

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### RULERS OF LAHIJAN AND FUMAN, IN GILAN, PERSIA

This account of the local dynasties of Gilán is culled from the following sources:—

1. *Ta'rikh-i-Gilán wa Daylamistán* (750–894 = 1349–1488) of Mír Zahíru'd-Dín Mar'ashí, published at Rasht in 1330 A.H., by H. L. Rabino, from the only known manuscript which is in the Bodleian Library.

2. *Ta'rikh-i-Khání* (880–920 = 1475–1514) of 'Alí ibn Shamsu'd-Dín ibn Hájjí Husayn Láhijí, edited by B. Dorn, St. Pet., 1857.

3. *Ta'rikh-i-Gilán of 'Abdu'l-Fattáh Fúmaní* (923–1038 = 1517–1628), edited by B. Dorn, St. Pet., 1858.

4. *Majálisu'l-Mú'mínín of Qází Núru'lláh Tustarí*, in which appears the genealogy of Amír Kiyá, and a brief account of his successors.

Other Persian works, such as the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh* of Hasan Beg Rúmlú, the *Sharaf-náma* of Sharafu'd Dín of Bitlís, etc., have also been consulted.

### LÁHIJĀN

The district of Láhijān, one of the largest and most important of the province of Gilán, lies eastward of the Safíd Rūd, and is nearly all plain, having but few mountains to the south. It is bordered on the north by the Caspian, on the east by Langarūd and Rānikūh, on the south by Sumām and Daylamān, on the south-west by Siyāhkal, and on the west by the Safíd Rūd and the districts of Mawāzī and Lashtanishāh.

Its length from north to south, that is from the former mouth of the Safíd Rūd to Sarlayl, is about 27 miles, and its width from east to west, or from Kísūm to Dizbun, about 15 miles.

Mustawfi in the eighth (fourteenth) century describes

Lāhijān as a fair-sized town. Much silk was manufactured here, and the district grew rice and corn, also oranges and shaddocks with other fruits of a hot region.

During the beginning of the third century of the Hijra, Lāhijān was part of the dominions of Wahsūdān, king of Daylam, who, by ceding Shamirān to the Āl-i-Kangar family, i.e. to Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar, lost his supremacy over the whole of Gilān, and thus confined his own dynasty to the possession of Lāhijān, that is to half only of his former kingdom.

When Uljāytū Sultān invaded Gilān, the ruler of Lāhijān, Pādishāh Nū<sup>1</sup> and his relatives, came out to meet him with a sword and winding sheet, and made their submission. He was well received, and was given in marriage the daughter of one of the Mongol Amirs. He was not only confirmed in his government, but the other rulers of Gilān were made subordinate to him. Rashīdū'd-Dīn Faẓlu'llāh describes him as the greatest ruler in Gilān in wealth and in dignity. The ruler of Tamijān was at that time Amira Muḥammad, who also submitted to the Mongols.

Half a century later, the rulers of Lāhijān and Rānikūh were two brothers of the Nāsirwand clan. Amira Sharafu'd-Dawla, son of Amira Pahlawān, had relinquished the throne of Lāhijān to his son, Amira Jihān, and started on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but, falling ill at Tabriz, he returned to Lāhijān, where he died.

His brother, Amira Muḥammad, was ruler of Rānikūh. He also abdicated in favour of his son, Nū Pāshā, and went to reside at Chahārda.

Nū Pāshā had first to contend with Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā. The latter, with the help of Sayyid Rikābzān Kiyā of Tunakābun, entered Rānikūh and surprised Chahārda, where he put Amira Muḥammad to death. Nū Pāshā compelled Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā to retire to Āmul, and entered

<sup>1</sup> ? Pādishāh-i-Naw.

into an alliance with Sayyid Rikābzān. These two compassed the death of Amīra Jihān, and occupied Lāhijān. On the approach of Amīra Anūz Kūhdumī to the help of Amīra Muḥammad and Amīra Pahlawān, the sons of the late ruler, the inhabitants of Lāhijān rose against and slew Sayyid Rikābzān Kiyā, whilst Amīra Nū Pāshā fled to Rānikūh. The latter was soon compelled to leave the country by Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, who in 769 A.H. = 1367–8 A.D., rendered himself master of the whole of Biyapīsh (that part of the plain of Gilān lying to the east of the Safid Rūd). After the defeat and death of Sayyid 'Alī at Rasht, Amīra Dubbāj of Fūman gave Lāhijān to Kūla Bahādur Nāṣirwand, who had married the sister of Amīra Muḥammad Rashtī, Gūka to Fir'awn ibn Malik, Pāshijā to Amīra Jalālu'd-Dīn, and Rānikūh and Kīsum to Amīra Mas'ūd. These governors belonged to the Nāṣirwand clan. Rānikūh was given to Salūk Mardāwij, a person formerly in the service of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, but who had left it out of spite, and was in command of the troops that had defeated the Sayyid at Rasht.

This second rule of the Nāṣirwand only lasted five months, from Ramazān, 791, to Ṣafar, 792 (Aug., 1389 to Jan.-Feb., 1390 A.D.), when Sayyid Hādī Kiyā again seized the whole of Biyapīsh.

The Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids ruled Biyapīsh from 769 to 1000 A.H. (1367–1592 A.D.). The first person of this family to rebel was Amīr Kiyā, son of Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (who removed from Fashtām to Malāṭ) ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Ghaznawī (so called because he was for some time a pupil of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Ghaznawī), ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Zayd (who left Abhar for Gilān, where he settled in the village of Fashtām in Kūhdum) ibn Abī Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Akbar (known as 'Aqīqī Kawkabī), ibn 'Īsā al-Kūfī (a very learned person who out of fear of the 'Abbāsids fled from Kūfa

to Abnar), ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar ibn 'Alī Zaynu'l-Ābidīn.

Sayyid Amīr Kiyā was compelled to retire to Rustamdār, where he died about a year later, in 763 A.H. (1361–2). His son Sayyid 'Alī, with the help of the Mar'ashī Sayyids of Māzandarān, made himself master of Biyapīsh in 769 (1367–8), and gradually extended his rule to the mountains of Ashkawar and Daylamān, to Kūhdum, Lashtanishāh, and Kūchisfahān, and even to Tārum and Qazwīn, which latter city he held for seven years. Timūr summoned him to surrender Qazwīn, Tārum, and the castle of Shamīrān, a summons which had to be obeyed. The loss of prestige consequent upon this surrender emboldened the rulers of Rasht, Fūman, Shaft, and Gaskar to endeavour to wrest Kūhdum and Kūchisfahān from the Sayyid's hands. Sayyid 'Alī and many of his brothers and relatives were killed in 791 (1389), in a battle outside Rasht, and Biyapīsh, together with the mountainous country south of it, fell once more under the sway of its former rulers. Five months later Sayyid Hādī Kiyā, a brother of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, who had been appointed governor of Tupakābun, where he had remained unmolested after his retreat from Rasht, was invited by Amīra Dubbāj of Fūman to bring Biyapīsh under his rule. This he succeeded in doing, but in 797 (1394–5) his nephews, Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā, son of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, and Sayyid Muḥammad Kiyā (known as Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad), son of Sayyid Mahdī Kiyā, dissatisfied with their uncle because of his refusal to return to them the districts which had belonged to their father, compelled him to retire to Tunakābun. Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā became ruler of Lāhijān, and Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad ruler of Rānikūh. Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā was an incompetent governor who soon alienated the good will of the inhabitants, so that his brother, Sayyid Razī Kiyā, had no difficulty in ousting him.

The new Wālī turned his attention to the mountainous

region south of Lāhijān, from which he expelled the Hazāraspī, Kūshayj, and Isma'īlī (Assassin) rulers, and brought the whole of that country, including Alamūt, under his sway. His authority once firmly established, he began rebuilding and embellishing Rānikūh, Rūdisar, Malāt, Daylamān, Sumām, and other villages. He died on the 1st Jumāda i, 829 (March 11, 1426), and was succeeded by his brother, Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā, the former Wālī. The last-named seized the Pusht-i-Kūh district of Rustamdār, but was ordered by Tīmūr to return it to its rightful owner, Malik Kayūmarth. In consequence of a private quarrel with Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad of Rānikūh, the latter in Šafar, 833 (November, 1429), came with his troops to Lāhijān, where he installed his son, Sayyid Nāšir Kiyā, as ruler. Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā having collected reinforcements marched on Lāhijān, and Sayyid Nāšir Kiyā was compelled to retire to Malāt. Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad expelled Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā a second time, and appointed governor the latter's nephew, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Kiyā. Shortly afterwards Kārgiyā Nāšir Kiyā and Kārgiyā Sayyid Aḥmad rebelled against their father, Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad, and confined him in the castle of Alamūt, where he died on the 8th Jumāda i, 837 (December 21, 1433).

Kārgiyā Nāšir Kiyā then became ruler of Lāhijān, and his brother that of Rānikūh, but the latter, dissatisfied with his share, openly took up arms against his brother in 845 (1441-2). He was defeated and finally sought refuge with Amīra Muḥammad at Rasht, where he died on the 28th Rajab, 853 (September 17, 1449).

Kārgiyā Nāšir Kiyā died on the 12th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 851 (January 19, 1448), and was succeeded, as ruler of Biyapīsh, by his son, Sulṭān Muḥammad, who, at one time, was overlord of the whole borderland, "*dāru'l-marz*," from Astārā to Astarābād, by appointment of the Court of Persia. Sulṭān Muḥammad sent many expeditions to Rustamdār, and in 872 (1467-8) occupied Qazwīn, which he held for

some time. Later, on agreeing to pay to the Royal Treasury of Ḥasan Beg 40 *kharwārs* of 60 *mans* of Tabrīz of silk, he was given full control of Biyapas (that part of the plain of Gīlān lying to the west of the Safīd Rūd), and in 882 (1477–8) proclaimed Amīra Is-ḥāq ruler of that district.

Sultān Muḥammad died on the last day of Rabi' i, 883 (July 1, 1478), and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mirzā 'Alī, who abolished the "*zana-zar*" and "*murdashūrāna*" taxes (on weddings and funerals) and allowed daughters of parents who had no male heir to inherit. During the zenith of his power his rule extended to Qazwīn, Shahriyār, Tihrān, the district of Ray and Warāmīn, Firūzkūh, Tārum, Sāwa, Zanjān, and Sultāniyya, and he sent numerous expeditions to Māzandarān.

His relations with the rulers of Biyapas, however, became very strained, and his brother Sultān Ḥasan, taking advantage of the invasion of Lāhijān and Daylamān by the troops of Biyapas, deposed him and proclaimed himself Wālī. Eighteen months later, on the 4th Ramaẓān, 911 (January 29, 1506), Sultān Ḥasan was murdered by his brother, Mirzā 'Alī, who himself was killed the next day by the followers of his victim.

Sultān Aḥmad Khān succeeded his father, Sultān Ḥasan. His barber, Warsar Qāsim, had been appointed by him Wakil of Biyapīsh, and had been given full control of the affairs of that province, so that nothing but the name of sovereignty remained to his master, by whom he was eventually put to death in 936 (1529–30). Sultān Aḥmad Khān, after a visit to the court of Persia, gave up the Zaydī tenets for the Shī'a doctrine, and, on his return to Gīlān, made the inhabitants follow his example. He died in 940 (1533–4), having reigned 30 years and 2 months. His son, Kārgiyā Sayyid 'Alī, was of a quiet and mild disposition, which alienated from him the military officers, who joined his brother, Kārgiyā Sultān Ḥasan. The latter seized Kārgiyā Sayyid 'Alī and put him to death in 941

(1534-5). The new ruler died of plague in 943 (1536-7) whilst on an expedition to Biyapas.

Kārgiyā Sulṭān Ḥasan left a son a year old named Khān Aḥmad Khān; Shāh Ṭahmāsp profited by this circumstance to appoint a prince of the royal family governor of Biyapīsh. Khān Aḥmad Khān's rights, however, were soon recognized, and he extended his rule to Biyapas, but, by refusing to obey the royal mandates, he incurred the Shāh's wrath, and was obliged to seek refuge in the mountains of Ashkawar, where, after many months of wandering, he was surprised, and interned first in the castle of Qahqaha, and, later, in that of Iṣṭakhr in Fārs, where he remained for twelve years, until the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda. In 984 (1576-7) he was released, married a daughter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and returned to Gilān. During the war between Turkey and Persia he offered to surrender Lāhijān to the Turks, and invited the Sultan to send troops from Shīrwān to Lāhijān, whence it was but a short distance to Qazwīn. After the conclusion of peace with Turkey, Shāh 'Abbās summoned his vassal to appear at his Court, but this Khān Aḥmad Khān refused to do. The Shāh, thereupon, invaded Gilān at the head of a large army, and Khān Aḥmad Khān sailed in Shawwāl, 1000 (July-August, 1592), for Shīrwān, whence he fled to Constantinople, and remained there until his death.

The Shāh then appointed a governor of Biyapīsh to reside at Lāhijān, and a governor of Biyapas to reside at Fūman. I am unable to say when the whole of Gilān was entrusted for the first time to a governor residing at Rasht, but this was probably towards the end of the reign of Nādir.

Gmelin, who was in Gilān in 1772, mentions that it was only seven years since Lāhijān had submitted to the authority of Hidāyat Khān of Fūman. A few years prior to his visit the *na'ib* of Lāhijān, summoned to Rasht by

Hidāyat Khān, was shot on the road. Karīm Khān-i-Zand, on hearing of this, sent strict orders for the apprehension of the assassin, but the latter was never found, and Karīm Khān imposed a yearly contribution of 500 *mans* of silk on Gilān so that the crime should not remain unpunished. It was generally believed that Hidāyat Khān had instigated the murder of the *nā'ib*, as he had doubts of his fidelity. This *nā'ib* is said to have been Āqā Ma'sūm, Ṣāhib Ikhtiyār, whose sister had married Hidāyat Khān. Āqā Ma'sūm left a son, Mirzā Ṣādiq, and his great-grandchildren, Mirzā Ṣādiq, Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī, and Mirzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, sons of Hājjī Abū Ṭālib ibn Ṣādiq, are now in Lāhijān.

The last hereditary governor of Lāhijān was Mirzā Aḥmad Khān, Sālār-i-Mu'ayyad (dismissed by the Nationalist Government in 1907), ibn Mirzā Ḥusayn Khān, Mu'azzamu's-Saltāna ibn Hājjī Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Amīn-i-Dīwān ibn Mirzā Kāzim (who died in 1842) ibn Hājjī Abū'l-Qāsim (brother of 'Alī Akbar Khān, who was governor in 1831 and built the Akbariyya mosque) ibn Hājjī Ṣādiq (presumably a brother of Āqā Ma'sūm, Ṣāhib Ikhtiyār) ibn Hājjī Mahdī ibn Hājjī Mirzā ibn Hājjī Ḥasan.

#### FUMAN

Fūman lies west-south-west of Rasht. It is mostly in the plain, with only a few mountains belonging to it to the south-east. It is bounded on the north by Gaskar, the Murdāb, and Tūlam; on the east by Shaft and the Pasi Khān River; on the south by Pusht-i-Kūh-i-Tārum and the mountains of Shaft and of Māsūla; and on the west by Māsāl. Its greatest length, from north to south, is about 24 miles, and its width, from east to west, about 16 miles.

The following is the description of Fūman given in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār fī Mamālīki'l-Amṣār*: "Le souverain de Foumen, seul entre tous les princes de Djil, suit les



dogmes de Schafei, car les rois de cette province sont élevés dans les principes de cette secte. Les troupes qu'il a sur pied montent à plus de 1,000 cavaliers. Lui et le souverain de Lahidjan règnent sur un territoire de peu d'étendue. La plus grande partie de leur revenu provient du commerce. La soie s'y recueille en abondance ; aussi les Tatars entretiennent avec les deux princes des relations d'amitié et d'alliance, afin que les marchands puissent entrer librement dans les deux provinces, et en exporter la soie : de leur côté, ces princes ont besoin des droits qu'ils lèvent sur ceux qui viennent faire le commerce dans leurs états.

“ Les autres province de la contrée de Djil ont besoin de celles de Foumen et de Lahidjan pour le même objet ; mais surtout de celle de Foumen, où l'on trouve des étoffes et autres articles manufacturés. Dans le même territoire, au voisinage des montagnes, est une mine de fer.

“ Le prince de Foumen prétend être allié à la famille du Prophète. Il protège avec zèle les gens de lettres et tous les hommes de mérite. Le costume des rois et des gens de guerre ressemble à celui d'une partie des Tatars. Celui des hommes de lettres à de l'analogie avec celui des marchands. Les uns et les autres laissent, comme les Sofis, pendre par devant les bouts de leurs turbans. Toute la masse du peuple est vêtue comme le peuple des nations voisines.”

Fūman was the seat of Dābū son of Gil Gāwbāra. Nothing is known of the rulers of Fūman before the time of Sultān Shāh Gil. He gave refuge to 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, son of Shāh Ghāzī Rustam of Māzandarān [whom he succeeded in 558 (1163)], when 'Alā'u'd-Dawla was defeated by the Ustundār Kay-kā'ūs, against whom he had been sent by his father. Iskandar Munshī mentions that the Is-ḥāqī dynasty of Fūman claimed descent from the prophet Is - ḥāq. Rashīdu'd - Dīn Fazlu'llāh, however, asserts that they are descended from Sāsān.

The genealogical tree of Amira Dubbāj, who was reigning in Fūman when the Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids seized the government of Lāhijān, is as follows: Dubbāj ibn 'Alā'u'd-Dīn ibn Rustam ibn Dubbāj (who at the time of the Mongol invasion opposed Qutlugh Shāh and after the latter's death was defeated by the other Mongol chiefs and compelled to submit to Uljāytū; he is described as the most influential amongst the numerous rulers of Gilān) ibn Filān Shāh ibn Rustam ibn Dubbāj ibn Khilū ibn Sharafu'd-Dawla ibn Sultān Shāh ibn Dubbāj ibn Arkān ibn Jayhūn ibn Fanākhusrāw ibn Abi'n-naṣr ibn Is-ḥāq (whence the dynasty derives its name of Saḥāqī, Is-ḥāqī, or Is-ḥāqwand) ibn Salm ibn Qābūs ibn Īraj ibn Ḥabash ibn Shahriyār ibn Firūz ibn Balāsh ibn Bahrām ibn Balāsh ibn Ardashīr ibn Firūz ibn Narsī ibn Gūdarz ibn Balāsh ibn Bahrām ibn Shāpūr ibn Ashk, the founder of the Ashkāniān (Parthian) dynasty. This genealogical tree slightly differs from that given in the *Durratu't-Tāj li ghurreti Dubbāj*. Its author Qutbu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Mas'ūd Shirāzī mentions that Ḥabash, grandfather of Arkān ibn Dubbāj, was the son of Balāsh ibn Narsī ibn Hurmuz ibn Ardashīr ibn Firūz ibn Narsī ibn Gūdarz ibn Vīhan ibn Balāsh ibn Bahrām ibn Shāpūr ibn Ashk.

The dominions of Amira Dubbāj, ruler of Fūman towards 766 (1364–5), included Māsūla, Fūman, and Tūlam. He helped the other Amīrs of Biyapas to expel the Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids from Gilān, and his troops defeated and slew Sayyid 'Alī at Rasht, in Ramāzān, 791 (August–September, 1389). Five or six months later, he quarrelled with Amira Muḥammad Rashtī, and invited the Sayyids to take possession of Biyapīsh. He died about 812 (1409–10) and was succeeded by his son, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn. Amira Dubbāj, the latter's son, ascended the throne in 837 (1433–4). His son and successor, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, died in 844 (1440–1) on his return from an expedition against

Biyapīsh. Amīra Dubbāj ibn 'Alā'u'd-Dīn followed and after him his son, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn. For the space of two years, however, Amīra Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, cousin of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, had possession of Fūman; he died in Tārum. Meanwhile Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, out of fear of Amīra Muḥammad Tijāspī Rashtī, was hiding in the mountains. He re-ascended the throne in Jumāda ii, 863 (May, 1459), and after some time put Amīra Muḥammad Tijāspī to death and annexed Rasht. He died about 880 (1475-6). His eldest son, Amīra Dubbāj, refused to ascend the throne, and the people tendered their allegiance to another Amīra Dubbāj, son of that Amīra Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, who, as already mentioned, had ruled over Fūman for two years. With the help of Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapīsh, Amīra Is-ḥāq, the younger son of the late ruler, rendered himself master of Fūman in 882 (1477-8). He subsequently quarrelled with Mirzā 'Alī, son and successor of Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapīsh, and this led to much bloodshed. At length peace was signed and Kūchisfahān ceded to Amīra Is-ḥāq, who died three months later. His eldest son, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, was assassinated soon afterwards, and the second son, Amīra Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, succeeded him. He was as bitter an enemy of the rulers of Biyapīsh as his father had been and refused to accede to the wishes of Shāh Isma'īl I Ṣafawī, who had sent envoys to request him to make peace with Sultān Aḥmad Khān. The Shāh, angered at this refusal, came with his army to Gilān, but relented, and it was arranged through Shaykh Najm Rashtī, who was Amīru'l-Umarā of the Shāh's court, that Amīra Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn should receive Kūchisfahān as the price of peace. Sultān Aḥmad Khān of Biyapīsh refused to surrender that district and Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn advanced to the Pūlirūd, sacking Lāhijān, Rānikūh, and Rūdisar on the way. In 917 (1511-12) he again incurred the Shāh's displeasure, but sent his wife and child to court to intercede for him. In 920 (1514)

Shāh Isma'īl decided to march a second time upon Gilān and bring this unruly vassal to order, but the war that broke out with Sultān Selīm of Turkey compelled him to postpone the execution of this project. Husāmu'd-Dīn died about 922 (1516) and was succeeded by his son Amīra Dubbāj, who proceeded to the Shāh's court to make his submission. He was given the title of Muẓaffar Sultān and received the hand of one of the Shāh's daughters in marriage. When Sultān Sulaymān of Turkey invaded Persia, Muẓaffar Sultān joined him at Khūy with 8,000 men. On his return to Gilān Muẓaffar Sultān found the way barred by his former vassal, Amīra Hātim Kūhdumī. He fled to Shirwān, where he was seized by the Shāh's officers and brought to Tabriz. There he was placed in a cage and set on fire; this happened in 942 (1535-6). Biyapas was then entrusted to Khān Aḥmad Khān of Biyapīsh, who, however, was unable to establish his authority over the district, and a certain Amīra Shāhrukh, related to the Is-ḥāqī dynasty, was invited by the inhabitants in 950 (1543-4) to rule over Fūman. He governed peacefully for seven years and was then summoned to the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Unable to offer the presents claimed by the officers of the court he left without permission for Gilān. He was brought back to Tabriz and put to death by order of the Shāh.

In 965 (1557) Shāh Ṭahmāsp gave Biyapas to Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Muẓaffar Sultān, and appointed Kārgiyā Sultān Aḥmad regent and guardian of the prince. Five years later the regent fell into disgrace, and, by order of the Shāh, Maḥmūd Khān was brought to Shirāz, where he was poisoned by his tutor at the instigation of Khān Aḥmad Khān. His posthumous son, Jamshīd Khān, a lad 10 years of age, was given Biyapas in 975 (1567-8), and Kārgiyā Aḥmad Sultān was named regent and appointed his guardian. In 977 (1569-70) Jamshīd Sultān married

a daughter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and in 980 (1572–3) transferred his capital from Fūman to Rasht. He was put to death in 989 (1581–2) by his Prime Minister, Kāmran Mirzā Kūhdumī, who had succeeded Kārgiyā Aḥmad Sulṭān. Kāmran Mirzā remained for some time ruler of Biyapas, but was eventually slain, and the two sons of Jamshīd Sulṭān, Ibrāhīm Khān and Muḥammad Amīn Khān, bid in turn for the rule of their hereditary possessions. Ibrāhīm Khān was at first supported by Khān Aḥmad Khān of Biyapīsh, who, however, abandoned his cause for that of Muḥammad Amīn Khān. Shāh Malik Fūmanī, whom Khān Aḥmad Khān appointed guardian of the latter, brought eastern Biyapas up to the Pasī Khān River under the rule of the young prince, but, two years later, in 999 (1590–1), ‘Alī Beg Sulṭān, guardian of Ibrāhīm Khān, who was at Fūman, expelled Muḥammad Amīn Khān from Khushkbijār, where the latter resided, and compelled him to retire to Lashtanishāh. Finally, when in 1000 (1591–2) Khān Aḥmad Khān fled from Gilān to Constantinople, he took with him Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who died of smallpox at Ganja.

Shāh ‘Abbās sent Ibrāhīm Khān to Kirmān, and thus came to an end the rule of the Is-ḥāqiyya dynasty of Fūman. After the rebellion of Shāh Malik in Biyapas in 1002 (1593–4) the Shāh summoned Ibrāhīm Khān from Kirmān with the intention of appointing him governor of Biyapas. He was, however, dissuaded from doing this, and Ibrāhīm died of grief at Isfahān.

At the death of Shāh ‘Abbās and on the accession of Shāh Ṣafi, the natives of Lashtanishāh revolted, in 1038 (1628–9) elected king of the province a certain Kālānjār Sulṭān, who claimed to be a son of Jamshīd Sulṭān, and proclaimed him ruler under the title of ‘Ādil Shāh. His followers sacked Fūman and Rasht, but Qālānjār, or Gharīb Shāh, as he was nicknamed by the Qizilbāsh, was taken prisoner by the royal troops after a fruitless defence

and carried to Qazwin, where he suffered a very remarkable death. The Shāh, with his customary cruelty and in derision of his captive, ordered iron horse-shoes to be nailed to his feet, alleging that as he had been used to the soft rich soil of Gilān, he could not walk unshod on the harder earth of 'Irāq. After lingering some days in this torture, Kālānjār was shot to death with arrows, the Shāh discharging the first, and his courtiers following his example.

There is no more remarkable instance of the fierce feuds prevalent in olden times than that which existed between the chiefs of Shaft and those of Fūman. "In the time of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Kāzīm Khān Shaftī slew Āqā Kamāl (Fūmanī), governor of Rasht; his son, Āqā Jamāl (connected on his mother's side with the Is-ḥāqī dynasty), slew Karīm, the son of Kāzīm. Rafi' Āqā, the brother of Kāzīm, slew Āqā Jamāl (1753-4)<sup>1</sup> and revenged his nephew. Hidāyat Khān, the son of Āqā Jamāl, slew Rafi' Āqā and five of his brothers and nephews; a child, called Āqā 'Alī, the son of Kāzīm, was the only person of the family of Shaft that was preserved. Hidāyat Khan, desiring to employ the tribe of Shaft, was compelled to put this child at their head, as they refused to serve except under one of the blood of their chiefs. Āqā 'Alī made his escape, and when he attained his sixteenth year was aided by Āqā Muḥammad Khān in an attempt to revenge his father, uncle, and brothers. He succeeded in taking Hidāyat Khān, whom he slew.<sup>2</sup> Two of that chief's sons, Ḥusayn 'Alī and Faṭḥ 'Alī, were sent to the Persian Court, and when Faṭḥ 'Alī

<sup>1</sup> Gmelin says that Hājji [Rafi' Āqā of] Shaft slew Hājji Jamāl in 1167 (1753-4) in Shaft, and afterwards, together with Mirzā Zakī of Gaskar, ruled over Gilān. Four months later Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār suddenly arrived in Gilān, put them both to death, and entrusted Gilān to Hājji Taqī Nā'ib, of Kasmā, whom he appointed guardian and deputy of Hidāyat Khān, the son of Hājji Jamāl, then too young to rule.

<sup>2</sup> Hidāyat Khān was shot when trying to escape by boat from Anzālī to Lankurān.

Shāh obtained the throne he gave the former a small force to reconquer Gilān. This chief ordered two of his men to conceal themselves in a wood and assassinate Āqā 'Alī; they did so (near the bridge of Khaṭībān on the 26th Rabi' i, 1212 = September 18, 1797 A.D.), and the relations of that chief, alarmed at his fate, fled to the island of Lankurān, and claimed the protection of Muṣṭafā Khān Tālish. Fath 'Alī Shāh invited them to return to their family possessions of Shaft. On his sending a sealed Qur'ān, as the most sacred of pledges, they came back, but they thought of nothing but revenge; day and night they watched the movements of Ḥusayn 'Alī; at last one of the brothers of Āqā 'Alī succeeded in shooting him. (10th Safar, 1215 = July 3, 1800 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> as he was riding along the road. On the death of Ḥusayn 'Alī, his brother, Fath 'Alī, fled to Tabriz, where he became Begler-Begī. Ḥusayn 'Alī left an infant grandson, but none of the descendants of Hidāyāt Khān proved themselves worthy of their family traditions,"<sup>2</sup> and the feud, which in 1810 had continued about seventy years, was allowed to lapse.

At the death of Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, Fath 'Alī Shāh had the *farmān* of governor of Fūman made in the name of Hidāyatu'llāh Khān (also known as Khānlar-Khān), the former governor's infant son, and Ḥājji Muḥammad Khān<sup>3</sup> was appointed deputy governor. Ḥājji Muḥammad Khān soon won the affection of the inhabitants and became governor. Ḥājji Ma'sūm Khān, his son, was appointed

<sup>1</sup> Another version is that he was shot near the Dūpurdān bridge at Lālam in Gaskar by a notable of that district with whose wife he had had an intrigue. Colonel Trézel mentions that the inhabitants of Gaskar refused to submit to a governor who was not of their tribe. A governor was appointed by Fath 'Alī Shāh, but was shot on the Gaskar border when trying forcibly to enter that district. The date of this incident is the same as that of the death of Ḥusayn 'Alī, who very probably was the governor in question.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*.

<sup>3</sup> His father, Āqā Moḥsin Fūmānī, was governor of Fūman in 1212 (1797-8). Some authors describe Āqā Muḥsin as the son of a Khalkhālī named Kas Ākhūnd, others as a descendant of Amīra Dubbāj.

governor of Fūman at the beginning of the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. He was waylaid on the way from Rasht to Fūman by Ḥasan Khān ibn Hidāyatu'llāh Khān, who was shot in the affray. On the 1st Ramazān, 1265 (July 29, 1848), Hājji Ma'sūm Khān was shot from without whilst sitting in an upper room of his house on the Sabz Maydān (Commons) of Rasht. His nephew, Rizā-quli Khān ibn Naṣīr, whose mother was a sister of Ḥasan Khān, was immediately accused of the deed. By order of the Prime Minister, Amīr Nizām, he was handed over to the relatives of the murdered Khān, who hacked him to pieces with their *qamas* (daggers) on the 13th Ramazān of the following year (July 23, 1850).

The next governor of Fūman, Hājji Qāsim Khān<sup>1</sup> ibn Hājji Muḥammad Khān, was succeeded by his son, Maḥmūd Khān Sartīp, Mudīru's-Sufarā, father of 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān, Mudīru'l-Mulk, better known under the title of Sardār-i-Humāyūn. The Sardār-i-Humāyūn died in 1912 after having ruled Fūman for close on twenty years.

H. L. RABINO.

THE DIWANS OF AN-NU'MAN IBN BASHIR AND  
BAKR IBN 'ABD AL-'AZIZ AL-'IJLI

Early in 1914 I obtained from Constantinople, through the kind offices of Dr. O. Rescher, photographs of the unique manuscript Sultān Fātih, No. 5303, which contains, in addition to the Dīwāns referred to in the title, those of 'Amr b. Qamī'a, 'Amr b. Kulthūm, al-Hārith b. Ḥilliza, two poems of Muzāḥim al-'Uqaili, and poems of several other little-known ancient Arabic poets. The poems of Muzāḥim, together with verses of the same poet collected from various sources, I hope to publish at a later date. The above two Dīwāns are being printed in a lithographed edition in Haidarābād at the expense of Syed Hosein

<sup>1</sup> Qāsim Khān married a daughter of Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān and a daughter of Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, so that his sons were descendants of Hidāyat Khān.