*, 55-56; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, II, 267-268; William of Tyre, I, 96; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 264. The anonymous Syriac Chronicler (part II, 279) records that "The garrison sent ambassadors to the Emperor saying: 'The Franks have misled you, have brought you to invest this place...'" and "they sent him presents, sacramental vessels of gold and silver, crosses of gold obtained in victories over the emperors and preserved by them from the days of their father"; see also, F. Chalandon, 139-141; W.B. Stevenson, 140-141; S. Runciman, II, 216-217.

access to Antioch and that the citadel should be handed over to them for safe keeping of the treasure in his possession. This had also been one of the articles of agreement between Raymond and the Emperor. His action horrified the Frankish leaders who incited the Latin population against the Greeks and many of them were massacred. The Emperor summoned Raymond and Joscelin into his presence and reminded them of their oath of vassaldom, after which he led his army back to Cilicia.

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1. Cinnamus, 24; William of Tyre, I, 97-101; J.M. Hussey, "The later Macedonians", CMH, IV, 223.

CHAPTER V

ZANGĪ'S OPPOSITION TO ARTUQIDS, KURDS AND  
TURCOMANS

## CHAPTER V

ZANGĪ'S OPPOSITION TO ARTUQIDS, KURDS AND TURCOMANS

When Zangī was made atabeg and sent to Mosul as ruler, Najm al-Dīn II-Ghāzī and Sōkmān, the sons of Artuq b. Ekseb, a Turcoman commander from the tribe of Dōger,<sup>1</sup> had already established themselves in the upper part of al-Jazīra.

The dynasty of Artuqid was founded by Artuq who had been appointed by Tutush to the governorship of Jerusalem. At his death, II-Ghāzī and Sōkmān shared their father's fief. While II-Ghāzī remained in Jerusalem Sōkmān allied himself with the son of Tutush, Ridwān of Aleppo, against Ridwān's brother Duqaq of Damascus and for this service he received Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān.<sup>2</sup>

By the Fatimid capture of Jerusalem in 493/1098, II-Ghāzī and Sōkmān were forced to leave their fiefs. II-Ghāzī took service under Sultān Muḥammad Tapar and was made governor of Iraq. At the same time, Sōkmān's nephew succeeded in occupying Mārdīn while Sōkmān, in Rabī' I 494/January 1101, prepared to attack Edessa. He did not succeed in its

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1. F. Sūmer, "Dōğerlere Dair", TM, IX (1951), 139.
  2. Al-'Azīmi, 373; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 123-124; C. Cahen, "Première Penetration Turque en Asie Mineure", Byzantion, XVII (1944-1945), 48-49; for Artuq Beg see, A. Sevim, "Artukuların soyu ve Artuk Bey'in siyasi faaliyetleri", Bellekten, XXVI, 121-146.

capture but took possession of Sarūj. From there also he was expelled by the crusaders. In 495/1102, during the quarrels between the leaders of al-Jazīra, he obtained possession of Hisn Kayfā and later inherited Mārdīn. Shortly after Sökmān's death in 498/1104, II-Ghāzī took over Mārdīn from the hands of Ibrāhīm who had succeeded his father Sökmān and had remained in Hisn Kayfā, hence the establishment of the two branches of the same family which maintained a separate existence for two centuries.<sup>1</sup>

II-Ghāzī of Mārdīn seized Diyar Bakr, and Mayyāfariqīn; together with his Turcoman squadrons he fought for many years against the crusaders. His activities in this respect were rooted in the desire to defend the province of Aleppo and to keep the Franks at a respectful distance. Iraq had long been troubled by the dynastic quarrels of the Seljuqs; while Aleppo had been torn by civil strife ever since the murder of Lu'lu', the Atabeg of Tāj al-Dawla Alp-Arslān b. Ridwān in 511/1117. The Frankish pressures on the city were unyielding and in 512/1118 contingents from Antioch began an offensive which reached the gates but they were unable to penetrate the city. The Aleppinos called II-Ghāzī to take possession of the city and to defend it against Frankish progress. To do this he introduced

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 135, 138 (Gibb's trans., 45, 50-51); al-'Azīmi 374; *Ano. Syr. Chl.*, part I, 69, 76-77; Qādī 'Imād al-Dīn, 115; C. Cahen, "Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides", *JA* (1935), 219-277; *idem*, "Artukids", *EI2*, I, 662-667; A. Sevim, "Artukoğlu Sökmən' in siyasi faaliyetleri", *Belleten*, XXVI (1962), 501-520.

a number of Turcoman contingents into northern Syria, many of whom afterwards settled in the region. These settlers seem to have been a helpful nucleus, of which later on Zangī was able to make good use.

When II-Ghāzī died in Ramadān 516/November 1122, his elder son, Ḥusām al-Dīn Timur-Tāsh succeeded in Mārdīn. Another son, Shams al-Dawla Sulaymān remained in Mayyāfāriqīn while Aleppo passed to his nephew Sulaymān b. ‘Abduljabbar.<sup>1</sup>

The death of II-Ghāzī was a signal for the Franks to prepare themselves against Aleppo. Baldwin II seized several places within the province of the city and Joscelin of Edessa made several incursions into the territory of Aleppo. Sulaymān b. ‘Abduljabbar b. Artuq needed support to resist the Franks and in Ṣafar 517/April 1123 he agreed to hand over the important town of al-Aḥarīb to them in order to gain a truce.<sup>2</sup>

The rise to power of Balak b. Bahrām b. Artuq, the nephew of II-Ghāzī, was augmented by the severe defeat of the Franks in Rajab 516/September 1122,<sup>3</sup> and when further in Rabī‘ I 517/May 1123 he took Ḥarrān. The obvious weakness of his cousin, Sulaymān of Aleppo, decided him to

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 169, 170, 199 (Gibb's trans., 103, 157); al-‘Azīmī, 384, 390; Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Zubda*, II, 185-186; Qādī ‘Imād al-Dīn, 118-119; Fulcher of Chartres, 227-233; *Ano. Syr. Chl.*, part I, 87-88; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 249-250; Matthew, Turkish trans., 272, French trans., 307; A. Sevim, "Artukoğlu Ilgazi", *Bellefen*, XXVI (1962), 649-691;
  2. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 208 (Gibb's trans., 166).
  3. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *ibid*; Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Zubda*, II, 206.



go there and take over the town. Balak, however, was not long to be master of Aleppo. In Ṣafar 518/March-April 1124 during the siege of Manbij, an arrow struck him and put an end to a promising career.<sup>1</sup>

The Franks renewed their pressure on Aleppo. The Aleppines thereupon sent Abā Ghanim Muḥammad b. Hubbatullah, the Qādī of Aleppo, Abā ‘Abdullah al-Jalī and Sharif Zuhra to Timur-Tāsh for help, who disregarded the urgency of their request. The delegation, however, acutely aware of the need for help, left at night without giving warning of their departure and went to Aq-Sonqur Porsuqī in Mosul begging assistance. Aq-Sonqur Porsuqī was unfortunately sick at the time of their arrival but promised help. After three days he kept his word and reinforcements caused the Franks to withdraw.<sup>2</sup> The stupidity of Timur-Tāsh resulted with the Artuqid loss of their most important city, Aleppo, which fell to Aq-Sonqur Porsuqī (518/1124). With this, the Artuqids also lost all hope of extending their land into Syria and were almost reduced to Turkish vassal status confined within limited territory from the end of the 5th/11th to the beginning of the 9th/15th century.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Al-‘Azīmī, 391, 394; Qādī ‘Imād al-Dīn, 119; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 194; Ano. Syr. Chl., part I, 94; Fulcher of Chartres, 237, 240, 246, 262-264; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 251; Matthew, Turkish trans., 277-278, French trans., 311-312.
  2. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 225; idem, Bughya, III, 275a-277b.
  3. Al-‘Azīmī, 394; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 210, 219, 227; idem, Bughya, VI, 214b; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 200; Qādī ‘Imād al-Dīn, 119; Ano. Syr. Chl., part I, 88-89; Matthew, Turkish trans., 281, French trans., 314-315; A. Sevim, "Temürtaş'ın Halep hakimiyeti", Belleten, XXV (1961), 571-581 (German trans., 583-594).

Such was the background of the situation when, by order of Sultān Maḥmūd, Zangī received the authority of Mosul from the hands of Chavli. Zangī, himself, set off for Aleppo from Mosul and on reaching Niṣībīn, which controlled the Edessa-Mosul route in the Khābūr basin and belonged to Timur-Tāsh, he attacked the town. The amīr of Niṣībīn followed a policy hostile to Mosul. On hearing of Zangī's approach, Timur-Tāsh went to his cousin Rukn al-Dawla Dā'ūd for help. Dā'ūd, who had succeeded to the post previously held by his brother Ibrāhīm b. Sūkmān in Ḥiṣn Kayṣiā, promised to send reinforcements. Timur-Tāsh returned to Mārdīn and from there sent a message by carrier pigeon to Niṣībīn to announce that Dā'ūd's troops would arrive within the next five days, but the bird's passage was intercepted by Zangī, who realised that the inhabitants would be rescued if they held out for that time. He changed the message to read twenty days and released the bird. He immediately increased pressure on Niṣībīn and the population felt unable to hold out for so long a period. Peace was sought and obtained from Zangī before the reinforcements had time to arrive.<sup>1</sup>

Artuqid hostility against Zangī re-asserted itself whenever he was not in Mosul or Aleppo. In 524/1129 during his campaign at al-Aḥḥarīb Artuqid forces regrouped and menaced communications between Mosul and Aleppo and incited revolt in al-Jazīra. The anxiety caused Zangī to

1. Ibn al-Aḥḥarīb, al-Kāmil, X, 455-456; idem, al-Aḥḥarīb, 36-37; Abū Shāma, I, 77.

appoint Amīr Sawār as his nā'ib in Aleppo while he himself returned to Mosul to reorganise his troops for a campaign at Diyār Bakr. Ibn al-Athīr gives the reason for his action as the necessity for opposing a coalition led by Timur-Tāsh of Mārdīn which included Dā'ūd of Ḥisn Kayfā and several Turcoman chieftains. Zangī's army numbered some 4,000 men while his opponents had recruited many Turcomans into their ranks. Zangī began his campaign by laying siege to Sarja (Sarūja), which was a fortress between Nişībīn and Dārā. Timur-Tāsh and his cousin Dā'ūd marched against him and the two armies met in the upper reaches of the river Awij, between Mārdīn and Nişībīn. Timur-Tāsh and Dā'ūd were routed while Zangī went on to capture first Sarja then Dārā. Dā'ūd fled towards Jazīrat ibn 'Umar and on reaching it he plundered the town. Zangī followed but the mountainous terrain favoured Dā'ūd's escape and, instead, Zangī captured the town of Wa'lat Sin, thus confirming his authority over the region.<sup>1</sup>

On his return to Mosul, Zangī prepared for an expedition against the Humyadid Kurdis Amīr, 'Isa, who had broken his friendly relations with Zangī and had helped the Caliph al-Mustarshid in his siege of Mosul. They had also, during Zangī's absence, interfered in the affairs of that city. As a reprisal Zangī belieged Qal'at al-'Aqr, Qal'at Shūsh and the citadel of Kawashi, all of which he captured, and killed many of the inhabitants.

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1. Al-'Azīmī, 402; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 467; idem, al-Atābakīya, 38-39; Abū Shama, I, 70; Ibn Wāsil, I, 35-36; Qādī 'Imād al-Dīn, 122.
  2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 7; idem, al-Atābakīya, 48; ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 254; Abū Shama, I, 79; Ibn Wāsil, I, 55; Abū al-Fidā', II, 8.

In the spring of 528/1131 Zangī prepared to campaign against the Artuqid Amīr of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, Dā'ūd, who had also assisted the Caliph in his siege of Mosul. Timur-Tāsh on this occasion offered to join forces with Zangī at Tell-Shayh. The combined forces met Dā'ūd near Āmid on the last day of Jumādā II 528/26 April 1134. Dā'ūd again escaped from his defeated army but several of his children were captured and many of his officers were killed. The victorious Zangī moved to siege Āmid, the capital of Diyār Bakr, which stoutly resisted his attack and remained impassive when Zangī cut down the trees surrounding the city. On the advice of his vizier, Diyā al-Dīn al-Kafartusi, he raised the siege and returned to Mosul, but en route he siezed the town of al-Suwar, some 30 miles north-west of Mardīn. This he gave to Timur-Tāsh as a gift for the assistance he had rendered and as an incentive to concentrate Timur-Tāsh's interest northward away from Zangī's own borders.<sup>1</sup>

The hostility between Zangī and Dā'ūd appeared to lessen when Dā'ūd sent his Turcoman troops under the command of his son, Qarā-Arslān, to assist Zangī in his war against the Byzantines.<sup>2</sup> The sources give no explanation as to why Dā'ūd assisted Zangī or why Timur-Tāsh turned

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 243 (Gibb's trans., 227); al-ʿAzīmi, 407; Ibn al-Azraq, 167b-168a; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 6-7; idem, al-Atābakīya, 48; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 253; Ibn Wāsil, I, 54.

2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 266 (Gibb's trans., 251); al-ʿAzīmi, 414; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 268.

against him. It may have been that Dā'ūd realised he could not afford to alienate Zangī as his own forces were insufficient to enable him to make the challenge. He therefore took advantage of the opportunity to regain his friendship by supporting him in his confrontation with the Byzantines. Timur-Tāsh seems to have resented the appeasement and began a further quarrel with Zangī in Ramaḍān 533 / May 1139. In the following month (Shawwāl 533 / June 1139) Zangī captured Dārā, Rās al-‘Ayn, Jabal Jūr and Dhā' l-Qarnayn. Amīr Arslān b. ‘Abduljabbar b. Artuq, governor of Dhā' l-Qarnayn, fled and joined Dā'ūd. Zangī went on to occupy Harrān whose governor, Amīr Sū-Tegīn had just died. Timur-Tāsh seems to have realised the futility of his quarrel with Zangī and sought peaceful negotiations with him. Zangī was offered the hand of Safīya Khātūn, one of Timur-Tāsh's daughters and he accepted the reconciliation and married her. It was at this time that Zangī received a message from Zumurrud Khātūn, another of his wives, to go forthwith to Damascus and capture the governorship of that city. Zangī at once seized the opportunity and left al-Jazīra to campaign at Damascus.<sup>1</sup>

While Zangī was in Syria, Turcoman and Kurdish chiefs and also the Artuqid amīrs were showing an increasing desire for independence. Zangī, aware of the danger of such a situation, decided to repress the Turcoman

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1. Al-‘Azīmī, 417; Ibn al-Azraq, 168a-169a; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 62; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 254, 271.

leader at the first opportunity. Qipchaq b. Arslān-Tāsh was first attacked. His men occupied the mountainous region of Shahrazūr and according to Ibn al-Athīr, Qipchaq was very popular among the Turcomans whom he seemed to magnetise into his service. It is not known from whence many of them came, but the general direction was from north and east according to contemporary sources. Zangī's advisers were against the expedition and they reminded Zangī that Qipchaq had a great number of Turcoman followers in his service. In addition it was possible that he might place himself under the suzerainty of Sulṭān Mas'ūd and hand over his lands to him. Zangī ignored their advice and claimed that Qipchaq had insulted him. On receiving news of the pending attack, Qipchaq organised his defence, but to no avail. Zangī's skilful manoeuvres caused the Turcomans to leave their ranks which, thus broken, allowed Zangī to inflict a defeat. Qipchaq gave himself up and offered his services to Zangī. The offer was accepted and he and his descendants served the Zangid family faithfully until 500/1204.<sup>1</sup>

The growing power of Zangī caused alarm among the Artuqid amīrs, who fearing that he would occupy their lands, asked the protection of the Franks. The conflict between Zangī and Dā'ūd recommenced at the beginning of 535/August 1140 and resulted in a further severe defeat of Dā'ūd who hid

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 50; idem, al-Atābakīya, 57-58; Abū Shāma, I, 84-85; Ibn Wāsil, I, 84-85.

among the mountains. After the occupation of the citadel of Bahmard Zangī returned to Mosul because of the approach of winter. Timur-Tāsh, realising that Zangī desired to possess his lands, had declared himself a vassal of Zangī in 536/1141-1142.

The following year Zangī again appeared in the north. This time his operations were against the Kurds who were occupying the region of Jabal Hakkārī, north of Mosul. The Kurds also inhabited part of al-Jazīra.<sup>1</sup> The terrain was mountainous in this region which allowed the Kurdish tribes to live in greater security from attack while giving them a vantage point from which they could raid Mosul. Zangī began his campaign by the capture of Qal'at Sha'banī, which was ruled by Abū al-Hayja b. 'Abdullah. . This fortress, known also as Āshīb, was about 65 miles north-east of Mosul and famed for its impregnability. Many Kurds were killed during the fight for its possession. Zangī built a new fortress on the old site and used its position to control the Kurdish tribes. In honour of Zangī the fortress was renamed "Imādiya" after one of his many titles. When Zangī left the area, the nā'īb of Mosul, Nasīr al-Dīn Chaqir, continued the campaign by capturing the castles of al-Hazabāniya, among which were Bitlis, Qarah and al-Za'farānī.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Al-Qalqashandī, IV, 323.
  2. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 276-277 (Gibb's trans., 264); al-'Azīmi, 421; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 60; idem, al-Atābakīya, 64; Abū Shāma, I, 91-92; al-Qalqashandī, IV, 325; Bidlisī, 479; Ibn Wāsil, I, 55-56; Abū al-Fidā', II, 16-17.

In 538/1144 Zangī appeared again in the north. His objective was to capture Edessa. As a cover for his intentions he marched towards Lake Vān and captured Hīzān, to the south-west of it, from the Kurds. He continued his advance via Āmid to al-Mādan, the copper mining centre, which he captured. His manoeuvres aroused the suspicions of the Artuqids. Qarā-Arslān, who had succeeded his father Dā'ūd (29 Muḥarram 539/1 August 1144) feared that Zangī would replace him by his elder brother, Arslān Toghmiš, whom Zangī had probably captured near Āmid in 528/1131 and had since retained as a hostage. With this in mind, Qarā-Arslān contacted the Franks of Edessa and Sultān Mas'ūd of Konya for his assistance to combat the threat of Zangī. He received reinforcements from Sultān Mas'ūd.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of the Franks was to bar Zangī from the north and they agreed to assist Qarā-Arslān. Zangī, meanwhile, captured all towns in the area which would assist him by cutting communications off from the Franks and enable him to control the routes. This area lay in the massif of Shabahtān and the upper basin of the Khābūr. Included among the towns which fell into his hands were Jamalīn al-Muwazzaz, Tell-Muzan, Hānīn, Gumlīn, Hamīma, Tanzā and Is'arad. Zangī then turned his attention to Āmid. Instigated by Qarā-Arslān, Joscelin raided Raqqa while Zangī's forces were at al-Ḥadītha and 'Āna, on the westerly bend of the Euphrates and about 130 miles north-west

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1. Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 268.



of Baghdad. The populations of al-Ḥadīṯha and ‘Āna revolted against Zangī and were brought under control in Jumādā I 539/November 1144. It was then that Zangī received news that Edessa was empty of troops which gave him the opportunity to snatch a victory. This followed the occupation of Sarūj. Shortly afterwards he besieged al-Bīra. News was brought to Zangī that his nā’ib, Chaqir, had been killed, thus forcing him to raise the siege and return to Mosul. Ibn al-Aṯīr states that the population of al-Bīra preferred to give themselves up to Timur-Tāsh of Mārdīn than suffer another attack from Zangī.<sup>1</sup>

After restoring order in Mosul, Zangī set off for his last campaign against the ‘Uqalid Amīr Salim of Qal‘at Ja‘bar. To avoid the risk of attack from the rear by Bashnawī Kurds, who were in the north of Mosul, Zangī sent Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī Kūchūk out against them (540/1146). He succeeded in the capture of al-Ḥayṯhum, Jadīda, Niṣībīn, Shārwā and other districts in the province of al-Zawzān. The last stronghold of the Bashnawī Kurds overlooking the Tigris was Finik, about 10 miles upstream from Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar. Under the rulership of Husām al-Dīn the fortress defended itself and the siege was raised only after the murder of Zangī.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 277, 279-281 (Gibb's trans., 264, 266-268); Ibn al-Azraq, 170b; Ibn al-Aṯīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 65; idem, al-Atābakīya, 66; Abū Shāma, I, 93; Abū al-Fidā', II, 17; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 276-281; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 218-219; Qādī ‘Imād al-Dīn, 127; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 127.
  2. Ibn al-Aṯīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 71-72; idem, al-Atābakīya, 73; Ibn Wāsīl, I, 97; Abū al-Fidā', II, 19.

Zangī had decided upon the capture of Qal'at Ja'bar and feared that the Artuqids might close his lines of communication. He therefore once more marched on al-Jazīra and captured Tell-Shayh en route and threatened Mayyāfariqīn, after which he departed for Qal'at Ja'bar, where he met his death by murder.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, 171a.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLOSE OF ZANGĪ'S CAREER

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It was not very long after the capture of Edessa that a conspiracy was planned again † Zangī, whilst he was besieging al-Bīra. A manuscript written by an anonymous Syriac chronicler rather amusingly states that, "a messenger, on a camel, riding like a storm in the night, brought the news that Naṣr al-Dīn (Chaqir), Zangī's lieutenant, had been killed in Mosul and Assyria was in revolt".<sup>1</sup> Zangī immediately summoned Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Kūchūk of Edessa and despatched him to Mosul to replace Chaqir. The siege of al-Bīra had lasted for forty days but Zangī raised it and went to Aleppo in order to prevent a possible revolt there.<sup>2</sup>

Naṣr al-Dīn Chaqir b. Yaḳūt had been one of Zangī's most trusted commanders and had been left in charge of all his territories east of the Euphrates. The two sons of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, it will be remembered, had been the wards of Zangī, and one of them, Alp-Arslān, had been with him at the siege of Edessa. The other, Farrukh-Shāh (known as al-Khafajī), had remained in Mosul with Chaqir. It would appear that Zangī's intention was ultimately to proclaim one of these princes as sulṭān after the death of Sulṭān

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1. Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 287.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 104; *idem*, al-Atābakīya, 70; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 280; Abū Shāma, I, 104; Ibn Wāsil, I, 96.

Mas'ūd, while he, himself, acted as regent. Farrukh-Shāh, however, appears to have been persuaded to proclaim himself sultān and claim his father's land, and that Chaqir's death would provide the means. When Chaqir came, as was his daily custom, to pay his respects to him Farrukh-Shāh's men killed him between the doors of the Great Hall. This sudden turn of events caused fear and consternation in Mosul. Together the garrison of the citadel and slaves of Chaqir united against Farrukh-Shāh. The Qādī, Tāj al-Dīn Yahya Shahrazūrī, brother of Zangī's envoy Kamāl al-Dīn, in order to subvert Farrukh-Shāh's intentions, persuaded him to take the citadel in person. There Zangī's trusted men had been informed of the Qādī's plan and they opened the gate for him. When, however, he had entered the citadel his own followers were eliminated one by one and the young Malik was left unattended. Ten days later 'Alī Kūchūk arrived as the replacement of Chaqir and assumed authority of the city. He punished the plotters by impaling them and the young prince was not seen again.<sup>1</sup>

Some confusion appears in the sources concerning the identity of the princes. The chronicler, Ibn al-Athīr, who was not contemporary with the event, would seem to have obtained his information from current reports in which the brothers' names appear to have been confused. The name "al-Khafajī" was taken as representing Alp-Arslān, whereas in fact

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 66-67; idem, al-Atābakīya, 71-72; Abū Shāma, I, 104; Ibn al-Azraq, 170b; Ibn Wāsil, I, 95.

it was an appellation given to Farrukh-Shāh. Alp-Arslān, however, appears many times in connection with later events but Farrukh-Shāh disappeared from the time he entered the citadel. From this it is possible to deduce that it was he who was responsible for the murder of Chaqir. Ibn al-Athīr suggests that the prince was merely imprisoned and not killed.<sup>1</sup>

Both al-Bundārī<sup>2</sup> and Ibn al-‘Adīm<sup>3</sup> appear to agree that Farrukh-Shāh was the culprit. It would, therefore seem logical that chroniclers whose information was obtained from Ibn al-Athīr also copied his error in this respect.<sup>4</sup>

Zangī now concentrated his care and protection upon Malik Alp-Arslān and kept him under his personal surveillance. According to Ibn al-Qalānisī (end of 540/beginning of 1146) the Damascenes received confirmatory reports to the effect that Zangī was amassing troops and siege

1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 66-67; idem, al-Atābakīya, 71-72; The confusion over the names concerned in this event appears to have extended to modern writers. S. Runciman (II, 237) quotes the name of Alp-Arslān as being responsible and further mistakes him as being the son of Mas‘ūd, while N. Eliseeff (II, 381-382) even further confuses the issue by blending the names into "Fahran-Shāh Alp-Arslān" thus making only one son of Mas‘ūd to have been under the guardianship of Zangī. It will be noticed here that they seem to have also confused the Sultans "Maḥmūd" and "Mas‘ūd". H.A.R. Gibb appears to have noted and rectified this error. ("Zangī and the fall of Edessa", A history of the Crusades, ed. K.M. Setton, I, 461).
2. Al-Bundārī, 205-207 (Turkish trans., 186-188).
3. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 281; idem, Bughya, VI, 211a.
4. Abū Shāma (I, 103-104) also quoted al-Bundārī (I, 105) on this point; Ibn Waṣīl, I, 95, 106; Abū al-Fidā’, III, 18.

equipment against Damascus, simultaneously, however, Zangī was informed of an Armenian plot to destroy his garrison at Edessa and return the city to Joscelin. This caused him to change his plan concerning the attempted conquest of Damascus and to bring his recently stored equipment from Ba'albak to Ḥimṣ. The governor of Edessa, 'Ayn al-Dawla, together with the assistance of Faḍlullah b. Ja'far, the ruler of Ḥarrān was however able to repress the plot, punish the plotters and restore order and security to the city.<sup>1</sup>

Two years after the capture of Edessa, Zangī re-visited the city during harvest time. He had stationed his army near the river Gullab, between Kīsas and Ḥarrān and entered the city together with his retinue of nobles, commanders and the notables from the surrounding countryside. He was welcomed by the population who formed themselves into two groups: Muslim and Christian. To quote an anonymous Syriac chronicler, "He said that he had come for their sake to supply what they lacked". He passed the East Gate and entered by the North Gate through which the town had been captured, and inspected the amount of re-building he had previously ordered. At the North Gate, the breaches and the seven towers which had been destroyed were rebuilt, and upon them were depicted the circumstances of the capture and the Arabic characters of the ruler's name. With

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1. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 282 (Gibb's trans., 270); Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 281.

stones taken from demolished Frankish churches, the city walls had been restored and a fortress for the governor commenced near to the church of St. John. Special care was taken not to destroy the church; and a mosque, previously used as a residence by the Frankish bishop, was repaired. After inspection of these buildings, Zangī visited the Syrian churches. The chronicler speaks of two bells, also ordered by him, but does not indicate to which church they were given. Before he left Edessa finally, he established three hundred families of Jews there and left an order for the erection of a great hostel to house sick and suffering visitors. The latter was not accomplished because of his death. He left on the evening of Friday after Pentecost and went by Harrān to al-Raqqā; from there he sent troops to plunder the land of Qal'at Ja'bar.<sup>1</sup>

Qal'at Ja'bar, on the left bank of the Euphrates opposite Şifīn, was of strategic importance to Zangī. It lay on the direct route from the Euphrates to Damascus and its situation on the Euphrates controlled communications between Mosul and Aleppo and the trading boats which plied the river. Its 'Uqailid Arab amīr, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī b. Sālīm b. Mālīk, refused to recognise Zangī's suzerainty. He was a descendant of the 'Uqailid amīr, Sālīm, to whom Sulţān Malik-Shāh had entrusted the citadel

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1. Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 291-292.



while he placed Qasīm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur, Zangī's father, in Aleppo.<sup>1</sup>

After a short stay in Raqqā, Zangī marched to besiege Qal'at Ja'bar (Dawsar) and encamped in the eastern meadow on Tuesday 3 Dhu'l-Hijja/6 May. The siege was fierce but Zangī preferred, if possible, to capture the town without damaging its defences. To this end he delegated Amīr Ḥasan al-Manbijī, who was on friendly terms with the besieged leader, to negotiate possible terms. 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī was offered a large sum and generous treatment but the envoy met with point-blank refusal. Not long afterwards Zangī again offered to release the blockade on consideration of a large indemnity. 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī collected 30,000 dīnārs with great difficulty and despatched it by a trusted messenger. Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-'Adīm states that Zangī ordered the messenger's horse to be watered with some thick gravy. When Zangī was informed that the horse had drunk the gravy he realised that 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī's water supply had failed. The messenger was returned with an ultimatum to 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī to relinquish the town, while Zangī renewed his pressure on the castle.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly afterwards, during the night of 5 to 6 Rabī' II 541/14 to 15 September 1146, Zangī was murdered. Some obscurity surrounds the

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1. Al-'Aynī, XXI, 262a.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 71-72; idem, al-Atābakiya, 73-74; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 241, 281; idem, Bughya, VI, 214a-215b; Abū al-Fidā', III, 19; Ibn Wāsil, I, 98-99; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 221.

manner of his death, although most chroniclers agree that a certain Yārīn-Qush,<sup>1</sup> a slave of Frankish origin,<sup>2</sup> together with some accomplices, stabbed Zangī with a knife while he was in a drunken stupor. There were many rumours concerning the actual cause. Some sources say that Yārīn-Qush and two fellow-slaves had feared punishment or death previously because Zangī had been angry with them;<sup>3</sup> others, that he roused from his sleep to find them drinking and threatened them with death and again fell asleep, an opportunity which Yārīn-Qush siezed to murder him.<sup>4</sup> In these circumstances Zangī's bodyguard, together with a strong guard posted around his tent, were of no avail and the murderer escaped into the besieged castle. According to al-Bundārī it was Zangī's custom to retain the sons of unfriendly dignitaries in his service, some of whom he had trusted to guard him during sleep.<sup>5</sup>

Through Yārīn-Qush, the news of Zangī's death was made known in Qal'at Ja'bar before it was heard in his own camp. In order to gain admission to the castle, Yārīn-Qush first pretended that he was a messenger.

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1. Ibn Wāsil (I, 99) records the name "Bārān-Qush".
  2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 284 (Gibb's trans., 271).
  3. Ibn al-Qalānisi, ibid.
  4. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 72; idem, al-Atābakīya, 74.
  5. Al-Bundārī, 208; Abū Shāma (I, 108), quotes from al-Bundārī.

The guards, suspicious of his pretension, lowered a basket by which he was admitted to the castle. It was the garrison of Qal'at Ja'bar who announced Zangī's death from the castle walls. In the resulting confusion and disorder among Zangī's army all the treasure and equipment were looted. Disorder broke out among them and the army dissolved in ignominy.<sup>1</sup>

Zangī left four sons, the eldest of whom was Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, who was at that time in his own fief of Shahrazūr. His second son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, had accompanied his father during his last campaign. The vizier, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abū Mansūr,<sup>2</sup> who was in the camp, decided that Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd should go to Aleppo to establish his deceased father's rule. He therefore travelled immediately, accompanied by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yaghī-Basān, Asad al-Dīn Shīrghūh, (Saladin's uncle), and some others and was there joined by Sawār. The vast treasure and wealth

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 119; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 72; idem, al-Atābakiya, 74-76; Sibṭ (Jewett), 114-115; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 281-284; Ibn Wāsil, I, 99-100; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 221; Abū al-Fida', III, 19; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 38; Ibn Qaḍī Shuhba, 119-120; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 271; William of Tyre, I, 145-146; Matthew, Turkish trans., 298-299; French trans., 327-328.
2. Al-Bundārī (210-211, Turkish trans., 191-192) describes the vizier as very generous and states that his father Kamīl 'Alī was the chamberlain of the vizier Shams al-Mulk b. Nizām al-Mulk. When Zangī married the widow of Kūn-Ṭoghḍī, she brought with her a son whose name was Has-Beg. Jamāl al-Dīn first became Has-Beg's vizier so that he frequently saw Zangī. Zangī liked to talk with him and afterwards appointed him as his treasurer and finally he he achieved the position of Zangī's vizier.

stored there, together with the rulership of the city, were subsequently accorded to him. The younger sons, Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd and Nuṣrat al-Dīn Mīrmīran, remained in Mosul.<sup>1</sup>

The vizier, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, apprehensive that Malik Alp-Arslān might use the circumstances to acquire power, communicated with Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī Kūchūk and ordered Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī's immediate return to Mosul. From Shahrazūr Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī hastened to Mosul and was met by his father's vizier. When Alp-Arslān, who had also accompanied Zangī, realised that the army supported the vizier, he left for al-Jazīra. On receiving a summons to go to Mosul he returned there in the hope that he would be acknowledged as the rightful ruler and that Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī would serve the state in his name, but when he reached Mosul he was seized, imprisoned and executed. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad petitioned Sultān Mas‘ūd to appoint Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī as his father's successor in Mosul and the request was granted.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 284-285 (Gibb's trans., 271-272); Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 74; al-Bundārī, 209 (Turkish trans., 190); Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 285; Abū Shāma, I, 108-109; Ibn Waṣil, I, 107; Abū al-Fidā’, III, 19; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 271; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, part I, 38; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 291-292.

2. Al-Bundārī, 210 (Turkish trans., 190); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 74; idem, al-Aṭābakīya, 84-88; Ibn al-‘Adīm, ibid; Abū Shāma, I, 119-120; Ibn Waṣil, I, 107-109; Abū al-Fidā’, III, 19-20.

Ibn al-Athīr records that Zangī's body was buried on the right bank of the Euphrates at Siffīn where so many companions of the Prophet had died during the battle between 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb and Mu'āwiya.<sup>1</sup>

Kamāl al-Dīn ibn al-'Adīm records that the Qādī of Raqqa received 4,000 dīrhāms from Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd for the purpose of building four walls to enclose his father's grave. He states that he was verbally given the story by the Qādī himself who was among those to bring the body to Raqqa for burial.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the Qādī was afterwards awarded a village in the territory of Aleppo by Nūr al-Dīn seems to confirm the truth of this report.<sup>3</sup>

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yaghī-Basān, distrusting circumstances and fearing for his life, returned to Ḥamā and resumed his post of governor. Insecurity and confusion were everywhere and the roads were unsafe in contrast to the period of security they had previously enjoyed. The Franks were galvanised into action by the death of Zangī, and Joscolin re-appeared at the gates of Edessa while Mu'īn al-Dīn Anar prepared to march to Ba'albak.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 72; idem, al-Atābakīya, 76; Abū Shāma, I, 108.
  2. Anonymous Syriac Chronicler (part II, 292) and Abū al-Fidā' (III, 19) also support this.
  3. Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 285-286; idem, Bughya, VI, 215a.
  4. Ibn al-Qalānisī, 285-286 (Gibb's trans., 282); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 75; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, II, 290; Qādī 'Imād al-Dīn, 127; Ibn Wāsil, I, 110-111; Abū al-Fidā', III, 20.

The murderer of Atabeg ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī, Yārīn-Qush, left the castle of Ja‘bar, fearing its lord should be summoned to surrender him, and went to Damascus in the confident belief that he would be secure there, but he was arrested and sent under guard to Aleppo. Some days later he was conveyed to Mosul where he was put to death.<sup>1</sup>

Atabeg Zangī established a dynasty which his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd strengthened and in time added many conquests to those of his father.

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 288 (Gibb's trans., 273-274).

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

ZANGĪ'S TITLES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

Some inscriptions which concern Zangī are to be found in Aleppo and Ba'albak. These are inscribed in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. One stone, of which the inscription remains complete, is at Mashad al-Muḥassin in Aleppo and is dated 527/1142-43. Among the titles ascribed to Zangī are:

al-Amīr, al-Isfahsalār, al-Sayyid al-Kabīr, al-Malik al-‘Ādl al-‘Ālam, ‘Imād al-Dīn, Rukn al-Islām, Zāhīr al-Imām, Qasīm al-Dawla, Naṣīr al-Milla, Jalāl al-Umma, Sharaf al-Mulūk, ‘Izzat al-Salātīn, Qāhīr al-Kafara wa al-Mushrikīn, Malik Umarā’ al-Mashriq wa al-Maghrib, Naṣīr Amīr al-Mu’minīn, al-Mu’ayyad al-Manṣūr al-Muzaffar, Muḥyi al-‘Ādl, Naṣīr al-Anām, Qāhīr al-Mutamarridīn, Za‘īm al-Mujāhidīn, Mu‘īn al-Juyūsh, Shams al-Ma‘ālī, Shahriyār al-Shām wa al-‘Irāqayn, Pahlīwān-ī Jihān, Khusraw-ī Irān, Alp-Ghāzī, Inanch Qutlug, Toḡhril-ī Tēgīn, Atābeg, Aq-Arslān.

The complete stone in Ba'albak is undated, but it bears titles of Zangī, some of which are not to be found elsewhere. This stone is not so well-preserved as its counterpart in Mashad al-Muḥassin but is still decipherable. The titles which differ from those in Aleppo are:

Mujīr al-Anām, Ṣafwat al-Khilāfa, Amīr al-Mujāhidīn, Qāmī‘ al-Mulḥidīn, Mu‘īn Juyūsh al-Muslimīn.



A further, but incomplete, inscription is worthy of note. It is to be found in Aleppo at Jamī al-Ḥajjārīn. Three titles which it bears, not contained in the other two inscriptions, are attributed to Zangī. These are:

Abū al-Faḥ, Fakhr al-Anām, Amīr al-‘Irāqayn  
wa al-Shām.

In these titles Zangī is described as powerful, just, victorious, protector of the community, the supporter of Sultāns and Caliphs, the subduer of infidels and the enemy of the Assassins. Among them are many other religious and territorial titles.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Sobernheim, *ZDPV*, XXVIII, pl.VII; E. Herzfeld, *MCA*, deuxième partie: Syrie du Nord, I, 188; J. Sauvaget and G. Weit, *RCEA*, VIII, 214, 228-229; nos. 3093, 3111-12; see also, Hasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-Islāmiya*, 157, 169, 304, 357, 362, 386, 408, 431.

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COŐKUN ALPTEKİN

# SELÇUKLU PARALARI

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# S E L Ç U K L U P A R A L A R I \*

COŞKUN ALPTEKİN

Selçukluların iki buçuk asır zarfında yarattıkları medeniyet, kurmuş oldukları imparatorluk kadar büyüktür. Bu medeniyetin bir zerresini teşkil eden Selçuklu paraları da dünyanın çeşitli müzelerinde kıymetli köşeler teşkil etmektedir. En büyük Selçuklu paraları koleksiyonu British Museum'dadır. İran, Irak, Kirman ve Suriye Selçuklularına ait 140 adedden fazla muhtelif parayı ihtiva eden ve büyük bir çoğunluğu altın olan bu koleksiyonun bir kısmını S. Lane-Poole 1877 de müze kataloğunda «Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, vol. III; The coins of the Turkoman Houses of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee, etc.» neşretmiştir. 1896 yılında Markof'un neşretmiş olduğu «Inventarniy katalog Musulmanskih monet imperatorskavo Ermitaja» adlı katalog bu mevzuda ikinci büyük eserdir. Ancak Markof'un hazırlamış olduğu bu katalog teknik tertibi itibariyle S. Lane-Poole'kinden daha geridir. Zira paraların yalnızca cinsi, hangi hükümdara ait olduğu, basıldığı yer ve yıl verilmiştir.

Daha sonra Avrupa ve Amerika'da Selçuklu paraları ile alâkalı katalog çalışmaları yapıldığı görülmektedir. Bu hususda E. Von Zambaur 1914 yılında Viyana'da neşretmiş olduğu «Nouvelles Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale» ile Dominique Sourdel'in 1953 yılında Şam'da yayınladığı «Inventaire des Monnaies Musulmanes Anciennes du musée de Caboul» adlı eserler tertip itibariyle S. Lane-Poole'un tertibinin devamı şeklinde olup kendilerinin bulmuş olduğu paraların ilâvesi ile neşredilmişlerdir. G. C. Miles 1938 tarihinde Newyork'da neşrettiği «The Numismatic History of Rayy» adlı eseriyle ise paraların devrine ait izahat vermekle yenilik yapmaya çalışmıştır. Bu mevzuda en yeni çalışmalardan birisi olan N. W. Lowick'in 1970 yılında neşrettiği «Seljuq Coins» adlı çalışması teknik itibariyle en iyisidir. Çünkü bir para için yapılabilecek en iyi tasnif ve değerlendirme teknik olarak yapılmıştır.

\* Türkiye Selçukluları bu bahsin haricindedir.



British Museum koleksiyonuna S. Lane-Poole'den sonra 100 adede yakın yeni para ilâvesi yapılmışsa da ancak bunun 21 adedi N. W. Lowick'ın çalışmasında görülmektedir.

Türkiye'de Selçuklu paraları ile meşgul olan Ahmed Tevhid, Ahmed Ziya ve İbrahim Artuk'un İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesindeki Türk ve İslâm paraları üzerindeki çalışmaları ve yapmış oldukları tasnifler değerlidir. Bilhassa İbrahim Artuk'un ayrıca paraların tasnifinden başka yaptığı kıymetli neşirleri vardır. Bu meyanda Şerafettin Erel'in de ismi zikre değer.

Büyük Selçuklu paraları şekil bakımından birbirlerinden pek farklı olmıyan özelliktedirler. Bu özelliğin dışına çıkan paralar olmakla beraber umumiyetle ön ve arka olmak üzere iki yüz, önyüzde iki çevre, arka yüzde ise bir çevre vardır. Ön yüzde.

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ve zamanın halifesinin adı, çevrelerde ise içte : **بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار** veya **الديهم** takiben paranın basıldığı yer ve tarih, dışta. **لله الامر من بعد** (Kur'an XXX, 3-4) âyeti bulunmaktadır. Arka yüzde **محمد رسول الله** 1 takiben zamanın sultanının ünvanı ve adı, çevrede ise **محمد رسول الله ارسله لهدى** " **ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولوكره المشركون** " (Kur'an IX, 33) âyeti bulunur.

Tesbit ettiğimiz ilk dinar Tuğrul Beğ'e ait olup 433 (1041-1042) senesinde Nişabur'da basılmıştır. Tuğrul Beğ, paralarında «el-Emîr el-Ecell», «el-Emîr es-Seyyîd» olarak 438 (1046-1047) senesine kadar görülür. 438 senesinde Rey'de basılan parasında ise «es-Sultan el-Muazzam Şahânşah» olarak, 442 tarihli Nişabur'da basılan parasında ise «es-Sultan el-Muazzam Şahânşah el-Ecell Rukn ad-Din», tarihi şüpheli olan (455-?) Medinet es-Selâm (Bağdad) da kesilen parasında ise «el-Melik el-Maşrik ve'l-Mağrib Şahânşah» ünvanlarıyla geçmektedir. Tesbit edilen elli parası Nişabur (Nişabur); Rey, Medinet es-Selâm, İsfahan, Bardasir, Ahvaz, Basra, Kar-



misin, gibi değişik yerlerde basılmıştır. Bütün paraları altın olup 23 - 25 mm. kutrunda 4 - 5 gram ağırlığındadır.

Tuğrul Beğ'in sağlığında yeğeni Alp Arslan kendi adına paralar kestirmiş bu paralarda kendi ünvanı «el-Emir el-Ecell» olarak zikredilirken Tuğrul Beğ aynı parada «es-Sultan el-Muazzam» olarak yazılmaktadır.

Alp Arslan'ın paralarına gelince, ünvanı «es-Sultan el-Muazzam Şahaşah el-Melik el-İslâm», «es-Sultan el-Muazzam Şahaşah el-Âzam el-Melik el-Maşrik ve'l-Mağrib», 461 (1068 - 1069) senesinde Rey'de basılan parasında ise ilâve olarak «Rukn ad-Din» ünvanını görmekteyiz. Alp Arslan'a ait otuz bir aded değişik para tesbit edilmiş olup bunlar Herat, Merv, Rey, Kâşan, Nişabur, İsfahan ve Medinet el-Selâm gibi yerlerde basılmıştır. Üç adedi gümüş diğerleri altındır. Tarihi tesbit edilemeyen ve basım yeri şüpheli olan (Urmiye ?) bir gümüş parasının ayarı çok düşüktür. Altın paraları ise ağırlık bakımından Tuğrul Beğ'in paralarına yakın olup, bazıları daha ince, yüzleri daha geniştir.

Sultan Melikşah ise, paralarında «es-Sultan el-Muazzam Rükne el-İslâm 'Ebû'l-Feth», 469 (1076 - 1077) senesinde Dârâ'da kesilen dinarında, «es-Sultan el-Muazzam Muiz al-Din Rukn el-İslâm», 472 - (482) tarihli Rey'de kesilen dinarında ise yukarıdaki ünvanlarına ilâveten «Şahaşah» ve 481 (1088) tarihli yine Rey'de kesilen bir başka dinarında ise «Celâl ed-Devle ve Cemâl el-Mille», aynı tarih ve yerde kesilen bir başka dinarda ise «Muiz ed-Dünya ve 'd-Din» ünvanları ile zikredilmektedir. Tesbit edebildiğimiz otuz üç aded değişik parası yirmi senelik saltanatı boyunca Nişabur, Dâra, Rey, Serahş, İsfahan, Merv, Medinet es-Selâm gibi yerlerde basılmıştır. Kendinden önceki sultanların kestirmiş oldukları paraların sayıca, elimizdeki kataloğa göre, Sultan Melikşah'ın paralarından fazla olması, Melikşah'a ait paraların daha fazla sayıda olması ihtimalini kuvvetlendirmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra Tuğrul Beğ ile Sultan Alp Arslan'ın paralarının Melikşah zamanında da tedavülde olması dikkate alınması gereken hususlardandır. İlk gümüş para Sultan Alp Arslan zamanında kestirilmiş ve bu, Sultan Melikşah zamanında çoğalmış, bu arada ilk defa olarak bakır para da basılmıştır. Bu paralar yine Nişabur, Dârâ, Rey, Serahş, İsfahan, Merv ve Medinet el-Selâm gibi şehirlerde kesilmiştir.

Sultan Mahmud'a (Melik Şah'ın oğullarından) ait iki dinar tesbit edilmiş olup bu dinarlarda Mahmud «es-Sultan el-Muazzam» olarak zikredilmektedir. Bu paralardan biri İsfahan'da 486 (1093) senesinde, diğeri yine aynı senede Medinet es-Selâm'da kesilmiştir. İsfahan'da kesilen para İstanbul Arkeoloji müzelerinde (no 1050, A. Tevhid IV, no 876) mevcut olup, İ. Artuk tarafından, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi'nde (c. V, sayı 8, 1953, s. 141 - 144) «Selçuk sultanı Mahmud bin Melik Şah'a ait bir dinar» adı altında neşredilmiştir.

Sultan Berkıyaruk ise, «es-Sultan el-Muazzam Rukn ed-Dünya ve'l-Din», «el-Melik el-İslâm ve'l-Muslimin Ebû'l-Muzaffer» olarak yine aynı senede Medinet es-Selâm'da kesilen dinarda ise «Muiz ed-Devle el-Kahire», 448 tarihli Kâşân'da kesilen diğeri bir dinarda ise ilâveten «Şahânşah», 492 (1098 - 1099) Medinet es-Selâm'da basılan bir dinarda da ilâveten «Adud ed-Devle» ünvanlarıyla anılmaktadır. Tesbit edilen otuz adede yakın olan paraları altın ve gümüş olup ağırlıkları 4 - 5 gram, kuturları 20 ile 26 mm. arasında değişmektedir. Bu paralar Ahvaz, Rey, İsfahan, Medinet es-Selâm, Nişabur, Kâşân ve Zencan'da kesilmiştir.

Sultan Muhammed Tapar'a ait paralara gelince, ünvanları «es-Sultan el-'Azam Gıyas ed-Dünya ve'd-Din Ebû Şuca» olarak zikredilmektedir ki, bu husus bu ünvanın sadece Sultan Sancar'a ait olmadığını göstermektedir (bk. Kâbil 92, no 578). Paraları Âve, Zencan, Loridcan, Rey, Medinet es-Selâm ve İsfahan gibi yerlerde basılmıştır. Tesbit edilen onbeş parası altın olup ağırlıkları çoğunlukla 3 gramdan azdır.

Son büyük Selçuklu sultanı olan Sancar meliklik devrinde kestirmiş olduğu paralarında «el-Melik el-Maşrik Adud ed-Devle», Nişabur'da basılan 498 (1104 - 1105) tarihli dinarında «el-Melik el-Muzaffer», basım yeri ve tarihi silik olan ve bu yüzden tesbit edilemeyen fakat dinar üzerinde Halife el-Müsterşid'in lâkabı geçtiğinden 512 - 529 (1118 - 1135) tarihleri arasında darbedilmiş olması gereken parasında ise «es-Sultan el-'Azam Muğis el-Dünya ve'd-Din Ebû'l Haris» e ilâveten «Şahânşah» ünvanları geçmektedir. Sultan Sancar'ın tesbit edebildiğimiz yirmibir aded değişik parasından dokuz adedi gümüşdür. Altın paralarının ağırlıkları ortalama 4 gram ol-

makla beraber ayarları düşüktür. Bu paralar, Nişabur, Merv, Belh, Rey gibi yerlerde basılmıştır.

Selçuklu İmparatorluğunun ilk zamanlarında basılan paralar son zamanlarında basılan paralara nazaran daha az aşınmışlardır. Bu husus şüphesiz paranın madeni terkibi ve kalınlığı ile ilgilidir. Son zamanlarda basılan paraların ayarları daha düşük, yüzeyleri geniş, ağırlıkları az olup ince olarak darp edilmişlerdir. Bu âmiller paraların aşınmasını kolaylaştırmış ve birçok paralar okunamaz hale gelmiştir.

Irak Selçuklu Sultanı Mahmud'un kestirmiş olduğu paralarda Sultan Mahmud, «es-Sultan el-Muazzam Muğis ed-Dünya ve'd-Din», tâbi bulunduğu Büyük Sultan Sancar ise «es-Sultan el-Âzam» diye zikredilmektedir. Bu tür paralar son zamanlara kadar bilinen belli birkaç adedin epey üstündedir. İlki Nihavent'de 517 (1122-1123) senesinde, ikincisi yine aynı yerde olup tarihi tesbit edilememiştir. Üçüncü tesbit edebildiğimiz para ise Hemedan'da 519 (1125), senesinde, dördüncüsü yine aynı yer ve tarihte, beşincisi Nihavent'de 521 (1127) senesinde, altıncısı yine aynı yerde 522 (1128) senesinde, yedincisi yine değişik bir para olup tarih ve basım yeri siliktir (British Museum, III, 43, no 85), sekizincisinin de yer ve tarihi siliktir (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, no 1057). Bu paraların hepsi altın olup bir ikisi hariç diğerleri 3 gramın altındadır. İsfahan, Medinet es-Selâm, el-Muasker (Ordugâh ?), Nihavend, Hemedan gibi yerlerde basılmıştır.

Sultan Mahmud'un oğlu Davud'a ait basım yeri ve tarihi belli olmıyan bir para tesbit edilmiş olup bu parada Davud, «es-Sultan el-Muazzam Ebû'l Feth» olarak geçerken tâbi bulunduğu Sultan Sancar ise yine «es-Sultan el-Âzam» olarak zikredilmektedir.

Rukn ed-Din Tuğrul'a ait de bir para tesbit edilmiştir. Rey'de basılan bu para da Kardeşi Süleyman Şah'ın da adı geçmekte ve Sultan Sancar ise yine «es-Sultan el-Âzam» olarak görülmektedir (NHR 213, no 250 y).

Sultan Mesud da paralarında «Giyas ed-Dünya ve'd-Din» ünvanıyla Sancar'ın «es-Sultan el-Âzam» ünvanı yanında zikredilmiştir. Tesbit edebildiğimiz sekiz aded parasından biri gümüşdür, diğerleri

altın olup ayrıca bir de çeyrek dinar darp ettirmiştir. Bu paralar Rey ve Medinet es-Selâm'da basılmışlardır.

Irak Selçuklularından Muin al-Din Melik-Şah ile Rukn al-Din Muhammed'e ait ikişer aded altın para tesbit edilebilmiştir. Bu paralar epeyce aşınmış olduğundan başka bir husus tesbit edilememiştir. Melik-Şah'a ait olanların ağırlıkları 2,2 gram ile 4,6 gram olup ancak bu sonuncunun ayarı çok düşüktür.

Kirman Selçuklularından Kara Arslan Kavurd Beğ'e ait altın ve gümüş olmak üzere oniki aded değişik para tesbit edilebilmiştir. Bu paralarda kendisi «Kara Arslan Beğ» diye geçerken Çağrı Beg «el-Melik el-Mulûk» ünvanı ile görülmektedir; 451 (1059-1060) senesinde Bardasir'de kesilen bir dirheminde «el-Melik el-Âdil» ve «İmâd ed-Devle» olarak geçmektedir; altınları ağırlık bakımından 4 gram civarında olup 22 - 25 mm. kutrundadır, paraları Ciruft, Bardasir ve Şiraz'da kesilmiştir.

Rukn ed-Din Sultan-Şah'ın da üç aded parasını tesbit edebildik. Bu üç para da Bardasir'da basılmıştır. Paralarında «Rukn ed-Devle ve'l-Din», el-Melik el-Âdil» olarak zikredilmektedir.

Yine Kirman Selçuklularından Turan-Şah'a ait Bardasir'da kesilmiş iki dinar ile Behram-Şah'a ait basım yeri ve tarihi olmıyan bir dirheme sahibiz. Turan-Şah'ın adı «Fahr ed-Devle ve'd-Din», «Muiz ed-Dünya ve'd-Din» gibi ünvanlarla geçmektedir.

Tutuş'a ait olması mümkün olan bir Suriye Selçuklu parası da British Museum'dedir. Verdiğimiz kataloga ilâve edilmeyen bu bakır paranın ön yüzünde bir arslan, arka yüzünde ise bir fil resmi vardır. Ön yüzünde sadece «الله» arka yüzünde ise

السلا... [السلطان] // ۱ - // ۰۰ // الله // ۰۰ // لا الله

okunabilmiştir.

Bugüne kadar Selçuklu paraları üzerinde eserler meydana getiren, kataloglar hazırlayan meskûkâtçıların üzerinde durmadıkları bir husus Selçuklu paraları üzerinde görülen damga meselesidir. Kâşgârlı'da, Residüddin'de Yazıcızâde'de ve Ebû'l-Gazi'de Selçukluların mensup bulunduğu Oğuz Kınık boyu, damgası, okun muhtelif şekillerdeki resmedilmiş olan şekilleri ile Selçuklu paralarında

görülmektedir. Selçuklu Devleti paralarında umumiyetle bu damga farklılaşmış hallerde olsa bile mevcuttur. Bundan başka yine bazı şekiller olmakla beraber bunların damga olmayıp, süs gibi bir şey olması ihtimali kuvvetlidir. Ayrıca mahdud istisna ile bütün Selçuklu paralarının ön üst yüzünde ok ve yay işareti mevcuttur. Ok ve yay işareti müştereken bulunduğu zaman bunların Oğuzlar'da hâkimiyet mânası taşıdığını kaynaklardan bilmekteyiz. Meselâ Tuğrul Beğ 1038 yılında Nişâbur'a girdiği zaman ok ve yayı beraberinde taşımakta idi. Tuğrul Beğ Bağdad'a gelip Halife el-Kaim biemrillah ile görüştüğünde belinde ok ve kolunda yay bulunuyordu.

Aşağıda paraların tanzimi sırasında sultanlar esas alınmış ve tâbi olan melikler eğer bilâhare sultan olmamışlarsa tâbi oldukları sultanın faslında gösterilmişlerdir. Eğer sultan olmuşlar ise meliklik devrine ait olan paraları da kendi fasıllarında değerlendirmişlerdir. Böylelikle sultanların hüküm sürmüş oldukları devirler arasında tedahüller önlenilmiştir. Verilen katalogdaki paralardan İstanbul Arkeoloji müzeleri ile British Museum'deki paralar bizzat görülmüş ve diğerleri ise Paris, Kâbil, Berlin, Münih, Kahire müzelerinin kataloglarından ve American Numismatic Society'nin yayınlarından ve bu mevzudaki mevcut eserlerden toplanmıştır. Bu konuda neşredilmiş paraları neşredilmemiş olanlarla birlikte vermemiz, bilinenler ile yeni tesbit etmiş olduğumuz paraları topluca takdim etmek ve değerlendirmeye tâbi tutmak gayesinden ileri gelmektedir. Bununla beraber sunmuş olduğumuz katalogdaki paraların mevcudun tamamı olduğunu iddia etmek mümkün değildir.

---

## K I S A L T M A L A R

A. Tevhid	Meskukât-i Kadime-i Islâmiye
A. Ziya	Meskukât-ı Islâmiye Kataloğu
BM III	The coins of the Turkuman Houses Seljook Urtuk, Zengee etc. in the British Museum.
BM IX	Additions to the Oriental collection
Caboul	Inventaire des Monnaies Musulmanes anciennes du Musée de Caboul.
Cairo	Catalogue of the collection of Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo.
Ist.	Istanbul Arkeoloji müzeleri
Markof	Inventarniy Katalogi Musulmanskih Moneti Imperatorskavo Er- mitaja.
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
NHR	The Numismatic History of Rayy.
Nouv. Cont.	Nouvelles Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale.
Un Tresor	Un Trésor de dinars Gaznavides et Salguqides découvert en Afghanistan.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

(A = önyüz, B = arkayüz, Al = altın, G = gümüş, Bk = bakır)

# İRAN SELÇUKLULARI

431-590 / 1040-1194

## I. Rukn al - din Abu Talib TUĞRUL BEĞ, (429-455/1038-1063)

1. Nişabur, sene 433, (AL, 23 mm - 4,05 gr.), lev. 1,

A,

فتح  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

İç çev.;

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
الأمير الاجل  
طغرل بك

Çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة اربع وثلثين واربعمائة.

[المشرفة]

Dış çev.;

2. er-Reyy, sene 434, (AL),

A,

الله  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
ابو طالب

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري  
سنة اربع وثلثين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.;

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
الأمير السيد  
طغرل بك  
محمد بن ميكا ئيل

Çev.;

3. Nişabur, sene 434, (AL, 23 mm-3,04 gr.), lev. 1,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

B,

محمد رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
الامير الاجل  
طلغزل بك  
و

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور.  
سنة اربع وثلثين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX 34

BM neşredilmemiş. no. 317

Çev.; KURAN IX 3:

4. er-Reyy, sene 435, (AL),

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
ابو طالب

B,

محمد رسول الله  
الامير السيد  
طلغزل بك  
محمد بن ميقاتيل

[Nakşi]

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري  
سنة خمس وثلثين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; !

NHR 197 no. 224.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33



5. Nişabur, sene 435, (AL, 24 mm-3,8gr.),

A,

عبد  
لا اله الا  
الله وهذه  
لا شريك له

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
الأمير الاجل  
طغر لبيك  
س

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة خمس وثلثين واربعمائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Kâbil 83 no. 505.

6. Nişabur., sene 435, (AL),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وهذه  
لا شريك له

B,

س  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
الأمير الاجل  
طغر لبيك  
س

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار . . . . .  
سنة خمس وثلثين واربعمائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş, (Kâbil 83 no. 506 daki paranın basım yerinin silik olmasına rağmen bu parayla aynı olduğu kanaatindeyim).

7. Nişabur, sene 436, (AL, 22 mm - 3,61 gr.), lev. 1,

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

B,

ه  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بأمر الله  
الأمير الأجل  
طغر ليلك  
س

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX. 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة ست وثلثين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

İst. no. 1044, Kâbil 83 no. 507, (BM 1936 no. 10)

8. er-Reyy, sene 437, (AL),

A,

٢٨  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القائم بأمر الله  
ابو طالب

B

٢٨  
محمد رسول الله  
الأمير السيد  
طغر ليلك  
محمد بن ميكا [ئيل]

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري  
سنة سبع وثلثين واربعمائة.

NHR 197 no. 225. (Paris)

9. Nişabur, sene 437, (AL).

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

İç çev.;

B,

به  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
الأمرير الأجل  
طغر لبك  
س

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة سبع وثلثين واربعمائة .

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Kâbil 83 no 508-511.

10. er-Reyy, sene 438, (AL),

A,

أ  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

B,

أ  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغر لبك  
ابو طالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري  
سنة ثمان وثلثين واربعمائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 198 no. 226.

11. ...., sene ..... (438-445), (G, 22 mm - 3,81 gr.), lev. 1,

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

[ince yazılmıştır]

B,

به  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغر بك

İç çev.;

Çev.; .....

بسم الله ضرب له  
... .. اربع مائة

Dış çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

12. Nişabur, sene (438-?), (AL, 22 mm - 3,2 gr.).

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
... .. بامر الله

B,

به  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغر بك ابو ط  
لب

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا العيار  
... .. ثلثين و اربع مائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

(Kâbil 84 no. 513, Nakşabandi Sumer V. 1 7328). BM neşredilmemiş.

13. Nişabur, sene 4, (38-53), (AL),

A,

القائم  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
بامر الله

İç çev.,

بسم الله طرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة . . . . . اربعمئة.

Dış çev.; [XXX, 3-4]

Kâbil 84 no. 512.

B,

به  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
السلطان المعظم  
طغر لبيك ابوصا  
لب

Çev.; [KURAN IX, 33]

14. (Nişa)bur, sene 439, (AL, 22 mm.)

A,

القائم بامر  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
الله

İç çev.;

بور . . . . .  
سنة ثلثين واربعمئة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

İst.

B,

به  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاه  
طغر لبيك ابوصا  
لب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

15. Nişabur, sene 439, (AL, 21 mm - 3,93 gr.), lev., 1,

A,

القائم  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
بامر الله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنشاه  
طغر بك ابوطا  
لب

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX 33 [المشركون]

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة ثمان وثلثين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4 [سورة الاحقاف]

BM III 28 no. 54.

16. er-Reyy, sene 439 - ? (AL), Paris numarasız, bkz. NHR. 198.

17. er-Reyy, sene 440, (AL, 23 mm - 3,91 gr.), lev. 1.,

A,

القائم  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

[ince yazılmıştır]

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنشاه  
طغر بك  
ابو طالب

[ince yazılmıştır]

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرقي  
سنة اربعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 199 no 228, Markoff 368 no 1, Kâbil 86 no 530-538, ANS (iki adet), Casanova 50 no 1154 (izahsız), Paris BM no. 322 deki paralar neşredilmemiştir. (Yukardaki tasvirde BM deki neşredilmemiş para verilmiştir.)

18. Nişabur, sene 440, (AL),

A,

القائم  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة اربعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
Kâbil 84 no. 514-520, Nakşibendi Sumer V. I. 39 (Nişabur 441).

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغر لبت ابوطا  
لب

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

19. Nişabur, sene II, (AL, 23 mm-3,5 gr.), lev. 1,

A,

القائم  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة احدى واربعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM III 29 no. 55.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
السلطان المعظم  
طغر لبت ابوطا  
لب

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

[المشركون]

20. Nişabur, sene 442, (AL).

A,

القائم  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
بامر الله

İç çev.:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة اثنين واربعين واربعماية

Dış çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)

Kâbil 85 no. 521.

B,

[Silik]

Çev.: ... ..

21. Nişabur, sene 442, (AL, 24 mm-2,8 gr).

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة اثنين واربعين واربعماية .

Dış çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)

Kâbil 89 no. 566.

B,

به  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه الأجل  
ركن الدين طغرل  
بك

Çev., [KURAN IX, 33]



22. er-Reyy, sene 444, (AL),

A,

١٨  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرب  
سنة اربع و اربعين و اربعمائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 199 no. 229, Kâbil 86 no. 539-540, Markoff supp. no. la 931 (izahsız),  
Berlin (neşredilmemiş), ANS, GCM, Stickel ZDMG 1864 299).

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغر لبيك  
ابو طالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

23. Isbahan, sene 444, (AL, 24 mm - 3,85 gr.), lev. 1,

A,

فتح  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
السلطان المعظم  
طغر لبيك

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبهان  
سنة اربع و اربعين و اربع مائة

Dış çev.; Yok.

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

الله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
امير المؤمنين

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

24. Nişabur, sene 444, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا إله إلا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بأمر الله

İç çev.:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارُ بِنِيسَابُورَ  
سَنَةَ أَرْبَعٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَأَرْبَعًا مِائَةً.

Dış çev.; [KURAN XXX, 3-4]

Kâbil 89 no. 567-568.

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه الأجل  
ركن الدين طغرل  
بك

Çev.; [KURAN IX, 33]

25. er-Reyy, sene 445, (AL),

A,

الله  
لا إله إلا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بأمر الله

İç çev.:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارُ بِالرَّيِّ  
سَنَةَ خَمْسٍ (٥٤٥) وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَأَرْبَعًا مِائَةً.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Kâbil 87 no. 542, (Kâbil no. 546-548 bu para ile aynıdır).

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرل بك  
أبو طالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

26. er-Reyy, sene 445, (AL, 22 mm - 4,68 gr), lev. 1,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِالرَّسْمِ  
سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ دَارِ بَعْمَانَةَ.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

الحمد لله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرل بك  
ابو طالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

27. er-Reyy, sene 445, (AL),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِالرَّسْمِ  
سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ دَارِ بَعْمَانَةَ.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 200 no. 230, Kâbil 87 no. 541, Markoff supp. no. 1 b 931, Paris neşre-  
dilmemiş.

B,

الحمد لله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرل بك  
ابو طالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

28. Isbahan, sene 445, (AL),

A,

فتح  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.; ?

Dış çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبعها  
سنة خمس واربعين واربعمائة

Kâbil 85 no. 524 - 526.

B,

٢٨  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرلبك  
ابوطالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

29. Isbahan, sene 446, (AL, 22 mm - 3,1 gr.),

A,

ط  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبعها  
سنة ست واربعين واربعمائة

Dış çev.; [XXX, 3-4]

Kâbil 88 no. 565.

B,

٢١  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ركن  
الدين طغرلبك

Çev.; [KURAN IX, 33]

30. Nişabur, sene 446, (AL),

A,

0  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه الاجل  
ركن الدين طغرل  
ملك

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة ست واربعين واربعماية.

Çev. KURAN IX 33

Dış çev.; [KURAN XXX, 3-4]

Kâbil 89 no. 571.

31. er-Reyy, sene 447, (AL, 23,5 mm - 3,5 gr.), lev. 1,

A,

۲  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرل ملك  
ابو طالب

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري  
سنة سبع واربعين واربعماية [bāyle].

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 29 no 56, 1st. no 1046, A. Tevhid IV 59 no 85, NHR 200 no 231,  
A. Ziya MIT no 1854. (Birinci baskı). [BM daki paranın arka yüzündeki

"ركن الدين" yoktur].

32. er-Reyy, sene 447, (AL, 20 mm-4,76 gr.), lev. II,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرسول  
سنة سبع واربعين و اربع مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 30 no 57 (İkinci baskı).

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاه  
طغرل بك  
ابو طالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

33. Bardasir, sene 447, (Al, 20 mm-3,68 gr.), lev. II,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
[İnce yazılmıştır]

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار ببرداسير;  
سنة سبع واربعين و اربع مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş. no 316

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاه  
طغرل بك  
ابو طالب  
[İnce yazılmıştır]

İç çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

34. Isbahan, sene 447, (Al, 24 mm-3 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارُ بِاصْبَهَانَ  
سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَارْبَعِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةٍ.

Kâbil 86 no 528, Markoff 362 no 2.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاه  
طغرلبك  
ابو طالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

35. Nişabur, sene 447, (AL, 24 mm-2,86 gr.),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

[ince yazılmış]

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارُ بِنِيسَابُورَ  
سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَارْبَعِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةٍ.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاه الاجل  
ركن الدين طغرل  
بك

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

36. El - Ahvaz, sene 448, (A1, 20 mm- 4,2 gr.), lev. II,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالاهواز  
سنة ثمان واربعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM III 30 no 58, A. Tevhid IV 58 no 84, Cairo 340 no 1, Ziya Bey no 1855-56, Ist. No 1043.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرل بك  
ابو طالب

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

37. Isfahan, sene 448, (AL, 23 mm - 4,33 gr.), lev. II,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبهان  
سنة ثمان واربعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.;


( نصر الله ينصر من يشا III bitiş )

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ركن  
الدين طغرل بك  
ابو طالب

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

BM IX 276 no 57 d. (Arka yüzün sağ tarafındaki , her ne kadar S. Lane Poole'un kataloğunda yok ise de para üzerinde böyle bir işaret vardır).



38. Nişabur, sene 448, (AL, 25 mm.) lev. XI,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده له  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B,

هو  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه الاجل  
رکن الدين طغزل  
ملك

İç gev.;

Çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة ثمان واربعمين و [اربعمائة].

Dış gev.;

A. Tevhid IV 60 no 86 (Ist. no 1045), Markoff 368 no 3.

39. Basra, sene 449, (AL, 23 mm-4,4 gr.), lev. II,

A,

الح ٢  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

B,

الح ٢  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغزل ملك  
ابو طالب

İç gev.;

Çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالبصرة  
سنة تسع واربعمين و اربع مائة

Dış gev.;

BM II 30 no 59.

40. Madinat-el-Salam, sene 449-? (AL, 25 mm. 4 gr.),

A

.....  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر  
 الله امير المؤمنين  
 .....

B لله

محمد رسول الله  
 .....  
 السلطان المعظم  
 شاهان شاه ...  
 طغر لبتك

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بعد سنة السلام  
 سنة [تسع واربعين] واربعمئة.

Kâbil 90 no 574

41. Nişabur, sene 449, (AL, 24,5 mm - 4.66 gr.), lev. II.

A

٩  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله

B

الله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 شاهان شاه الاجل  
 ركن الدين طغرل  
 بلك

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
 سنة تسع واربعين واربعمئة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM (no 318) neşredilmemiş.

42. Karmisin, sene 44., (AL).

A,

۴۸  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ نَقْضِ الرِّينَارِ بِقَرْمِيسِينَ  
 سَنَةِ . . . اربعين واربعمائه

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4

Kâbil 86 no 529.

B,

۴۸  
 محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 شاهانشاه  
 طغرلبك  
 ابو طالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

43. er-Reyy, sene 450, (AL, 21 mm - 3,13 gr.),

A,

نصر  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله  
 . . . . .

İç çev.;

. . . . .  
 سنة خمسين واربع مائة

B,

۴۸  
 محمد رسول الله  
 شاهانشاه  
 طغرلبك  
 بن

NHR 201 no 232, Nour. Cont. III 147 no 476. (basım yeri hakkında bkz. NHR 201).

44. Nişabur, sene 451, (AL, 24 mm - 3,99 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة احدى وخمسين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه الاجل  
ركن الدين طغرل  
بلى

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

45. er-Reyy, sene 452, (AL),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرعي  
سنة اثنين وخمسين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4

NHR 202 no 233. Paris

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرل بك ابوطالب  
الدولة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

46. Nişabur, sene 452, (AL, 23 mm - 3,88 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه الاجل  
ركن الدين طغرل  
بك

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة اثنين وخمسين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM (1968 no 5) neşredilmemiş.

47. er-Reyy, sene 453, (AL, 20 mm - 4,1 gr.), lev. II,

A,

الله  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرل بك  
\*

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالري  
سنة ثلاث وخمسين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 202 no 234, Johnston Coll. 527 (izahsız), BM (no 320) neşredilmemiş  
ANS (arka yüzün alt kısmındaki yıldız yok.)

48. Medinet es - selâm, sene 453, (AL, 22 mm - 3,75 gr.), lev. II

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة ثلث وخمسين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş. 1933 no 32

B.

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرل بك  
ابو طالب

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

49. Medinet - es - Selâm, sene 455, (AL, 20,5 mm - 3,15 gr.), lev. II,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
امير المؤمنين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة خمس وخمسين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş. 1920 no 1

B,

نصر  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
طغرل بك  
ابو طالب  
حميد

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

50. Medinet es - Selâm, sene 455 - ?, (AL, 22,5 mm - 2,73 gr.), lev. II,

A,

ق  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

[ince yazılmıştır]

B,

محمد  
شاهنشاه  
طغرلبك  
ملك

İç çev.;

Çev., KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله عز وجل هذا الدينار بحدينة الاسلام  
سنة خمس و . . . . و اربع مائة

Dış çev.;

Yok.  
BM neşredilmemiş. no 319

II. Adud Al - din Abu Şuca ALP ARSLAN, (455-465/1063-1072)

51. Herat, sene 450, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا ۹  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
الب ارسلان

B,

محمد  
رسول الله  
عليه السلام  
القائم بامر الله  
جفرى بك

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب لهذا الدين ابراهيم  
سنة خمسين واربعمائة.

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 214 no 50



52. Merv, sene 453, (AL).

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
عضد الدولة  
وتاج الامم  
الاب ارسلان

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمرور  
سنة ثلث وخمسين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 215 no 160 - 162.

53. .... sene ..... (G, 23 mm - 4,24 gr.),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
الامير الاجل  
البارسلان

B,

محمد رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
السلطان المعظم  
طغرلبك

Cont. Num. Orien, 1,42.

54. er-Reyy, sene 455, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له [aya]b  
القائم بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
ملك الاسلام  
الاب ارسلان

İç çev.;

بسم الله . . . دینار بالرئی ؟  
سنة خمس . . . اربعمائه .

Çev. ?

Diş çev. ?

NHR 203 no 235.

55. Herat, sene 455, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
عضد الدولة  
تاج الامم  
الاب ارسلان

İç çev.;

بسم الله عزب هذا الدينار بهرات  
سنة خمس وخمسين واربعمائه .

Un Tresor 215 no 156.

56. er-Röyy, sene 457, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
ملك الاسلام  
البا ارسلان

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرسول  
سنة سبع وخمسين واربعمائة.

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 203 no 237 A.

57. Herat, sene 457, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
ملك الاسلام  
البا ارسلان

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بهرات  
سنة سبع وخمسين واربعمائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 216 no 181.

58. Kâşân, sene 457, (A. 26 mm - 3,37 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِقَاشَانَ  
سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةٍ

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM (1969) neşredilmemiş.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ملك الاسلام  
البارسلان

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

59. Nişabur, sene 457, (AL),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِنِيسَابُورِ  
سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةٍ.

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
Cairo 340.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ملك  
الاسلام البارسلان  
محمد

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

60. Nişabur, sene 457 veya 459-?, (AL, 24 mm - 3,22 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارَ بِنَيْسَابُورَ  
سَنَةِ ... سَبْعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةَ

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş. (1968 no 14)

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنشاه ملك  
الاسلام البار  
لادن محمد

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

61. ...., sene 457, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارَ . . .  
سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةَ

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 215 no 164

B,

ملك  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنشاه الاعظم  
البار ارسلان

Çev.; .....

62. ...., sene 457, (AL, 22 mm.),

A

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B,

أ  
محمد رسول الله  
شاهنشاه  
ملك الاسلام  
الاب ارسلان [الارسلان]

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار . . . . .  
سنة سبع وخمسين واربعمائة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

İst.

63. Herat, sene 458, (AL),

A,

. . . . .  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B.

. . . . .  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنشاه الاعظم  
الاب ارسلان

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بهرات  
سنة ثمان وخمسين واربعمائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; ?

Un Tresor 216 no 165,

64. Merv, sene 458, (AL),

A

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ملك  
الاسلام الب ارسل  
ن

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمسرو  
سنة ثمان وخمسين واربعمائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 217, no 185.

65. Isbahan, sene 459, (AL, 23 mm - 3,65 gr.), lev. III,

A

۱۸  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B

محمد رسول الله  
شاهان شاه  
ملك الاسلام  
الب ارسلان  
محمد بن داود

السلطان  
[ince yazılmıştır]

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبهان  
سنة تسع وخمسين واربعمائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

66. ...., sene 459, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ . . .  
سَنَةَ تَمِّعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةَ.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

Un Tresor 217 no 191.

B,

به  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ملك  
السلام الب ارسلان  
محمد

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

67. Herat, sene 45. (AL).

A,

المو  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِهَرَاتِ  
سَنَةَ . . . خَمْسِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةَ.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

Un Tresor 216 no 183 .

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
ملك الاسلام  
الب ارسلان

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33



68. .... sene (45.), (AL),

A,

لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه  
 وعلمه  
 الب أرسلان

İç çev.;

Çev.;

Dış çev.;

Un Tresor 214 no 151

69. Herat, sene 460, (AL),

A,

لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله

[ince yazılmıştır].

B,

محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 شهنشاه الاعظم  
 الب أرسلان

İç çev.;

Çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بهرات  
 سنة ستين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.;

Un Tresor 216 no 167-168

KURAN XXX, 3-4

70. Merv, sene 460, (AL),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

[ince yazılmıştır].

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِمِصْرٍ  
سَنَةِ سِتِّينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةَ.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 217 no 192-196.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ملك  
الاسلام الب أرسلان  
محمد

[ince yazılmıştır]

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

71. er-Reyy, sene 461, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ (بالرس؟)  
سَنَةِ اَهِدَى وَ سِتِّينَ [و ٧٠٤] اربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN IX, 33 (böyle)

NHR 204 no 238.

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
ملك الاسلام  
الب أرسلان

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

72. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 461, (AL, 28 mm - 2,6 gr.), lev. III,

A  
الامام  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله  
امير المؤمنين

B  
بسم  
محمد  
رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
عهد الدولة  
الارسلان  
عظما الدين

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب لهذا الدين ارمدينة الاسلام  
سنة احدى و تسعين و اربعمئة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

73. Merv, sene 461, (AL, 27 mm.), lev. XI,

A  
لا اله الا الله  
Esma al-hüsna  
القائم بامر الله  
وحدده لا شريك له  
محمد رسول الله

B  
الله  
Esma al-hüsna  
يا مني الملك  
الحسن

İç çev.: [السلطان]

Çev.:

Ist. no 1047.

74. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 462, (AL, 29 mm - 4,25 gr.), lev. III.

A,  
 الامام  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله  
 امير المؤمنين

B,  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه  
 وعترته  
 الب ارسلان

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
 سنة اثنين وستين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM (no 326) neşredilmemiş.

75. Merv, sene 462, (AL),

A,  
 محمد  
 عدل  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله  
 [ince yazılmıştır].

B,  
 محمد رسول الله  
 شاهان شاه ملك  
 الاسلام الب ارسلان  
 محمد  
 [ince yazılmıştır].

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمرو  
 سنة اثنين وستين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 217 no 197 - 198.

76. Merv, sene 463, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

[ince yazılmıştır]

B,

بسم  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ملك  
الاسلام اب ارسلان  
محمد

[ince yazılmıştır]

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب لهذا الدينار بعمرو  
سنة ثلث وستين واربعمائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

Un Tresor 217 no 199

77. Herat, sene 465, (AL).

A,

عز  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

B,

بسم  
محمد  
رسول الله  
ملك الاسلام  
اب ارسلان

İç çev.;

بسم الله . . . . .  
بهرات ؟ . . . . .

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 218 no 208

78. Nişabur, sene 465. (AL, 23 mm - 4,72 gr.), lev. III.

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ مَضْرُوبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارُ بِنِيسَابُورَ  
سَنَةِ لِحْمَى وَتَيْنِ وَارْبَعِ مِائَةِ .

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM III 30 no 60.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ملك  
الاسلام البارئ  
محمد

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

79. Basım yeri ve tarihi yok, (G, 17 mm - 3,09 gr.)

A,

عَدَل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
رکن الدین

İç çev.;

Yok

Çev.;

Yok.

Cont. Num. Orien. 1,45. (Para üzerinde **القائم بامر الله** ibaresi bulunduğundan tarih 467 den öncedir.)

80. Herat, sene (456 - 467), (AL),

A,

[فتح]  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
الفاطم بامر الله

[ince yazılmıştır].

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ملك  
الاسلام البار  
سلان محمد

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب لهذا الدينار بهرات  
سنة . . . . . [اربعمائة]

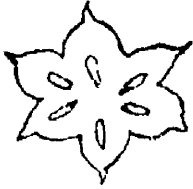
Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.;

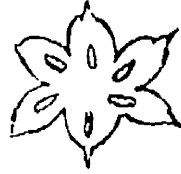
Un Tresor 218 no 206.

81. Urmiye, ? tarih yok\*, (G. 19 mm - 2,75 gr, ayarı düşük),

A,



B,



İç çev.;

[محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم]  
السلطان

Çev.;

لا اله الا الله [محمد رسول الله] بامر الله

Dış çev.;

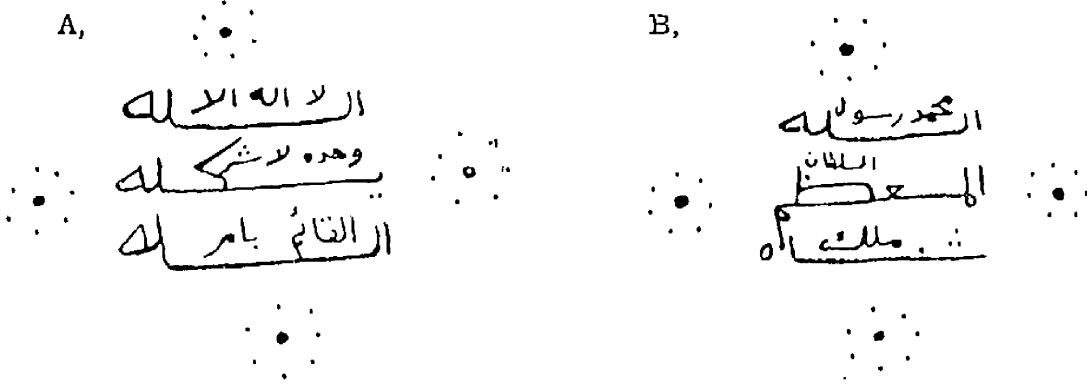
المعظم ملك الاسلام البار سلان

Noun. Cont. 147 no 477.

\*Tari 453 - 465 arasındadır.

III. Celâl - ed - Din Ebû'l - Feth MELİK ŞAH, (465 - 485/1072 - 1092)

82. ...., sene ...(465-467)\*, (G. 23 mm - 4,12 gr.), lev. III,



İç çev.; .....

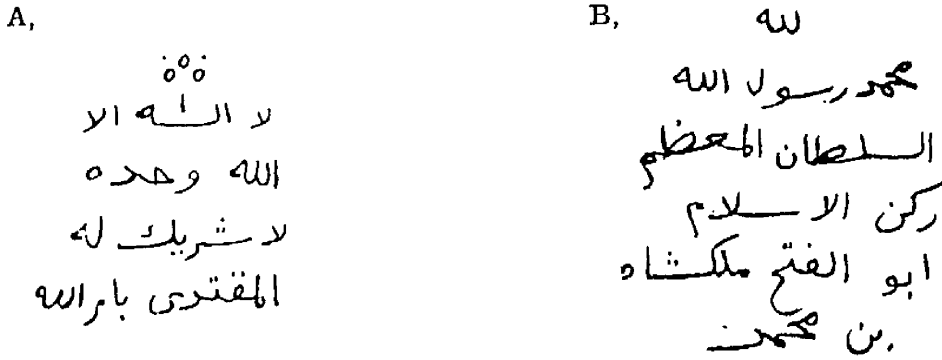
Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; .....

BM III 32 no 63.

\* Para üzerinde «al-Kaim» adı olduğundan tarih 465-467 arasındadır.

83. Nişabur, sene 468, (AL, 24 mm - 4,02 gr.),



İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبَ قَرْنِ الدِّينَارِ بِنِيَابُورِ  
سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةٍ.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM (1968 no. 6) neşredilmemiş.



84. Dara, sene 469, (AL, 24 mm - 2,89), lev. III.

A,

بِسْمِ  
 ۞  
 لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا  
 اللَّهُ وَهُدًى  
 لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ  
 الْمُقْتَدِرُ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِدَارِهِ  
 سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَ سِتِّينَ وَ أَرْبَعِينَ أَلْفًا

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM (no 324) neşredilmemiş.

B,

مُحَمَّدٌ  
 رَسُولُ اللَّهِ  
 السُّلْطَانُ الْمُعْظَمُ  
 مَعزُ الدِّينِ  
 رُكْنُ الْإِسْلَامِ  
 مَلِكُ شَاه

Çev.; KURAN IX, 3?

85. Nişabur, sene 470, (AL, 23 mm - 4,05 gr.)

A,

بِسْمِ  
 ۞  
 لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا  
 اللَّهُ وَهُدًى  
 لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ  
 الْمُقْتَدِرُ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِنِيسَابُورِ  
 سَنَةِ سَبْعِينَ وَ أَرْبَعِينَ أَلْفًا

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

مُحَمَّدٌ  
 رَسُولُ اللَّهِ  
 السُّلْطَانُ الْمُعْظَمُ  
 رُكْنُ الْإِسْلَامِ  
 أَبُو الْفَتْحِ مَلِكُ شَاه  
 بِنِ مُحَمَّدٍ

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

86. Nişabur, sene 471, (AL, 24 mm - 4,68 gr.), lev. III,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِنِيسَابُورِ  
سَنَةِ اَهِد (671/6) وَبِيعْتَيْنِ وَارْبَعِ مَائَةٍ

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM IX 276 no 60 t.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الاسلام  
ابو الفتح ملك شاه  
بن محمد

Çev.. KURAN IX, 33

87. er-Reyy sene 472 - ? veya 482 - ? (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
( الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِالرَّيِّ  
سَنَةِ اثْنَتَيْنِ ؟ . . . . .

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 205 no 239.

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
معز الدين  
ركن الاسلام  
ملك شاه

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

88. er-Reyy, sene 473-?, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B.

١٨١  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان [المعظم]  
شاهان شاه  
معز الدين [بن]  
[ملك] شاه

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله هذا الدينار بالرى  
سنة (ثلث؟) وسبعين واربعة مائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 205 no 240.

89. Serhas, sene (47) 4, (G),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B.

الدنيا  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ركن  
الاسلام ملك  
شاه

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار برهسى  
سنة اربع و . . . . .

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Cont. Numis Orien, 1, 45.

90. er-Reyy, sene 475 veya 485, (AL),

A.

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B,

...  
[محمد رسول الله]  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
محرز الدين  
رکن الاسلام  
[ك] لك شاه [ه]

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ مَرَّبِ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِالرَّيِّ  
سَنَةَ خ... . . . . . واربعة مائة .

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4


NHR 206 no 241.

9i. Isfahan, sene 475 veya 485, (AL, 19 mm - 1,71 gr.), lev. III,

A.

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B.

  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
محرز الدين  
ابو الفتح ملك شاه

İç çev.;

Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; .....

BM III 32 no 62.

92. Nişabur, sene 475, (AL, 25 mm - 3,61 gr.).

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الاسلام  
ابو الفتح ملك شاه  
بن محمد

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنىابور  
سنة خمس و سبعين و اربعمئة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

93. Nişabur, sene 476, (AL, 23 mm - 2,92 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الاسلام  
ابو الفتح ملك شاه  
بن محمد

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنىابور  
سنة ست و سبعين و اربعمئة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

94. er-Reyy, sene 477, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنشاه  
معز الدين  
ركن الاسلام  
ملك شاه

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرسى  
سنة سبع و سبعين و اربع مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 206 no 242 A.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

95. er-Reyy, sene 477, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنشاه  
معز الدين  
ركن الاسلام  
ملك شاه

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرسى  
سنة سبع و سبعين و اربع مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 206 no 242 B.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

96. Nişabur, sene 478, (AL),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

[ince yazılmıştır]

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة ثمان وسبعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الاسلام  
ابو الفتح ملشا  
بن محمد

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

97. Nişabur, sene 479, (AL, 23 mm · 3.09 gr.)

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة ثمان وسبعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الاسلام  
ابو الفتح ملشا  
بن محمد

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

98. Nişabur, sene 47, (G, 17 mm - 2,04 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا الله  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

B,

محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 ركن الاسلام  
 ملا شاه

İç çev.:

بنیابور . . . . .  
 سبعین واربعمائة . . . . .

Çev. ....

Dış çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

99 Nişabur, sene 47., (G. 16 mm - 1,84 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا [اله]  
 الله وهـ [ده]  
 لا شريك [له]  
 المقترى [بام الله]

B,

[السلطان المعظم]  
 [ركن] الاسلام  
 . . . . .

İç çev.:

بنیابور . . . . .  
 سبعین واربعمائة . . . . .

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.



100. er-Reyy, sene 480, (AL),

A,  
 عدل  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 المقتدى  
 بامر الله

[Nakşi]

B,  
 الحمد لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 شاهانشاه  
 معز الدين  
 ركن الاسلام  
 ملك شاه

\* [ince yazılmıştır].

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى  
 سنة ثمانين و اربع مائة .

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
 NHR 207 no. 243.

101. er-Reyy, sene 481, (AL),

A,  
 الحمد لله  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 المقتدى  
 بامر الله  
 خليفة الله  
 امير المؤمنين

B,  
 الحمد لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 شاهانشاه  
 معز الدين  
 ركن الاسلام  
 ابو الفتح  
 ملك شاه  
 في جملة الامم  
 في خلافة الامم

\* [ince yazılmıştır].

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرى  
 سنة احدى وثمانين و اربع مائة .

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
 NHR 207 no 244 A.

102. er-Reyy, sene 481, (AL),

A,

لا ارا امامه الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى  
بامر الله

امير المؤمنين  
خليفة الله

B,

محمد  
رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الاسلام  
.....  
ملك شاه

محمد بن ابي طالب  
صلى الله عليه واله

[ince yazılmıştır]

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرمي  
سنة اهلبي وثمانين واربع مائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 208 no 244 B.

103. Nişabur, sene 482, (G, 21 mm-5,69 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
[المقتدى بامر الله]

لا

B,

[محمد رسول الله]  
[السلطان المعظم]  
ركن الاسلام  
ملك شاه

İç çev.;

الدرهم بنىابور  
سنة اثنتين وثمانين واربع مائة.

Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; Yok.

BM neşredilmemiş.

104. Nişabur, sene 482, (G, 17 mm-3,93 gr.),

A,

\*  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الاسلام  
ملك شاه

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بنىابور  
سنة اثنين وثمانين واربعمئة

Çev.;

BM neşredilmemiş

105. Merv, sene 483, (AL, 22 mm.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده - هلم  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنشاه ..  
الاسلام ملك  
شاه

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمرو  
سنة ثلث وثمانين [واربعمئة]

Çev.;

Dış çev.;

BM (alçı kalıp)

106. er-Reyy, sene 484, (AL),

A,

عبد  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله  
خليفة الله امير  
المؤمنين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب لفضا الدينار بالربى  
سنة اربع وثمانين واربع مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3.4  
NHR 208 no 244 X.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنا شاه  
مغز الدنيا و  
الدين ابو الفتح  
ملك شاه

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

107. Medinet - es - Selâm, sene 485, (AL, 24 mm - 3,95 gr.), lev. III,

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهذه لا شريك له  
الامام المقتدى  
بامر الله  
امير المؤمنين

İç çev.,

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة خمس وثمانين واربع مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3.4

BM 31 no. 61.

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
جلد الدولة  
ملك شاه

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

108. Nişabur, sene 485. (AL, 22 mm - 4,81 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

[İnce yazılmıştır]

B,

له  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الاسلام  
ابو الفتح ملکشاه  
بن محمد

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
سنة خمس وثمانين واربعمائة.

Çev: KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

109. Nişabur, sene (465-485), (G. 21 mm - 1,46 gr.), lev. III,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

الدولة

B,

له  
محمد رسول الله  
ابو الفتح ملك شاه

الدولة

خلف

İç çev.;

بنيسابور . . . . .  
. . . . .

Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; Yok

BM neşredilmemiş

110. Isfahan, sene yok (467-485), (G, 22mm - 5,06 gr. avarı düşük)

A,

المقتدى بأمر الله  
ضرب

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
ملك شاه  
اصفهان

Cont. Numis Orien. 1,45.

111. ...., sene ....., (AL, 27 mm.), lev. XI,

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بأمر الله

B,

ابو الفتح  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه  
[ملك] شاه

İç çev.; .....

Çev.; .....

Diş çev.; .....

İst. no. 1049

112. Medinet - es - Selâm, sene 486, (AL, 25 mm.), Lev. XI,

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
الامام المقتدى  
بامر الله  
امير المؤمنين

B,

محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
جلال الدولة  
ملفا  
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة ست وثمانين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Ist. no 1048.

113. Nişabur, sene 48, (G. 21 mm - 5.78 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وهده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الاسلام  
ملفا

Çev.;

Çev.; .....

بنيسابور . . . / / / /  
ثمانين واربعمائة / / / /

BM neşredilmemiş. (Çift baskı)





IV. Nasir-ed-Din MAHMUD, (485 - 487/1092 - 1094).

115. Isfahan, sene 486. (AL, 27 mm-3,9 gr.), Lev. XI.

A,

فتح  
لا اله الا الله  
المقتدى بامر الله  
السلطان المعظم  
محمود بن ملکشاه

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبعها  
سنة ست وثمانين واربعمائة

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
İst. No 1050, A. Tevhit IV no 876.

B,

ايد ارسلان  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان الاعظم  
محمدى الدنيا والدين  
اسمىل بن الرب  
سفر بلكه

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

116. Medinet es-Selâm sene, 486, (AL 25 mm-4,017 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهو لا شريك له  
المقتدى  
بامر الله امير  
المؤمنين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة ست وثمانين واربعمائة

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM IX 277 no 62 d.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه وآله  
بسم الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه وآله

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

V. Rukn ed-din Ebu Muzaffer BERKYARUK, (487 - 498/1094 - 1105)

117. el-Ahvaz, sene 486, (AL, 22 mm - 3,46 gr.)

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر بركيارق  
بن ملكشاه

İç çev.,

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باهواز  
سنة ثمانين واربع مائة


Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

118. (er-Reyy), sene 486, (AL, 21 mm - 3.175 gr.), lev. IV,

A,

  
 لا اله الا  
 بنوع الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 المقتدى بامر الله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 ملك الاسلام  
 ابو المظفر بركيارق  
 بن ملشاه

[İnce yazılmıştır]

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

سنة ست وثمانين واربعماية  
 (الرى)

Dış çev.; .....

BM IX 278 no 64 s.

119. Isfahan, sene 486 (AL),

A,

بركيارق  
 لا اله الا الله  
 المقتدى بامر الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 ركن الدنيا والدين  
 ابو المظفر

B,

ابو القاسم  
 محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 ناصر الدنيا والدين  
 محمود بن ملك شاه

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب بهذا الدينار  
 باصفهان سنة ست وثمانين واربعماية

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Longperier, JA 1845, 4. seri, IV, s. 306-313.

120. er-Reyy, sene 487, (AL),

A,

الله  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المقتدى  
بامر الله

B, محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا والدين  
ملك الاسلام  
والسلمين ابو  
المظفر

بسم الله  
الرحمن  
الرحيم

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرسول  
سنة سبع وثمانين واربع مائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

Dış çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4) ?

NHR 209 no 246, (Paris)

121. Medinet es - Selâm, sene 487, (AL, 27 mm - 3,86 gr.), lev. IV.

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
سمر الدولة  
القاهرة  
بركبارقى

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة سبع وثمانين واربع مائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 33 no 65, Ist. no 1051, (A. Tevhid IV 62 no 88).

122. Nişabur, sene 487, (G, 21 mm - 4,57 gr.),

A,

[لا ا] له الا  
[ا] له وحده  
لا شريك له  
المتظفر بالله

[ince yazılmıştır]

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ملك الاسلام  
بركيارق بن ملك  
شاه

İç çev.;

بنیابور . . . . .  
سنة سبع و ثمانین و اربع مائة

Çev.:

Dış çev.; Yok.

BM neşredilmemiş.

123. Nişabur, sene 48 (7), (G, 21 mm - 4,52 gr.).

A,

Tan:amen silik

B,

الله  
[محمد رسول الله]  
[السلطان] المعظم  
[ملك] الاسلام  
. . . . .  
. . . . .

İç çev.;

بنیابور . . . . .  
سنة (سبع) و ثمانین و اربع مائة

Çev.;

BM neşredilmemiş.

124. er-Reyy, sene 488, (AL).

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المنتظر بالله

B,

بركيارق  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدين  
والدين ابو المظفر  
بن ملار

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرس  
سنة ثمان وثمانين واربع مائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.;

NHR 210 no 247. (Paris).

125. er-Reyy, sene 488, (AL, 23 mm-2,45 gr.), lev. IV,

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المنتظر بالله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا و  
الدين ابو المظفر  
بركيارق بن ملك شاه

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرس  
سنة ثمان وثمانين واربع مائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

126. İsbahan, sene 488, (AL, 26 mm-3,93 gr.), lev. IV,

A,

عبدك  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا والدين  
ملك الاسلام و  
المسلمين ابو المظفر  
بركيارق

Dış çev.; !

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارَ بِاصْبَهَانَ  
سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَثَمَانِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةٍ

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

127. İsbahan, sene 48 (8), (AL, 22 mm-3,51 gr.),

A,

عبدك  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك  
له المستظهر بالله  
ارسلان ارغون بن  
محمد

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ملك الاسلام  
ابو المظفر بركيارق  
ملك شاه

Çev.;

Çev.; .....

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارَ بِاصْبَهَانَ  
سَنَةِ (ثَمَانٍ) وَثَمَانِينَ وَارْبَعِمِائَةٍ

BM neşredilmemiş

128. Kâşân, sene 488, (AL, 19 mm - 3.73 gr.), lev, IV,

A

٢٨  
لا اله الا الله  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المنتظر

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة ثمان وثمانين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; ..... (KURAN XXX, 3-4)

BM nesredilmemiş.

B,

بسم  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهان شاه ملك  
الاسلام ركن اثنتين  
الدين بركبارق

Çev.; (KURAN IX, 33)

129. Medinet es - Selâm, sene 488, (AL, 25,5 mm - 3,65 gr.), lev. IV,

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
المنتظر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

İç çev.;

[بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بقا شان  
سنة ثمان وثمانين واربعمائة.]

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM IX 278 no 65 c, A. Tevhid IV 63 no 89.

B.

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلوات الله عليه  
معز الدولة  
القاهرة  
بركبارق  
تدوين منصور  
بسم الله

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33



130. Nişabur, sene 48 (8), (G, 21 mm-4,34 gr.),

A,

براه الا الله  
وهده لا شريك  
.....

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
... الدنيا والدين  
بركيارق بن ملك  
[شاه]

Çev.;

بنيابور .....  
سنة ثمان وثمانين واربعمائة .

Çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

131 Nişabur, sene 488, (G, 20 mm-5,44 gr.),

A.

.....  
لا شريك له  
المتظهر بالله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
... يا والدين  
.....  
ارسلان ارغو بن  
محمد

İç çev.;

بنيابور .....  
سنة ثمان وثمانين واربعمائة .

Çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş. (Arslan Argun'a ait bk. notlar)

132. İsbahan, sene 489, (AL, 24 mm - 2,93 gr.), lev, IV,

A,

فتح  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المتظهر بالله

B,

ملك  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر بركيارق  
الاسلام

İç çev.;

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبعها  
سنة ثمانين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

133. İsbahan, sene 489, (AL, 23 mm - 3,7 gr.), lev. VI,

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
المتظهر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

B,

ملك  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر بركيارق  
الاسلام

İç çev.;

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبعها  
سنة ثمانين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

134. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 489, (AL, 25 mm - 3,07 gr.), lev. IV

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المتظفر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة تسع وثمانين واربعمائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 34 no 66.

B,

هو  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
عضد الدولة  
القاهرة  
بركيارق  
عبد الرحمن  
بن منصور

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

135. ...., sene 489, (AL, 22 mm - 2,77 gr.), lev. V,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وهده  
لا شريك له  
المتظفر بالله  
\*

İç çev.;

.....  
سنة تسع وثمانين واربعمائة

Dış çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

شاه  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا و  
الدين ابو المظفر  
بو كيارق [بنك]

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

136. er-Reyy, sene 490, (AL),

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المنتظر  
بالله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدين  
والدين  
بركيارق

İç çev.

Çev; KURAN IX 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرئس  
سنة تسعين واربع مائة

Dış çev.; ?

NHR 210 no 248 A.

137. İsbahan, sene 490, (AL, 22 mm-3,97 gr.), lev. V,

A,

الله  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المنتظر

B,

بركيارق  
محمد  
رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ابو المظفر  
ركن الدين

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبهان  
سنة تسعين واربع مائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

138. el Ahvaz, sene 491, (AL, 16 mm - 1,92 gr. Yarım Dinar.), lev. V.

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله

B,

قل هو  
الله احد الله  
الصمد لم يلد و  
لم يولد ولم يكن  
له كفوا احد

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالاهواز  
سنة احدى وتسعين و اربع مائة

Dış çev.; ?

BM IX 278 no 66 d.

139. Medinet el - Selâm, sene 492, (AL, 25 mm. - 4,5 gr.), lev, V,

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهدده لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

B,

هو  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
عضد العولة  
القاهرة  
بركيارق  
عده الدين  
ابو منصور

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة اثنين وتسعين و اربع مائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

A. Tevhid IV 63-64 no 90. BM neşredilmemiş.

140. Medinet - es - Selâm, sene 493, (AL, 23 mm - 3,76 gr.), lev. V,

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لاشريك له  
المستظهر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة الاسلام  
سنة ثلث وتسعين واربعمائة

Dış çev.;

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

هو  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
عضد الدولة  
القاهرة  
بركيارق  
بن عبد الله

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

141. er-Reyy (Lar?), sene 494, (AL),

A,

عدل  
.  
.  
.  
المستظهر بالله

İç çev.;

[بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار . . .  
سنة اربع وتسعين واربعمائة]

NHR 211 no 248 X

B,

هو  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الانيا والدين  
ابو المظفر بركيارق  
بن ملك شلا [1076]

142. er-Reyy, sene 495, (AL),

A,

عزل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
الاستظهر بالله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا و  
الدين ابو المظفر  
بركيارف

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالرب  
سنة خمس وتسعين واربعمائة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; ?

NHR 211 no 249 A. (Paris)

143. Zencan, sene 495, (AL, 26 mm.), lev. V.

A,

نصر  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
الاستظهر بالله  
بن الله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا و  
الدين ابو المظفر  
بركيارف

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بزنجان  
سنة خمس وتسعين واربعمائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

BM neşredilmemiş.

144. .... , sene ..... (AL),

A,

[ب] الله الا الله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 المستظهر بالله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 [ر] كن الدنيا والدين  
 [ب] كبارق بن ملكشا  
 ٥

B,

الله لا اله الا هو الحي  
 القيوم لا تأخذه سنة [و]  
 لا نوم له ما في السموات  
 وما في الارض من زا الذي  
 يشفع عنده الا باذنه  
 . . . . . المظفر عط . . . . .

İç çev.; .....

.....

Dış çev.; .....

Un Tresor 219 no 212

Çev.; .....



VII. Gıyas ed-din Ebu Şuca MUHAMMAD TAPAR.  
(498-511/1105-1118)

146. Avah, sene 493, (AL, 22 mm-2,58 gr.), lev. V.

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
عياث الدنيا و  
الدين ابو شجاع  
محمد بن ملك شاه

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الرينار باوه  
سنة ثلث وتسعين واربع مائة.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33


Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

147. Zencan, sene 494, (AL 27 mm-2,97 gr.), lev.; V,

A,

صلى  
لا اله الا الله  
الله وحده لا شريك  
يملكه المستظهر  
بالله امير المؤمنين



İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنز نجران  
سنة اربع وتسعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

نصر  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
غياث الدنيا والدين  
ابو شجاع محمد بن  
ملك شاه

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

148. Zencan, sene 494, (AL, 27 mm - 2.78 gr.), lev. V,

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله

İç çev.;

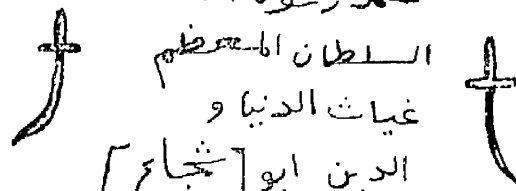
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنز نجران  
سنة اربع وتسعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
غياث الدنيا و  
الدين ابو [شجاع]  
محمد [بن ملك شاه]



Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

149. Loridcan, sene 496, (AL, 25 mm - 2,8 gr.), lev.,

A,

فتح  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله  
عبد

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا [bçy/e] لدينار بلوردجان  
سنة ستة [bçy/e] وتسعين واربع مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM 35 no 67.

B,

عبد  
محمد رسول  
الله السلطان  
المعظم غياث  
الدين والدين  
ابو شجاع محمد

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

150. er-Reyy, sene 499, (AL),

A,

ملك  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بابي  
سنة تسع وتسعين واربع مائة.

Dış çev.; ?

NHR 212 no 250 A. (Paris),

B,

ابو شجاع  
محمد  
رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
غياث الدين  
والدين [bçy/e]

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

151. Medinet - es - Selâm, sene 500, (AL, 25 mm - 4,82 gr.), lev. VI

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وحدده لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله  
امير المؤمنين محمد

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الرينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة خمس مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

BM 35 no 68.

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
وآلته  
والدين محمد  
غياث الدين  
ابو منصور

Çev., KURAN IX, 33

152. Medinet - es - Selâm, sene 501, (AL, 25 mm - 2,83 gr.), lev. VI

A,

الام  
لا اله الا الله  
وحدده لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله  
امير المؤمنين محمد

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الرينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة اهد و خمس مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
وآلته  
والدين محمد  
غياث الدين  
ابو منصور

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

153. Medinet - es - Selâm, sene 502, (AL, 24 mm - 3,25 gr.), lev. VI.

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المنتظر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
وآلته الطيبين  
والبرين محمد  
عمدة الدين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة اثنين وخمسين مائة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 35 no 69, İst. no 1052.

154. İsbahan, sene 503, (AL, 22 mm - 4,80 gr.), lev. VI,

A,

الله  
لا اله الا  
الله وهده  
لا شريك له  
المنتظر  
[ince yazılmış]

B,

ابو شجاع  
محمد  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
غياث الدنيا و  
الدين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصفهان  
سنة ثلث وخمسين مائة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 35 no 70.

155. Medinet - el - Selâm, sene 503, (AL, 25 mm 3,12 gr.), lev VI.

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهداه لاشريك له  
المنتظر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

İç çev.:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِمَدِينَةِ الْإِسْلَامِ  
سَنَةِ ثَلَاثٍ وَخَمْسِينَ مِائَةً.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلوات الله عليه  
غياث الدنيا  
والدين محمد  
صم

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

156. İsbahan, sene 504, (AL, 22 mm -2,6 gr.), lev. VI,

A,

الله  
لا اله الا  
الله وهداه  
لاشريك له  
المنتظر  
بالحق

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِإِسْبَاهَانَ  
سَنَةِ أَرْبَعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ مِائَةً.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

MB III 36 no 71

B,

ابو شجاع  
محمد  
رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
محمد  
غياث الدنيا

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

157. İsbahan, sene 506, (AL, 22 mm-2,9 gr.),

A

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله

B,

محمد  
رسول الله  
السلطان الاعظم  
غياث الدنيا و  
الدين ابو شجاع

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصبعها ن  
سنة ست وخمسة مائة .

Dış çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)

Kâbil 92 no. 578, Nakşibandi, Sümer V. I. 103 (al-Ahwaz), Markoff 371 no  
51-55

158. Madinet es-Selâm sene 506, (AL, 24 mm-4,989 gr.), lev. VI,

A

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله  
امير المو منين

B

هو  
صلى الله عليه  
غياث الدنيا  
والدين محمد  
ابو منصور

İç çev.;

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة ست وخمسة مائة .

Dış çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)

BM III 36 no 72.

159. Isbahan, sene 509 ? (AL, 2 mm - 3,95 gr.), lev. VI,

A

خليفة  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المتنظر

B

ابوشجاع ؟  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ضيات الدنيا  
والدين  
محمد

İç çev.;

Çev. ; KURAN IX 33

بسم الله مزب هذا الدينار باصبيهان  
سنة تسع ؟ وخمسة

Dış çev. ; (KURAN XXX, 2 4)

BM neşredilmemiş.

160. ...., sene (498 - 511 arası), (AL 22 mm., 2,31 gr.), lev. VI,

A

فتح  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المتنظر بالله

B

الملوك الاسلام  
محمد  
رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ابو شجاع محمد

İç çev. ; .....

Çev. ; .....

Dış çev. ; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.



VIII. Muiz ed-din Ebu Haris SANCAR, (511-552/1118-1157)

161. ... sene 49., (G, 22 mm-3,4 gr. karışık altın.), lev. VI,

A  
لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
المنظّم بالله  
السلطان المعظم  
رکن الدنيا والدين  
بركيارق بن ملكشا  
0

B  
الله لا اله الا هو الهى  
القيوم لا تاخذه نه ولا  
نوم له ما فى السموات و  
ما فى الارض من زا الذى  
ينفع عند الا با نه  
الملك المشرف عضو  
الدولة سنجر

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا ...  
... مع وتعين واربعمانه.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş. [Tarih 494 veya 497 dir]

162. Nişabur, sene 496, (A1, 25 mm.) lev. XI,

A  
لا اله الا  
الله وهدى  
لا لا شريكه  
المنظّم بالله

B  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ابو شجاع محمد  
ملك المشرق سنجر

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX. 33

[بسم الله ضرب هذا] الدينار بنيا بوز  
سنة ... وتعين واربعمانه.

Dış çev.; ...

Ist. no 1053.

163. Nişabur, sene 498, (AL, 23,5 mm 4 gr.), lev. VII,

A,

الله  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 محمد رسول  
 الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور  
 سنة ثمان وتسعين واربعمائة.

Dış çev.; Yok.

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

الامام  
 المنتظر بالله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 ابو شجاع محمد  
 الملك المظفر  
 سنجر

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

164. Merv, sene 49 (9?), (AL, 22 mm - 4,16 gr. Ayarı çok düşük.), lev. VII,

A,

لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 المنتظر بالله  
 سنجر

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمرو  
 سنة تسع وتسعين واربع مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 36 no 73

B,

الله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 غياث الدنيا والدين  
 [ابو] شجاع محمد  
 شاه

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

165. Belli, sene 49. (G, 23 mm - 2,84 gr.), lev. VII,

A

لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
المستظهر بالله  
ركن الدنيا والدين  
برك يارق بن ملكشا  
o

B

(الله) ؟

الله لا اله الا هو الهى  
القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و  
لا نوم ما فى السموات  
وما فى الارض من زا الزى  
يسفح عنده الا بازنه  
الملك المظفر عصد  
الدولة سنجر

İç çev.;

.....  
بيلج  
.....  
تبعين واربعائة

Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

166. ...., sene 49., (G), lev VII,

A,

بالله  
لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
الامام المستظهر  
السلطان المعظم  
غياث الدنيا والدين  
محمد بن ملكشا  
o

B

الله

الله لا اله الا هو الهى  
القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و  
لا نوم له ما فى السموات و  
ما فى الارض من زا الزى  
يسفح عنده الملك المشرق  
عضد الدولة سنجر  
بن ملكشاه

İç çev.;

.....  
تبعين واربعائة

Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

167. ...., sene ....., (G), lev. VII,

A

بِالله  
لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
الامام المنتظر  
السلطان المعظم  
غياث الدنيا والدين  
محمد بن ملکشاه

B

الله  
الله لا اله الا هو الحي  
القيوم لا تاخذه سنة  
ولا نوم له ما في السموات  
وما في الارض من ذا الذي يشفع  
عنده الملك المشرق  
عضد الدولة سنجر  
بن ملکشاه

İç çev.; .....  
Dış çev.; .....  
BM neşredilmemiş.

Çev.; .....

168. ...., sene ....., (G), lev. VII,

A

لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
غياث الدنيا والدين  
محمد بن ملکشاه

B

الله  
الله لا اله الا هو  
القيوم لا تاخذه  
المنتظر بالله  
الملك المشرق عضد  
الدولة سنجر بن ملك  
شاه

İç çev.; .....  
Dış çev.; .....  
BM neşredilmemiş.

Çev.; .....

169 ..... sene ..... (G) lev, VII,

A

الله  
لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
الامام المنتظم  
السلطان المعظم  
[غياث الدين] والدين  
[محمد بن ملك] شاه

B

الله  
الله لا اله الا هو الحي  
القيوم لا تأخذه سنة و  
لا نوم له ما في السموات و  
ما في الارض من ذا الذي  
يشفع عنده الملك المشرف  
عضد الدولة  
بن ملك شاه

İç gev.; .....

Çev.; .....

Dış gev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

170. .... sene ..... (AL 21 mm - 3,82 gr.),

A

الله  
لا اله الا  
الله وهذه  
لا شريك له  
محمد رسول  
الله

B

الامام  
المنتظم بالله  
السلطان المعظم  
ابو شجاع محمد  
الملك المظفر  
سنجر

Çev.; .....

Çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

171. ...., sene ..... (510-512), (AL 22 mm.), lev VI.

A

بمقام  
لا اله الا الله  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المستظهر بالله

B

هو  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
[ابو] شجاع محمد  
ملك المشرق بنجر  
ابن ملك شاه

İç çev.; .....

Çev.: KURAN IX 33

Dış çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

172. ...., sene ..... (AL, 21 mm-3,6 gr. ayarı düşük, lev. VII)

A

عدل  
لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
المستظهر بالله  
السلطان المعظم  
محمد بن ملك شاه

B

ه عدل  
الله لا اله الا هو  
... القوم لا تأخذه...  
...  
الملك المشرق عضد  
الدولة بنجر بن ملك  
شاه

İç çev.;

Çev.;

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
ملكك ارسنة... ع مائة عدل.

... له والله الزم لا اله الا...

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX 3 4

BM III 37 no 74

173. ...., sene ..... (512-529), (AL, 22 mm-3,4 gr.),

A

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
الامام المترشد  
بالله

B

ملك  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان الاعظم  
معز الدنيا والدين  
ابو الحارث سنجر بن  
شاه

İç çev.; .....

Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; .....

Kâbil 93 no 579.

174. ...., sene ..... (512-529), AL, 23 mm-4,5 gr.),

A

بالله  
لا اله الا  
الله محمد  
رسول الله  
الامام المترشد

B

السلطان المعظم  
معز الدنيا والدين  
ابو الحارث سنجر  
بن ملكشاه

İç çev.; .....

Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; .....

Kâbil 93 no 580.

175. ...., sene ...., (AL)

A

فلا  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
الامام المترشد  
بالله امير المؤمنين

B

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهنشاه الاعظم  
(ابو العرش سنجر) بن ملك  
[شاه]

İç çev.; .....

Cev.; .....

Dış çev.; .....

Un Tresor 219 no 213

176. Basım yeri ve tarih yok, (530 dan sonra), (G, 22 mm - 3,7 gr.)

A

لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
محمد رسول  
الله المقتضى  
..... مر الله

B

السلطان  
مغزال  
ابو الحار  
بن ملك  
.....

Kâbil 94 no 583



177. Basım yeri ve tarih yok, (530 dan sonra), (G, 22 mm 3,7 gr.)

A	B
<p>لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المقتنى...</p>	<p>السلطان المعظم ..... دنيا والدين ..... بو الحارث سنجر ..... ملك شاه</p>

Kâbil 94 no. 584.

178. ...., sene ..... (AL, 22 mm-3,3 gr.) lev; VII

A	B
<p>بالله لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له المستط [مهر] [سنجر]</p>	<p>الله السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو الحارث سنجر بن [ملك شاه]</p>

İç çev.; .....

Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

179. er-Reyy, sene 349-?, (AL),

A

.....  
 لا اله الا الله  
 [آية] حده  
 لا شريك له  
 المقتضى لامر الله [آية]

İç çev.

رب  
 سنة تـ ؟ واريد . . . . .

Dış çev.; .....

NHR 215 no 251 X.

B

..... ر [؟]  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 الاعظ . . . . .  
 .....

180. er-Reyy, sene 551-?, (AL),

A

الحمد [آية]  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 المقتضى لامر الله [آية]

İç çev.;

بـله [آية] ضر . . . بالرب  
 سنة ا . . . . . حمادة

NHR 215 no 251 y.

B

ح  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 الاعظ . . . . .  
 انجر الطان [آية]

Çev.; KURAN IX. 33

181. .... sene ..... (530-552), (G, 21 mm-2,4 gr.).

A

لا اله الا الله  
 و محمد لا شريك  
 له الامام المقتضى  
 . . . .

B

محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 معز الدين والدين  
 ابو الحارث سنجر  
 بن . . . .

İç çev; .....

Çev; .....

Dış çev; .....

Kâbil 94 no 582.

# IRAK SELÇUKLULARI

511-590 / 1118 - 1192

## I. Mugis ed-din MAHMUD, (511-525/1118-1131)

182. İsbahan, sene 51 (1) veya 51 (2),\* (AL 24 mm - 3,71 gr.), lev VIII.

A

ظفر  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المتظفر بالله

B

محمود  
محمد  
رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
محر الدنيا والدين  
ابو القاسم

İç çev.;

Çev; KURAN IX 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باص...  
... عشرة وخمسة مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM. III 40 no 77

\*Para üzerinde Halife el-Mustazhir'in adı bulunduğundan bu para 511 veya 512 tarihli olmalıdır.

183. İsbahan, sene 512, (AL, 23 mm - 4,73 gr.), lev. VIII.

A,

محمود  
لا اله الا  
الله محمد  
رسول الله  
المترشد بالله  
معز الدنيا والدين  
ابو القاسم

B

رب اعلمت  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصفهان  
سنة اثنين وعشرو وخمسمائة

Çev.;

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قل هو الله  
اهد الله الصم... كفو[ة/ة] اهد...

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM, III. 41 no 78.

184. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 513, (AL, 25 mm - 3,3 gr.), lev. VII,

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المترشد بالله  
امير المؤمنين

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
معز الدنيا والدين  
سنجر وولى عهد

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة ثلثه وعشرة وخمسمائة

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM III 42 no 79

185. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 514, (AL 26 mm.), lev. XI,

A,  
 الامام  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 المرشد بالله  
 امير المؤمنين  
 علي بن ابي طالب

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
 سنة اربع وعشر وثمانمائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
 İst, no 1054, Reşad Bey Coll. no 704.

B,  
 لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه  
 وعز الدنيا والدين  
 ومحيث الدنيا  
 والدين

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

186. El-Muasker, sene 514, (AL, 25 mm - 2,8 gr.), lev. VIII,

A,  
 الامام  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 المرشد بالله  
 امير المؤمنين  
 علي بن ابي طالب

İç çev.;

بسم الله [ضرب هذا الدينار بالمعسكر  
 سنة اربع وعشرة وثمانمائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 42 no 80.

B,  
 لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه  
 وعز الدنيا والدين  
 ومحيث الدنيا  
 والدين

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

187. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 515, (AL, 24,5 mm - 1,231 gr. Çok ince.), lev. VIII,

A,  
 الامام  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 المستترشداً بالله  
 امير المؤمنين  
 ابو محمد

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الرِّينَارُ بِمَدِينَةِ رَسَلَانَ  
 سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَعَشْرَةَ وَفِي مِائَةِ

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
 BM IX 280 no 84 a.

B,  
 محمد رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه  
 معزز الدنيا  
 والدين ومعيت  
 الدنيا والدين  
 ابو محمد

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

188. Nihavend, sene 517, (AL 21 mm - 1,56 gr.),

A,  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 المستترشداً بالله  
 السلطان الاعظم  
 ابو محمد

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الرِّينَارُ بِنِهَا وَنَد  
 سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَعَشْرَةَ وَفِي مِائَةِ

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
 BM neşredilmemiş.

B,  
 الجارث  
 محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 محمود بن محمد  
 [معيت الدين]

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

189. Nihavend, sene 51. (AL, 21 mm - 2,01 gr),

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهدى لا شريك له  
المترشد بالله  
السلطان الاعظم

B,

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
محمد بن محمد  
مغيث الدين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنهاوند  
سنة . . . عشرة وخمسة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

190. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 51., (AL, 26 mm.), lev. XI,

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المترشد  
بالله

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
وآله  
والدين محمد

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة . . . عشرة وخمسة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

İs. no 1055.



191. Hemadan, sene 519. (AL, 22 mm - 3 gr.), lev. VIII,

A,

ابو الحر [ث] [ب]  
لا الشجرة الا  
الله وهدده  
لا شريك له  
السلطان الاعظم

B,

رحمة  
محمد رسول الله  
المترشد بالله  
السلطان المعظم  
محمد بن محمد

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX. 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بههران  
سنة تسع وعشرون وخمسة [مائة]

Dış çev.; Yok

BM III 42 no 81

192 Hemadan, sene 519, (AL, 22 mm - 2,8 gr.), lev. VIII,

A,

ابو الحر [ث] [ب]  
لا الشجرة الا  
الله وهدده  
لا شريك له  
السلطان الاعظم

B,

محمد رسول الله  
المترشد بالله  
السلطان المعظم  
محمد بن محمد

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX. 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بههران  
سنة تسع وعشرون وخمسة مائة

Dış çev.; Yok.

BM III 43 no 82

193. Medinet es - Selâm, sene 521, (AL, 22 mm - 3.38 gr.), lev. VII

A,  
 الامام  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 المترشد بالله  
 امير المؤمنين

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِمَدِينَةِ السَّلَامِ  
 سَنَةِ اَهِدَى وَعَشْرَةَ وَفِيهَا

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 43 no 83.

B,  
 الله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه  
 وعز الدنيا  
 والدين ومغيب  
 الدنيا والدين

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

194. Nihavend, sene (521) 1, (AL, 21 mm - 1.42 gr.),

A,  
 عدل  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 السلطان الاعظم  
 سنجر بن ملشاه

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّينَارِ بِنِهَاوند  
 سَنَةِ اَهِدَى . . .

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş

B,  
 محمد رسول الله  
 المترشد بالله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 ابو القاسم محمود  
 بن [محمد]

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

195. Nihavend, sene 522. (AL, 21 mm-1,22 gr.),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا الله  
وهو لا شريك له  
السلطان الاعظم  
سنجر بن ملکشاه

B,

محمد رسول الله  
المترشد بالله  
السلطان المعظم  
ابو القاسم محمود  
[بن محمد]

İç çev.;

Çev. KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين ربنا ونه  
سنة اثنين وعشرين وخمسة

Dış çev. KURAN XXX, 3-4.

BM neşredilmemiştir.

196. er-Reyy, sene 525, (AL),

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وهده  
لا شريك له  
المترشد بالله  
ابو القاسم محمود

B

امن  
محمد رسول الله  
الطا المعظم [آية]  
معز الدنيا والدين  
ابو الحرث سنجر  
ملك

İç çev.;

Çev. KURAN IX 33

دينار بالرس  
سنة خمس وعشرين وخمسة

Dış çev. ....

NHR 213 no 250 X

197. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 525, (AL, 25 mm - 2,073 gr.), lev. VIII,

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المترشد بالله  
امير المؤمنين

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
معز الدنيا  
والدين ومعيت  
الدنيا والدين

İç çev.;

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة خمس وعشرين وخمسة مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 43 no 84. A Tevhid IV 67-68 no 91.

\* Ön yüzün sağ ve solundaki kelimeler A. Tevhid'de yoktu.

198. ...., sene 52. (AL, 22 mm - 2,4 gr.)

A,

معيت  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
السلطان الاعظم  
ابو الحرث بنجر

B,

معز  
محمد رسول الله  
المترشد بالله  
السلطان المعظم  
ابو القاسم محمود

İç çev.;

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار . . . . .  
. . . . . وعشرين وخمسة مائة.

Dış çev.; Yok

BM III 43 no 85.

199. ...., sene ..... (AL, 21 mm.), lev.,

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهو لا شريك له  
المترشد بالله  
السلطان المعظم

B,

ابانح  
محمد  
رسول الله  
السلطان  
الاعظم منبر  
بيضر

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين [ينار] . . .  
وخمسة . . . . .

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

Dış çev.; .....

İst. no 1057.

200. Nişabur ? sene (511 - 525), (AL, 23 mm · 3 gr ), lev. VIII,

A,

بها  
لا اله الا  
الله محمد  
رسول الله  
المقننى لاسر  
الله

B,

له  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا والدين  
ابو القاسم محمد  
بن محمد

İç çev.;

[بسم الله ضرب] هذا الدين (نيشابور)  
.....

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; Yok.

BM IX 279 no 85 c.

II. Gıyas ed-din DAVUD (525-526/1131-1132)

201. ...., sene ..... .. (526 ? ), (AL, 23 mm-2,8 gr.),

A,

معز  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
السلطان الاعظم  
سليمان

B

غياث  
محمد رسول الله  
المترشد بالله  
السلطان المعظم  
ابو الفتح داود

İç çev.;

Çev.: .....

م الله ضرب هذا الرينار... ان  
سنة .....

Dış çev.; Yok.

BM III 44 no 86

III. Rika ed - din TUĞRUL, (526 - 529/1132 - 1134)

202. er-Reyy, sene 529, (AL),

A,

بن محمد  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
الرشيد [ربنا] بالله  
طغرل

B

المالك ؟  
محمد  
رسول الله  
السلطان الاعظم  
ابو الحارث  
نجير

İç cev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

..... ز بالرى ؟  
سنة تسع وعشرين وخمسة

NHR 213 no 250 y

IV. Gıyas ed - din MESUD, (529 - 547/1134 - 1152)

203. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 530, (AL, 26 mm-3,6 gr.), lev. IX

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
الرشد بالله  
امير المؤمنين

B

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
معز الدنيا  
والدين ساجد  
٢٠٠  
٢٠٠  
٢٠٠

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX. 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بجمهورية السلام  
سنة ثلثين وخمسة مائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM IX 280 no. 86 t.

Lane-Poole'un bu para hakkındaki notuna bkz. BM IX s. 280



204. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 531, (AL, 27 mm - 3,3 gr.),

A,  
الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهدده لا شريك له  
المقتضى لامر الله  
امير المؤمنين

B, لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
معز الدنيا والدين  
وغيث الدنيا  
والدين

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة احدى وثلثين وخمسة مائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 45 no 87.

205. Medinet el-Selâm sene 532, (AL, 24,5 mm - 2,2 gr.), lev IX.

A,  
الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهدده لا شريك له  
المقتضى لامر الله  
امير المؤمنين

B, لله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
معز الدنيا  
والدين وغيث  
الدنيا والدين

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام  
سنة اثنين وثلثين و[خمسة] مائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM IX 281 no 87

206. Medinet es - Selâm, sene 533, (AL 21 mm.), lev. XI,

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المقتضى لامر الله  
امير المؤمنين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمرئفة السلام  
سنة ثلث مئتين وثمانين وثمانمائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

İst. no 1058

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
معز الدنيا  
والدين وغيث  
الدنيا والدين

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

207. Basım yeri ve tarihi yok, (AL, 11,5 mm-0,7 gr. Çeyrek dinar.), lev. IX,

A,

الامام  
المقتضى

Çev.;

لا اله الا الله وهده لا شريك له  
محمد رسول الله (b) [b] .

BM II 45 no 88.

B,

عال  
غاية

Çev.;

معز الدنيا والدين السلطان منجور  
ومسعود

208. er-Reyy, sene (530 - 547), (AL),

A,

بداية . . .  
 الله وهدى . . .  
 لا شريك له  
 المقتضى لام الله [١٤١٤]

B

[Nakşi]  
 معور  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 السلطان  
 عظيم . . .  
 . . .

İç gev.;

بينار بالرسي . . . . .  
 . . . . .

NHR 214 no 250 z.

209. er-Reyy ? sene 545 ? (AL),

A,

(Silik)

B,

معور  
 السلطان  
 الاعظم  
 نجر

İç gev.;

الدينار بالرسي ؟  
 سنة خمس ؟ واربعين وخمسة

NHR 214 no 251 a. (Berlin).

209 A. Britch Nusrum. koleksiyonunda Gümüş 20 mm. çapında 5 gr. ağırlığında kadar hiç neşredilmemiş Mesud'a ait bir para daha bulunmaktadır. Üzerinde; önyüzü ortada, "الوام" kelimesi ile, arkayüz ortada, "المقتضى" kelimesinden başka bir şey okunamamıştır.

V. Muin ed - din MELİK - Şah, (547 - 548/1152 - 1153)

210. . . . . , sene 547 veya 548, (AL,23 mm - 2,2 gr.), lev. IX

A,

نون له  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
الملك العادل  
ملك شاه بن محمد  
.....

İç çev.;

Dış çev.;

BM III 46 no 89

B,

ع  
محمد  
رسول الله السلطان  
.....  
.....

Çev.;

211. Belh, sene ....., (AL 24 mm - 4,6 gr. Ayarı düşük.), lev. IX

A,

.....  
لا اله الا  
الله وهده  
لا شريك له  
محمد  
.....

İç çev.;

[بسم الله صوب هراة العینار ببلاغ  
.....

Dış çev.;

BM III 46 no 90. (İk. defa üst üstebasılmış).

B,

[بن ؟] محمد  
محمد رسول الله  
المقتضى لامر الله  
سلطان دين الله  
.....  
ملك شاه

Çev.;

VI. Rükü ed - din MUHAMMED, (548 - 555/1153 - 1160)

212. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 551, (AL, 25mm - 3,7 gr.), lev. IX

A,

الامام  
لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المقتضى لامر الله  
امير المؤمنين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الويغار بمدينة السلام  
سنة احدى وخمسين وثمانمائة

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM X 281 no. 909.

B,

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
معز الدنيا  
والدين سنجر  
... الدنيا والدين  
ابو منصور

Çev.;

KURAN IX 33

213. er-Reyy, sene 555 veya 556, (AL.)

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وهده  
لا شريك له  
المتنجد بالله

İç çev.;

... زار الويغار بمرى [كازان]

NHR 216 no 251 z.

B

سليمان  
محمد  
صلى رسول الله  
السلطان  
ظم  
.....  
.....

Çev: .....

KIRMAN SELÇUKLULARI  
(433 - 582/1041 - 1186)

I. Imâd ed - din Kara Arslan KAVURD BEĞ, (433 - 465/1041 - 1073)

214. C.ruft, sene 444, (Al 25 mm - 5,6 gr.), lev. IX.

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وحدوه لا شريك له  
قرا ارسلان بك

B,

محمد رسول الله  
الفاطم بامر الله  
ملك الملوك  
يغرى بك

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار رب جبرقت  
سنة اربع واربعين و اربع مائة.

Cev.;

KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3 - 4

BM neşredilmemiş.

215. ...., sene 446 ? (AL, 23 mm - 5,04 gr.), lev. IX.

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
قرا ارسلان

İç gev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار  
سنة ٤٤٦ واربعمائة واربعمائة

Dış gev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

بسم  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بأمر الله  
ملك الملوك  
چغرى بك

Çev.; KURAN IX. 33

216. Çiruft, sene 44., (G 24,5 mm.), lev. IX.

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وعدده لا شريك له  
القائم بأمر الله  
قرا ارسلان بك

İç gev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار  
سنة ٤٤٤ واربعمائة واربعمائة

Dış gev.; Yok.

BM neşredilmemiş

B,

بسم  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بأمر الله  
ملك الملوك  
چغرى بك

Çev.; .....

217. Bardasir, sene 451 (G, 26 mm-5 gr.), lev. IX

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المملك العادل  
قرا ارسلان بك  
∴

B,

محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
القائم بامر الله  
عماد الدولة  
\*

İç çev.;

ببرداسير  
سنة احدى و خمسين و ربيع مائة.

Çev.: .....

Dış çev.; Yok.

BM neşredilmemiş.

218. Bardasir, sene 453, (AL, 24,5 mm - 4 gr.), lev. X.

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المملك العادل  
قرا ارسلان بك

B,

بسم  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
القائم بامر الله  
عماد الدولة

İç çev.;

بسم الله عز وجل هذا الينا ربيع  
سنة ثلث و خمسين و اربع مائة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş



219. Şiraz, sene 454 (G, 28 mm - 5,06 gr.).

A,

عدل  
لا اله الا الله  
وحدوه لا شريك له  
[الله] الملك العادل  
قرا ارسلان بك  
\*

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بشراز  
سنة اربع وخمسين واربع مائة.

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
طى الله عليه  
القائم بأمر الله  
عماد الدولة  
قرا ارسلان بك

Çev; KURAN IX, 33

220. Bardasir, sene 462, (AL 22 mm - 3,9 gr.) lev. X,

A,

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القائم بأمر له [bāyā]

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار ببردسير  
سنة اثنين وستين واربع مائة [bāyā].

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 38 no 75.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
الملك العادل  
عماد الدولة  
قرا ارسلان بك

Çev; KURAN IX, 33

221. Bardasir, sene 462 (AL, 25 mm.), lev. X,

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهدده لا شريك له  
الملك العادل  
قرا ارسلان بك

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار ببردسير  
سنة اثنين وستين واربع مائة .

Dış çev.;

KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM neşredilmemiş.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
القائم بأمر الله  
عماد الدولة

Çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

222. ... .., sene 4 ..... (G), lev. X.

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهدده لا شريك له  
الملك العادل  
قرا ارسلان بك  
°°

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب . . . . .  
. . . . . اربع مائة . . . . .

Dış çev.;

Yok.  
BM neşredilmemiş

B,


محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
القائم بأمر الله  
عماد الدولة  
\*

Çev.;


KURAN IX, 33

223 Bardasir, sene 265 (AL 24 mm - 5,2 gr.), lev. X,

A,

  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله

B,

  
 محمد رسول الله  
 الملك العادل  
 عماد الدولة  
 قرا ارسلان بك

İç çev.;

Cev.: KURAN IX, 33

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ ضَرْبُ هٰذَا الدِّينَارِ بِبَرْدَسِيرِ  
 سَنَةِ خَمْسِ وِ سِتِّينَ وِ اَرْبَعِ مِائَةٍ

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4


BM neşredilmemiş

224. Bardasir, sene 467. (AL, 25 mm.), lev. X,

A,

لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 الملك العادل  
 قرا ارسلان بك

B,

  
 محمد رسول الله  
 القائم بامر الله  
 قرا ارسلان بك

İç çev.;

Cev.: KURAN IX, 33

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ ضَرْبُ هٰذَا الدِّينَارِ بِبَرْدَسِيرِ  
 سَنَةِ سَبْعِ وِ سِتِّينَ وِ اَرْبَعِ مِائَةٍ.

Dış çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş.

225. ...., sene ....., (AL, 22 mm.), lev. X,

A,



لا اله الا الله  
 وهدى لاشريك له  
 الملك العدل  
 .....  
 قرا ارسلان [بك]

B,

بسم  
 محمد رسول الله  
 القائم بامر الله  
 ملك الملوك  
 چهرى بك

İç çev.; .....

Çev.; .....

Dış çev.; .....

BM neşredilmemiş

IV. Rukn ed-devle SULTAN - ŞAH, (467 - 477/1074 - 1085)

226. Bardasır, sene 465, (AL, 24 mm) lev. XI.

A,



لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القايم بامر الله

B,



محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
رکن الدين  
سلطاننا

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

بسم الله ضرب هذا البينار ببرداسير  
سنة خمس وستين واربعمائة

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX 3-4

BM nesredilmemiş

227. Bardasir, sene 46., (AL, 24,5 mm - 5gr.), lev. X

A

لاداه الا الله  
 وهدده لاشريك له  
 الملك العادل  
 ركن الدين  
 ولدوله

B,

محمد رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه  
 المقتر بامر الله  
 سلطان شاه

İç çev.;

ببردسير  
 سنه ٤٦ واربعمائة

Çev.;

Dış çev.;

BM neşredilmemiş

228. Bardasir, sene 468. (AL, 23,5 mm - 4 gr.), lev. X,

A,

لاداه الا الله  
 وهدده لاشريك له  
 الملك العادل  
 سلطان شاه

B,

محمد رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه  
 القائم بامر الله  
 ركن الدين

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين ببردسير  
 سنه ٤٦٨ واربعمائة

Çev.;

Dış çev.;

BM neşredilmemiş

V. Muhyi'd-din TURAN - ŞAH, (477 - 490/1085 - 1097)

229. Bardasir, sene 480, (A.I.)

A,

لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله  
معز الدنيا و الد  
ين

İç çev.,

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ قُضِيَ هَذَا الدِّينَارُ بِبَرْدَاسِيرَ  
سَنَةِ ثَمَانِينَ وَارْبَعِينَ هـ .

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
Cairo 340.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
فختر الدولة والدين  
توران شاه بن قرار  
سلان بك

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

230. Bardasir, sene 481, (A.L.)

A

لا اله الا الله  
وهده لا شريك له  
المقتدى بامر الله  
معز الدنيا ولد  
ين

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ قُضِيَ هَذَا الدِّينَارُ بِبَرْدَاسِيرَ  
سَنَةِ اَحَدِينَ وَثَمَانِينَ وَارْبَعِينَ هـ .

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
Cairo 340.

B,

محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
فختر الدولة والدين  
توران شاه بن قرار  
سلان بك

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

X. BEHRAM - ŞAH, (565 - 570/1170 - 1175)

231. Basım yeri ve tarihi yok, (G, 20 mm - 4,38 gr.),

A,

لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
الناصر الدين الله

B,






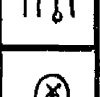









الملك السلطان  
ابو منصور....  
بهرام شاه

Cont. Num. Orien. I. 45.


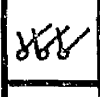
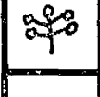

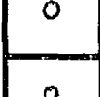

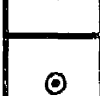

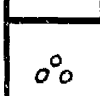
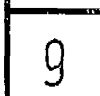
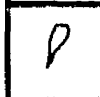






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Numaralar :






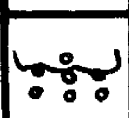

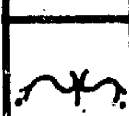


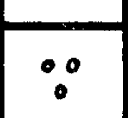
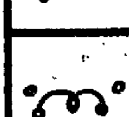
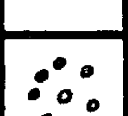
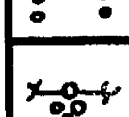



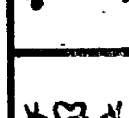
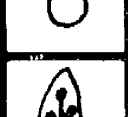
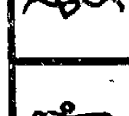

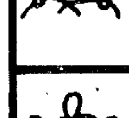

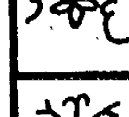


	2,4,8,10,17,22,25-29,31-34, 36,37,39,42,45,47-50,56,58, 62,65,71,79,84,87,94,95,101, 102,109,126,128,148.
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KARŞILIKLARI

H	M İ L Â D İ			H	M İ L Â D İ		
433	1041	Ağustos	31	459	1066	Kasım	22
434	1042	»	21	460	1067	»	11
435	1043	»	10	461	1068	Ekim	31
436	1044	Temmuz	29	462	1069	»	20
437	1045	»	19	463	1070	»	9
438	1046	»	8	464	1071	Eylül	29
439	1047	Haziran	28	465	1072	»	17
440	1048	»	16	466	1073	»	6
441	1049	»	5	467	1074	Ağustos	27
442	1050	Mayıs	26	468	1075	»	16
443	1051	»	15	469	1076	»	5
444	1052	»	3	470	1077	Temmuz	25
445	1053	Nisan	23	471	1078	»	14
446	1054	»	12	472	1079	»	4
447	1055	»	2	473	1080	Haziran	22
448	1056	Mart	21	474	1081	»	11
449	1057	»	10	475	1082	»	1
450	1058	Şubat	28	476	1083	Mayıs	21
451	1059	»	17	477	1084	»	10
452	1060	»	6	478	1085	Nisan	29
453	1061	Ocak	26	479	1086	»	18
454	1062	»	15	480	1087	»	8
455	1063	»	4	481	1088	Mart	27
456	1063	Aralık	25	482	1089	»	16
457	1064	»	13	483	1090	»	6
458	1065	»	3	484	1091	Şubat	23

H	M İ L Â D İ			H	M İ L Â D İ		
485	1092	Şubat	12	511	1117	Mayıs	5
486	1093	»	1	512	1118	Nisan	24
487	1094	Ocak	21	513	1119	»	14
488	1095	»	11	514	1120	»	2
489	1095	Aralık	31	515	1121	Mart	22
490	1096	»	19	516	1122	»	12
491	1097	»	9	517	1123	»	1
492	1098	Kasım	28	518	1124	Şubat	19
493	1099	»	17	519	1125	»	7
494	1100	»	6	520	1126	Ocak	27
495	1101	Ekim	26	521	1127	»	17
496	1102	»	15	522	1128	»	6
497	1103	»	5	523	1128	Aralık	25
498	1104	Eylül	23	524	1129	»	15
499	1105	»	13	525	1130	»	4
500	1106	»	2	526	1131	Kasım	23
501	1107	Ağustos	22	527	1132	»	12
502	1108	»	11	528	1133	»	1
503	1109	Temmuz	31	529	1134	Ekim	22
504	1110	»	20	530	1135	»	11
505	1111	»	10	531	1136	Eylül	29
506	1112	Haziran	28	532	1137	»	19
507	1113	»	18	533	1138	»	8
508	1114	»	7	534	1139	Ağustos	28
509	1115	Mayıs	27	535	1140	»	17
510	1116	»	16	536	1141	»	6

H	M İ L Â D İ			H	M İ L Â D İ		
537	1142	Temmuz	27	547	1152	Nisan	8
538	1143	»	16	548	1153	Mart	29
539	1144	»	4	549	1154	»	18
540	1145	Haziran	24	550	1155	»	7
541	1146	»	13	551	1156	Şubat	25
542	1147	»	2	552	1157	»	13
543	1148	Mayıs	22	553	1158	»	2
544	1149	»	11	554	1159	Ocak	23
545	1150	Nisan	30	555	1160	»	12
546	1151	»	20				

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- el-Ahvaz (الاهواز) ; Huzistan'da bir şehirdir (31° 9' k; 48° 44' D) 36, 117, 138.
- Âveh (أواه - أوه) ; Zencan ve Hemedan arası. 146.
- Belh (بلخ) ; Horasan'da bir şehirdir. (36° 47' K; 67° 23' D) 165, 211.
- Bardasir (بردسير) ; Kirman'da bir şehirdir. 33, 217, 218, 220, 221, 223, 224, 226 - 230.
- el-Basra (البصرة) ; Irak'da Bağdad'ın 420 km. güneyinde bir şehirdir. (30° 26' K; 47° 56' D). 39.
- Ciruft (جيرفت) ; Kirman'da bir şehirdir. (28° 9' K; 57° 40' D). 214, 216.
- Dârâ (داره) ; Irak'da bir şehirdir. (35° 28' K; 39° 52' D). 84.
- Hemedan (همدان) ; Batı İran'da bir şehirdir. (34° 48' K; 48° 30' D). 191, 192.
- Herat (هراة) ; Afganistan'da bir şehirdir. (34° 29' K; 62° 8' D). 51, 55, 57, 63, 67, 69, 77, 80.
- Isbahan (اصبهان - اصفهان) ; İran'da bir şehirdir. (32° 42' K; 51° 43' D) 23, 28, 29, 34, 37, 65, 91, 110, 115, 119, 127, 132, 133, 137, 154, 157, 159, 182, 183.
- Karmisin (قرميين) ; Hemedan ve Hulvan arasında bir şehirdir 42.
- Kâşân (قاشان) ; İran'da bir şehirdir. (34° 0' K; 51° 23' D) 58, 128.
- Loridcan (لوردجان) ; (Yakut IV, 369; DMI 219) 149.
- Medinet es-Selâm (مدينة السلام) ; Irak'ın şimdiki başkentidir (Bağdad). 40, 48 - 50, 72, 74, 107, 112, 116, 121, 129, 134, 139, 140, 151 - 153, 155, 158, 184, 185, 187, 190, 193, 197, 203 - 206, 212.

- Merv ( مرو ) ; Horasan'ın başlıca şehirlerinden biri idi. (37° 30' K; 62° 10' D). 52, 64, 70, 73, 75, 76, 105, 164.
- el-Muasker ( المعسكر ) ; Ordugâh. (?) 186.
- Nisabur ( نيسابور ) ; Horasan'da bir şehirdir. (36° 12' K; 58° 49' D).  
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108, 109, 113, 114, 122, 123, 126, 130, 131,  
162, 163, 200.  
( لری )
- er-Reyy ( الری ) ; Tahran'ın 8 km. doğusunda bir şehir idi.  
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- Serahs ( سرخس ) ; Horasan'da bir şehirdir. (36° 38' K; 61° 13' D).  
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- Şiraz ( شیراز ) ; Fars'ta bir şehirdir. (29° 30' K; 52° 30' D).  
219.
- Urmiye ( ارمیه ) ; Azerbeycan'da bir şehirdir. (37° 30' K; 45° 19' D),  
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- Zencan ( زنجان ) ; Azerbeycan'da bir şehirdir. (37° 30' K; 45° 19' D),  
143, 147, 148.



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BIE	Bulletin de l'institut d'Egypte
CR	Academie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres comptes rendus des Seances.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
IASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
IBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
IRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Mel As	Mélanges Asiatiques.
NC	Numismatic Chronicle.
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift
PASB	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palastine.
RN	Revue Numismatique.
RNB	Revue Numismatique Belge.
Spink's Circular	Spink and Son's Numismatic Circular.
TOEM	Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
ZFN	Zeitschrift Für Numismatik
ZIAO	Zapiski Imperatorskavo Arkheologicheskavo Obshchestva.
ZVO	Zapiski Vostochnavo otdeleniya Russkavo Imp. Archeologicheskavo Obshchestva.

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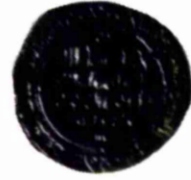
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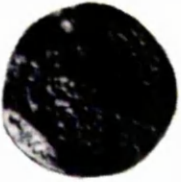
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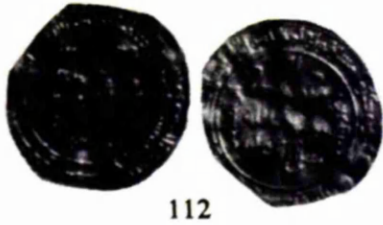


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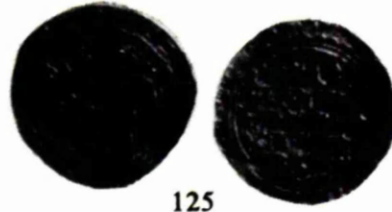
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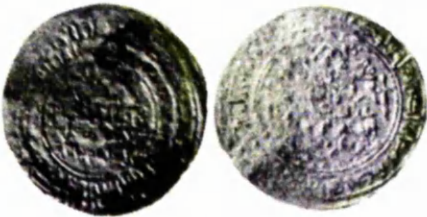
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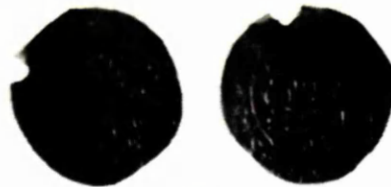
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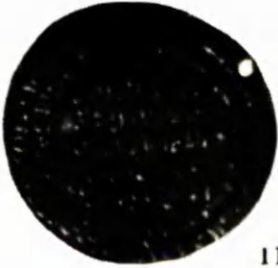




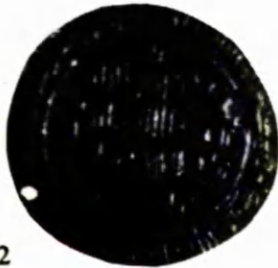
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