THE REIGN OF ZANGI

(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 ‘Abbāsid 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 Zangi's operations against them in Shahrazur, the Artuqids in Hisn Kayfa and Mardin 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-Shah, for whom Zangi acted as Atabeg, and the siege of Qal'at Ja'bar, ends with the murder of Zangi during this, his last operation.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The conclusion of a study which has been both interesting and enjoyable leads me to first express my deep and most sincere appreciation to the Turkish Ministry of Education by whom the study was made possible.

Among the many scholars whom I thank most sincerely is my supervisor, Professor Bernard Lewis, without whose valuable advice and assistance the study could not have taken shape.

Many thanks are also due to the librarians of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the British Museum, Topkapı Sarayi, Ayasofya and Süleymaniye.

To all other colleagues and friends, among them especially Dr. S. Zakkar, Dr. M.A. Bakhit, Mr. A.M. Khleifat and Miss Elizabeth D.M. Bastable, I shall always be grateful for their help and encouragement.

C. Alptekin

May, 1972.
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<td>Abu Shāma</td>
<td>Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbar al-Dawlatayn al-Nūrīya wa al-Ṣalāḥīya.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anna Comnena</td>
<td>The Alexiad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ano. Syr. Chl.</td>
<td>The first and second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUDTCFTAD</td>
<td>Ankara Universitesi Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-ʿAynī</td>
<td>ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zaman.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al-ʿAzīmī</td>
<td>Tārīkh al-ʿAzīmī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.)</td>
<td>Chronography by Abu' l-Faraj (Gregory).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEO</td>
<td>Bulletin d'Etudes Orientale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidlīsī</td>
<td>Sharaf-Nāma: Tārīkh-i Mufassal-i Kurdistan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al-Bundārī</td>
<td>Zubdat al-Nuṣra wa Nukhbat al-ʿUsra, (Turkish trans.) Irak ve Horasan Selçukluları Tarihi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author/Title</td>
<td>Translation/Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chalandon, F.</td>
<td>Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH1</td>
<td>The Cambridge Medieval History.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHR</td>
<td>The Cambridge History of Iran.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cinnamus</td>
<td>Historia.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSCO</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSHB</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>E12</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulcher of Chartres</td>
<td>A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAL</td>
<td>Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur.</td>
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<td>GMS</td>
<td>Gibb Memorial Series.</td>
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<td>Al-Ḥusaynī</td>
<td>(Turkish trans.) Ahbār Ḫal-Devlet is-Seljuqiyye.</td>
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<td>Ibn ʿAsākir</td>
<td>Tārikh Madīnat Dimashq.</td>
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<td>Ibn al-Kāmil</td>
<td>al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh</td>
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<td>Ibn al-Azraq</td>
<td>Tārikh Mayyāfāriqīn.</td>
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<td>Author</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ibn al-Jawzi</td>
<td>Kitab al-Muntazam fi Tarikh al-Muluk wa al-Umam</td>
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<td>Ibn Kathir</td>
<td>al-Biday wa al-Nihaya</td>
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<td>Ibn Khalikan</td>
<td>Wafayat al-‘ayan wa Anba’ Abnā’ al-Zaman</td>
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<td>Ibn Qadi Shuhba</td>
<td>al-Kawakib al-Durriya fi al-Sira al-Nuriya</td>
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<td>Ibn al-Qalanisi</td>
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<td>Ibn Tiqtaqaa</td>
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<td>Ibn Wasil</td>
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<td>‘Imad al-Dīn</td>
<td>Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa Jarīdat al-‘Asr</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Kharīdat)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal Asiatique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kðyemen, M.A.</td>
<td>Býýdk Selçuklu İmاراتığı Tarihi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>(Turkish trans.) Urfali Mateos Vekayî-Namesi</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCIA</td>
<td>Materiaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td>Manuscript.</td>
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<td>Muḥammad al-ʿImrānī</td>
<td>Kitāb al-Anbāʾ fī Tārīkh al-Khulāṣa'.</td>
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<td>Nicetas</td>
<td>Chronicle.</td>
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<td>Ostrogorsky, G.</td>
<td>History of the Byzantine State.</td>
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<td>Al-Qalqashandī</td>
<td>Ṣubḥ al-Aʿṣāḥa.</td>
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<td>Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh.</td>
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<td>Rawandī</td>
<td>Rahat al-Šūdūr wa Āyat al-Surūr. (Turkish trans.) Rahat-ʿUs-Šūdūr ve Ayet-ʿUs-Surūr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCEA</td>
<td>Repertoire Chronologique d'Epigraphie Arabe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>REI</td>
<td>Revue des Etudes Islamiques.</td>
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<td>RHC</td>
<td>Rocueil des Historiens des Croisades.</td>
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<td>Runciman, S.</td>
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<td>Segal, J.B.</td>
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<td>(Jewett)</td>
<td>(A facsimile reproduction, J.R. Jewett).</td>
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<td>SOAS</td>
<td>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stevenson, J.B.</td>
<td>The Crusaders in the East.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TM</td>
<td>Türkiyat Mecmuası.</td>
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<td>Usāma ibn Munqīdḥ</td>
<td>Kitāb al-ʿitibār.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zahir al-Dīn</td>
<td>Saljuq-Nāma.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDPV</td>
<td>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins.</td>
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</table>
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 "k" is rendered as "q" and "dj" 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 (huruf shamsiya) including its medial use in compound names but excluding incidences as "Allah" when it is rendered as "ullah", e.g. "'Abdullah".

The system followed for transliteration of Turkish names and terms is that employed by İslam 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 Zangi's reign.

Muslim historians

Ibn al-Qalanisi, who was also known as Abū Ya'la, (d.555/1160) was the author of Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq. This is a chronicle of events in Damascus covering the period 448-555/1056-1160. In it he quotes some passages from Hilal al-Sabi's (d.448/1056) Tarikh, which are chiefly concerned with Damascus, and together with Dhayl they cover the wider period of 363-555/973-1160. Ibn al-Qalanisi groups Hilal al-Sabi'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 Tughj-Teghin assumed control in 497/1103 he records events in greater detail.

Ibn al-Qalanisi 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 (lātib) 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 Raʾīs (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 Zangi, from which he does actually quote and this is the more valuable as he was himself a witness of the event. He speaks of the alliance between the Damascenes and the Franks against Zangi, 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 Zangi'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.²

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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-ʿAḍīm, Abū ʾShāma, Ibn ʿAṣākir, Ibn Khallikān and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī. This work has been edited and also partially translated. 1

Al-ʿAzīmī (483-556/1090-1161), a poet and a schoolmaster, was born in Aleppo. He wrote several Tarikhs; one of them entirely concerned Aleppo while al-Muwassal ʿAla al-ʾAsl al-Muʿassal, was written in the form of annals. A probable abridgment of this work which is to be found in Istanbul (Bayezid Kütüphanesi, No. 398), is a unique copy. Part of this abridgment, which contains the annals from 455-538/1063-1144, has been edited. 2

Some quotations from his work have survived chiefly through the works of Ibn al-ʿAḍīm who states, "I copied it from the hand writing of ʿAlī al-ʿAzīmī". 3

Al-ʿAzīmī's work was used by later historians, including Ibn al-ʿAthīr, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Furāt and al-ʿAynī. 4


3. See below.

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

His work is more detailed than most historians of his own time, particularly concerning al-Rashīd's struggle with Mas'ūd. He states that al-Rashīd 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. Zangi, after realising the hopelessness of the struggle had retreated to Mosul and al-Rashīd managed to escape and join him there. Muḥammad al-'Imrānī also speaks of al-Rashīd's attempt to find new supporters whilst in Mosul and Niṣībīn and afterwards from Sinjar. There he communicated with the Artuqids, the Seljuqid Sultan of Asia Minor, Mas'ūd (510-551/1116-1156), and Muḥammad b. Danishmend 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.1

According to C. Cahen, Muḥammad al-'Imrānī used the works of Ibn Hamdūn (d.562/1167) and Hamdānī (d.526/1131) for his earlier writings.2

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.

Ibn al-Azarq, the author of a local history, Tarikh Mayyafariqin, records that he was born at Mayyafariqin in 510/1116. He writes of his presence in various towns and places in al-Jazira and Syria. He says that he visited Mardin in 529/1135, Amid in 536/1141-1142, Mardin in 542/1147-1148 and Mosul in 544/1150, selling iron on behalf of the Artuqid Husam al-Din Timur-Tash. He also visited Baghdad several times and went to Tiflis, al-Rayy, Akhlat. En route to Damascus he passed through Edessa, Manbij, Halab, Hims and Hama. He arrived in Damascus in 565/1169-1170 and on his return to Mayyafariqin in 570/1174-1175 he passed through Harran, Ra's al-'Ayn and Mardin.

In 562/1166-1167 he held the office of Waqf at Mayyafariqin.

During his journeys he collected material for his Tarikh and while he was in Baghdad he wrote a full account of the conflict between Sultan Mas'ud and the Caliphs al-Mustarshid and al-Rashid and the role Zangi played.
in their struggles. He speaks of the campaign of al-Mustarshid against Mas'ud; the Caliph's assassination in Mas'ud's camp while he was a prisoner, and he suggests that the assassination was probably arranged by Sultan Sanjar. He also gives an account of the activities of al-Rashid and his offer to Zangi to procure the Sultanate for Alp-Arslan who was under Zangi's guardianship. Because of this offer, Zangi went to Baghdad but retreated before Sultan Mas'ud. He describes how Zangi's withdrawal to Mosul was followed by the flight of al-Rashid who later went to Isfahan to meet Malik Da'ud and met his death there by assassination.

Besides all these events which concern the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, the Seljuqs and Zangi, the author also gives valuable information about Zangi's relations with the Artuqids. He speaks of Zangi's campaigns in Diyar Bakr and his alliance with Timur-Tash against Da'ud; also of the campaign of 539/1144 just before Zangi's capture of Edessa. The murder of Zangi is also fully recorded by the author.

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

1. Ibid, 165a-b.
2. Ibid, 167b.
4. Ibid, 170a-172a.
Ibn al-Azraq is the only known Arabic local historian of al-Jazīra for Zangi's period and his work is extant in manuscript, except that which concerns the Marwanids.¹ 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 560/1165.²

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-Istibār,³ 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.

1. Ibn al-Azraq al-Farīqi, Tarīkh al-Farīqi, ed. by Badawi 'Awad, Cairo 1959.


He speaks of the several occasions he spent in Zangi's company and of their hunts together. Usama b. Munqidh not only was on good terms with the Atabeg of Damascus but was sent by Mu'in al-Din Anar as envoy to negotiate terms of peace with the Franks. Later Saladin became his friend and patron.¹

'Imad al-Din Isfahani (519-597/1125-1201) wrote several books. He visited Mosul in 542/1147-1148 and he was well received by Zangi's vizier, Jamail al-Din Abu Ja'far Muhammad, and Zangi's son Sayf al-Din Ghazi. By his eye-witness account of the siege of Baghdad by Sultan Muhammad in 551/1156 he won further evidence of favour from both the Caliph al-Muqtafi and his vizier 'Awn al-Din b. Hubayra who in 554/1159, appointed him as his naib in Wasit. 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-Shami 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-Bundari, entitled San'a al-Barq al-Shami, and part of this exists in a unique manuscript in Istanbul (Esad efendi No.2333) and was recently edited and published.²

There are extensive and numerous citations from al-Barq, in an abridged form, in Abu Shama's work al-Rawdatayn.

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1. See also, F. Rosenthal, op. cit., 151; N. Elisseeff, 1, 20-22.
10.

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

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

His Nuṣrat al-Fatra deals with the history of the Seljuqs. It was extracted from Anūshīrwan 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. ʿImād 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-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā of Damascus.² It was simplified and re-named Zubdat al-Nuṣra wa Nukhbat al-ʿUṣra, and has been edited.³

Although ʿImād al-Dīn based his Nuṣrat on the lost Memoirs of Anūshīrwan 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 Zangi which are not found elsewhere. Precise details are given of the Malikīs under Zangi's caro, together with the information that Malik Dāʾūd's assassination


2. See also, M.T. Houtsma, (C. Cahen), "Al-Bundārī, El2, I, 1309.

was accomplished with Zangi's knowledge.\(^1\)

'Imad al-Dīn Isfahānī also produced an anthology of the Arab poets of the 6th/12th century, Khāridat al-Qāsr wa Jarīdat al-'Āsr, which is a continuation of Yafīmat al-Dahr of al-Thaʿalībī. It contains many poems eulogising Zangi and his nobles. Some parts of this anthology were published.\(^2\)

Two books among the many written by Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233) give useful information concerning Zangi's period. His al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh is a universal history, while al-Bāhir fī Dawlat al-Atābakiya is a monograph of the Atabogs of Mosul.

Ibn al-Aṭīr was born of a rich family in Jazīrat ibn 'Umar in 555/1160. His father took service under Zangi and Ibn al-Aṭīr records that he was in charge of the offices of Diwan and Treasury. In addition to the post held in Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, he was also engaged in trade and Ibn al-Aṭīr records that he was robbed in 581/1185.\(^3\) He was the second of three brothers.

Majd al-Dīn served Mujahid al-Dīn Kaymaz, the vizier of 'izz al-Dīn Masʿūd II (d. 615/1218) as Katīb al-Inshā. He was entrusted later with the Diwan al-Rasa'il of 'izz al-Dīn Masʿūd himself and after Masʿūd's death retained

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1. Al-Bundārī, 195, 205-206 (Turkish trans., 178, 186).


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

His brother, Diyyā' al-Dīn was attached to the service of Saladin by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil. By the wish of al-Malik al-Afdal Nur 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 Diyyā' al-Dīn for his grand vizier. In 607/1211 he went into service with Afdal's brother, al-Malik al-Zahir Ghāzī, but soon left him and went to Mosul. There he was employed by the last Zangid, Nāṣīr al-Dīn Mahmūd (d. 619/1222) as Kāṭib al-Insāḥ. 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 onvoy, and there died.

Ibn al-Athīr does not scorn 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.¹

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

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-Kāṭib and Ibn Qalānīsī whose works concern the present

1. Ibid., II, 288-290.
study. His work has, however, been cited by many later historians such as Abū Shāma, Ibn Wāsil, Abū al-Fidāʾ, Ibn Khallīkān, Ibn Kathīr, al-ʿAynī, and Ibn Gaḍī 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 fi Dawlat al-Atābākiya, 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. Nur al-Dīn Arslān-Shah I (d. 607/1211) officially sponsored the monograph but died before its completion. Ibn al-Athīr, however, extended his writing to include Nur al-Dīn and finally presented the book to al-Qāhir ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd II, the son of Nur al-Dīn. Ibn al-Athīr and members of his family appear to have received kindness and consideration from the Zangīd. It was probably partly for this reason that he compiled his book added to which the events connected with the Zangīd 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.

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

The universal history, Mir'āt al-Zamān, by Sibt 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-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā ibn Ḥubayrā (d. 560/1165), the vizier of the Caliphs al-Muqtasī and al-Mustanṣīd. The vizier and his grandfather superintended his education in Baghdad by the most distinguished scholars of the period.

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After his grandfather's death he went to Damascus where he continued his education. The Ayyubid al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Sharaf al-Din Ṣa'd (d. 624/1227) was his patron and he became the most favoured šālim 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 Šalāḥ al-Dīn attended his funeral.

His most famous work is the Miḥrāt 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. Ḥilāl Abū Ḥasan Ghars al-Nī‘ma, Muḥammad b. Ṭahir al-Maqdisī, al-Hamādānī, al-Sarrāfī. For his information concerning the 12th century and Zangi he cited Ibn al-Qalanisi, Ibn ‘Asakir, Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Azraq, ʿImād al-Dīn Isfahānī and Ibn al-ʿAthir.¹

Later Miḥrāt 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 Miḥrāt are extant, one abbreviated and the other in greater detail, and selected parts of Miḥrāt have been edited.²

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

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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-Ta‘lab, 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 ʿAsākir (499-571/1105-1176), Usāma ibn ʿAbd al-Muʿmin (488-584/1095-1188), al-ʿAzīmī (483-556/1090-1161) and for late 12th century information he cites the work of Husayn ibn ʿAlī al-Dārī. ¹

Among his quotations from al-ʿAzīmī’s work appears the information that Zangī was from the tribe of Sāybū and that his grandfather’s name was Turghan. ² Again Ibn al-ʿAdīm quotes from the same source concerning Zangī’s truce with Joscelin of Edessa, ³ and Zangī’s marriage with the daughter of

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² Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bughya, III, 267b.

³ Ibid, VI, 208a.
Ridwan b. Tutush. Another interesting point is also cited concerning the Maliks under Zangi's care. He writes, "Zangi asked the Caliph to mention the name of Alp-Arslan in the Khutba on the death of Sultan Mahmud", he also added that the Caliph refused, saying that the Malik was too young, and only Sultan Sanjar could appoint a successor. He continues his quotation with the capture of Dubays by Buri and his transference to Zangi.  


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

1. Ibid, VI, 208b.
2. Ibid, VI, 209a.
In addition there is Zubat al-Ḥalab, a narrative history of Aleppo.

This work has been edited.\(^1\)

Abū Shāma (599-665/1203-1268) wrote Kitāb al-Rawqatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn al-Nūriya wa al-Ṣalāḥiya,\(^2\) which is a chronicle. It commences with Nūr al-Dīn, the son of Zangi, 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 Ḥiḥad.\(^3\)

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 Sultan Masʿūd refrained from marching on Zangi.\(^4\)

Many Muslim writers, contemporary with Zangi together with some later Muslim historians who give information relevant to Zangi are discussed.

He is also mentioned by others listed below. Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597/1201),


\(2\) Abū Shāma, Kitāb al-Rawqatayn, 2 vols., ed. in Bulaq, 1871-1875; also by M.H.M. Ahmad, vol. I, Cairo 1958.


\(4\) Abū Shāma, I, 92-93.
Non-Muslim historians

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

William of Tyre's Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum 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.

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 Zangi'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 are frequently incorrect, as are also several names of places. His chief interest centred around the churches of Tyre, and Zangi is barely mentioned.

Many later European historians contributed sequels to his work.

Prominent among Greek historians is Anna Comnena's work Alexiad. Unfortunately the book ends with the year 511/1118. John Cinnamus and Nicetas Chroniatus 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.

1. For William's chronology see, W.B. Stevenson, Crusaders in the East, 361-371.
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 557/1162.1

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.2 There are occasional errors in data but his description of the siege of Edessa and its subsequent conquest by Zangi appears to be authentic despite the fact that it was written 100 years later than the events occurred.3

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


2. For further information see J.B. Segal, "Syriac chronicles as source material for the history of Islamic people", HME, 254-256.


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.\(^1\)

**Correspondence**

Correspondence holds an important place among the sources. The
only extant direct letter to Zangi is preserved in a mere paragraph which
was copied by Ibn al-Qalānīšī in his Dhayl Tārikh Dimashq during his
secretarial duties in Dīwān al-Rasāʾīl (Correspondence Bureau or Chancery).
The letter was written to Zangi by Shams al-Mulūk Ismaʿīl, Atabeg of
Damascus, urging him to assume authority in Damascus. According to Ibn al-
Qalānīšī it was in Ismaʿīl's own hand.\(^2\)

**Poems**

Several poems written during Zangi'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 Munqīdāh all wrote poems which concern Zangi and Ibn
Qaysarānī composed a number in honour of his victories over the Franks. In
addition he composed some which eulogised Zangi's viziers and other notables,
among whom are Vizier Jamāl al-Dīn Abī Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī and the
Qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Shahrizurī who was Zangi's envoy. Many poems were
employed as propaganda for the Jihād. After Zangi 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.
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 Tūmān to the amīr Anar (Unur) in Damascus from the service of Zangī.¹

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'ālbak 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.²

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


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 Zangi. One of them was struck between the years 521-515/1127-1130 at Sinjar, and the other bearing the date 540/1145-1146 was struck in Mosul. On the earlier coin is inscribed the names of Sanjar, Mahmud and that of the Caliph al-Mustarshid. Zangi appears also as Atabeg. The weight of this dinar 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'ud and the Caliph al-Muqtadir in addition to those of Malik Alp-Arslan. The title given to Sanjar of al-Sultan al-A'zam (Supreme Sultan) shows that Zangi acknowledged him as such. He also shows loyalty to Sanjar's subordinate rulers, Mahmud and Mas'ud. On this coin the name of Malik Alp-Arslan, who was under the care of Zangi, completes Zangi's homage to him as ruler of the territory and confirms the acceptance of his own appointment as Atabeg.

Two other coins in the British Museum are of Byzantine origin. It is interesting to note that "Imad" (i.e. part of Zangi's title) and the probable damgha (emblem) "×" of Zangi 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 Iraq 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 Zangi’s period of power. The origin of this particular damgha is not known as it does not appear in Diwan lugat al-Turk of Mahmud Kashghari, Jami‘ al-Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din, Seljuq-Nama of Yazji-Oghlu ‘Ali and Shajara-i Tarakima of Abū al-Ghāzi ¹ but its impingement on some later coins shows that it had been taken into use by the House of Zangi.

1. See F. Sümer, 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 Zangi 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 Zangi. 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 Zangi's involvement with the Franks and his relationship with the Atabegs of Damascus. He also gives separate chapters on Nur al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Sahl al-Dīn.

Later, in 1934, another history of the Crusades was written by F. Grousset in which he gives a glimpse of the life in Syria during that period and mentions Zangi's campaigns against the Franks and Artuqids. There is also a short article concerning Zangi 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 èpoque 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 Zangi's involvement in them.

In 1948 Hasan Habashy wrote Nūr ed-Dīn and the Crusaders, which described the wars of Nūr al-Dīn against the Crusaders. Zangi 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, Zangi is mentioned only in connection with his intrigues and battles against the Franks and Byzantines.

M.A. Köymen wrote Selçuklu Imparatorluğu Tarihi in 1954. It is a history of the Seljuq Empire and its relations with the 'Abbāsid Caliphate. Zangi's name appears on account of his relationship with the Seljuqid Sultāns.

In Ħusayn Munis' book, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, published in Cairo, 1954, he speaks of Zangi 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 Zangi'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 Zangi'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. Elisssoeff which was published in 1967. As the title, Nūr al-Dīn: un grand
Musiilman de Syrie au temps des Croisades, indicates, Nur al-Dīn is the main topic and Zangi 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 Zangi'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 Zangi.

The only book which directly concerns Zangi was published in 1971 by Imad al-Dīn Khalīl, under the title Imad al-Dīn Zangi. 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-Atābakiya. He wrongly attributed Zangi'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 Zangi held under the Suljuqs is not clarified and in it the relations between the 'Abbāsid 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.)
Zangi was the only surviving son of Qasim 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 Sultan Alp-Arslan, and when Malik-Shah succeeded his father, Alp-Arslan, Aq-Sonqur entered his service.²

According to Kamal al-Din ibn al-Adim, the name of Aq-Sonqur’s father was Turghan, who was from the Turkish tribe of Sabyu.³

When Sultan Malik-Shah took possession of Aleppo and its citadel on 12 Sha’ban 479/3 December 1086, Aq-Sonqur was one of his commanders. After the surrender of the city the Sultan went to Antioch where he was acknowledged by Hasan b. Tahir, the vizier of Sulayman b. Qutulmush. He appointed one of his officers, Yaghê-Siyan, as governor, after which the Sultan returned to Aleppo. There he appointed Nûh al-Turkî as commander of the citadel and, on

1. The reason why he was named “Zangi” is not clear, perhaps because he was the only surviving child. The translation of “Zangi” 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.


3. Ibn al-Adim, ibid.; see also, A. Sevîm, “Bugyetü-taleb fi tarih-i Haleb’e göre Emir Ak-Sungur”, AUDTCFTAD, IV, No. 6-7, 104.
the advice of his vizier, Nizām al-Mulk, Aq-Sonqur as ruler of the town. 1 Sultan Malik-Shāh further honoured Aq-Sonqur with the title of Qasim al-Dawla, and finally left him with a garrison of 4,000 cavalry. As he returned through Edessa, the Sultan appointed another of his officers, Bozān, as its governor. 2

Qasim 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. 3 When Zangi 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 Mahmūd, 4

1. Al-ʿAynī, XXI, 262b.
2. Al-ʿAzīmī, 366-367; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 105; idem, al-Atabakīya, 6; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 100-101; idem, Bughya, VII, 198a-b; al-Bundārī, 81 (Turkish trans. 83); Matthew of Edessa (Turkish trans.) 172; Abu Shāma, I, 18; Abū al-Fidāʾ, II, 207; Rawandī, 129 (Turkish trans. 127); Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 46-47; Zāhir al-Dīn, 31; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.) I, 231.
Malik-Shah's younger son, and when he realised Tutush's ambition and learned of the struggle for the sultanate between Malik-Shah's sons, circumstances forced Aq-Sonqur into temporary recognition of Tutush. For similar reasons Bozan and Yaghi-Siyan also joined Tutush on his way to Khurasan.

Meanwhile in Khurasan Mahmud's mother, Terken Khafun, who was acting as regent for Mahmud, was killed (487/1094). The eldest son of Malik-Shah, Berk-Yaruq, a boy of thirteen, was proclaimed sultan. This presented an opportunity to Tutush who was on his way to claim the succession when Aq-Sonqur and Bozan, together with their followers, deserted him. Because of their desertion Tutush was obliged to return to Syria. Sultan Berk-Yaruq accompanied Aq-Sonqur and Bozan to al-Rabba and from there they were escorted by the Sultan'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 Bozan and also from Kür-Bugha, the governor of Mosul, and Yusuf b. Abiq, governor of al-Rahba. The armies met on 8 Jumada 487/26 May 1094 by the stream of Sab'in, near Tell al-Sultan, 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


2. Ibn al-Athîr, op. cit., 11-12; Rashîd al-Dîn, 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). ¹

At the time of his father's death Zangi 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 Khurasan for burial. ²

Not long after Aq-Sonqur's death Qiwam al-Dawla Kūr-Bugha took Zangi under his protection and Mosul became the place of Zangi's education and early training. His first experience in battle was the siege of Amid. When Kūr-Bugha died in 494/1101, Musa al-Turkomānī succeeded him but he was murdered shortly afterwards. Mosul then passed into the hands of Shams al-Dawla Chīgīrmish, a former mamlik of Malik-Shāh and ruler of Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, who cared for Zangi until his own death by murder in 500/1106-1107. Zangi 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, Chīgīrmish's son, whose daughter Zangi afterwards married. While Chavīlī Saqava ruled Mosul, Zangi remained in his service until, because of disobedience to the Sultān, Chavīlī was replaced by amīr Mawdūd. Zangi took


² Al-ʿAzīmī, 367; Ibn al-ʿĀdīm, Zubda, II, 105; idem, Bughya, III, 272 a-b.
part in Mawdūd's battles against the Franks 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. During this period he assisted Aq-Sonqur in many campaigns against the Franks, as he also did when Sultan 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 Sultan's son Malik Masʿūd and his Atabeg Chavush Beg.

In 511/1118 Sultan Muḥammad Tapar died and left five sons, Maḥmūd, Masʿūd, Toğhril, 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. Sultan Muḥammad Tapar's brother Sanjar had been made ruler of the eastern provinces, and almost immediately after Maḥmūd's succession he proclaimed himself sultan and defeated his young nephew Maḥmūd.

1. Ibn ʿAsākir, 385.

2. Aq-Sonqur was a mamlūk serving the amīr Porsuq, who had himself been a mamlūk in the sultan's service (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, 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.

at Saveh in 513/1119. When peace was restored Sanjar gave one of his daughters, Mah-Malak Khātun, to Mahmūd in marriage and sent him to the western part of the empire. He gave Mahmūd the title of sultan 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-Sultan al-Ażam (the greatest sultan or supreme ruler).

The opposition to Mahmūd'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. Šadaqa, an Arab. The father of Dubays, Šadaqa, had previously utilised the hostility between the brothers Muhammad 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 Mahmūd and Mas'ūd. In Rabi‘ I, 514/June 1120 Mahmūd's army, under the commander-in-chief, Aq-Soqur Porsuqī, defeated Mas'ūd at

1. Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 80-82.
2. Rawandi, 205 (Turkish trans. I, 198); Rashīd al-Dīn, II, part 5, 106; Zahir al-Dīn, 53.
3. On coins of Sultan Mahmūd, Sanjar appears as al-Sultan al-Ażam and Mahmūd as al-Sultan al-Mu'azzam. The term "al-Sultan al-Ażam" actually appears on the coins of Sultan Muhammad Tapar, which were struck in Isfahān in 506 H. (S. Lane-Poole, Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum, III, 42-43, nos. 81-82; D. Sourdel, Inventaire des monnaies Musulmanes anciennes du musée de Caboul, 92, no.578; Markoff, Inventarnii katologi Musulmanskikh monetl Imperatorskavo Ermitaja, 371, nos.51-52; C. Alptekin, "Selçuklu paralari", SAD, III, 536-545.)
4. For Dubays see Ibn al-‘Adim, Bughya, V, 315 a-b.
Asadābād. Mas'ud received Ṣāḥib al-Kutub’s pardon and was given Ṣabah al-Kutub’s iqta of Mosul to Aq-Sonqur. Mas'ud’s other supporter, Dubays, was forced to take refuge among his wife’s relatives, the Artuqids of Mardin.¹

Together, Sultan Mahmūd and the Caliph al-Mustarshid (512-529/1110-1135) sent a messenger to Artuq b. Il-Ghazi 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 Sultan 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 and banishing his followers from the city. This action incurred the Caliph’s anger and he called upon Mahmūd 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 Mahmūd 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 Rabi‘ 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-Atabātīya, 2364; Rashīd al-Dīn, 11, part 5, 108; Zahir al-Dīn, 54; Bar Hebraeus, (Budge’s trans.), 1, 249.

² For the office of shihna see, A. K. S. Lambton, “The administration of Sanjar’s empire as illustrated in the Atabat al-Kutub”, BSOAS, XX, 380-382.
Caliph entered into an agreement with him. 1

Sultan Mahmud strongly disapproved of any agreement made with Dubays without his knowledge and consent. The Great Sultan Sanjar, fully aware of the position in Iraq, sent a message by the envoy Harawi 2 asking Mahmud to appoint Ahmad b. Nizam al-Mulk, the brother of Mahmud's vizier Uthman as the Caliph's vizier. Meanwhile the vizier Ibn Sadaqa had been replaced by a na'tib. The Caliph, however, concurred and Ahmad received the appointment. 3 It was not by coincidence that the post of the Caliph's vizier and similar offices with both the Great Sultan Mahmud had been filled by relatives of one family. Sanjar's vizier Abdurrazaq Tusii was the nephew of Nizam 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-Sanqur should be banished from Baghdad; his brother Mansur 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-Jawzi, IX, 235; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, X, 428; Sibt, (Jewett), 61-62.

2. Zayn al-Islam Abu Sa'id Muhammad b. Naṣr al-Harawi, grand judge, was sent as a messenger to Sanjar on behalf of the Caliph and Mahmud; after approximately one year he returned, and on his way to Baghdad he called on Mahmud with Sanjar's instructions. (Ibn al-Jawzi, 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 Isma'ilis in Hamadan (Sibt, (Jewett), 69).

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 amirs 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 Zangi, both of whom were under the order of Aq-Sonqur, to establish themselves at Wasit in lower Iraq, where the population welcomed them. This was the first time Zangi had assumed responsibility for an important military operation. He received Wasit as iqṭa* and was charged to maintain the Sultan's authority over this province. Thus augmented, the Caliph's troops, together with the Sultan'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 Nil¹ 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.²

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1. The battle took place at Mubārakiyya on the canal Nil which is near Hilla (Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābākiyya, 25-26; for the canal see G. Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 72-73).

In 518/1124-1125 Sultan Mahmūd relieved Aq-Sonqur of his functions as Shihna of all Iraq, and appointed Barān-Qush 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 Zangi, who, however, preferred to receive his orders direct from the Sultan. Instead of obeying the summons Zangi went to Iṣfahān where he was cordially received and presented with the iqṭa‘ of Bāṣra. He was also given a sum of money and married the rich widow of Amir Kūn-Toghūl who became his second wife.¹

After his crushing defeat Dubays conceived another plan. He attached himself to Malik Toghril, the brother of Sultan Mahmūd, and incited him to establish a new state in Iraq under his own rule. The idea seems to have appealed to Toghril who was willing to cooperate with Dubays. Dubays perhaps dreamed of future aggrandisement through the rise of Toghril. The plan, however, did not reach fruition as the Caliph, together with his vizier Ibn Șadaqa,² left Baghdad and advanced towards Toghril and Dubays who were near Baghdad. There was no time in which to plan for battle and rather than risk defeat, Malik Toghril went eastward. Deserted by Toghril, Dubays


3. Ibn Sadaqa was re-appointed after Ahmad had been dismissed by the Sultan Mahmūd (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 Sultan Sanjar and endeavoured to poison his mind with tales of Mahmud's disloyalty to Sanjar and his closeness to the Caliph. Sanjar wisely welcomed his nephew Toghril, but temporarily cast Dubays into prison.

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

Mahmud, 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 Mahmud and also had

a greater experience of the nature of the Caliph. He advised his nephew not to trust him and was so certain that Mahmud 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. Mahmud realised the wisdom of Sanjar's demands, broke his agreement with the Caliph and prepared to go to Baghdad, thus reversing the Caliph's plans. This sudden withdrawal by Mahmud somewhat alarmed the Caliph who thereupon endeavoured to deter his departure by a plea of famine in that area.

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 Mahmud 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 Tigirs to take up a defensive position. Mahmud's attitude, however, was one of conciliation and he sent a delegation to the Caliph, headed by Baran-Qush Zakawi, whom the Caliph accused of influencing the Sultan against him. By this time the relations between Mahmud and the Caliph had become so


2. Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid; Sibt (MS), XIX, 92b-93a; Ibn al-Athir, ibid; the latter again gives a different view concerning the famine in the area as being caused by Dubays' looting. Muhammad al-Imrani, (Kitab al-Anba' fi Tariikh al-Khulafa', 154a) supports Ibn al-Athir. 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.  

Al-Mustarshid launched an offensive commanded by 'Afiğ towards the south in an endeavour to secure control of lower Iraq. In obedience to an order given by the Sultan, Zangi took immediate action. From Basra he marched along the bank of the Euphrates to Wasit. He sent a warning to 'Afiğ to give up his project and return to his master. This warning was ignored and a battle ensued in which the troops of 'Afiğ were completely routed. Zangi, who according to Ibn al-Athîr, had no desire to capture 'Afiğ, 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 (Hâjîb), Ibn al-Şâhib.  

Mahmûd arrived at the head of his troops on 10 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 Sultan's men pillaged the Caliph's palace and the population joined the fighting by attacking

2. Ibn al-Athîr, ibid; idem, al-Atâbâkiya, 29-30.
3. According to al-Bundarî, 152; (Turkish trans., 144) the looting was arranged by Mahmûd's vizier Dargazînî, who was, however, accused of receiving a bribe, dismissed and imprisoned. He was afterwards freed and appointed as vizier to Mahmûd's wife by the wish of Sanjar; afterwards Dargazînî was again raised to the post of Mahmûd's vizier (Ibn al-Athîr, al-Kâmîl, X, 459).
the Sultan'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 Zangi arrived after travelling by land and river.
Zangi's undoubted military talents turned the scale in the Sultan's favour.
He moved with astonishing rapidity through a region of marshes and canals,
requisitioning all available boats on route from Wasit, Basra and Babylon and
sending his troops up the Tigris valley. With the approach of such powerful
reinforcements, added to the desertion of the Kurdish Amir of Irbil, Abu al-
Hayja, the Caliph panicked. The Sultan's troops had carried the battle into
the streets of the city and Zangi'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. Mahmud was willing to agree, although his commanders con-
sidered such clemency to be foolish. Mahmud, 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.

The strong personality and obvious capability of Zangi 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 Mahmud, therefore, contemplated a return to Isfahan, Zangi was an

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1. Ibn al-Qalanišī, 215-216; Ibn al-Jawzi, X, 3; Ibn al-Athīr, al-
Kaml, X, 449-450; idem, al-Atabakiya, 30; Rawantī, 205
(Turkish trans., I, 198); Abu Shama, I, 74; Rashīd al-Dīn, II,
part 5, 107; Zahir al-Dīn, 53; M.A. Kīyman, II, 80-111;
N. Elisseif, 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 Rabi‘ I, 520/April 1126 the Sultan entrusted him with the post of Shihna of Baghdad with which he also successfully combined the fiefs he had previously held in Wasit and Basra.\(^1\)

Meanwhile, events were taking place in Mosul which were to influence Zangi’s future. On Friday, 9 Dhul-Qa‘da 520/26 November 1126, as Aq-Sonqur Porsuqi was on his way to deliver the Khutba at the great Mosque of Mosul, he was attacked and assassinated, despite the coat of mail he was wearing.\(^2\) All his attackers, who were disguised as dervishes, were lynched by the crowd and only one of them managed to escape.\(^3\) Al-Bundari writes of the assassination, and claims that it was arranged by Qiwām al-Dīn Naṣīr ibn ‘Alī al-Dargazīnī, the vizier of Sultan 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

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atabakiya, 30; Abu Shama, I, 74; Ibn Wāsil, 31; Abu 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-Atabakiya, 31; al-Bundari, 144-145 (Turkish trans., 137); Ibn al-‘Adīm, Bughya, III, 275a-279b; Ibn al-Azraq, 163a; Qāḍī ‘Imād al-Dīn, 120; Abu Shāma, I, 75; Ibn Wāsil, I, 31; Abu al-Fidā‘, II, 239; Bar Hebraeus (Budge’s trans.), I, 252; B. Lewis, The Assassins, 105.
3. Ibn al-‘Adīm, who quoted from the Tarīkh of Abu 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 Sultan to banish him.\(^1\)

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 Sultan Maḥmūd at Iṣfahān of appointment to his father's post.\(^2\)

'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 Šahlī, 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-Togīn. For three years the Atabeg had strengthened his power in Central Syria. On Rabī' 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-Qalānī, 214 (Gibb's trans. 178); Ibn-al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 447; idem, al-Ālābakiya, 32; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bughya, III, 279a-b; Ibn Wāṣīl, I, 31; Abū al-Fidāʾ, II, 250; 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd's land included Mosul, al-Jazīra, Aleppo, Hama, Jazīrat ibn 'Umar which passed to Zangi after his death (Abū Shāma, 1, 75).
Mas'ūd was determined to mobilize his forces in an attempt to extend his land in Syria. Tugh-Tegin 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-Rahba; on the day of his death Rajab 521/July 1127, the army of Mosul disintegrated and part of its strength joined Tugh-Tegin. ¹

In Mosul, the vizier Chavli assumed control and proclaimed Mas'ūd's younger brother ² as sovereign. He sent a delegation to Baghdad to obtain official investiture for his protegé, composed of Qādī Bahā' al-Dīn, Abū al-Hasan ʿAlī al-Qāsim al-Shahrazūrī and the former chamberlain of aq-Sonqur, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghi-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 Sultan Mahmūd 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 Mahmūd therefore appointed him to the governorship of Mosul. At the same time he placed his son Alp-Arsilān under his

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¹ Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 213 (Gibb’s trans. 178); Ibn al-ʿAthīr, al-Ḥāmīl, X, 453; idem, al-Atābākīya, 32; Abū Shama, I, 75; Abū al-Fīdāʾ, II, 250.

guardianship, by which action Zangi received the title of Atabeg. 1

Certainly later events proved the wisdom of Sultan Mahmud’s choice. 2

1. Zangi was guardian to two Seljuq Maliks, one Farrukh-Shah, had been captured from Dubays; this was probably the child whom Dubays had seized when he left Mahmud just after the Sultan’s wife, Mah-Malak Khatoon, died (Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, X, 461). Al-Bundari (205-206; Turkish trans., 186) records that “Zangi was the guardian of two Maliks, the one known as Alp-Arslan lived in a castle in Sinjar. The other Farrukh-Shah (also known as Malik Khafaji) lived in Mosul. The latter, who was entrusted to the care of Amir Dubays, was captured by Zangi during a battle. Zangi treated him well as also did Sukmana Khatun, Zangi’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 Qalat Jarab.

CHAPTER II

ZANGI'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 ex­vizier 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 Sultan’s orders, and together they ceremoniously entered the city.¹

The position caused the inevitable re-organisation of official personnel. Amīr Chavli received al-Rāḥba, Naṣr al-Dīn Chaqīr was appointed as the Dīzdār of the citadel of Mosul and was made superintendent of all castles in that region. Both of Chavlī’s delegates received recognition for their previous services to Zangī; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yaghī-Basān was made amīr ḥājīb (chamberlain), whilst Bāḥāʾ al-Dīn Shahrāzūrī became qāḍī al-qudāt (grand judge) and Zangī’s personal adviser.²

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

2. Ibn al-Athīr, ibid; idem, al-Atabakīya, 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-Zalaqat. 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-Zalaqat 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.  

From there he marched on to Sinjar without further opposition, occupied it and sent shihnas to all the important towns throughout the territory.

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, 'Īzz al-Dīn Mas'ūd had appointed Tuman as his representative in Aleppo, but later replaced him by the mamlūk Qutlu Beg. Tuman, however, refused to be displaced until

2. Ibn Wāṣil, I, 36.
3. For Qutlu Beg (Khuṭlu Ḍab) see Ibn al-'Adīm, Bughya, V, 132a-134a.
he realised that ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd had suddenly died. Upon hearing this he offered to yield the citadel to Qutlu Beg upon payment of 1,000 dinars. 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 Aḥḍaṭh (militia) of Aleppo revolted, led by Faḍl b. Bādīṭ. 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.¹

Such was the situation with which Zangi was faced. He sent an advance guard to Aleppo led by two commanders, Sonqur al-Dirāz and Hasan Qara-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 Zangi with Aleppo in addition to the posts already awarded to him in Mosul and al-Jazīra. The population of Aleppo welcomed Zangi's commanders and order was restored. Zangi appointed Hasan Qara-Qush as his deputy in Aleppo, and Sulaymān and Qutlu Beg were sent to Mosul at Zangi's request. There he reconciled the two men, but sent his ḥājib, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yagḥī-Bāsān, together with a troop to take over the citadel. After these preparations, Zangi himself crossed the Euphrates near Qa‘lat al-Najm, one day's march to the north-east of Aleppo, and captured Manbij. Then, in Jumāda, Il 522/June 1128, he entered Aleppo and was

welcomed enthusiastically by its population and his friends. 1

The amirs Sonqur al-Diraz and Hasan Qara-Qush already in Aleppo with a strong army, had used the name of Zangi's father, Qasi'm al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur, as propaganda to ensure a good reception for Zangi. He lost no time in restoring law and order once again and distributed iqti* among the amirs and soldiers. Qutlu Beg was arrested and sent to Fadai'il b. Badri, who blinded him thus causing his death. In order to consolidate his position, Zangi married the daughter of Ridvan b. Tutush. 2

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

1. Al-‘Azimi, 400; Ibn al-Qalanisi, 218 (Gibb's trans., 183); Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, X, 457-458; idem, al-Atabaklya, 38; Ibn al-‘Adim, Zubda, II, 244; idem, Bughya, VI, 210b-213a; Abu Shama, I, 77; Ibn Wasi'il, I, 38-39; Ibn Khallikan, I, 51; Abü al-Fida’, II, 250-251; Matthew, Turkish trans., 286-287; French trans., 320.

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 Mahmūd, the Caliph thought it wiser to take no action against him. Mahmūd was charged to carry out the policy of Sanjar, which was to take Mosul from Atabeg Zangi and bestow it upon Dubays. This was in complete disagreement with the Caliph's views, who much preferred Zangi to retain this position. When Zangi realised that Mahmūd had been ordered to displace him he, in turn, offered Mahmūd 100,000 dinars and went to him bearing valuable gifts. They spent three days together and Mahmūd 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, Mahmūd appointed Bihruz as shihna of Baghdad with which appointment he also included the governorship of Hilla.1

In spite of Sanjar's instructions, Mahmūd acted as an independent Sultan. He ignored Sanjar's request concerning Dubays, and he left Baghdad taking Dubays with him to Hamadan. At this juncture, Mahmūd'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 Mahmūd. Various groups joined him on

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāamil, X, 460; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 244; Ibn Wāṣil, I, 40; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 254; two sources, Ibn Taghri Birdī, (II, part 2, 389) and Ibn Khallikān (I, 51), both state that the Caliph offered Mahmūd 100,000 dinars 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
Mahmūd and Dubays entered Hilla in Ramadān 522/July 1128. The first to
receive the news of these events was the Caliph, who at once mobilised his
force. When Sultan Mahmūd realised the situation he summoned Qızīl and
Aq-Sonqur Almadīlī, 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 Sultan, 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.

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

2. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 12; Sīḥ (MS), XIX, 130a; Ibn al-Athīr, ibid; Ibn Wāsīl, I, 44.
While Maḥmūd was in Baghdad, his brother Masʿūd, 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 Masʿūd 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 Daʾūd, 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. 1

Meanwhile, Dubays, who had received neither post nor emolument from Maḥmūd, appeared in Syria in 525/1131 at Qaṣībat Jaʿbar. Here he left the young Seljuq prince with the ruler, Najm al-Dawla Mālik, 2 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-Degin, 3 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

of the Caliph al-Mustarshid Billah 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 Bodouin encampment at Banū Qīlāt, east of the Ghuta of Damascus. The lord of Damascus, Tāj al-Mulūk Bōrī who had immediately been informed of his presence, seized the opportunity to bring Dubays captive to Damascus and on Monday 6, Sha‘bān 525/6 July 1131 he was consigned to the citadel where he remained prisoner. Tāj al-Mulūk Bōrī had promised that the person of Dubays should be delivered to Caliph al-Mustarshid Billah, but Zangi 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 Bōrī, was among them and Zangi offered him and the other prisoners, together with 50,000 dinars, in exchange for the person of Dubays. The offer was too strong for Tāj al-Mulūk Bōrī to refuse, particularly as consent would obviate an attack upon himself. A large detachment of Zangi’s army brought the Damascene prisoners to Qāra, 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 Zangi, who received him courteously, probably by Sanjar’s instructions, and gave him money and weapons.

1. Ibn al-Azraq, 164a.
2. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 249 (it was 100,000 dinars).
Meanwhile the Caliph's escort, which included Abu Bishr al-Jazri and Sadid al-Dawla ibn al-Anbari, had set out to receive Dubays, but learned on route that Zangi had rescued him. They continued their journey until they reached Taj al-Muluk Bori in Damascus and remained there for a few days before returning to the Caliph. As the escort was on its return to Baghdad, Zangi's soldiers captured them near al-Rahba as they were crossing the Euphrates. Anbari, the secretary of the Caliph, suffered great hardship from imprisonment and ill-usage before he was freed and allowed to return to Baghdad. Ibn al-Athir, who always portrays the better side of Zangi, excuses his behaviour to the Caliph's escort by stating that their defamatory remarks had been repeated to him. From this time Zangi adopted an anti-Caliph policy. This became more apparent during the Seljuq quarrels after the disappearance of Sultan Mahmud, who died in Shawwal 525/September 1131.

Soon after Mahmud's death his son Da'ud was proclaimed as Sultan, and was supported by his father's vizier Abu al-Qasim Dargazini and the governor of Maraga Aq-Sonqur Ahmadili. His suzerainty was, however, accepted only in Jibal ('Iraq-i 'Ajam) and Adhabayjan, where the khitba


3. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 230; al-Bundari, 156 (Turkish trans., 147); Ibn al-Azraq, 163b; Sibt (MS), XIX, 110; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, X, 471; idem, al-Afatbakiya, 42-43; Qadi 'Imad al-Din, 122; Abou Shama, I, 79; Ibn Wasi, ibid; Zahir al-Din, 54; Ibn Taghri Birdi, III, part 2, 10.
was read in his name.\(^1\)

His uncle Mas'ūd was the first to dispute his authority and occupied Tabrīz. Da'ūd surrounded the city, but shortly after they came to an agreement. Mas'ūd requested the Caliph to announce him in the Khutba 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 Khutba.\(^2\)

Mas'ūd contacted Zangi suggesting a mutual alliance and was delighted when Zangi agreed.\(^3\) It is not clear in the sources why Zangi 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-Saqī raised a large army in Baghdad. He was welcomed by the Caliph, but Seljuq-Shāh's name was not read in the Khutba although the Caliph allied himself with them against Mas'ūd and Zangi. Zangi set off from Mosul to join Mas'ūd but Qarāja al-Saqī 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 Zangi, and attacked him at

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2. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 474; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 256.
Sāmarra. Zangi was surprised and subsequently defeated by this unexpected attack, whereby he had lost a number of his men, causing him to withdraw to Takrit. Its Dizdar was a Kurd named Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and he built a bridge to assist Zangi to cross the Tigris and return to Mosul to reassemble his forces. While Qaraja al-Saqī was busy attacking Zangi, Masʿūd, whose forces were not joined with those of Zangi, had been having some skirmishes with Seljuq-Shāh who asked Qaraja al-Saqī to return at once to assist him. When Masʿūd heard of Zangi'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 Masʿūd should be the Sultan, while Seljuq-Shāh was nominated as his successor (Jumāda 1 526/March-April 1132). 1

Following this agreement Masʿūd went to Baghdad and took up residence in the house of the Sultan (Dar al-Sultan) 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 Sultan 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 Mahmūd's ex-vizier Qiwām al-Dīn Nāṣir ibn Ṭalī al-Dargazīnī. The vizier had finally left Iraq,

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 25; Sibt (MS), XIX, 111; ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 475; idem, al-Atabakīya, 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 Toghril. The Sultan Sanjar sent a message to Zangi 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 Zangi as Shihna of Baghdad and granted Dubays the iqta 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'ud and presented him with Adharbayjan as iqta. The Atabeg Qaraja al-Saqi was killed, while Toghril was proclaimed as sultan and his name was read in the Khutba in all the territories; al-Dargazini became Toghril's vizier (Jumada II 526/May 1132), and Sanjar hastened to return to Khurasan to quell the riot in Transoxania.

The news of Zangi's departure for Baghdad reached the Caliph while he was at Khanaqin. He rode to 'Abbasiyya and encamped there together with 2,000 cavalry. The right flank of his army was commanded by Jamal al-Dawla Iqbal, while the left was under the command of Nazar; the Caliph took command of the head. Zangi's troops together with those of Dubays numbered some 7,000 cavalry. Zangi began his attack on the right flank of

1. The probable explanation of this was that Zangi, on Sanjar's instructions, was dismissed when Mahmod was ordered to give the post to Dubays; but Mahmud allowed Zangi to retain it. Later he was re-appointed by Sanjar as shihna of Baghdad.

2. Ibn al-Jawzi, X, 26; al-Bundari, 158-159 (Turkish trans., 149); Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, X, 476-477; Rawandi, 208 (Turkish trans., 1, 201); Rashid al-Din, II, part 5, 110; Zahir al-Din, 54; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), 1, 256-257.

3. Al-'Azimi, 405-406.
the Caliph's forces and put them to flight. The Caliph, sword in hand, charged and defeated Zangi who had been forsaken by Dubays, and killed or captured many of Zangi's men. Notwithstanding the fact that Zangi 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 Zangi returned to Mosul while the Caliph remained at the scene of the battle for one night, then returned to Baghdad.  

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.  

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

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1. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, X, 474-475; idem, al-Atabakiya, 45-46; Ibn Wasi, I, 50; Abū al-Fida', III, 9; and according to al-'Azimi (405-406) and Ibn al-'Adim, (Zubda, II, 251) the battle took place at 'Aqraqūf in Shabībān/May-June.

the traditional robes of honour from the Caliph.¹

The march upon Baghdad and the subsequent arrest of his messenger, added to the release of Dubays, caused the Caliph to send Baha' al-Din Abū al-Futūh al-İsfārāynī, the preacher, to Mosul to remonstrate with Zangi.² The messenger was, however, arrested upon arrival and the Caliph on receipt of the news immediately advised the Sultan 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 Ādharbājjan fighting his brother Togrul. 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.² 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 Iqbal, Nazar and 'Afff. 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 Ramadān/26 July, and laid siege to the city. The Atabeg Zangi had strategically left Mosul before the Caliph’s arrival leaving Naṣr al-Dīn Chaqīr, the Dizdar, as deputy in his absence, while he himself set off for Sinjar. Zangi’s strategy was to occupy

1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, 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-Atabakīya, 47; Abu 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 Nasr al-Dīn Chaqīr 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 Zangi, with his usual perspicacity, wisely contacted him and by gifts and diplomacy again restored peace.¹

In the western part of the Seljuq empire, fighting was still raging among the princes. After a first defeat, Toghril 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 Toghril and several of Dā'ūd's commanders joined him, among whom was Dubays. Toghril's army met and defeated Mas'ūd's army, in 528/1134, 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 Toghril. The Caliph hoped that Mas'ūd would himself face his brother and sent the Shihna of Baghdad, Amir Chavīlī al-Qāsim, to report on whether Mas'ūd showed signs of doing so. In the midst of these

¹ Ibn al-Aẓraq, 164a; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 2-3; idem, al-Atābākiya, 47; Qāḍī ʿImād al-Dīn, 122; Abū Shāma, I, 79; Ibn Wāsīl, I, 52-53; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 257.
preparations the sudden death of Toghril was announced in 3 Muharram 529/ 24 October 1134. Without losing any time and no longer waiting for the Caliph’s reactions, Mas‘ūd set out for Hamadan without allowing Toghril’s commanders, Sonqur Khumar-Tegin, governor of Hamadan, Qīzil, Barān-Qush Bazdar, ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Tughan Yūruq, Chavīr, the ruler of Zanjān and Haydār b. Shīrgīr, to plan their future actions and proclaimed himself ruler. Together with Dubays, Toghril’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 Sultan Mas‘ūd.

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 Da‘ūd. At the instigation of some of the amīrs the Caliph left Baghdad to campaign against Mas‘ūd and Jamāl al-Dawla Iqbal was left in charge of the capital. The warnings of the Caliph’s vizier Ibn al-Anbarī and the treasurer Kamāl al-Dīn b. Talha not to take action against Mas‘ūd were ignored.

1. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 41.
3. Al-Bundarī, 175 (Turkish trans. 162-163).
At this time Atabeg Zangi was besieging Damascus. The Caliph despatched Raʾīs Bishr b. Karīm b. Bishr to Zangi as envoy, together with gifts and robes of honour and ordered Zangi to join him in his forthcoming fight against Masʿūd. Zangi sent reinforcements to the Caliph but he himself returned to Aleppo.¹

The Caliph's progress towards Hamadān, across the Zagros, was slow, and Masʿūd on his way was able to divert the allegiance of some of his commanders. One Turkish commander Beg-Āba deserted the Caliph but another, Porsuq b. Porsuq, joined him. A clash between the two forces of the Caliph and Masʿūd took place on 10 Ramadān 529/24 June 1135, but the Caliph's Turkish commanders refused to take the situation seriously and Masʿūd 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 Zangi arrived too late to be of use.²

Masʿūd 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-Qalānī, 245 (Gibb's trans., 235-236); Ibn al-Āthīr, al-Atabakiya, 49.
2. Al-ʿAzīmī, 410-411; Ibn al-Jawzī, ibid; Ibn al-Āthīr, al-Ḳāmil, XI, 15; idem, al-Atabakiya, 49; Ibn al-Azraq, 164b-165a; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zābdā, II, 250; Muhammad al-ʿImrānī, 156a; Rawandi, 227 (Turkish trans., 1, 218); Zāhīr al-Dīn, 56.
the expenses of the recent war. Further, he promised never again to command an army. The Caliph who had remained for about one and a half months with Mas'ud, then prepared to return to Baghdad. At this time Sultan Sanjar sent a delegation to Mas'ud 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'īlīs. 2

Sanjar and Mas'ud were not averse to the murder although, when Ibn al-Anbarī and Kamāl al-Dīn Ṭalha were summoned to Mas'ud's presence he made a pretence of being so. The question of al-Mustarshid's succession was raised by Mas'ud and the ex-vizier stated that the Caliph's son, al-Rāshid, had already been proclaimed as his father's successor. Mas'ud reluctantly accepted their announcement and ordered Beg-Aba, who had been appointed as shīhna of Baghdad, to give loyalty to al-Rāshid. 3

1. The sources differ concerning the amount, some give 400,000 dinars (Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 22) and other 700,000 (Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 54).

2. Al-ʿAzīmi, 410-411; Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 47; Muhammad al-ʿImrānī, 158a; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 17; idem, al-ʿAtabakīya, 48-50; al-Husaynī, 75; Rāwandi, 228 (Turkish trans., I, 218); Rashīd al-Dīn, 114-115; Zāhīr al-Dīn, 56; Abū Shāma, I, 79; Abū al-Fida', III, 79; Ibn Ṭiqaqa, 270-271 (English trans., 292-293); Ibn Taghri Birdī, III, part I, 19; and according to Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans., 1, 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, Harezmshālār Devleti Tarihi, 26.

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 Sultan'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'ud sent an Armenian to assassinate him and it was accomplished while he was camping near to the small town of Huwaya.  

Two months after al-Rashid's succession, Mas'ud sent one of his commanders, Baran-Qush Zakawi, to the new Caliph at the head of a troop demanding the money which his father al-Mustashid had promised to pay. Al-Rashid 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. Al-Rashid stated that he did not even possess such a vast sum of money. When he learned that Baran-Qush Zakawi 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

1. Ibn al-Qalanisī, 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 Taghri Birdī, III, part I, 18; Abu al-Fida', III, 10; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 260-261.

2. Ibn Tiqtaqa (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 Wāṣīt. From this a new situation arose.

While in the service of Masʿūd 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 Taghri Birdī, the Caliph wrote to Zangi offering to include the name of Alp-Arslān in the khutba if Zangi would assist him against Masʿūd.

The first to arrive was Malik Daʿūd, who came from Ādharbāyjān on 4 Ṣafar 530/14 November 1135; shortly afterwards Zangi arrived from Mosul, and some other Turkish commanders followed them, such as Bārān-Qush Bāzdar, ruler of Qazwīn, Alp-Qush, ruler of Isfahān, Boz-Ābā, Ibn Porsuq and Ibn Aḥmadīlī. Two Arabs also came, one of whom was Iqbal and the other Ṣadaqa Ibn Dubays, who had succeeded his father Dubays as ruler of Hilla. They all gathered in Baghdad and persuaded al-Rāshid to attack Masʿūd. This was in defiance of the agreement written in his own hand that he would not raise an army against Masʿūd. The penalty would be forfeiture of the Caliphate.

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

protection of Atabeg Zangi. ¹ Zangi himself received a warm welcome from the Caliph to his capital, but Malik Da'ūd was more or less ignored and permission to read his name in the khujba was not granted. At this he became angry and endeavoured to assert himself, and began to destroy the city wall. ² He further asserted himself by appointing Bārān-Qush Bāzdār as shībna of Baghdad. ³ Although these high-handed measures angered the Caliph and cemented his liking for Zangi, he allowed Da'ūd's name to be read in the khujba. 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 Jamal al-Dawla Iqba l and Našīh al-Dawla Abū ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥasan, the Ustaddār, whom he accused of having allied themselves with Mas'ūd. His vizier Abū al-Rida ibn Ṣadaqa fled to Zangi's protection. Zangi contacted Malik Da'ūd and induced him to offer the vizier the same post in his service. Some days later, upon Zangi's representations, the Caliph re-instated the vizier in his service. ⁴

1. Sibt (MS), XIX, 126b; Ibn al'-Adīm, Zubda, II, 258; Ibn Wāsīl, I, 63.
Zangi'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. Zangi 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, Zangi claimed, was actually the revenue from Hilla and property of the Sultan. He affirmed that the money was necessary for the upkeep of his army and the Caliph was obliged to give Zangi the sum of 200,000 dinars.¹

Malik Dā'ūd's and the Caliph's respect increased when Zangi's diplomacy and foresight caused him to remove Seljuq-Shāh from his occupation of Wasit. The Shibna, Beg-Ābā, was arrested and his property confiscated, while Seljuq-Shāh left Wasit without a fight. When Zangi 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 Zangi, and they were then ready to face Sultan Mas'ud.²

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

¹. Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 56 (he records that it was 300,000 dinars); 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, 1, 63-64.
Meanwhile Mas'ūd wrote to all the commanders in Baghdad urging them to unite with him. Zangi, however, managed to intervene and prevent any secession. Mas'ūd's attempts to bribe Zangi 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 Zangi should have his lands. Mas'ūd also sued Caliph al-Rashid for conciliation but was refused. Mas'ūd then besieged the city for 51 days, 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 Zangi's men to join forces with him. Mas'ūd withdrew to Nahrawan and Toluntay, ruler of Wasit, 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 Zangi was to leave the city, but before he left he asked al-Rashid to join him and together they went to Mosul (4 Dhu'l Qa'da 530/14 August 1136).

1. Muhammad al-'Imrānī, 159a.
2. Ibn al-Athir records in al-Atabakiya (51-52) 51 days, but in al-Kāmil (XI, 26) 50 days.
Suljan Mas'ud entered Baghdad and the population accepted the measures necessary to return to normal life. He also asked al-Rashid to return to Baghdad, but he refused. Mas'ud 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-Anbarī and the treasurer Kamal al-Dīn Talha who had been taken prisoner during the fight between Mas'ud and al-Mustarshid. They were released and proffered their allegiance to Mas'ud. Then Mas'ud called the governors, judges, nobles and the witnesses together and showed them the contract which al-Rashid had previously signed. They decided that al-Rashid was no longer eligible to hold the post of caliph. When Mas'ud asked them whom they considered to be capable of filling this office, Sharaf al-Dīn Zaynabī, who later became the vizier of the new Caliph, mentioned the name of ‘Abdullāh Ibn Mustazhir. Mas'ud 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-Muqtasī al-'Amrillāh was implemented with his name on 18 Dhu'l-Qa'da 530/18 August 1136. Mas'ud 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.

1. Ibn al-Azraq, 166a.
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 Khutba together with those of Sanjar and Mas'ūd. He was recognised by all but Atabeg Zangi, who continued his allegiance to al-Rashid. When the news reached Mosul, Zangi and al-Rashid sent their separate envoys to the Sultan in Baghdad. Al-Rashid’s envoy was ignored but Zangi’s envoy, Kamāl al-Dīn Shahrazūrī, with a letter addressed to Diwan al-‘Azīz, was welcomed. When he attended the Diwan, 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 Diwan, he said, "We have already saluted al-Rashid but if you could legitimately dispose of al-Rashid, we are ready to salute al-Muqtafi". Again governors, judges, nobles and witnesses were gathered and formally, for the second time, deposed al-Rashid. He then saluted al-Muqtafi. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the sudden change of mind by the envoy is accounted for by bribary. The idea of bribery however,


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 Zangi and not able to
make his own decisions. There is no doubt that acceptance had become
inevitable as both the Great Sultan Sanjar and Sultan Mas'ud had left Zangi
no alternative but to break his promise to al-Rashid. Zangi then cut the
name of al-Rashid and Da'ud from the Khutba which was read in his territories,
substituting the names of al-Muqtafi, Sanjar and Mas'ud. The now Caliph ex-
pressed his pleasure at Zangi's acknowledgement by presenting him with several
villages among which the sources named Harbi, Hadirah, Sarifayn and Hilla
and probably also with some courtesy titles.

Zangi's action in this particular roused protest from al-Rashid, par-
ticularly as Zangi recommended him to seek refuge with Malik Da'ud,
emphasising that he himself was unable to fight Sultan Mas'ud.

Sultan Mas'ud, however, sent 2,000 cavalry to Mosul to capture al-
Rashid, but he had already left the city for Adharbayjan. He then went to
Hamadan. There al-Rashid met Malik Da'ud, Mengü-Bars the ruler of Fars,
and also Boz-Abā, ruler of Khūzishtan; together they fought a losing battle

1. Sanjar sent an envoy, Yūmnī al-ʿIraq al-Hādim to Zangi ordering
him to send al-Rashid from his land (Ibn al-Jawzī, X, 67); Ibn al-
Aṭṭārī, al-ʿAtabakiyya, 53-54; Abū Shāma, I, 80-81; al-Husaynī,
75-76.

2. Al-ʿAzīmī, 411-412; Ibn al-ʿAṭṭārī, al-ʿAtabakiyya, 54; Ibn al-Azraq,
167b; Ibn al-Qalānīsi, 256-257; al-Husaynī, 76; Ibn al-ʿAdīm Zubda, II, 260;
Abū Shāma, ibid; Ibn Wāsīl, I, 68-70; Ibn ʿIqṭaqa, 297-298; M.A.
Köymen, II, 286-302.

against Mas'ūd. Soon after, al-Nashid was murdered by assassins from Khurasan in Isfahan. 1

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. Sultan 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 Sultan 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. 2

1. Ibn al-Azraq, 167b; al-Bundārī, 181 (Turkish trans., 167); Muhammad al-Imrānī, 160a; Rawandi, 229 (Turkish trans., 1, 219-220); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 40-41; idem, al-Atabakīya, 54; Ibn al-Adīn Zubda, II, 260; Abū Shama, I, 80; al-Husaynī, 76; Zāhīr al-Dīn, 56; Ibn Tiqtāqa, 276 (English trans., 298); Ibn Taghri Birdi, III, part 1, 24-25; B. Lewis, The Assassins, 68; M.A. Kębmen, II, 304.

The governors and amīrs of the provinces were always more or less in rebellion against Sultan Masʿūd. At this time Masʿūd suspected, and not entirely without foundation, that Zangi was assisting to spread it. It seemed that when Masʿūd endeavoured to quell insurrection in one part of his territory, another sprang up, and Zangi’s own power always increased. Masʿūd, therefore, decided that those activities must be checked and Zangi himself liquidated.

During a comparatively peaceful period in 538/1144, Masʿūd went— as at previous times—to Baghdad for a while. There he decided to attack Atabeg Zangi. He demanded that Zangi 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 Zangi promised to pay Masʿūd 100,000 dinars. Certainly Masʿūd would have found great difficulty in replacing Zangi. His successes both diplomatically and on the battlefield, especially against the Franks, had been outstanding. Masʿūd would have preferred to appoint Malik Daʾūd to Zangi’s post, but was prevented by Daʾūd’s assassination, while he was riding through the market of Tabriz. It was rumoured that the assassination had been planned by Zangi. 3

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

2. Ibn Taghri Birdi, III, part I, 32.
3. Al-Bundārī, 195 (Turkish trans., 178); B. Lewis, The Assassins, 68.
that Zangi 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-Arslan'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-Din, Zangi accepted Mas'ud's authority. A coin struck by Zangi in 540/1145-1146 at Mosul is further evidence of his loyalty to the Seljuq Sultans. On it the names of the Great Sultan Sanjar and his vassal, Sultan Mas'ud, appear together with his own and that of Malik Alp-Arslan, which indicates that Zangi ruled the state in the name of Alp-Arslan.

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

1. Ibn al-Athir, al-Aṣa'bākīya, 65; Abu Shama, 1, 93; Ibn Wāsil, ibid., Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), 1, 258.
CHAPTER III

ZANGĪ'S CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE FRANKS AND THE AṬABEGS OF DAMASCUS
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ZANGI'S CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE FRANKS AND THE ATABEGS OF DAMASCUS

When Zangi 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 Harrān and Raqqa and even sent squadrons to Ra’s al-‘Ayn on the Ḥābir. 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 Zangi became the Atabeg of Mosul. ¹

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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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, Abu Shama, and Ibn al-Adīm, together with other later Muslim historians, reflect that Zangi probably planned to unite and control all Muslim towns in Syria. When his son Nur al-Dīn made the final step in this direction these historians felt it had probably originated with Zangi himself. They had a bias toward him and attributed his motives rather to creating a Jihad 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 Zangi food and drink. ¹

The truce gave Zangi an opportunity to consolidate his plans and to organise his resources. Joscelin needed a similar brief respite. A dispute had arisen between him and Bohemond II of Antioch which concerned Azaz. Bohemond considered Azaz 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. ²

These circumstances enabled Zangi to shape the affairs of his own state from Aleppo. The death of Tugh-Tegin, at this time, was fortunate for Zangi. Tugh-Tegin was succeeded by his elder son, Taj al-Muluk Böri. Unfortunately for the immediate consummation of his plan, Zangi was forced to go to Baghdad to prevent the appointment of Dubays b. Sadaqa in his place before he was able to return to Aleppo. Under the pretext of a Jihad he sent to Taj al-Muluk Böri 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. Böri was, however, too wary to commit himself until he had received a solemn assurance from Zangi that he would not attack his territory. Then he sent him a contingent of 500 horsemen under the command

¹. Ibn al-Athîr, al-Kamîl, X, 456; idem, al-Atâbakiya, 37; Ibn al-`Adîm, Bughya, VI, 200a; Abu Shama, I, 77; Ibn Wâsîl, 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 Amir Shams al-Umara al-Khawass together with a number of amirs and officers. He also ordered his son Bahaa' al-Din Sevinch, who had just settled in Hamah, to join the troops in Aleppo. Zangii gave a warm welcome to Sevinch but after three days he treacherously imprisoned him, together with his amirs, in the citadel of Aleppo, and permitted their tents and equipment to be looted. He next moved to Hamah, which was an easy conquest (18 Shawwal 524/24 September 1130). The amir of Hims, Samsam al-Din Qir-Khan b. Qaraja, who had served in Zangii's army, had been an accomplice in organising the treachery against Burri. In payment for his services he demanded Hamah and offered, in exchange, a large sum of money. Zangii feigned agreement, accepted the money and made a pretence of installing Qir-Khan as governor and ordered his name to be quoted in the midday prayer. The same evening however, Qir-Khan was arrested and Zangii appointed a governor of his own choice, before continuing towards Hims. At this time Burri of Damascus was in conflict with Baldwin of Jerusalem and Zangii seized the opportune moment to march on Hims, where he forced his prisoner Qir-Khan to induce his son and his deputies to open the gates. Qir-Khan's son, realising that the plea was made under duress, ignored it. Unfortunately for Zangii his equipment was insufficient for an adequate siege of the city. For forty days his squadrons endeavoured to prevent food supplies from reaching Hims but the approach of

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1. Ibn al-'Adim (Zubda, II, 243) and Ibn Wasil (I, 71) record this name as "Khayir-Khan", while al-`Azimi (403) and Gadi 'Imad al-Din (121) name him as "Khayir-Khan".
winter compelled him to raise the siege and return to Aleppo (Dhu‘l-Ḥijja 524/November 1130). The amīr Sayf al-Dawla Sawār b. Āy-Tegin, who had left the service of the Atabeg of Damascus and now served Zangi, was given the custody of Qīr-Khān, Sevinch and the Damascene amīrs who had been retained in fetters. These hostages secured Zangi from attack by Damascus; particularly since Būrī was unable to produce the 50,000 dinars demanded as ransom for his son, Sevinch.

Meanwhile, the Franks seem to have ignored Zangi’s manoeuvre in Syria, probably because of several unforeseen events. In Rabi‘ I 524/February 1130, Bohemond 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 Zangi’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 Lādhiqīya and Jabala, while Joscelin of Edessa acted for the young Constance as regent of the principality.
These events had their impact on Zangi’s plans. He, together with 1,000 horsemen invaded the territory around Antioch, first raiding al-Atharib 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 Mašrin after he had plundered and destroyed the suburbs of al-Atharib. Zangi also threatened Harim 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 Zangi 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 Diyar Bakr.1

Bohemond’s death was followed by that of Baldwin in Jerusalem (25 Ramadan 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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but Fulk occupied Antioch as the protector of the young Constance.¹

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 Bašrīn.²

During Zangi’s absence there was very little activity against the Franks on the Antioch frontier. In Aleppo, Zangi’s commander, Sawār, confined himself to a few skirmishes with Joscelin; the most important of his raids against them being that upon Tell Bāšir (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-Athārib. Together with the ʿaskar 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 Maʿarrat al-Neʿmān. 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

². William of Tyre, I, 70-71.
juncture a party of Frankish cavalry advanced on Aleppo from Edessa and once again Sawār, together with Amīr Hasan al-Bā‘albaki, attacked them fiercely at Balat Shīmāl. 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.¹

Meanwhile Shams al-Mulūk Ismā‘īl had succeeded his father Tāj al-Dawla Būri, who was assassinated by Ismā‘īlīs in Rajab 526/May-June 1132, and had wrested Bā‘albak from his brother. In Shawwāl 527/August 1133 he captured Dānūs 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 Shaqīf 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.²

1. Ibn Qalānīsī, 239-241 (Gibb’s trans., 220-223); al-‘Azīmī, 404; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 482; Sibt (Jewett), 200; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 247, 252; William of Tyre, I, 57-58; see also W.B. Stevenson, 132.

2. Al-‘Azīmī (405) merely records the death of Būri and the succession of Ismā‘īl; Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 238-239 (Gibb’s trans., 218-220); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, X, 478 and XI, 3, 5-6; Sibt (Jewett), 87, 89; Ibn ‘Asākir, III, 15; Ibn Wāsīl, I, 53; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 204, 206; Ibn Taghri Birdī, III, part 1, 12; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 97-98.
Shams al-Mulūk Ḥīlāl had taken into his service a Kurd from Hims known as Badrān the Infidel (al-Kāfir). 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 Ḥīlāl, Sevinč, but had also allowed him to die of starvation. Yusuf b. Fīruz, shībna of Damascus, fled to his son at Palmyra (Tadmur). Such was the situation when Zangi was next able to turn his attention to Damascus. Ḥīlāl had secretly written to him upon learning of Zangi'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-Qalānīṣī, 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 Zangi should conquer the city. Many plots were conceived against him and the extent of unrest was brought to the notice of Ḥīlāl's mother, Ḥātitun 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 Rabīʿ II 529/2 February 1135. Allegiance to his brother Shīhāb al-Dīn ʿAlī Mahmūd, Malik of Hims, was declared immediately.

1. Ibn al-Furat (I, 145) records his name as "Qūmush al-Badrān" (English trans. by M.C. Lyond, 115).
Meanwhile, news reached the Damascenes that Zangi had crossed the Euphrates and was proceeding westwards. Zangi’s envoys arrived at Damascus where the situation was the reverse of their expectations. They were well received and Zangi was asked to modify his plans. Zangi 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 ‘Adhra and al-Qusayr. In Damascus defences were set up and the town made ready to endure siege. Its army was commanded by Amir Shuja al-Dawla Bazwaj and the Amir Muḥammad al-Dīn Anar. Zangi strategically left ‘Adhra 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 Zangi’s men and the militia of Damascus without any appreciable result. Zangi then asked for peace and recognition of his suzerainty from Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd. He requested that Mahmūd should come to his camp to pay homage to the Sultan Mahmūd’s son, Alp-Arslān, who had accompanied him. Couching his letter in friendly terms, Atabeg Zangi 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 Taj al-Mulūk Bahram-Shāh went in his stead. The visit coincided with the arrival of Rašīd Bishr b. Karīm b. Bishr, who had been sent as an envoy from the Caliph al-Mustarshid Billāh. He brought robes of honour for Zangi, together with an
order to return to Mosul. The Caliph was on the point of a quarrel with Sultan Mas‘ūd and asked for reinforcements from Zangi. His envoy Bishr accompanied Zangi’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 Khutba for the first time, on Friday 28 Jumādā I 529/15 March 1135. On the day following this agreement Zangi withdrew to the north without the conquest he had hoped to achieve and the name of Alp-Arslān was not again read in the Khutba. In Ḥamā Zangi discharged its governor, Shams al-Umarā al-Khavāss, because of the many complaints made against him by the inhabitants and before returning to Aleppo replaced him by the former governor of Kafr Ṭāb, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Yaghī-Basan. 1

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 Zangi 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-Āthārib 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

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 Bāshīr, Ayntab and ʿAzāz.

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 Hīms. ¹

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 hold 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 Lādhiqīya, 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

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 Zangi.

During the last ten days of the month of Shawwāl 529/beginning of August 1135, Zangi attacked Hims with increased vigour. The governor of the city, Muḥammad b. Dīn Anar, who had distinguished himself during Zangi’s siege of Damascus, offered strong defence. Zangi 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 Qir-Khan b. Qaraja and the regent Khumartash realised that Zangi 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 Zangi’s constant raids. They knew that they were powerless to hold the city against him and sent

1. Cinnamus, 16; William of Tyre, 1, 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 Mahmūd, 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. Yusuf b. Fīruz, who realised the potentials of Hims 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 Mahmūd to whom the fortress was surrendered, and Palmyra was given to Khumārtash. On Sunday Rabī‘ 1 530/29 December 1135 the exchange was effected and the Chamberlain Yusuf b. Fīruz received the desired governorship of Hims which he temporarily delegated to Amir Mu‘īn al-Dīn Anār.1

Zangī had been frequently involved in the wars between the Caliph and the Sultan Mas‘ūd, for over a year. His commander Sawār, during negotiations concerning the exchange of Hims had exploited the situation by invading the territory. Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd 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.2

Sawār resumed his attacks from Aleppo against the Frankish provinces. A body of Turcomans had joined him and carried out a surprise sortie against

2. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 252 (Gibb’s trans., 238); Abū al-Fida‘ī, III, 10-11.
the territory of al-Dhiaqya, where there was little guard against the unexpected attack. Loaded with booty, Sawar’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 Diyar Bakr while some afterwards went to al-Jazira.¹

The political situation in Damascus was obscure. Shihab al-Din Mahmu’d had allowed Yusuf b. Firuz, the former chamberlain, to return there, probably because he needed support to face the Amir Shuja al-Dawla Bazwaj. The amir had never forgiven Yusuf b. Firuz for having agreed to the execution of Shams al-Muluk Isma’il (17 Jumada II 530/30 March 1136). Bazwaj 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 Amir Bazwaj marched towards Tarabulus and was met by its Count whose army he routed. Bazwaj also succeeded in capturing the castle of Wadi ibn al-Abmar.²

In mid-Sha’ban (early May) of the same year, the Mosul army crossed the Euphrates and Zangi 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 Salih al-Din Muhammad al-Yaghi-Basan in advance,

² Ibn al-Qalanisi, 258 (Gibb’s trans., 241); Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, XI, 32.
probably in the hope that the gates would be opened for him. The deputy governor of Damascus, Mu'āūn al-Dīn Anar, thwarted Zangi'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, Zangi concluded an armistice with Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd of Damascus, and raised the siege on 20 Shawwal 531/11 July 1137.\(^1\)

Immediately following this, Zangi prepared to attack Barīn (the Frankish Montferrand) and wrest it from the hands of the Franks. The importance of Barīn, which was on the route from Tripoli to Hamā, had long since been recognised. It was invaluable as a base for operations and communications between Aleppo and Hims. When the news of Zangi'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 Zangi 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 Zangi's army. Raymond II and some of his knights were among those taken prisoner, while Fulk took refuge in the castle of Barīn 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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states was rendered more uneasy by Byzantium. Monks and priests endeavoured to rouse assistance in the Christian states, stating that conquest by Zangi was more serious than the Byzantine threat. If Zangi should conquer the castle of Ba'rin no one could be found to defend them, and the Muslims would march on Jerusalem. 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'rin 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. Zangi 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 Zangi'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 Zangi at first refused to do, until he learned that reinforcements were on their way from Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch

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

During the siege of Ba'rin a part of Zangi's troops had taken Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, north of Hama, and Kafr Tab from the Franks. In Ma'arrat al-Nu'man some families asked for the return of their lands which had been in Frankish possession. Zangi 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. 2

Meanwhile, Zangi's general, Sawar, had engaged the Byzantine army in some skirmishes, but when they prepared to settle in Cilicia for the winter season Zangi took advantage of the situation and once again appeared in Hama during Muharram 532/September-October 1137. He marched on Hims 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 Biqa'. From there he captured the fortress

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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 Hīmṣ and in Rabīʿ II 532/December 1137 he left Damascene territory and went to Ḥama 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.¹

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.² 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 Shābān/18 April of the same year.³

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1. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 263 (Gibb’s trans., 245); al-ʿAzīmī, 413-414; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 263-264.
2. This place could be al-Qūra (Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 262).
3. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, ibid; Sibt (Jewett), 99; William of Tyre, I, 82.
Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd needed a strong replacement for Amīr Bazwāj and the office fell to Muṣīn al-Dīn Anar. Robes of honour and the appointment of isfahālar (commander-in-chief) were bestowed upon him with the title of Atabeg. ¹

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 Maḥmūd, Khātūn Saflwāt 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 Maḥmūd 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 ʿAraqa, the property of the Count of Tripoli, ² then he re-occupied

¹. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 264 (Gibb’s trans., 247-248).
the strongholds in the eastern part of Antioch. Buzā'ā fell to him on 19 Muharram 533/16 September 1138, some part of his troops under the command of al-Yaḡḥī-Basān conquered Kafr Tab and finally on 1 Safar 533/7 October 1138, the town of al-Athārīb was re-captured.¹

In Damascus Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd learned that there had been a Frankish raid in the neighbourhood of Banyās. 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-Qūsh the Armenian,² the eunuch Yūsuf and the groom of the bed-chamber, Kharkāwī. The murderers fled from the citadel, but Alp-Qūsh managed to escape. The other two men were captured and crucified on the wall over the Jābiya Gate.³

Amīr Muḥammad al-Dīn Anar took charge of the situation and invited Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Taẓ al-Mūlk, amīr of Baʿalbak, to become ruler. He expelled his own brother, Bahram-Shāh who fled from the city first to Aleppo and thence to Zangi in Mosul.⁴ 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

¹ Ibn al-Qalanisī, 266-267 (Gibb's trans., 252); al-ʿAzīmī, 414-415, 417; Qāḍī ʿImad al-Dīn, 124; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 268-269; Sibt (Jewett), 100; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 279; Ibn Wāsīl, I, 76-77; Abū al-Fidaʿ, III, 12-13; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 212; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, 108.


³ Ibn al-Qalanisī, 268-269 (Gibb's trans., 253).

⁴ Al-ʿAzīmī, 417.
the oath of allegiance and loyalty. Stability returned to Damascus and the new sovereign gave Baʿalbak 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 Māhmūd reached his mother, Khāṭūn Saffat al-Mulk Zumurrud, she wrote to Zangi to incite him to revenge and to urge him to march against Damascus.¹

In the early days of Dhu’l-Ḥijja 533/August 1139 Zangi, himself, crossed the Euphrates after his campaign against the Artuqids, and arrived at Aleppo, while his advance guards commanded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-YaḡīBasān, took the route through Ḥamā. On 7 Dhu’l-Ḥijja 533/5 August 1139, Zangi’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 Baʿalbak. Zangi set up no less than fourteen mangonels and bombarded the city night and day. Under this fierce blockade it finally surrendered on the 14 Safar 534/10 October 1139,² 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, Zangi violated his word and crucified thirty-seven

¹. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 269 (Gibb’s trans., 254).
². Al-ʿAzīmī, 418.
members of the garrison; only a few managed to escape.¹

When Zangi 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, Zangi halted at Biqa' from whence he sent his capable envoy, Qādi Kamāl al-Dīn Shahrazūrī to Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad, 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 Darayya, 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 Musalla. He renewed his strategy in an endeavour to gain the support of Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad to surrender the city and accept instead Hims, Ba'albak or any other city he might prefer. Meanwhile Qādi Kamāl al-Dīn Shahrazūrī probed among the chiefs of the Damasceno 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.

and the Damascenes as a whole were determined to defend their town. Zangi 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 Zangi’s troops and he gave up the project.¹

After suffering for some time from an incurable illness Jamal al-Din Muhammad died on 8 Shaban 534/29 March 1140. The leaders of authority in Damascus under Mu’in al-Din Anar agreed that Muhammad’s son ‘Abd al-Dawla Abu Sa’id Abaq (Uvaq) should be proclaimed successor to his father and gave him the oath of loyalty. On hearing this, Zangi advanced towards Damascus hoping for some benefit which might accrue to his advantage if dissent arose concerning the accession. His hopes did now, however, materialise. His treachery against Ba’albak 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. Mu’in al-Din Anar, together with the notables of the city, preferred to call for assistance from the Franks. They despatched Usama ibn Munqidh to Jerusalem as envoy to Fulk, and offered to pay 20,000 dinars per month for costs incurred during the assault if the Franks would assist them to wrest the strategically important town of

Bānyās from Zangi'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 Zangi 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. These conditions were accepted and preparation was made to send reinforcements to Damascus. All Frankish cities and castles were alerted against Zangi and concerted effort was enjoined in order to check his ambitions. Zangi prepared to meet the threat and retired from his camp at Darayyā on Sunday 15 Ramadan/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 Ḍahra, 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

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 Banyas 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 Banyas to the Franks, and the Damascene army returned to its base. Banyas was granted to Rainier.\(^1\)

Zangī now turned his attention to the strengthening of Baʿalbak and invited some Turcomans to live in the town. He presented Amīr Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, Ṣalah al-Dīn's father, with Baʿalbak as a fief,\(^2\) and he himself again encamped under the walls of Damascus. At dawn on Saturday 5 Dhuʾl-Qaʿda 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 Ghuta, the Marj and all outlying districts to raid and so prevent attack from them,

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2. Ibn al-Āthīr, al-Atābakīya, 59; Bidlīsī, 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. Zangi then halted at Marj Rahit on the same day, until his men re-assembled with their spoils. The Damascenes, who realised that by his action Zangi had cut their food supplies, now offered to acknowledge his suzerainty and pronounce his name in the Khutba. News from the north caused Zangi to return there and he accepted the proffered terms, never again to lay siege to Damascus.

While Zangi 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 Amir Lajah who had entered Zangi’s service and Zangi’s general, Sawar, together with those Turcomans who had assisted them in their fights against the Franks. The Franks first attacked Sarmin where they ransacked olive groves; from thence they stormed on to Jabal and Summaq and subjected both towns to plunder. When Zangi’s commander, Sawar, replied to these assaults, the Turcoman squadrons under Sawar’s son A‘lam al-Din (Ramadan 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 body of men.
deal of booty. 1

In the following year the Lord of Antioch made a sortie and annexed Aleppine territory as far as Buzaq, while Joscelin of Edessa advanced to the Euphrates in the hope of reaching the land held by Raymond. Sawar 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. 2

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. 3 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 Banyas. 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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3. Usāma ibn Mūnqidh, 196.
was only thirteen years of age. His wife Melisande took the reins of leadership and strictly adhered to her husband’s policy.  

The Franks from Edessa held the entire left bank of the Euphrates from al-Bīra (Birejik) to Balis. They continued with their incursions into the upper basin of the Khābūr. Some of their cavalry had reached Raqqa, Nisibin, Amid and even the suburbs of Mardin, and Harran had been threatened. Their power represented a serious threat to Zangī. Sultan Masʿūd 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 Van at the end of 538/Spring 1144 for an expedition against the Kurds, which caused anxiety to the new Artuqid ruler, Qarā-Arsān, 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 Amid. Qarā-Arsān appealed to Joscelin to create a diversion. Joscelin 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, Joscelin left

1. William of Tyre, I, 134-137.
with a strong contingent for his own lands west of the Euphrates. The amīr of Ḥarrān, Fadhullah 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 Yaghj-Basan 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 Yaghj-Basan in the early morning of Tuesday, 30 Jumādā I 539/28 November 1144. Jihad 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-Arsilān 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 Yaghj-Basan 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 Barsauma, under the command of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Beg-Tegin (known as ʿAlī Kūchūk), the ruler of Irbīl. At the East Gate where the road led to Fort Kisas he posted yet another detachment. Near to the garden of Bozan, another contingent was stationed under the command of Abū ʿAlī, ruler of Zaʿfarān and Araqnin. 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 Harran 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.

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 Antioch and Jerusalem for aid. Joscelin had retired to Tell Bashir, 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, and the throats of danger to themselves were ignored. Realising that sharp measures were needed, Zangi pressed the siege and his

2. Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 268.
Khurāsānī 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 Zangi for a truce hoping that perhaps reinforcements might reach the city before it was too late. The plea did not, however, reach Zangi. After a final appeal to the population to surrender, which was again ignored, Zangi 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 Jumāda 11/24 December). Sacking and looting, to say nothing of massacre, continued throughout two days until Zangi called a halt. The panic-stricken population surged toward the citadel, but its gate had been closed by the order of Archbishop Hugo. When Zangi 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. Zangi’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 'Ali Küchük 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.

Zangi then marched towards Saruj, 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 naṣīb Naṣr.

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al-Dīn Chāqīr. This forced Zangi to raise the siege and return to Mosul in Dhul-Qa’dā 539/May 1145.†

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

1. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, ibid; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Atābākiya, 70; idem, al-Kāmil, XI, 66; al-Bundārī, 205 (Turkish trans., 186); Ibn al-‘Adīm, Buḫyā, VI, 211a; Ibn al-Azraq, 170b; Qādī ‘Imād al-Dīn, 127; Bar Hebraeus (Budge’s trans.), 1, 270.
CHAPTER IV

ZANGĪ AND THE BYZANTINE CAMPAIGN INTO SYRIA
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During the siege of Baṣrīn, Zangi had been informed that a large Byzantine army 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 Baṣrīn from Antioch and Edessa, forced Zangi 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. 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

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.

Toulouse. The agreement was in force almost immediately prior to the capture of Antioch (27 Jumāda 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.¹

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.² 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.³

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

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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 Wāsīl (I, 76), the approach of the Emperor, John, was an answer to the Frankish appeal to Baṣrīn 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. 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.

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 Muḥarram 531/August 1136 he appeared before the walls of Antioch and encamped on the north bank of the Orontes.

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

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3. Ibn al-Qalānīṣī, 258 (Gibb's trans., 240-241); al-ʿAzīmī, 411; William of Tyre, I, 84; Ano. Syr. Chl., part II, 275-276; Cinnamus, 16; Nicetas, 29; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's trans.), I, 264; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 262; Ibn Wāṣīl, I, 76.
besieged in the castle of Barānīn by Zangī. In the meanwhile, Fulk had been released and Raymond was met by him at Buqaya. 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, Hama and Hims 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.1

1. Cinnamus, 18-19; Nicetas, 36; William of Tyre, i, 92-93; Ibn al-Qalanisi, 258 (Gibb’s trans., 241); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kamil, 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 Zangi’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 Zangi of his cordiality. Zangi sent the messengers back to John under escort bearing many gifts.¹

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.²

Before the Emperor returned temporarily to Cilicia, the amir Sawar 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.³

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.⁴

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

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1. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 262 (Gibb’s trans., 244); al-‘Azimî, 413; F. Chalandon, 133-134.
3. Ibn al-‘Adîm, ibid.; F. Chalandon, 133.
camouflage his intentions (Jumādā' 532/Feb.–Mar. 1138). Before the end of March, John Comnenus, together with his army, returned to Antioch and the Franco-Byzantine army marched first against Buza'a, 28 miles northeast 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. 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.

Messengers were sent from Aleppo to alert Zangi, who was at Hims. He asked reinforcements from Sultan Mas'ud 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 'Āli 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

1. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 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-Qalānīsī (265, Gibb's trans., 249–250) and Ibn al-Athīr (al-Kāmil, XI, 36) record that 5,300 of the population of Buza'a were killed. According to Ibn Wāsīl (I, 78), it was 5,800 who were killed.
3. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 265 (Gibb's trans., 250); al-'Aẓīmī, 414.
Emperor's arrival. 1

The Franco-Byzantine army approached Aleppo and descended on al-Na'ūra, a few miles east of Aleppo. They set out for the city on Monday 6 Shabban/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 Shabban 532/18 April 1138, towards Salda. 2

Instead, the Emperor marched on al-Atharib. Its garrison fled in panic and the allied forces occupied the town on Thursday, 9 Shabban/21 April. From there the Emperor marched to Shayzar leaving his Muslim captives in the town. Amr Sawar realising that the town would be left with very little protection, entered it and freed the captives on Saturday, 11 Shabban/1.

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-Āthīr, al-‘Atabakīya, 62-63.

2. Ibn al-Qalanisi (265-266, Gibb’s trans., 249-251); Ibn al-Āthīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 36; idem, al-‘Atabakīya, 62-63; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, II, 265-266; Ibn Wāṣif, 1, 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.

On the day that al-Athā'rib fell to the Emperor, Zangi left Ḥamā for Salamiya, despatching his heavy equipment to al-Raqqa. He remained with the cavalry realising that a mobile force would serve his purpose to the best advantage.

Meanwhile the Byzantine army advanced southward, capturing Maʿārra and Kafr Ṭāb, and simultaneously an army of Turcomans arrived to strengthen the forces of Zangi, commanded by the Artuqid amīr Daʾūd.

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 ʿAlī ibn Muqallid ibn Naṣr Munkiz al-Qīnānī al-Manqibī. The Emperor hoped that because of this Zangi would not concern

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1. Ibn al-Qalānīṣī, 265-266 (Gibb's trans., 249-251); Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 37; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 266-267; Ibn Wāsīl, I, 77-78. While al-ʿAzīmī records that there were 20,000 Turcomans with Daʾūd, Ibn al-ʿAdīm (Zubda, II, 268) gives the number as 50,000.

2. Ibn al-Qalānīṣī, ibid; Ibn al-Athīr, ibid; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ibid; Ibn Wāsīl, ibid.

himself with the fate of the city. He accordingly lay siege to it from a strategic position. They had brought 18 mangonels 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.

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.

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

1. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 37; idem, al-Atabakīya, 55; An anonymous Syriac Chronicler (part II, 279) praises Abū al-ʿAsākir, Sultan's qualities as a mediator.
2. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, II, 267; Ibn Wāṣīl (I, 78) records that 16 mangonels were set up.
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. 1

After twenty-four days of bombardment by the mangonels which were, according to Usāma ibn Munqidḥ "big enough to throw a large millstone to a long distance", 2 the amīr of Shayzar, Abū al-Asākir Sultan, 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. 3

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


2. Usāma ibn Munqidḥ (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-Qalānīsī, 255 (Gibb's trans., 251-252); al-ʿAzīmī, 415; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 37-38; idem, al-Atābākiyya, 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.

CHAPTER V

ZANGĪ'S OPPOSITION TO ARTUQIDS, KURDS AND TURCOMANS
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ZANGI'S OPPOSITION TO ARTUQIDS, KURDS AND TURCOMANS

When Zangi was made atabeg and sent to Mosul as ruler, Naım al-Din II-Ghazi and Sökman, the sons of Artuq b. Ekseb, a Turcoman commander from the tribe of Döger, had already established themselves in the upper part of al-Jazira.

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

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

1. F. Sümer, "Döğerlere Dair", TM, IX (1951), 139.

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 Hīsān Kayfa and later inherited Mārdīn. Shortly after Sākwān’s death in 490/1104, Il-Ghāzī took over Mārdīn from the hands of ʿĪsāhīm who had succeeded his father Sākwān and had remained in Hīsān Kayfa, hence the establishment of the two branches of the same family which maintained a separate existence for two centuries.\(^1\)

Il-Ghāzī of Mārdīn seized Diyar Bakr, and Mayyāfārīqīn; 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-Arschān b. Rīqwān 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 Il-Ghāzī to take possession of the city and to defend it against Frankish progress. To do this he introduced

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

When II-Ghāzī died in Ramadan 516/November 1122, his elder son, Ḥusām al-Dīn Timur-Tāsh succeeded in Mārdīn. Another son, Shams al-Dawla Sulaymān remained in Mayyafarīqīn while Aleppo passed to his nephew Sulaymān b. ʿAbduljabbar.¹

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. ʿAbduljabbar b. Artuq needed support to resist the Franks and in Safar 517/April 1123 he agreed to hand over the important town of al-Atharīb to them in order to gain a truce.²

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


2. Ibn al-Qalanīṣī, 208 (Gibb’s trans., 166).

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

The Franks renewed their pressure on Aleppo. The Aleppines thereupon sent Abā Ḍānim Muḥammad b. Hubbatullāh, the Qāḍī of Aleppo, Abā ‘Abdullāh al-Jalī and Ṣāḥīf 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. ² 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. ³

1. Al-‘Azīmī, 391, 394; Qāḍī ‘Īmād 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.

Such was the background of the situation when, by order of Sultan Mahmud, Zangi received the authority of Mosul from the hands of Chavli. Zangi, himself, set off for Aleppo from Mosul and on reaching Nisibin, which controlled the Edessa-Mosul route in the Khabur basin and belonged to Timur-Tash, he attacked the town. The amir of Nisibin followed a policy hostile to Mosul. On hearing of Zangi’s approach, Timur-Tash went to his cousin Rukn al-Dawla Da’ud for help. Da’ud, who had succeeded to the post previously held by his brother Ibrahim b. Sökman in Hisn Kayfa, promised to send reinforcements. Timur-Tash returned to Mardin and from there sent a message by carrier pigeon to Nisibin to announce that Da’ud’s troops would arrive within the next five days, but the bird’s passage was intercepted by Zangi, 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 Nisibin and the population felt unable to hold out for so long a period. Peace was sought and obtained from Zangi before the reinforcements had time to arrive.¹

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

¹ Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, X, 455-456; idem, al-Atabakiya, 36-37; Abu Shama, I, 77.
appoint Amir Sawar as his nāʿ ib in Aleppo while he himself returned to Mosul to reorganise his troops for a campaign at Diyar Bakr. Ibn al-Athīr gives the reason for his action as the necessity for opposing a coalition led by Timur-Tash of Mardin which included Daʿūd of Hisn Kayfa and several Turcoman chieftains. Zangi's army numbered some 4,000 men while his opponents had recruited many Turcomans into their ranks. Zangi began his campaign by laying siege to Sarja (Saruja), which was a fortress between Niṣibin and Darā. Timur-Tash and his cousin Daʿūd marched against him and the two armies met in the upper reaches of the river Awīj, between Mardin and Niṣibin. Timur-Tash and Daʿūd were routed while Zangi went on to capture first Sarja then Darā. Daʿūd fled towards Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and on reaching it he plundered the town. Zangi followed but the mountainous terrain favoured Daʿūd's escape and, instead, Zangi captured the town of Waʿlat Sin, thus confirming his authority over the region.

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

In the spring of 528/1131 Zangi prepared to campaign against the Artuqid Amir of Hisn Kayfa, Da’ud, who had also assisted the Caliph in his siege of Mosul. Timur-Tash on this occasion offered to join forces with Zangi at Tell-Shayh. The combined forces met Da’ud near Amid on the last day of Jumada II 528/26 April 1134. Da’ud again escaped from his defeated army but several of his children were captured and many of his officers were killed. The victorious Zangi moved to siege Amid, the capital of Diyar Bakr, which stoutly resisted his attack and remained impassive when Zangi cut down the trees surrounding the city. On the advice of his vizier, Diya al-Din al-Kafartusî, he raised the siege and returned to Mosul, but en route he seized the town of al-Suwar, some 30 miles north-west of Mardin. This he gave to Timur-Tash as a gift for the assistance he had rendered and as an incentive to concentrate Timur-Tash’s interest northward away from Zangi’s own borders. ¹

The hostility between Zangi and Da’ud appeared to lessen when Da’ud sent his Turcoman troops under the command of his son, Qara-Arslan, to assist Zangi in his war against the Byzantines. ² The sources give no explanation as to why Da’ud assisted Zangi or why Timur-Tash turned

2. Ibn al-Qalânisî, 266 (Gibb’s trans., 251); al-‘Azîmî, 414; Ibn al-‘Adîm, Zubda, II, 268.
against him. It may have been that Daʿūd realised he could not afford to alienate Zangi 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-Tash seems to have resented the appeasement and began a further quarrel with Zangi in Ramadan 533/May 1139. In the following month (Shawwal 533/June 1139) Zangi captured Dara, Ras al-ʿAyn, Jabal Jur and Dhahāʾl-Qarnayn. Amir Arslān b. ʿAbduljabbar b. Artuq, governor of Dhahāʾl-Qarnayn, fled and joined Daʿūd. Zangi went on to occupy Harrān whose governor, Amir Sū-Tegin had just died. Timur-Tash seems to have realised the futility of his quarrel with Zangi and sought peaceful negotiations with him. Zangi was offered the hand of Safiya Khātūn, one of Timur-Tash's daughters and he accepted the reconciliation and married her. It was at this time that Zangi received a message from Zumurrud Khātūn, another of his wives, to go forthwith to Damascus and capture the governorship of that city. Zangi at once seized the opportunity and left al-Jazīra to campaign at Damascus. ¹

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

leader at the first opportunity. Qipchaq b. Arslan-Tash was first attacked.

His men occupied the mountainous region of Shahrazur and according to Ibn al-Athir, 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. Zangi’s advisers were against the expedition and they reminded Zangi 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 Sultan Mas’ud and hand over his lands to him. Zangi 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. Zangi’s skilful manoeuvres caused the Turcomans to leave their ranks which, thus broken, allowed Zangi to inflict a defeat. Qipchaq gave himself up and offered his services to Zangi. The offer was accepted and he and his descendents served the Zangid family faithfully until 500/1204.1

The growing power of Zangi caused alarm among the Artuqid amirs, who fearing that he would occupy their lands, asked the protection of the Franks. The conflict between Zangi and Da’ud recommenced at the beginning of 535/August 1140 and resulted in a further severe defeat of Da’ud who hid

1. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, X1, 50; idem, al-Atabakiya, 57-58; Abū Shāma, 1, 84-85; Ibn Wāsīl, T, 84-85.
among the mountains. After the occupation of the citadel of Bahmard Zangi returned to Mosul because of the approach of winter. Timur-Tash, realising that Zangi desired to possess his lands, had declared himself a vassal of Zangi in 536/1141-1142.

The following year Zangi 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. 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. Zangi began his campaign by the capture of Qal'at Sha'banī, which was ruled by Abu al-Hayja b. 'Abdullah. This fortress, known also as Asib, was about 65 miles north-east of Mosul and famed for its impregnability. Many Kurds were killed during the fight for its possession. Zangi built a new fortress on the old site and used its position to control the Kurdish tribes. In honour of Zangi the fortress was renamed “Imādiya” after one of his many titles. When Zangi left the area, the nā'īb of Mosul, Nasir al-Dīn Chaqīr, continued the campaign by capturing the castles of al-Hazābāniya, among which were Bitlis, Qarah and al-Za'farānī.

1. Al-Qalqashandī, IV, 323.
2. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 276-277 (Gibb's trans., 264); al-'Azīmi, 421; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 60; idem, al-Atābākīya, 64; Abū Shāmā, I, 91-92; al-Qalqashandī, IV, 325; Bidlīštī, 479; Ibn Wāṣīl, I, 55-56; Abū al-Fīdā', II, 16-17.
In 538/1144 Zangi appeared again in the north. His objective was to capture Edessa. As a cover for his intentions he marched towards Lake Van and captured Hizan, to the south-west of it, from the Kurds. He continued his advance via Amid to al-Madan, the copper mining centre, which he captured. His manoeuvres aroused the suspicions of the Artuqids. Qara-Arslan, who had succeeded his father Da’ud (29 Muharram 539/1 August 1144) feared that Zangi would replace him by his elder brother, Arslan Toghmish, whom Zangi had probably captured near Amid in 528/1131 and had since retained as a hostage. With this in mind, Qara-Arslan contacted the Franks of Edessa and Sultan Mas‘ud of Konya for his assistance to combat the threat of Zangi. He received reinforcements from Sultan Mas‘ud.¹

The aim of the Franks was to bar Zangi from the north and they agreed to assist Qara-Arslan. Zangi, 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 Shabahtan and the upper basin of the Khabur. Included among the towns which fell into his hands were Jamal in al-Muvazzaz, Tell-Muzan, Hanin, Gumlin, Hamima, Tanza and Is‘arad. Zangi then turned his attention to Amid. Instigated by Qara-Arslan, Joscelin raided Raqqa while Zangi’s forces were at al-Haditha and ‘Ana, on the westerly bend of the Euphrates and about 130 miles north-west

¹ Bar Hebraeus (Budge’s trans.), I, 268.
of Baghdad. The populations of al-Hadītha 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 naʿib, Chaqīr, had been killed, thus forcing him to raise the siege and return to Mosul. Ibn al-Athīr states that the population of al-Bīra preferred to give themselves up to Timur-Tāsh of Mardin than suffer another attack from Zangī.¹

After restoring order in Mosul, Zangī set off for his last campaign against the ʿUqalīd Amīr Salīm of Qalʿat Jaʿbar. To avoid the risk of attack from the rear by Bashnawi Kurds, who were in the north of Mosul, Zangī sent Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī Kūchāk out against them (540/1146). He succeeded in the capture of al-Haythum, Jadīda, Nisībīn, Šārwa and other districts in the province of al-Zawzān. The last stronghold of the Bashnawi Kurds overlooking the Tigris was Finik, about 10 miles upstream from Jazīrat ibn ʿUmar. Under the rulership of Husām al-Dīn the fortress defended itself and the siege was raised only after the murder of Zangī.²

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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 Mayyaʃāriqīn, after which he departed for Qal'at Ja'bar, where he met his death by murder.  

1. Ibn al-Azraq, 171a.
CHAPTER VI

THE CLOSE OF ZANGÎ'S CAREER
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It was not very long after the capture of Edessa that a conspiracy was planned again t Zangi, whilst he was besieging al-Bira. 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 Nasr al-Din (Chaqir), Zangi's lieutenant, had been killed in Mosul and Assyria was in revolt". Zangi immediately summoned Zayn al-Din 'Ali Kuchuk of Edessa and despatched him to Mosul to replace Chaqir. The siege of al-Bira had lasted for forty days but Zangi raised it and went to Aleppo in order to prevent a possible revolt there.

Nasr al-Din Chaqir b. Yaqt had been one of Zangi's most trusted commanders and had been left in charge of all his territories east of the Euphrates. The two sons of Sultan Mahmud, it will be remembered, had been the wards of Zangi, and one of them, Alp-Arslan, had been with him at the siege of Edessa. The other, Farrukh-Shah (known as al-Khafaji), had remained in Mosul with Chaqir. It would appear that Zangi's intention was ultimately to proclaim one of these princes as sultan after the death of Sultan


Mas'ūd, while he himself acted as regent. Farrukh-Shāh, however, appears to have been persuaded to proclaim himself sultan 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, Taj al-Dīn Yahya Shahrazūrī, brother of Zangi’s envoy Kamāl al-Dīn, in order to subvert Farrukh-Shāh’s intentions, persuaded him to take the citadel in person. There Zangi’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 ‘Ali 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.

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...
it was an appellation given to Farrukh-Shah. Alp-Arslan, however, appears many times in connection with later events but Farrukh-Shah 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-Athir suggests that the prince was merely imprisoned and not killed. ¹

Both al-Bundari ² and Ibn al-'Adim ³ appear to agree that Farrukh-Shah was the culprit. It would, therefore seem logical that chroniclers whose information was obtained from Ibn al-Athir also copied his error in this respect. ⁴

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

1. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, XI, 66-67; idem, al-Atabakiya, 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-Arslan as being responsible and further mistakes him as being the son of Mas'ud, while N. Elisséeff (II, 381-382) even further confuses the issue by blending the names into "Fahran-Shah Alp-Arslan" thus making only one son of Mas'ud to have been under the guardianship of Zangi. It will be noticed here that they seem to have also confused the Sultans "Mahmud" and "Mas'ud". H.A.R. Gibb appears to have noted and rectified this error. ("Zangi and the fall of Edessa", A history of the Crusades, ed. K.M. Setton, I, 461).

2. Al-Bundari, 205-207 (Turkish trans., 186-188).

3. Ibn al-'Adim, Zubda, II, 281; idem, Bughya, VI, 211a.

4. Abu Shama (I, 103-104) also quoted al-Bundari (I, 105) on this point; Ibn Wasi, I, 95, 106; Abu al-Fida', III, 18.
equipment against Damascus, simultaneously, however, Zangī was informed of an Armonian 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 Baʿalbak to Ḥims. The governor of Edessa, ʿAyn al-Dawla, together with the assistance of Faḍlullah b. Jaʿfar, the ruler of Harrān was however able to repress the plot, punish the plotters and restore order and security to the city.¹

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 Kisas and Harrān 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

¹. Ibn al-Qalānī, 282 (Gibb's trans., 270); Ibn al-ʿAdīm, 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. ¹

Qal‘at Ja‘bar, on the left bank of the Euphrates opposite Sīffīn, 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. Sālim b. Mālik, refused to recognise Zangī’s suzerainty. He was a descendant of the ‘Uqailid amīr, Sālim, to whom Sultan Malik-Shāh had entrusted the citadel

while he placed Qasim al-Dawla Aq-Sonqur, Zangi's father, in Aleppo.  

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

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

1. Al-‘Ayni, XXI, 262a.

manner of his death, although most chroniclers agree that a certain Yārīn-
Qush, 1 a slave of Frankish origin, 2 together with some accomplices, stabbed
Zangi 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
Zangi had been angry with them; 3 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 seized to murder him. 4 In these
circumstances Zangi'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 Zangi's custom to retain the sons of unfriendly
dignitaries in his service, some of whom he had trusted to guard him during
sleep. 5

Through Yārīn-Qush, the news of Zangi'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.

1. Ibn Wāsīl (I, 99) records the name "Bārān-Qush".
2. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 284 (Gibb's trans., 271).
3. Ibn al-Qalānīsī, ibid.
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 Qāl‘at Ja‘bar who announced Zangi's death from the castle walls. In the resulting confusion and disorder among Zangi's army all the treasure and equipment were looted.

Disorder broke out among them and the army dissolved in ignominy. ¹

Zangi 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, Nur al-Dīn Mahmūd, had accompanied his father during his last campaign. The vizier, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abū Mansūr, ² who was in the camp, decided that Nur al-Dīn Mahmūd should go to Aleppo to establish his deceased father's rule. He therefore travelled immediately, accompanied by Šalāḥ al-Dīn Yaghi-Basān, Asad al-Dīn Shīrgūh, (Saladin's uncle), and some others and was there joined by Sawār. The vast treasure and wealth

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². Al-Bundārī (210-211, Turkish trans., 191-192) describes the vizier as very generous and states that his father Kamīl ʿAlī was the chamberlain of the vizier Shams al-Mulk b. Nizām al-Mulk. When Zangi married the widow of Kūn-Toghḍī, 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 Zangi. Zangi liked to talk with him and afterwards appointed him as his treasurer and finally he achieved the position of Zangi's vizier.
stored there, together with the rulorship of the city, were subsequently accorded to him. The younger sons, Qub al-Din Mawdūd and Nuṣrat al-Din Māmīrīn, remained in Mosul.

The vizier, Jamāl al-Dīn Mūḥammad, apprehensive that Malik Alp-Arslān might use the circumstances to acquire power, communicated with Zayn al-Dīn Alī Küchūk 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 Mūḥammad petitioned Sultan Masʿūd to appoint Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī as his father's successor in Mosul and the request was granted.


Ibn al-Athīr records that Zangi’s body was buried on the right bank of the Euphrates at Siffin where so many companions of the Prophet had died during the battle between ʿAlī b. Abū Talib and Muʿāwiya. ¹

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

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yaghiṣ-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 Zangi, and Joscolin re-appeared at the gates of Edessa while Muṣīn al-Dīn Anar prepared to march to Baʿalbak. ⁴

¹. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, XI, 72; idem, al-Atābākīya, 76; Abū Shāma, I, 108.
². Anonymous Syriac Chronicler (part II, 292) and Abū al-Fidaʿ (III, 19) also support this.
The murderer of Atabeg ʿImād al-Dīn Zangi, Yārīn-Qush, left the castle of Jaʿbar, 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. ¹

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

APPENDIX

ZANGI’S TITLES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

Some inscriptions which concern Zangi 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-Muhassin in Aleppo and is dated 527/1142-43. Among the titles ascribed to Zangi are:


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

A further, but incomplete, inscription is worthy of note. It is
to be found in Aleppo at Jamī al-Ḥajjārīn. Three titles which it boars, not
contained in the other two inscriptions, are attributed to Zangi. These are:
Abū al-Fath, Fakhr al-Anām, Amīr al-ʿIrāqayn
wa al-Shām.

In these titles Zangi 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. 1

1. Sobernheim, ZDPV, XXVIII, pl. VII; E. Herzfeld, MCIA,
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-Īslāmiya, 157, 169,
304, 357, 362, 386, 408, 431.
This alphabetical compilation of the sources is either according to the name, or family name, of the authors or their place of origin. The definite article "al" has been disregarded in this arrangement.

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COŞKUN ALPTEKİN

SELÇUKLU PARALARI

Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi (Journal of Seljuk Studies)
III. den ayrı basım

Güven Matbaası
Ankara — 1971
SELÇUKLU PARALARı*

COŞKUN ALPTEKİN


* Türkiye Selçukluları bu bahsin haricindedir.
British Museum koleksiyonuna S. Lane-Poole’den sonra 100 adede yakın yeni para ilavesi yapılmışsa da ancak bunun 21 adedi N. W. Lowick’in çalışmasına görülmektedir.


Büyük Selçuklu paraları şekil bakımından birbirlerinden pek farklı olmuyan özelliklerdir. 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, ve zamanın halifesinin adı, çevrelere ise içte: "بسم الله خرب هذى الدينار الديرهم" veya "الله امر من بعد وبرمند يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله (Kur’an XXX, 3-4)" ayeti bulunmaktadır. Arka yüzde "محمد رسول الله" takiben zamanın sultanının ünvanı ve adı, çevrede ise "محمد رسول الله ارسله لمهدی ودن الحق لیظهره على الدين كله ولوکره المشركون" (Kur’an IX, 33)" ayeti bulunur.

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

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


Sultan Mahmud'a (Melik Şah’in oğullarından) ait iki dinar tespit edilmiş olup bu dinarlarda Mahmud «es-Sultan el-Muazzam» olarak zikredilmiştedir. 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.


Son büyük Selçuklu sultan olan Sancar melilik devrinde kestirmiş olduğu paralarda «el-Melik el-Maşrîk Adud ed-Devle», Nişabur’da basılan 498 (1104-1105) tarihi dinarda «el-Melik el-Muzaﬀer», basım yeri ve tarihi silik olan ve bu yüzden tespit edilemiyen fakat dinar üzerinde Halife el-Müstersid’in lâkabını geçtiğinden 512-529 (1118-1135) tarihleri arasında darbedilmiş olması gereken parada ise «es-Sultan el-’Azam Muğis el-Dünya ve’d-Din Ebû’l Harîs» e ilâveten «Şahanşah» ünvanları geçmektedir. Sultan Sancar’ın tespit edebildiğimiz yirmibir aded değişik parasından dokuz adedi gümüştür. Altın paralarının ağırlıkları ortalama 4 gram ol-
makla beraber ayarları düştüktür. Bu paralar, Nişabur, Merv, Belh, Rey gibi yerlerde basılmıştır.

Selçuklu İmparatorluğunun ilk zamanlarından basılan paralar son zamanlarında basılan paralara nazaran daha az aşınmışlardır. Bu husus şüphesiz paranın madeni terkibi ve kalınlığı ile ilgiliidir. 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.


Sultan Mahmud’un oğlu Davud’a ait basım yeri ve tarihi belli olmuyan 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-‘Azam» 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-‘Azam» olarak görülmektedir (NHR 213, no 250 y).

Sultan Mesud da paralarında «Giyas ed-Dinya ve’d-Din» unvanıyla Sancar’ın «es-Sultan el-‘Azam» unvanı yanında zikredilmştir. Tesbit edebildiğimiz sekiz aded parasından biri gümüştür, diğerleri
altın olup ayrıca bir de çeyrek dinar darp ettirmişdir. Bu paralar 
Rey ve Medinet es-Selâm’da basılmışlardır.

Irak Selçuklularından Mu’in al-Din Melik-Şah ile Rukn al-Din 
Muhammed’e ait ikişer aded altın para tesbit edilebilmiştir. Bu pa-
ralar epeyce aşınmış olduğundan başka bir husus tesbit edilememiş-
tir. Melik-Şah’a ait olanların ağırlıkları 2,2 gram ile 4,6 gram olup 
ancak bu sonuncunun ayağı çok düşüktür.

Kirman Selçuklularından Kara Arslan Kavurdu Beğ’e ait altın ve 
gümüş olmak üzere oniki aded altın para tesbit edilebilmiştir. Bu paralarda kendisi «Kara Arslan Beğ» diye geçirilen Çağrı 
Beğ «el-Melik el-Mulük» ünvanı ile görülmektedir; 451 (1059-1060) 
senesinde Bardasir’de kesilen bir dirheminde «el-Melik el-Ädil» ve 
«Îmâd ed-Devle» olarak geçmektedir; ağırları ağırlık bakımından 
4 gram civarında olup 22-25 mm. kutsundadır, paraları Cirt, Bar-
dasır ve Şiraz’da kesilmişdir.

Rukn ed-Din Sultan-Şah’ın da üç aded para parçası tesbit ede
ve’l-Din», el-Melik el-Ädil» olarak zikredilmektedir.

Yine Kirman Selçuklularından Turan-Şah’a ait Bardasır’da ke-
silmiş iki dinar ile Behram-Şah’a ait basım yeri ve tarihi olmuyan 
bir dirheme sahibiz. Turan-Şah’in adı «Fahr ed-Devle ve’l-Din», 
«Muiz ed-Dunya ve’d-Din» gibi ünvanlarla geçmektedir.

Tutuş’a ait olması mümkün olan bir Suriye Selçuklu parasi 
da British Museum‘dedir. Verdiğimiz kataloğa ilave edilmeyen bu 
bakır paranın ön yüzünde bir arslan, arka yüzünde ise bir fil 
resmi vardır. Ön yüzünde sadece «الله اﷲ » arka yüzünde ise 
السلطان / / 1-0- / // اللهم مالله / / الله لا إله إلا الله 
okunulmuştur.

Bugüne kadar Selçuklu paraları üzerinde eserler meydana ge-
tiren, kataloglar hazırlayan meskükâtların üzerinde durmadıkları 
bir husus Selçuklu paraları üzerinde görülen damga meselesidir. 
Kâşgârlı’da, Residüddin’de Yâzicizâde’de ve Ebû’l-Gazi’de Selçuk-
ların mensup bulunduğu Oğuz Kınık boyu, daması, okun muhtelif 
şekillerdeki resmedilmiş olan şekilleri ile Selçuklu paralarında

K ISALTMALAR

A. Tevhid Meskukât-i Kadime-i İslamiye
A. Ziya Meskukât-ı İslamiye 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.
İst. İstanbul Arkeoloji müzeleri
Markof Inventarniy Katalogi Musulmanskii Moneti Imperatorskavo Ermitaja.
NC Numismatic Chronicle
NHR The Numismatic History of Rayy.
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 = gümuş, Bk = bakır)
**İRAN SELÇUKLULARı**
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,  
   B,  

   Fıtq    
   lde       
   an      
   lde  
   ıdd  
   lde     
   ıdd  

İç çev.;

Bismi l-lâhi r-râzîmânîn

İç çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM III, 27 no. 53.

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

   Râ' a  
   lde  
   an      
   lde  
   ıdd  
   lde     
   ıdd  

İç çev.;

Bismi l-lâhi r-râzîmânîn

İç çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM III, 27 no. 53.
3. Nişabur, sene 434, (AL, 23 mm-3,04 gr.), lev. 1,

A.

B.

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX 3.

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş. no. 317

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

A.

B.

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; !

NHR 197 no. 224.
5. Nişabur, sene 435, (AL, 24 mm - 3,8 gr.),

A,

B, 

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Kâbil 83 no. 505.

6. Nişabur, sene 435, (AL),

A,

B

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş, (Kâbil 83 no. 506 daki parının basın yerinin silik olmamasına rağmen bu parayla aynı olduğu kanatındayım).
7. Nişabur, sene 436, (AL, 22 mm - 3,61 gr.), lev. 1,

A, 

B, 

İç çev.; Çev.: KURAN IX. 33

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

A, 

B, 

İç çev.; Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

NHR 197 no. 225. (Paris)

A,

عدل
لا إله إلا
الله
وحره
لد شريك له

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب قرآناً ديناراً بنياً بور
سنة سبع وثلاثين وأربعوناً

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
Kâbil 83 no 508-511.

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

A,

أَلَا إِلَهُ أُنَادِي
لا إله إلا
الله
وحره
لد شريك له
القائم بمرأة

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب قرآناً ديناراً بنياً بور
سنة سبع وثلاثين وأربعوناً

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
NHR 198 no. 226.
11. .........., sene ...... (438-445), (G, 22 mm - 3,81 gr.), lev. 1,

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; .........................

Diş çev.; .........................

BM neşredilmemiş.

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

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

A. 

القائم
لاقیم
لا اله الا
الله
وحد
لل شیطان
له
بمر الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله طربه الارینار بیش مشابور

Cev.; [KURAN IX, 33]

Diş çev.; [XXX, 3-4]
Kâbil 84 no. 512.

14. (Nişabur, sene 439, (AL, 22 mm.)

A. 

القائم
بامر
لا اله الا
الله
وهده
لم شیطان
له
الله

İç çev.;

. . . . . . . . بسم الله

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
İst.
15. Nişabur, sene 439, (AL, 21 mm - 3,93 gr.), lev., 1,

A,  

B,

\[\text{İç çev.;} \quad \text{KURAN IX, 33}\]

B,  

\[\text{Diş çev.;} \quad \text{KURAN XXX, 3-4}\]

BM III 28 no. 54.


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

A,  

B,  

\[\text{İç çev.;} \quad \text{KURAN IX, 33}\]

\[\text{Diş çev.;} \quad \text{KURAN XXX, 3-4}\]

NHR 199 no 228, Markoff 368 no 1, Kâbil 86 no 530-538, ANS (iki adet), Casanova 50 no 1154 (izahsz), Paris BM no. 322 deki paralar neşredilmemiştir. (Yukardaki tasvirde BM deki neşredilmemiş para verilmişdir.)
18. Nişabur, sene 440, (AL),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

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

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

A,

B,

tç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 29 no. 55.

A,  

بالالْهُ الْمُحْمَد
لا أَمَّالِهِ الدَّعْوَة
أَوْهُدُهُ نَشِيْطَكَ لَهُ
بِأَلْهِ الرَّحْمَة

İç çev.:  

بِمَّا حَرَّبَ أَرْضَ الْدِّينَ الدِّينَ بِنَيَابَةٍ
سَنَةَ الثَّنِينِ وَارِبعِينَ وَارِبعِينَ

Diş çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)  
Kâbil 85 no. 521.

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

A,  

عَلَى
لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
اللَّهُ وَحَدُّهُ
لا شَرِيعَةَ لَهُ
الثَّامِنَ بِاللَّهِ

İç çev.:  

بِمَّا حَرَّبَ أَرْضَ الْدِّينَ الدِّينَ بِنَيَابَةٍ
سَنَةَ الثَّنِينِ وَارِبعِينَ وَارِبعِينَ

Diş çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)  
Kâbil 89 no. 566.
22. er-Reyy, sene 444, (AL),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

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

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; Yok.

BM neshredilmemiş.
24. Nişabur, sene 444, (AL),

A,  

B,  

İç çev.:  

Çev.; [KURAN IX, 33]  

Diş çev.; [KURAN XXX, 3-4]  
Kâbil 87 no. 542, (Kâbil no. 546-548 bu para ile aynıdır).

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

A,  

B,  

İç çev.:  

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33  

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
Kâbil 87 no. 542, (Kâbil no. 546-548 bu para ile aynıdır).
26. er-Reyy, sene 445, (AL, 22 mm · 4,68 gr), lev. 1,

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
BM neşredilmemiş.

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

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
NHR 200 no. 230, Kâbil 87 no. 541, Markoff supp. no. 1 b 931, Paris neşredilmemiş.

A,

B.

İç çev.; ?

Diş çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Kâbil 85 no. 524 - 526.

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; [KURAN IX, 33]

Diş çev.; [XXX, 3-4]

Kâbil 88 no. 565.
30. Nişabur, sene 446, (AL),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

Diş çev.; [KURAN XXX, 3-4]

Kâbil 89 no. 571.

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş 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 " Kristen olma") yoktur].
32. er-Reyy, sene 447, (AL, 20 mm - 4.76 gr.), lev. II,

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM III 30 no 57 (İkinci baskı).

33. Bardasir, sene 447, (Al, 20 mm - 3.68 gr.), lev. II,

A,

B,

İç çev.;

İç çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş. no 316
34. Isbahan, sene 447, (Al, 24 mm - 3 gr.),

A,  

B,  

İç çev.:  

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Kâbil 86 no 528, Markoff 362 no 2.

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

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

A,  

B,  

İç çev.:  

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

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

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;  

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33  

Diş 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.  

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

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;  

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33  

Diş çev.; (Çevrenin bitişi III )  

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.

B.

İç çev.; Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

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

A.

B.

İç çev.; Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

BM II 30 no 59.
40. Madinat-el-Salam, sene 449-? (AL, 25 mm. 4 gr.),

A

إِنِّي أَطَمْنَعُ عَلَيْكَ لَن يَشْرَكَنَّ لَهُ أَلَّا إِلَّا الرَّحْمَٰنُ وَالرَّحِيمُ

B

كَحْلُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ

القَالُهُمْ إِنَّمَا يَأْمَرُ اللَّهُ أَنَّ شَاهِدَنَّهُ وَلَا يَسْتَثْلِبْنَ

طَخُّ لَبَكَ

İç čev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

سَنَةٌ [ثِنَاءٌ وَأَرْبَعِينَ] وَأَرْبَعِينَ لَهَا.

Kâbil 90 no 574

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

A

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ

B

كَحْلُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ

القَالُهُمْ إِنَّمَا يَأْمَرُ اللَّهُ أَنَّ شَاهِدَنَّهُ وَلَا يَسْتَثْلِبْنَ

رَكَنَ الدِّينِ صَوْلَاءُ بَلْبُكَ

İç čev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

سَنَةٌ [ثِنَاءٌ وَأَرْبَعِينَ] وَأَرْبَعِينَ لَهَا.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş čev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM (no 318) neşredilmemiş.
42. Karmisin, sene 44., (AL).

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
Kâbil 85 no 529.

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

NHR 201 no 232, Nour. Cont. III 147 no 476. (basım yerine hakkında bkz. NHR 201).
44. Nişabur, sene 451, (AL, 24 mm - 3,99 gr.),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4

BM neşredilmemiş.

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4

NHR 202 no 233. Paris
46. Nişabur, sene 452, (AL, 23 mm - 3,88 gr.),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM (1968 no 5) neşredilmemiş.

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

A.

B.

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

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

A.

B.

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş. 1933 no 32

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş. 1920 no 1
50. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 455 - ?, (AL, 22,5 mm - 2,73 gr.), lev. II,

A,

B,

[Cev., KURAN IX, 33]

Diş çev.; Yok.
BM neşredilmemiş. no 319
II. Adud Al-din Abu Şuca ALP ARSLAN, (455-465/1063-1072)

51. Herat, scene 450, (AL),

A.  خدا
عبد
لا اکن لا
الله و هدی
ند بیایه
الب ارسلان

B.  ۰
 رسول الله
عليه السلام
النام با الره
جبغری بک

İc çev.;

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Bismi Allâh rabbî ۸âdâlîn f.b.înîn ۸âdâlîn ۸âdâlîn

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

Un Tresor 214 no 50
52. Merv, sene 453, (AL).

A,

B,

İş çev.;

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 215 no 160 - 162.

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

A,

B,

Cont. Num. Orien, 1,42.
54. er-Reyy, sene 455, (AL),

A,

عدل
لا لـه إلا الله وهـد
لا شريكت لـه وفرـت
العالم بما خير الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله... دينار بالرّي؟
... أربعا له.

Diş çev.;?
NHR 203 no 235.

55. Herat, sene 455, (AL),

A,

عدل
لا لـه إلا الله وهـد
لا شريك له
العالم بما خير الله

İç çev.;

بسم الله حببكم أرباعين وضربت
سعة همس وخمسين وأربعنـا له.

Un Tresor 215 no 156.
56. er-Reyy, sene 457, (AL),

A,  

عمل
لا لله إلا
الله وحده
للشريك له
القائم بمرآته

İç çev.;  

بِبِنِّ عِلْمِ الْإِنسَانِ وَبِبِنِّ عِلْمِ الْحَيَاةِ الْآسِيَةِ  

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
NHR 203 no 237 A.

57. Herat, sene 457, (AL),

A,  

عمل
لا لله إلا
الله وحده
للشريك له
القائم بمرآته

İç çev.;  

بِبِنِّ عِلْمِ الْإِنسَانِ وَبِبِنِّ عِلْمِ الْحَيَاةِ الْآسِيَةِ  

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  
Un Tresor 216 no 181.
58. Kāşān, sene 457, (A.L. 26 mm - 3,37 gr.),

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;  

Çev.; KURAN İX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

59. Nişabur, sene 457, (AL),

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;  

Çev.; KURAN İX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
Cairo 340.
60. Nişabur, sene 457 veya 459 - ?, (AL, 24 mm - 3,22 gr.),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş. (1968 no 14)

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; ........................................

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
Un Tresor 215 no 164
62. ... ..., sene 457, (AL, 22 mm.),

A

لاِّ إِلَی۝هِ رَبّۢی۝

ۚ حَدِی۝ثَةُ هُدَیٖهِ

ۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚۚ
64. Merv, sene 458, (AL),

A

B

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

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

A

B

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

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

A,

اول
لا الله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القائم بأمره

B,

به
مهد رسول الله
السلطان المعظم
نشأته نشأة ملك
السلامervention

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

İç çev.;

بسم الله فلما غزى الريبارت

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 34
Un Tresor 217 no 191.

67. Herat, sene 45. (AL).

A,

الهو
لا الله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القائم بأمره

B,

مهد رسول الله
السلطان المعظم
نشأته نشأة ملك
السلام

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

İç çev.;

بسمه مربى هذا الدينار بالرث

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 34
Un Tresor 216 no 193.
68. ...... sene (45.), (AL),

A,

[İç çev.;

Diş çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Un Tresor 214 no 151]

69. Herat, sene 460, (AL),

A,

[İç çev.;

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 216 no 167-168]
70. Merv, sene 460, (AL),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
Un Tresor 217 no 192-196.

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Diş çev.; KURAN IX, 33
(bole)
NHR 204 no 238.
72. Medînet-es-Selâm, sene 461, (AL, 28 mm - 2,6 gr.), lev. III,

A

الإمام
لا أملك
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القائم بأمر الله
إمبر (26 منين)

B

بيه
مقيم
رسول الله
على الله عليه و سلم
عهد الدولة
الإرلان

İç çev.; Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

beamr eseb yeb sana dindana asalân

İç çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

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

A

لا الله إلا الله
Esma al-hüsna

İç çev.; [al-ölüme]

B

الله
Esma al-hüsna

Çev..

İst. no 1047.
74. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 462, (AL, 29 mm - 4,25 gr.), lev. III.

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM (no 326) neşredilmemiş.

75. Merv, sene 462, (AL),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 217 no 197 - 198.
76. Merv, sene 463, (AL),

A,

[İnce yazılmıştır]

B, 

[İnce yazılmıştır]

İç çev.;


Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

Un Tresor 217 no 199

77. Herat, sene 465, (AL).

A,

[İnce yazılmıştır]

B,

[İnce yazılmıştır]

İç çev.;


Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 34

Un Tresor 218 no 208
78. Nişabur, sene 465. (AL, 23 mm - 4,72 gr.), lev. III.

A.

B.

İç çev.;

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

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

A.

B.

İç çev.; Yok

Çev.; Yok.

Cont. Num. Orien. 1,45. (Para tizerinde ibaresi bulunduğundan tarih 467 den öncedir.)
80. Herat, sene (456 - 467), (AL),

A,

B,

[İnce yazılıdır.]

İç çev.;

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

Bismillâh r-Rahmâne r-Rahîme

[İnce yazılıdır.]

Disç çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Un Tresor 218 no 206.

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

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.;

Noun. Cont. 147 no 477.

*Tari 453 - 465 arasındadır.
III. Celâl ed-Din Ebû'l-Feth MELÎK ŞAH, (465-485/1072-1092)

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

A,  

B,  

İç çev.; ............... Çev.; ...............  

Diş çev.; ...............  

BM III 32 no 63.  

* Para tizerinde «al-Kaim» adı olduğundan tarih 465-467 arasındaki.

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

A,  

B,  

İç çev.; Çev.; KURAN IX, 33.  

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  

BM (1968 no. 6) neşredilmemiş.
84. Dara, sene 469, \((\text{AL}, 24 \text{ mm} \cdot 2,89), \text{ lev. III.}\)

\[ \begin{align*}
A, & \quad \text{B,} \\
\text{Îç çev.;} & \quad \text{Çev.; KURAN IX, 32} \\
\text{Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4} & \quad \text{BM (no 324) neşredilmemiş.} \\
\end{align*} \]

85. Nişabur, sene 470, \((\text{AL}, 23 \text{ mm} \cdot 4,05 \text{ gr.}\))

\[ \begin{align*}
A, & \quad \text{B.} \\
\text{Îç çev.;} & \quad \text{Çev.; KURAN IX, 33} \\
\text{Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4} & \quad \text{BM neşredilmemiş.} \\
\end{align*} \]
86. Nişabur, sene 471, (AL, 24 mm - 4,68 gr.), lev. III,

A,

N 422. Nigabur, sene 471, (AL, 2 4rmm - 4,68 gr.), lev. III,

B,

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

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

A,

B,

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 205 no 239.
88. er-Reyy, sene 473 - ?, (AL),

A. 

عَلَى الرَّحْمَانَ رَحْمَتُهُ ۚ وَهُدِّهِ 

الْمَلَكِ بَيْنَ الْأَمْئَةِ

İç çev.;

بِبِكَةِ ۚ أَنْ أَذْرَبْخَارَسَ 

Disç çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
NHR 205 no 240.

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

A. 

النَّبِيُّ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ ۚ وَهُدِّهِ 

المغترب بارزUNIX

İç çev.;

بِبِكَةِ ۚ أَنْ أَذْرَبْخَارَسَ 

Disç çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
Cont. Numis Orien, 1, 45.
90. er-Reyy, sene 475 veya 485, (AL),

A. 

B. 


cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
NHR 206 no 241.

9i. Isfahan, sene 475 veya 485, (AL, 19 mm · 1,71 gr.), lev. III,

A. 

B. 


cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
NHR 206 no 241.

BM III 32 no 62.
92. Nişabur, sene 475, (AL, 25 mm - 3,61 gr.).

A:

B:

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

93. Nişabur, sene 476, (AL, 23 mm - 2,92 gr.),

A:

B:

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş.

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş.
94. er-Reyy, sene 477, (AL),

A,  

{verse}

B,  

{verse}

İç çev.;

{verse}

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
NHR 206 no 242 A.

95. er-Reyy, sene 477, (AL),

A,  

{verse}

B,  

{verse}

İç çev.;

{verse}

Cev., KURAN IX, 33

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
NHR 206 no 242 B.
96. Nişabur, sene 478, (AL),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş.

97. Nişabur, sene 479, (AL, 23 mm · 3.09 gr.)

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş.
98. Nişabur, sene 47, (G. 17 mm - 2,04 gr.),

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;  

Çev. ............. ...........

Diş çev.; ................

BM neşredilmemiş.

99 Nişabur, sene 47., (G. 16 mm - 1,84 gr.),

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;  

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.
100. er-Reyy, sene 480, (AL),

A, 
الله 
لا اله الا الله 
أنت خير لي 
أطيع الله 
بأم الله 

[Nakşı]

İç çev.;
بسم الله واعظ الدبیر بالرئی 
سنة ثمانی و اربع مانه.

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
NHR 207 no. 243.

101. er-Reyy, sene 481, (AL),

A, 
لا إله إلا الله 
الله وحده 
لا شريك له 
لم يخلقنا 
من الطغين 
بأي دابة

İç çev.;
بسم الله واعظ الدبیر بالرئی 
سنة ثمانی و اربع مانه.

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
NHR 207 no 244 A.
102. er-Reyy, sene 481, (AL),

A. 

B. 

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

NHR 208 no 244 B.

103. Nişabur, sene 482, (G, 21 mm · 5,69 gr.),

A. 

B. 

İç çev.;

Çev.; .......... .........

Diş çev.; Yok.

BM neşredilmemiş.
104. Nišabur, sene 482, (G, 17 mm - 3,93 gr.),

A,

*B*

**[Text in Arabic]**

İç çev.;

**[Translation]**

Çev.; ..............

B,

**[Text in Arabic]**

İç çev.;

**[Translation]**

Çev.; ..................

BM neşredilmemiş.

105. Merv, sene 483, (AL, 22 mm.),

A,

**[Text in Arabic]**

İç çev.;

**[Translation]**

Çev.; ..................

B,

**[Text in Arabic]**

İç çev.;

**[Translation]**

BM (alçı kalıp)
106. er-Reyy, sene 484, (AL),

A, 

عدل
لا إله إلا الله
و讳ه لا شريك له
المغتربين باسر
خليفة النموذج
الله منى

İç çev.;

بسم الله ترسب نذور الدين باي
سنة اربع وثمانين واربع مائتي

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3.4
NHR 208 no 244 X.

107. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 485, (AL, 24 mm - 3.95 gr.), lev. III,

A, 

قد الرأيه
ودنه لا شريك له
الامام المغترب
بامر الله
امير المومنين

İç çev.;

بسم الله تقوي الدين ببديلة المسلم
سنة خمس وثمانين وأربعمائة

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3.4
BM 31 no. 61.
108. Nişabur, sene 485. (AL, 22 mm - 4,81 gr.),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş.

109. Nişabur, sene (465-485), (G. 21 mm - 1,46 gr.), lev. III,

A,

B,

tç çev.;

Çev.; .......... ..... 

Diş çev.; Yok
BM neşredilmemiş
110. Isfahan, sene yok (467-485), (G, 22mm - 5,06 gr. ayarı düşük)

A, 

المقتدى بإبّن الله 
ضرب

B, 

مكر رول الله 
السلطان المعظم 
شاهانشاه 
ملكشاه 
اسفهان

Cont. Numis Orien. 1,45.

111. ........., sene ........., (AL, 27 mm.), lev. XI,

A, 

علل 
به الله الد 
الله وهده 
رشرك له 
المقتدى بإبّن الله

B, 

ابو الفتح 
مكر رول الله 
السلطان المعظم 
شاهانشاه 
ملكشاه

İç çevir.; ..................... 
Çev.; .....................

Dış çevir.; .....................

İst. no. 1049
112. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 486, (AL, 25 mm.), Lev. XI,

A,

B,

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
Ist. no 1048.

113. Nişabur, sene 48, (G. 21 mm - 5.78 gr.),

A,

B,

Çev.;

BM neşredilmemiş. (Çift baskı)
114. Nişabur, sene 48., (3, 22 mm - 4,34 gr.),

A,

لا إلا الله
الله وحده
لا شريك له

B,

[؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟[لا لا]
السلطان المعظم
ركن الإسلام
أبو الفتح ملك
شاه

Çev.;

....... ...............

BM neşredilmemiş.
115. Isfahan, sene 486, (AL, 27 mm - 3.9 gr.), Lev. XI.

A, 

B, 

İş çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
İst. No 1050, A. Tevhit IV no 876.

116. Medinet es-Selam sene, 486, (AL 25 mm - 4.017 gr.),

A, 

B, 

İş çev.;

KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM IX 277 no 62 a.
V. Rukn ed-din Ebu Muzaffer BERKYARUK, (487-498/1094-1105)

117. el-Ahvaz, sene 486, (AL, 22 mm - 3,46 gr.)

A.  

B.  

İç çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.
118. (er-Reyy), sene 486, (AL, 21 mm \( \cdot \) 3.175 gr.), lev. IV,

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; .................

BM IX 278 no 64 s.

119. Isfahan, sene 466 (AL),

A,

B.

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

Longperier, JA 1845, 4. seri, IV, s. 306-313.
120. er-Reyy, sene 487, (AL),

A, 

B, 

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 32

Diş 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, 

B, 

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş 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,  
[...]

B,  
[...] 

İç çev.;

[...]  

Çev.; ..............

Diş çev.; Yok.  
BM neşredilmemiş.

123. Nişabur, sene 48 (7), (G, 21 mm. - 4,52 gr.).

A,  
[...]  

B,  
[...]  

Tamamen siltik

İç çev.;

[...]  

Çev.; ....................

BM neşredilmemiş.
124. er-Reyy, sene 488, (AL).

A,

عمل
لا الله إلا
الله وجله
لا صريك له
المستنصر بالله

İç çev.;

B,

بركيارف
حمد رسول الله
السلطان المعظم
زمن الدين و
الدين ابن الأنظار

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.;

NHR 210 no 247. (Paris).

125. er-Reyy, sene 488, (AL, 23 mm - 2,45 gr.), lev. IV,

İç çev.;

B,

حمد رسول الله
السلطان المعظم
زمن الدين و
الدين ابن الأنظار
بركيارف بن ملك سنة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3.4
BM henüz neşredilmemiş.
126. İsbahan, sene 488, (AL, 26 mm - 3,93 gr.), lev. IV,

A,  

B,  

Diş çev.; 1  
Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

127. İsbahan, sene 48 (8), (AL, 22 mm - 3,51 gr.),

A,  

B,  

Çev.;  
Çev.; .............

BM neşredilmemiş
128. Kâşân, sene 488, (AL, 19 mm - 3.73 gr.), lev, IV,

A

B

Cev.; (KURAN IX, 33)

İç çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)

BM nesredilmemiş.

129. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 488, (AL, 25,5 mm - 3,65 gr.), lev. IV,

A

B

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

İç çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)

BM LX 278 no 65 c, A. Tevhid IV 63 no 89.
130. Nişabur, sene 48 (8), (G, 21 mm-4.34 gr.),

A,

B,

Çev.; ........................

Çev.; ........................

BM neşredilmemiş.

131. Nişabur, sene 488, (G, 20 mm-5.44 gr.),

A.

B.

Çev.; ........................

Çev.; ........................

BM neşredilmemiş. (Arslan Argun'a ait bk. notlar)
132. İşbahan, sene 489, (AL, 24 mm - 2.93 gr.), lev, IV,

A,

Malik

B,

گمیر رسول

الملتان المحتم

۱

رکن الدنیا والدنین

ابو المظفر بکیا رفع

الاسلام

İç çev;

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

بِبَلِی از بَلَی اذیت دینیت باصهبان

سَمَت، تَمَس و تَمَس داریعا نَم.

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemis.

133. İşbahan, sene 489, (AL, 23 mm - 3.7 gr.), lev, VI,

A,

عدل

B,

مکمر رسول

الملتان المحتم

۱

رکن الدنیا والدنین

ابو المظفر بکیا رفع

الاسلام

tç çev;

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

بِبَلِی از بَلَی اذیتا دینیت باصبه

سَمَت، تَمَس و تَمَس داریعا نَم.

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemis.
134. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 489, (AL, 25 mm - 3,07 gr.), lev. IV

A,

الله
لا إله إلا الله
حني: لا شريك له
المؤمنين
أبي بكر محمد رضي الله عنه

İç çev.;

بسم الله رحمه السلام
سنة سبع وثمانين وثلاثة

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM III 34 no 66.

135. ..........., sene 489, (AL, 22 mm - 2,77 gr.), lev. V.

A,

لا إله إلا الله
الله ورسوله
لا شريك له
المؤمنين

İç çev.;

. . . . . . . . . .
سنة سبع وثمانين واربع

Diş çev.; ..................
BM neşredilmemiş.
136. er-Reyy, sene 490, (AL),

A,

B,

İç çev.

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

Diş çev.; ?

NHR 210 no 248 A.

137. İsbahan, sene 490, (AL, 22 mm - 3,97 gr.), lev. V,

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 5,4

BM neşredilmemiş.
138. el Ahvaz, sene 491, (AL, 16 mm - 1,92 gr. Yarım Dinar.), lev. V.

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; ?
BM IX 278 no 66 d.

139. Medinet el-Selâm, sene 492, (AL, 25 mm. - 4,5 gr.), lev. V,

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş 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,

الإمام
ل الله
وهذه عرض الدولة
المستظهر بإله
اية الموفنين

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَحْمَاتُه وَبِنِتْيَةِ الدِّينَامِ
سنة ثلث و تسعين وأربعاء

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 34
BM nesredilmemiş.

141. er-Reyy (Lar?), sene 494, (AL),

A,

عدل

B,

نو 1

من صلى سلال [ع١]

NHR 211 no 248 X
142. er-Reyy, sene 495, (AL),

A,

盐城

لا إله إلـ

الله محمد

لا خير له

 предусبيه

B,


 محمد رسول الله

اللطان المعظم

ركن الدنيا و

الدين أبو المظفر

بركبا رف

İç çev.;

بِهِمَا ضَرَبْنَا الْدِّينَ الْمَعْلُومَ

سَنَةً فَمِنْهَا وَتَسعِينَ دَارِخُ مَالِهِ

Diş çev.; ?

NHR 211 no 249 A. (Paris)

143. Zencan, sene 495, (AL, 26 mm.), lev. V.

A,

نصر

لا إله إلا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

اللطان المعظم

صلى الله عليه

B,


 محمد رسول الله

اللطان المعظم

ركن الدنيا و

الدين أبو المظفر

بركبا رف

İç çev.;

بِهِمَا ضَرَبْنَا الْدِّينَ الْمَعْلُومَ

سَنَةً فَمِنْهَا وَتَسعِينَ دَارِخُ مَالِهِ

BM neşredilmemiştir.
144. ........, sene ........ (AL),

A,

[Text in Turkish]

B,

[Text in Turkish]

İç çev.; .................

............... ....

Diş çev.; .............

Un Tresor 219 no 212

Çev.; .................
VII. Giyas ed·din Ebu Şuca MUHAMMAD TAPAR.
(498-511/1105-1118)

146. Avah, sene 493, (AL, 22 mm-2,58 gr.), lev. V.

A. 

B. 

İç çev.;

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,

B,

İç çev.;

Büşüb nafis adet dilin kılınb

Sonra arım ve teveccuhla käf

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

148. Zencan, sene 494, (AL, 27 mm - 2.78 gr.), lev. V,

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Büşüb nafis adet dilin kılınb

Sonra arım ve teveccuhla käf

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.
149. Loridcan, sene 496, (AL, 25 mm - 2,8 gr.), lev.,

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM 35 no 67.

150. er-Reyy, sene 499, (AL),

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; ?

NHR 212 no 250 A. (Paris),
151. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 500, (AL, 25 mm - 4,82 gr.), lev. VI

A,

الإمام 
لا إله إلا الله 
وهده لا شيء له 
المستنصر بإله 
امير الحُمدين 

İç çev.;

بسم الله عَزَّ وجل، الرحمن الرحيم.

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM 35 no 68.

152. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 501, (AL, 25 mm - 2,83 gr.). lev. VI

A,

الإمام 
لا إله إلا الله 
وهده لا شيء له 
المستنصر بإله 
امير الحُمدين 

İç çev.;

بسم الله عَزَّ وجل، الرحمن الرحيم.

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş.
153. Medinet-es-Selâm, sene 502, (AL, 24 mm - 3,25 gr.), lev. VI.

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;  Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 35 no 69, 1st. no 1052.

154. İsbahan, sene 503, (AL, 22 mm - 4,80 gr.), lev. VI,

A,  

B,  

İç çev.;  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,  

الله
لا إله إلا هو
و هو لا شريك له
المتفضل بإله
أمير الروميين  

İç çev.;

بسم الله مزبدا الرسامين مسجد السلام
سنة ثان وخمسة و رأة .

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM nesredilmemiş.

156. İsbahan, sene 504, (AL, 22 mm - 2,6 gr.), lev VI,

A,  

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ  
لا إله إلا هو
و هو لا شريك له
المتفضل بإله

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ مُتَقَبِّلَة
السلطان المعظم

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
MB III 36 no 71
157. İsbahan, sene 506, (AL, 22 mm - 2,9 gr.),

A

B

İç çev.; Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)
Kâbil 92 no. 578, Nakşibandi, Sâmer 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

B

İç çev.; Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; (KURAN XXX, 3-4)
BM III 36 no 72.
159. Isbahan, sene 509 (? (AL, 2 mm - 3,95 gr.), lev. VI,

A

بَيْنَتِي اللَّهَ ﴿١﴾
۰۰۰۰۰۰۰

B

ابْوَكَانَ؟

Diş çev.; (KURAN XXX, 2 4)
BM neşredilmemiş.

160. .........., sene (498 - 511 arası), (AL 22 mm., 2,31 gr.), lev. VI,

A

بَعْضَ الْأَزْمَهَّةِ ﴿٩﴾
۰۰۰۰۰۰۰

B

إِبْلِيسُ الْمُسْنَاذِ ﴿٤٠﴾

İç çev.; ................................

Diş 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

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمنَ الرَّحِيمَ

الظَّاهِرُ الْمَهْدُ

الظاهر المهدي

بِشَجَاعةٍ عَظِيمَةٍ

بِشجاعة عظيمة

السُّلطان المعظم

ملك المحترم سهيب

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمنَ الرَّحِيمَ

مَعَ وَتَسْعَى وَأَرْبَعَتَا

Disç çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş. [Tarih 494 veya 497 dir]

162. Nişabur, sene 496, (Al, 25 mm.) lev. XI,

A

َلا اله الا الله

الظَّاهِرُ الْمَهْدُ

الظاهر المهدي

بِشَجَاعةٍ عَظِيمَةٍ

بِشجاعة عظيمة

السُّلطان المعظم

ملك المحترم سهيب

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمنَ الرَّحِيمَ

مَعَ وَتَسْعَى وَأَرْبَعَتَا

Disç çev.; .................

Ist. no 1053.
163. Nişabur, sene 498, (AL, 23.5 mm 4 gr.), lev. VII,

A, 

B, 

İç çev.;

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; Yok.

BM neşredilmemiş.

164. Merv, sene 49 (9?), (AL, 22 mm - 4.16 gr. Ayarı çok düştik.), lev. VII,

A, 

B, 

İç çev.;

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 36 no 73
165. Bell., sene 49. (G, 23 mm - 2,84 gr.), lev. VII,

A

B

İç çev.;

Cev.; ......................................

Diş çev.; .........................

BM neşredilmemiş.

166. ............... sene 49., (G), lev VII,

A

B

İç çev.;

Cev.; ......................................

Diş çev.; .........................

BM neşredilmemiş.
167. ........., sene .......... .... (G), lev. VII,

İç çev.; ........................................
Diş çev.; ......................................
BM neşredilmemiştir.

168. .........., sene .......... .... (G), lev. VII,

İç çev.; ........................... ....
Diş çev.; ............................. ....
BM neşredilmemiştir.
169. .........., sene .........., (G) lev, VII,

171. .............., sene ........ (510 - 512), (AL 22 mm.), lev VI.

İç çev.; ........................................
Dis çev.; ........................................
BM neşredilmemiş.

172. .............., sene ...... ......, (AL, 21 mm. - 3,6 gr. ayarı düşük, lev. VII

İç çev.; ........................................
Dis çev.; KURAN XXX 3 4
BM III 37 no 74
173. ................., sene ............ (512 - 529), (AL, 22 mm - 3,4 gr.),

A

B

İç çev.; ...................... Çev.; ......................
Diş çev.; ......................
Kâbil 93 no 579.

174. .................., sene ............ (512 - 529), AL, 23 mm - 4,5 gr.),

A

B

İç çev.; ...................... Çev.; ......................
Diş çev.; ......................
Kâbil 93 no 580.
175. ... ... ... sene ... ... ... (AL)

A

فالإله
لا إله إلا الله
وجده لا شريك له

B

الله
اللهم
بصبر

İç çev.; .........................

Cev.; .........................

Diş çev.; .........................

Un Tresor 219 no 213

176. Basım yer ve tarih yok, (530 dan sonra), (G, 22 mm · 3,7 gr.)

A

لا إله إلا الله
وجده لا شريك له

B

اللهم
للؤلؤ

مطرال

أبو المار

بن ملك

Kâbil 94 no 583
177. Basım yeri ve tarih yok, (530 dan sonra), (G, 22 mm 3, gr.).

A

لا الله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
المتنف...

B

السلطان المعظم
من ديا والد
بو الحارث شير
ملكشاه

Kâbil 94 no. 584.

178. ........., sene ....... (AL, 22 mm - 3,3 gr.) lev; VII

A

بَلَاله
لا الله الا
الله وحده
أشربه له
للقت.[بار]
[سنبع]

B

للله
السلطان المعظم
معزالدnya والدبن
ابو الحرش شير
بن [ملكشاه]

İç çev.: ....................
Çev.: ........................

Diş çev.: ....................

BM neşredilmemiş.
179. er-Reyy, sene 349-?, (AL),

A

........................................
........................................
لا الله
الله حدو[ارواح]
لا ورد له
المقنن لا اسلامه[ارواح]

İç çev;

........................................

Đış çev.; ......................
NHR 215 no 251 X.

180. er-Reyy, sene 551-?, (AL),

A

الاعول[ارواح]
ور الله
أول الله وحده
لا ورد له
المقنن لا اسلامه[ارواح]

İç çev;

بسم الله[ارواح] ص... بالريح
سعة احمد... صمد

NHR 215 no 251 Y.
181. ............... sene ............... (530 - 552), (G, 21 mm - 2,4 gr.).

A

د الراشد
وهناك
له الإمام المتمنى

İç çev.; .........................
Diş çev.; .........................
Kâbil 94 no 582.

B

الله المعظم
معزالدين والرين
ابو العمار سفيان
بن ...

Çev.; .........................
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 شريك له
المستضعف: الله

B

حِكْمَةُ
رحول الله
السلطان المعظم
محب الدنيا والأمين
ابو القسم

İç çev.;

بسم الله ضرب كذا الديار باص...

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM. III 40 no 77

* Para tizerinde Halife el-Mustazhir'in adı bulunduğundan bu para 511 veya 512 tarihli olmalıdır.
183. İsbahan, sene 512, (AL, 23 mm - 4,73 gr.), lev. VII.

A,

B,

İç çev.:  

Çev.;

Diş 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,

B,

İç çev.;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM III 42 no 79
185. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 514, (AL 26 mm.), lev. XI,

A,

الإمام
لا اله الا الله
و هو لا شريك له
المسترشد بالله
امير المومنين

B.

الله
مبعده رسول الله
على الله عليه
معز الدين والدين
وجيشه الدين
والدين

İç çev.;

بسم الله دارنار بدنين السلام
سنه اربع و عشر و حسماً

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
İst, no 1054, Reşad Bey Coll. no 704.

186. El-Muasker, sene 511, (AL, 25 mm -2,8 gr.), lev. VIII,

A,

الإمام
لا اله الا الله
و هو لا شريك له
المسترشد بالله
امير المومنين

B.

الله
مبعده رسول الله
على الله عليه
معز الدين والدين
وجيشه الدين
والدين

İç çev.;

بسم الله دارنار بدنين السلام
سنه اربع و عشر و حسماً

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM III 42 no 80.
187. Medinet es-Selam, sene 515, (AL, 24,5 mm - 1,231 gr. Çok ince.), lev. VIII,

A,

الله
لا علاه إلا الله
لله ملك ورفق له
لا علل وعشرة وملعنة

İç çev.;

لا الله ملك ولا رواح بسورة الإسلام
سنة عشرة وعشرة وملعنة

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM IX 280 no 84 a.

188. Nihavend, sene 517, (AL 21 mm - 1,56 gr.),

A,

البقرة
لا علاه إلا الله
 проб نشر الله
اللغزان العظم

İç çev.;

بَـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِـِ~

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM neşredilmemiş.
189. Nihavend, sene 51. (AL, 21 mm - 2,01 gr.),

A,


B,


İç çev.;


Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4

BM neşredilmemiş.

190. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 51., (AL, 26 mm.), lev. XI,

A,


B,


İç çev.;


Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4

Isi: no 1055.
191. Hemدان, sene 519. (AL, 22 mm - 3 gr.), lev. VIII,

A, 

الله و حمد

أول شريف له

السلطان الاعظم

İç çev.;

By the grace of God the messenger of the Most High, the Sultan the greatest

Diş çev.; Yok

BM III 42 no 81

192. Hemدان, sene 519, (AL, 22 mm - 2,8 gr.), lev. VIII,

A, 

الله و حمد

أول شريف له

السلطان الاعظم

İç çev.;

By the grace of God the messenger of the Most High, the Sultan the greatest

Diş çev.; Yok.

BM III 43 no 82
193. Medinet es - Selâm, sene 521, (AL, 22 mm - 3.38 gr.), lev. VII

A,  

الإمام  
لا أَلِهَّ إِلَّا اللَّهُ  
وَهُدَى نَاطِرَةُ لِلْأَرْضِ  
المتَرَكُّدُ بِاللهِ  
أَمِيرُ الْمُنْبِينَ  

İç çev.;  

بِالْحَزْبِ تَحْزَبُوْنَ الْأَرْضَ بِرَبِّ الْسَّلَامُ  

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  

BM III 43 no 83.

194. Nihavend, sene (521) 1, (AL, 21 mm - 1,42 gr.),

A,  

مرحَل  
لا أَلِهَّ إِلَّا اللَّهُ  
وَهُدَى نَاطِرَةُ لِلْأَرْضِ  
المتَرَكُّدُ بِاللهِ  
سَيِّئَرُ مَلِيْنَاءُ  

İç çev.;  

بِبَيْنِ الْمَرَضِ نَظِيرًا بِنَهْرٍ وَنِّزْرٍ  

Dis çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4  

BM neşredilmemiş
195. Nihavend, sene 522, (AL, 21 mm - 1,22 gr.),

A,  

B, 

İç çev.;  

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4.

BM neşredilmemiştir.

196. er-Reyy, sene 525, (AL),

A,  

B, 

İç çev.;  

Çev.; KURAN IX 33

Diş çev.; .............. . ............

NHR 213 no 250 X
197. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 525, (AL, 25 mm - 2,073 gr.), lev. VII,

A,

الله

بِسْمِ اللّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

B,

۳۸۶

صلى الله عليه وسلم

B, معز الرحمن

198. .........., sene 52. (AL, 22 mm - 2,4 gr.)

A,

معيَّن

B,

۳۸۶

Muhammed رسول الله

B, معز الرحمن

İç çev.;

İç çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4

Diş çev.; Yok

BM III 43 no 84. A Tevhid IV 67-68 no 91.

BM III 43 no 85.

* Ön yüzün sağ ve solundaki kelimeler A. Tevhid'de yokturan.
199. ... ....... sene ...... (AL, 21 mm.), lev.,

A, 

B.

虐絶; KURAN IX 33

Diş çev.; Yok.

İst. no 1057.

200. Nişabur ? sene (511-525), (AL, 23 mm. 3 gr.), lev. VII,

A, 

B.

虐絶; KURAN IX 33

Diş 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

B

Gev.; Qev.;

Diş çev.; Yok.

BM III 44 no 86
III. Rükan ed - din TUĞRUL, (526 - 529/1132 - 1134)

202. er-Reyy, sene 529, (AL),

A. بن ىؤم
لا اله الا
الله و ه و
لا شريك لـ
الله السـ[ ..[ بالله
طَخَر

B. المـلـك ؟
کـر
 رسول الله
فـ[
الـسـطـان اـعظم
أـبـو العـارـف

İç şev;

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

... ... ز بالر ؟
ـنة تـع و عـشـرين و هـ...

NHR 213 no 250 y
IV. Giyas ed-din MESUD, (529 - 547/1134 - 1152)

203. Medinet es-Selâm sene 530, (AL, 26 mm - 3,6 gr.), lev. IX

A, B

الإمام
لا أبلى الله
وهذه لا يشرك له
الشر بالله
امير المومنين

İç çev.; KURAN IX. 33

Çev.; KURAN XX, 3 - 4

B M IX 280 no. 86 t.

İnceleme/sözlem içindeki nota (bkz. B M IX s. 280)
204. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 531, (AL, 27 mm - 3,3 gr.),

A,

الله
لا إله إلا الله
و هو لا شريك له
المقتفي لم يرم الله
امير المؤمنين

B,

مكح رضو الله
على الله عليه
معز الربنيات والدين
ويامت الربنيات والدين

İç çev.;

بسم الله تحلب هذة الرسالة بخير من الله
سنةERTININ VE THLENI W[JSN] MA'ADIE.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş 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,

الله
لا إله إلا الله
و هو لا شريك له
المقتفي لرم الله
امير المؤمنين

B,

مكح رضو الله
على الله عليه
معز الربنيات والدين
ويامت الربنيات والدين

İç çev.;

بسم الله تحلب هذة الرسالة بخير من الله
سنةERTININ VE THLENI W[JSN] MA'ADIE.

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM IX 281 no 87.
206. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 533, (AL 21 mm.), lev. XI,

A, 

الله

لا الإيمام

والله الرحمن الرحيم

الح_strike

المتفضل لامر الله

امير المومنين

İç çev.;

بم الله وحده لا شريك له

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

KURAN IX, 33

Cev.;

Dış çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

İst. no 1058

207. Basım yeri ve tarihi yok, (AL, 11,5 mm - 0,7 gr. Çeyrek dinar.), lev. IX,

A, 

الإمام

المتفضل

B,

عال

غاية

Cev.;

الله الرحمن الرحيم

KURAN XIX, 121

Cev.;

معز الرنيا والدين السلطان سعيد

BM II 45 no 88.
208. er-Reyy, sene (530-547), (AL),

\[\text{A,} \quad \text{B} \quad \text{[Nakşi]}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{لاه ويرن.} \\
\text{لا شيء له} \\
\text{المقتفي لأم الله [8/79]} \\
\end{align*}\]

İç çev.;

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ينار بالذر} \\
\end{align*}\]

NHR 214 no 250 Z.

209. er-Reyy, sene 545 ? (AL),

\[\text{A,} \quad \text{B,} \quad \text{(Silik)}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{السلطان} \\
\text{العظم} \\
\end{align*}\]

İç çev.;

\[\begin{align*}
\text{الربيع بالربيع?} \\
\text{سنة همسي؟ وربعين وخمسانه} \\
\end{align*}\]

NHR 214 no 251 A. (Berlin).

209 A. Britch Nusrum kolleksiyonunda Gümüş 20 mm. çapında 5 gr. ağırlığında kadar hiç neşredilmiş Mesud’a ait bir para daha bulunmaktadır. Üzerinde; önyüzü ortada, “٣٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠" kelimesi ile, arkayüz ortada, "المتقن" kelimesinden başka bir şey okunamamıştır.
V. Muin ed-din MELiK-Şah, (547-548/1152-1153)

210. ... ... sene 547 veya 548, (AL, 23 mm - 2,2 gr.), lev. IX

A.

B.

İç çev.;

Diş çev.; .......................

BM III 46 no 89

211. Belh, sene ...... ...., (AL 24 mm - 4,6 gr. Ayarı düştük.), lev. IX

A.

B.

İç çev.;

Diş çev.; ............................

BM III 46 no 90. (İk. defa tist üsttebasılmış).
VI. Rükn ed- din MUHAMMED, (548 - 555/1153 - 1160)

212. Medinet es-Selâm, sene 551, (AL, 25mm - 3.7 gr.), lev. IX

A,

الإمام
يراه الله ناره
وهذه لشرب له
المتنبي لمرأته
امرأ الموتى

İç çev.;

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
سمحة له سلام وسلام

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM X 281 no. 909.

213. er-Reyy, sene 555 veya 556, (AL.)

A,

لا إله إلا الله
والله وحده
لا شريك له
المستجبر بالله

İç çev.;

زَيْدُ الْبِرْزِمَةَ بِرُكَا نَةِ

NHR 216 no 251 z.
KIRMAN SELÇUKLULARI
(433·582/1041·1186)

I. İmâd ed-din Kara Arslan KAVURD BEĞ, (433·465/1041·1073)

214. C.ruft, sene 444, (Al 25 mm - 5,6 gr.), lev. IX

A, B,

İç çev.;

Cev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4
BM nesredilmemiş.
215. .........., sene 446 ?. (AL, 23 mm - 5,04 gr.), lev. IX.

A,

B,

İÇ ÇEV.;

ÇEV.: KURAN IX. 33

DIŞ ÇEV.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM NEŞREDIRMEMİŞ.

216. Ciruft, sene 444., (G 24,5 mm.), lev. IX.

A,

B,

İÇ ÇEV.;

ÇEV.; .......................... ..........

DIŞ ÇEV.; YOK.
BM NEŞREDIRMEMİŞ
217. Bardasir, sene 451 (G, 26 mm - 5 gr.), lev. IX

A,

لا اله الا الله
و هو لا شريك له
المملك المعادل
قرا ارسلان بك

İç çev.;

... بيرداسير
سنة ادريس و خميس و ربع ما الله.

Diş çev.; Yok.
BM neşredilmemiş.

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

B,

کیفر رسول الله
صلی الله عليه
الله و نعيم الله
عثمان بن عفان

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4
BM neşredilmemiş

218. Bardasir, sene 453, (AL, 24,5 mm - 4 gr.), lev. X.

A,

لا اله الا الله
و هو لا شريك له
المملك المعادل
قرا ارسلان بك

İç çev.;

... بيرداسير
سنة ادريس و خميس و ربع ما الله.

Diş çev.; Yok.
BM neşredilmemiş.

Çev.: KURAN IX, 33

B,

کیفر رسول الله
صلی الله عليه
الله و نعيم الله
عثمان بن عفان

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3 - 4
BM neşredilmemiş
219. Şiraz, sene 454 (G, 28 mm - 5,06 gr.).

A.

**şarap**

لا اله الا الله

وَهَدَى لِأَشْرَكَةِ

فَأَعْلَمْ بِهِ يَدَّ

قرأ ارسلان بك

İç çevir;

بِمَعَالَةٍ وزَكَاةٍ ونافعٍ وفاضلٍ

Dış çevir; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

220. Bardasır, sene 462, (AL 22 mm - 3,9 gr.) lev. X,

A.

**şarap**

لا اله الا الله

وَهَدَى لِأَشْرَكَةِ

الظلم بآمل له [عَلَى]

İç çevir;

بِمَعَالَةٍ وزَكَاةٍ ونافعٍ وفاضلٍ

Dış çevir; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM III 38 no 75.
221. Bardasır, sene 462 (L, 25 mm.), lev. X,

A,

لَّدَيَّ رَبِّي الْحَقَّ

وهذه لاشريك له

 الملك العادل

قرا ارسلان بك

İç çev.;

B,

إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

صلى الله عليه

القائم بأمر الله

عهاد الدولة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Bir çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4

BM neşredilmemiş.

222. ........., sene 4 ...... (G), lev. X.

A.

لَدَيَّ رَبِّي الْحَقَّ

وهذه لاشريك له

 الملك العادل

قرا ارسلان بك

İç çev.;

B,

إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

صلى الله عليه

القائم بأمر الله

عهاد الدولة

Çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; Yok.

BM neşredilmemiş
223 Bardasır, sene 265 (AL 24 mm - 5,2 gr.), lev. X,

A,

B,

İç çev.;

Cev.: KURAN IX. 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX, 3-4
BM: neşredilmemiş

224. Bardasır, sene 467. (AL, 25 mm.), lev. X,

A,

B,

te çev.;

Cev.: KURAN IX. 33

Diş çev.; .............................
BM neşredilmemiştir.
COŞKUN ALPTEKİN

225. ..... sene  ......  (AL, 22 mm.), lev. X,

A,  

B,  

İç çev.; ........... 
Dış çev.; ...........  
BM neşredilmiş
IV. Rukn ed-devle SULTAN ŞAH, (467-477/1074-1085)

226. Bardasir, sene 465, (AL, 24 mm) lev. XI.

A. 

B.

İç çev.; KURAN IX, 33

Diş çev.; KURAN XXX 3-4

BM nesredilmemiş
227. Bardasır, sene 468, (AL, 24,5 mm - 5 gr.), lev. X

A

Cu ve v;

Cev; .................. ..................

Diş çev.; ............

B,  

Mendel Roxel ve v

Cev; .................. ..................

Diş çev.; ............

BM nesredilmemiş

228. Bardasır, sene 468, (AL, 23,5 mm - 4 gr.), lev. X,

A

Cu ve v;

Cev; .................. ..................

Diş çev.; ............

B,  

Mendel Roxel ve v

Cev; .................. ..................

Diş çev.; ............

BM nesredilmemiş
V. Muhyî'd-din TURAN-ŞAH, (477·490/1085-1097)

229. Bardasir, sene 480, (E.L.)

A.

لَرَهْتَ إِلَى الْحَسَدِ
وَهَدِهِ لِلْأَشْرَكِينَ
مُقَتُّبَ بِأَمَرِ اللَّهِ
مَعَ الْرَّبِّيَةِ وَالْرَّبِّيَةِ

İç çev.

بِبَعْضِ اللَّهِ مَعَ حُزْبِ الْأَبْنَاءِ وَحُزْبُ الْأَبْنَاءِ
سَالَةَ نَبِيَّ رَبِّيْنَ

Diş çev.; KÜRAN XXX, 3-4
Cairo 340.


A.

لَرَهْتَ إِلَى الْحَسَدِ
وَهَدِهِ لِلْأَشْرَكِينَ
مُقَتُّبَ بِأَمَرِ اللَّهِ
مَعَ الْرَّبِّيَةِ وَالْرَّبِّيَةِ

İç çev.

بِبَعْضِ اللَّهِ مَعَ حُزْبِ الْأَبْنَاءِ وَحُزْبُ الْأَبْنَاءِ
سَالَةَ نَبِيَّ رَبِّيْنَ

Diş çev.; KÜRAN XXX, 3-4
Cairo 340.
X. BEHRAM - ŞAH, (565 - 570/1170 - 1175)

231. Basım yeri ve tarihi yok, (G, 20 mm - 4,38 gr.),

A,  

لا و هو الله  
جُهَر رَسُول اللَّه  
الناصر الدين الله

B,  

الملك السَّلطان  
ابو مصاور ...  
بِهْر مَنَاة

PARALAR ÜZERİNDEKI DAMGA VE SÜSLER DİZİNİ

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<tr>
<td>BIE</td>
<td>Bulletin de l'institut d'Egypte</td>
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