

AḌUD AL-DAWLA AL-BUWAYHĪ (324–372 AH / 935–983 CE) HIS CHARACTERISTICS AND THE OPINIONS OF HISTORIANS

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Abstract

Aḏud al-Dawla is considered one of the most prominent rulers of the Buyid dynasty due to the rare combination of qualities he possessed—qualities seldom found in a single individual. When the Buyid state is mentioned, ‘Aḏud al-Dawla stands at the forefront of its kings because of his political, economic, architectural, scientific, and literary achievements. The greatness of the Buyid state was epitomized by its ruler, ‘Aḏud al-Dawla.

He was known for his strength and for being resolute and strict in matters that affected him personally or related to the security of his kingdom—he would never show leniency in such cases, handling them with determination and firmness. However, he was tolerant and gracious toward scholars and men of letters.

The study includes an introduction, a preface, and a brief overview of ‘Aḏud al-Dawla’s early political life. It encompasses his full name, titles, lineage, and epithets, as well as his most notable traits and the opinions of historians, as well as with insights from his contemporaries, including scholars, poets, and jurists. It also addresses the circumstances of his death.

The study adopts the historical method by collecting information about the views of historians and their contemporaries, followed by an analysis to understand their impact on the intellectual and scientific spheres.

Keywords: Aḏud al-Dawla al-Buwayhī (324–372 AH / 935–983 CE) His Characteristics and the Opinions of Historians.

Introduction

The personality of ‘Aḏud al-Dawla distinguished him among the princes of the Buyid dynasty, marked by a commanding presence and a wide-ranging education in literature and the sciences. He is remembered as one of the most formidable rulers of his era—valiant in battle, astute in political affairs, keen in judgment, and unwavering in resolve. His rule was characterized by decisiveness and control, bolstered by an extensive network of informants who kept him apprised of developments across distant regions. He was notorious for his ruthlessness and showed no mercy toward his adversaries.

Yet, beneath his stern and forceful demeanor lay a spirit of tolerance, nobility, and generosity. ‘Aḏud al-Dawla was celebrated for his charitable deeds and deep appreciation for knowledge and scholars. He welcomed intellectuals into his court, honored them with wealth and patronage, and actively fostered a culture of learning and enlightenment.

The character of ‘Aḏud al-Dawla warrants in-depth study and critical examination, as the power and prestige of the Buyid state were deeply intertwined with his leadership. He played a decisive role in consolidating the Buyid house and oversaw remarkable advancements in politics, economics, and architecture. Cultural life flourished under his reign, reaching unprecedented heights.

This study comprises an introduction, a preface, and an overview of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla’s early political career in Shiraz. It explores his name, titles, lineage, epithets, defining personal traits, and the views of historians and contemporaries, including writers, scholars, and jurists, as well as the circumstances surrounding his death.

The research adopts a historical methodology, gathering and analyzing the perspectives of historians and contemporaneous sources to assess their influence on the intellectual and scientific developments of the period.

Preface

Political stability and the patronage extended by the Buyid princes to intellectuals and scholars played a pivotal role in the flourishing and advancement of cultural life⁽¹⁾. The emergence of vibrant scientific and literary activity would not have been possible without the explicit support and endorsement of the Buyid rulers. Their dedication to cultural development was not merely a matter of interest, but an integral aspect of the royal prestige they sought to cultivate and project⁽²⁾. For the Buyid princes, the presence of poets, writers, and scholars at their courts served as a powerful symbol of refinement, authority, and cultural sophistication—a means by which their reputation and influence could extend beyond the battlefield and into the realm of intellect and the arts⁽³⁾.

However, it was not easy for every scholar or man of letters to gain the favor of such distinguished patrons. Only those with qualifications, talents, and literary or scientific capabilities—or perhaps those favored by circumstances—were able to be close to the princes ⁽⁴⁾, who encouraged them and urged them to write and compose ⁽⁵⁾.

His Name, Kunya, and Lineage

His full name is Fanākhusrāw ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Būyah ibn Fanākhusrāw Abū Shujā‘ ibn Tammām ibn Kūhī ibn al-Malik Shīrzil al-Aṣghar ibn Shīrkadhah ibn Shīrzil al-Akbar ibn Shīrān Shāh ibn Shīrfanah ibn Sīstān Shāh ibn Sunnan Farū ibn Sharūzil ibn Sanādir ibn Bahrām Jūr al-Malik Yazdegerd al-Malik ibn Hormizd al-Malik Kirmānshāh ibn Sābūr al-Malik Dhī al-Aktāf ibn Hormizd al-Malik ibn Barsī al-Malik ibn Bahrām ibn Ardashīr al-Malik al-Jāmi‘ ibn Bābak ibn Sāsān. He was known by his **kunya** (patronymic) *Abū Shujā‘*, and his most famous title was ‘**Aḍud al-Dawla**’ ⁽⁶⁾.

Genealogists and historians differed regarding the lineage of the Buyids; some traced them back to the Persian kings, while others linked them to the Daylamites, descendants of Bāsil ibn Ḍubbah ⁽⁷⁾. ⁽⁸⁾ ‘Aḍud al-Dawla was born in **Isfahan** ⁽⁹⁾ in **324 AH / 935 CE** ⁽¹⁰⁾. His father, **Rukn al-Dawla** ⁽¹¹⁾, had taken control of Isfahan in **323 AH / 943 CE** ⁽¹²⁾.

His Emergence on the Stage of Political Events in the East

‘Aḍud al-Dawla first appeared on the stage of political events in the East in **338 AH / 949 CE** in **Shiraz** ⁽¹³⁾ after being summoned by his uncle, ‘**Imād al-Dawla**’ ⁽¹⁴⁾, while he had been under the care of his father, **Rukn al-Dawla**, in **Rayy** ⁽¹⁵⁾. When ‘Imād al-Dawla fell ill in **Fars**, he agreed with his brother Rukn al-Dawla to hand over Fars to his son, **Abū Shujā‘ Fanākhusrāw**, who at that time had not yet received the title ‘*Aḍud al-Dawla*’ ⁽¹⁶⁾.

This move demonstrated ‘Imād al-Dawla’s concern for the **Buyid family** ⁽¹⁷⁾, as he entrusted the rule of Fars to his nephew—the son of Rukn al-Dawla—before his death, since he had no legitimate heir to succeed him ⁽¹⁸⁾. After the death of ‘Imād al-Dawla, **Fars passed to ‘Aḍud al-**

Dawla, and thanks to the cooperation and solidarity of his uncles, **Rukn al-Dawla** and **Mu'izz al-Dawla** ⁽¹⁹⁾, who worked to preserve and strengthen his rule, they agreed to establish the rule of 'Aḍud al-Dawla as a formal base of power ⁽²⁰⁾.

His Political Ambition

'Aḍud al-Dawla was distinguished by his exceptional strength, bravery, and unwavering ambition to expand his dominion and bring all kingdoms under his authority. In 365 AH / 975 CE, as Rukn al-Dawla lay gravely ill, he became increasingly concerned with securing the future of his lineage, preserving the unity of the Buyid dynasty, and ensuring the stability of its territories. Determined to avoid discord after his death, he entrusted the succession to his eldest son, 'Aḍud al-Dawla. In a solemn gathering of his sons, military commanders, and court officials, Rukn al-Dawla declared: “**'Aḍud al-Dawla is my successor and the rightful heir to my dominions.**”⁽²¹⁾.

Leadership was thus established for 'Aḍud al-Dawla, and his two brothers, **Mu'ayyid al-Dawla** ⁽²²⁾ and **Fakhr al-Dawla** ⁽²³⁾, acknowledged him and paid him homage with incense and formal ceremony. A written pact was issued confirming this arrangement ⁽²⁴⁾. After Rukn al-Dawla's death in 366 AH / 976 CE, the leadership of the **Buyid house** passed to 'Aḍud al-Dawla ⁽²⁵⁾.

This declaration provided 'Aḍud al-Dawla with the opportunity to pursue his long-held ambitions and advance toward Baghdad with the aim of bringing it under his control. In 367 AH / 977 CE, he launched his campaign toward Iraq and successfully entered Baghdad⁽²⁶⁾, and 'Aḍud al-Dawla succeeded in ruling **Fars, Iraq, Mosul, and al-Jazira** ⁽²⁷⁾, until both people and lands submitted to him ⁽²⁸⁾, and *nations acknowledged his authority* ⁽²⁹⁾.

Titles of 'Aḍud al-Dawla

'Aḍud al-Dawla bore multiple titles throughout his reign, the earliest of which appears to have been conferred upon him following the death of his uncle, 'Imād al-Dawla, in 338 AH / 949 CE, when the province of Fars came under his control. A silver dirham minted in the city of Arrajān attests to this early phase of his rule. The obverse of the coin featured the title and *kunya* of his father—**Rukn al-Dawla, Abū 'Alī**—while the reverse displayed 'Aḍud al-Dawla's own title and *kunya*, alongside the name of the caliph: **al-Muṭī' li-Llāh, 'Aḍud al-Dawla Abū Shujā**⁽³⁰⁾. In 369 AH / 979 CE, he was also given the title “**Tāj al-Milla**” (**Crown of the Nation**) in addition to his original title *'Aḍud al-Dawla* ⁽³¹⁾. The investiture decree was formally read in his presence—a rare occurrence, as such decrees were traditionally proclaimed before the caliph and then dispatched to provincial governors. ⁽³²⁾. He was additionally bestowed the prestigious Persian imperial title *Shāhanshāh* (“King of Kings”)—becoming the first ruler to be publicly addressed by this title from the pulpits ⁽³³⁾. He was also the first ruler to have war drums (*dubbād*) sounded at his residence during the three daily prayer times—a ceremonial display underscoring his authority and royal stature ⁽³⁴⁾. Moreover, he was addressed as “**al-Imām**” (**the Leader**) ⁽³⁵⁾ and was titled “**al-Malik al-Ādil**” (**the Just King**). All these honorifics were formally consolidated and engraved on a gold dinar minted in Basra in 371 AH / 981 CE. The inscription read: “**al-Malik al-Ādil Shāhanshāh 'Aḍud al-Dawla wa Tāj al-Milla Abū Shujā**” ⁽³⁶⁾.

Views of Historians and Contemporaries

'Aḍud al-Dawla is regarded as one of the most illustrious rulers of the Buyid dynasty, distinguished by a rare and remarkable blend of qualities. His name consistently stands at the forefront of Buyid

history, inseparable from the state's legacy, due to his far-reaching accomplishments in politics, economics, architecture, science, and literature

The geographer **al-Maḡdisī** ⁽³⁷⁾ describes him by saying:

"He was counted among the greatest kings of his era, having left behind extraordinary and lasting legacies within the Islamic world. As one might ask, "Do you not witness the cities he founded, the rivers he dredged, the names he coined, and the innovations he introduced?"

The scholar **al-Rūdhrawārī** ⁽³⁸⁾ portrayed him as:

"A king of consummate intellect and expansive virtue, marked by exceptional governance, keen judgment, and rare error. He inspired awe, pursued ambition with clarity of vision, and planned with deep wisdom. A connoisseur of virtue and a staunch avoider of vice, he was unmatched in generosity where giving was due, yet unyielding in matters requiring resolve and discipline. He treated formidable events with ease and approached great challenges with a calm, commanding confidence. It is narrated that he would often say: 'The earth is too narrow ⁽³⁹⁾ a domain to hold two kings.'"

The historian **Ibn al-ʿImrānī** ⁽⁴⁰⁾ states:

"The court of ʿAḍud al-Dawla was a beacon of intellect and culture, hosting an unparalleled assembly of scholars, poets, and thinkers—surpassing anything seen in the courts of his predecessors. He himself was a poet and a man of letters, skilled as a scribe, mathematician, engineer, grammarian, and linguist. Possessed of noble character and lofty ambitions, he held scholars in the highest esteem and nurtured a profound admiration for experts across every field of knowledge."

The historian **Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā** ⁽⁴¹⁾ stated:

"The greatness of the Buyid state was personified in its sovereign, ʿAḍud al-Dawla. Among his peers, he stood as their champion and their standard-bearer—the ram leading the charge, the stallion at the front of the ranks. This powerful metaphor captured his commanding and unifying presence at the heart of the dynasty."

Al-Dhahabī ⁽⁴²⁾ described him as:

"A heroic, brave, awe-inspiring man—tyrannical and harsh. He was also a staunch Shīʿī."

Al-Suyūfī ⁽⁴³⁾ listed many of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's qualities, saying he was:

"Of complete intellect, immense virtue, excellent in governance, awe-inspiring, ambitious, sharp in opinion, a lover of virtues and avoider of vices—generous in giving, firm in matters of discipline."

Ibn al-ʿImād ⁽⁴⁴⁾ added:

"There was no one among the Banū Būyah like him." He further described him as: "A man of letters, deeply versed in every branch of science and literature—resolute, astute, and sharp of mind. Yet, he was marked by an intense devotion to Shīʿī ideology, sometimes to the point of extremity. Noble in bearing and commanding in presence, he was firm, cunning, vigilant, and formidable—yet also ruthless and unflinching in his pursuit of power. A vast network of informants kept him constantly apprised of developments across distant lands, extending his reach far beyond his immediate domain."

ʿAḍud al-Dawla was known to be **harsh and severe** (**shadīd al-waṭaʿa** ⁴⁵) and **bloodthirsty** (**saffākan lil-dimā** ⁴⁶). He demonstrated this cruelty by **blinding and cutting off the nose** of his vizier **Abū al-Faṭḥ Ibn al-ʿAmīd** ⁴⁷ and then **had him executed** ⁴⁸. Similarly, his other vizier, **al-Muṭahhar ibn ʿAbd Allāh** ⁴⁹, preferred to **commit suicide** after failing to eliminate **ʿImrān ibn Shāhīn** ⁵⁰ in the marshes of al-Baṭāʾih ⁵¹, fearing the **punishment that ʿAḍud al-Dawla** ⁵² would

inevitably inflict on him. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla was **even more brutal** with the vizier **Ibn Baqiyya**⁵³. He had him brought in **blinded**, ordered that he be **publicly humiliated in the army camp**. Afterward, he **demand money** from him, but when Ibn Baqiyya **refused to comply**, Aḍud al-Dawla responded with **relentless cruelty**⁵⁴. The sources ⁽⁵⁵⁾ mention that ‘Aḍud al-Dawla had him (*Ibn Baqiyya*) **publicly humiliated in Baghdad, displayed on both sides of the city with a hood on his head, and then threw him before the army, placing him under the feet of elephants, which trampled him to death in the most brutal manner. Afterward, he was crucified on the banks of the Tigris, at the head of the bridge on the eastern side and remained crucified until the death of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla in 372 AH / 982 CE.** ⁽⁵⁶⁾. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla had a concubine whom he loved and kept close to him, but he **ordered her to be drowned** because she **distracted him from managing the affairs of his state** ⁽⁵⁷⁾. He used to say: *"Obeying the self in its desires leads to abandoning the world and corrupting its governance."* ⁽⁵⁸⁾ Ibn Ḥamdūn ⁽⁵⁹⁾ commented on this act by saying: *"This is an example of blameworthy politics."* It is also reported that when a **boy took a watermelon from a man by force**, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla **cut him in half with a sword** ⁽⁶⁰⁾, an act referred to as *"fawaṣṭahu"*, meaning he struck him down the middle. The orientalist **Adam Mez** ⁽⁶¹⁾ stated: *"After ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, no generation from the House of Būyids proved fit to govern."* Though **unrelenting and ruthless in matters that touched him personally or threatened the security of his state**, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla was **equally known for his tolerance and clemency in other spheres. In governance, he was unwavering and resolute, ruling with clarity and firmness. One notable example of his magnanimity was his tolerant treatment of Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābī** ⁽⁶²⁾, the author of *al-Tājī*. When ‘Aḍud al-Dawla entered *Baghdad* in **367 AH / 977 CE, he had Abū Ishāq arrested** because the latter had been writing letters on behalf of *‘Izz al-Dawla (Bakhtiyār)* during the conflict between ‘Aḍud al-Dawla and his cousin Bakhtiyār. ⁽⁶³⁾ These letters **advised his patron** ⁽⁶⁴⁾ and were **deeply offensive to ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, who resolved to punish him by throwing him under the feet of elephants. However, intercessors pleaded on his behalf, and ‘Aḍud al-Dawla pardoned him and released him in 371 AH / 981 CE.** ⁽⁶⁵⁾ ‘Aḍud al-Dawla later commissioned Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābī to write a history of the Daylamite dynasty, which he completed under the title *al-Tājī*—a reference to one of the ruler’s honorifics, *Tāj al-Millāh* ("Crown of the Nation"). It was reported to ‘Aḍud al-Dawla that a friend once visited al-Ṣābī and found him deeply engrossed in writing, surrounded by pages darkened with annotations and revisions. When asked what he was working on, al-Ṣābī allegedly replied, "Nonsense, embellishments, and the lies of the jurists." This comment provoked suspicion and envy, and from that point onward, he remained out of favor and at a distance from the ruler during his remaining days ⁽⁶⁶⁾. He was arrested, his wealth confiscated, and he remained imprisoned until the last days of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla ⁽⁶⁷⁾. Al-Dhahabi says ⁽⁶⁸⁾ "(‘Aḍud al-Dawla acted against him and expelled him)" but pardoned him, perhaps because of his literary status, as he was prolific in literature and the sole master of eloquence in Iraq ⁽⁶⁹⁾. Al-Sabi ⁽⁷⁰⁾ also mentions the tolerance and pardon of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, saying that a man known as Abu al-Haytham ⁽⁷¹⁾ came one day to the house of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, removed his turban, and placed it before him. Some informants witnessed the incident and reported it to the master of the house, who reacted with anger. He reprimanded the man, removed his turban, struck him on the head with it, and had him imprisoned. When ‘Aḍud al-Dawla was later asked about the matter, he responded: "This man has a tender head and cannot keep the turban upon it; his actions were not born of ignorance of courtly etiquette." With that, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla ordered his release. It appears that removing one’s turban within the residence of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla was perceived as a sign of disrespect and disregard for the sanctity of the place.

The master of the house, in upholding these expectations, would punish any perceived breach of decorum. However, in this case, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla chose clemency—perhaps because the man in question, Abū al-Haytham, held a place close to the court or enjoyed esteem for his scholarly or literary contributions, which may have interceded on his behalf. Known for his generosity and habitual charity, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla would, at the beginning of each fiscal year, allocate substantial funds for almsgiving. He would send directives to provincial governors instructing them to entrust these funds to judges and local dignitaries for fair distribution among the needy and poor ⁽⁷²⁾. He was noble-hearted, and Abu al-Nasr Khawashadhah says ⁽⁷³⁾, ‘One day, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla gave me a written order for thirty thousand dirhams to be given in charity, but he had made a mistake and wrote: (Thirty *budra*—money bags—should be taken from the treasury for charity). So I said to him, “My lord, it is thirty thousand dirhams, but the order says thirty *budra*.” He replied, “I will not go back on it, so let them be taken out.” So, I took them out and distributed them in alms ⁽⁷⁴⁾. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla frequently made vows, and many of his written notes have been seen (We have vowed for such-and-such matter this and that, and so-and-so thousand dirhams in charity) in many places (Whenever he intended to do something, or was in joy or distress, he would always begin with a vow) ⁽⁷⁵⁾. Likewise, Abu al-Nasr Khawashadhah mentions about the day of Nowruz ⁽⁷⁶⁾: ‘Aḍud al-Dawla once sat to receive formal greetings, and a luxurious robe was presented to him. Upon examining it, he cast it aside and threw it in my direction. Shortly afterward, a far simpler robe—worth no more than five dinars—was brought to him. He looked at it with approval and remarked, “This is good.”⁽⁷⁷⁾. This episode reflects ‘Aḍud al-Dawla’s humility and unwavering obedience to his father, whom he never disobeyed in any matter. Ambitious yet principled, he sought to expand his realm by annexing Iraq, believing that his cousin Bakhtiyar was unfit to rule it. However, his ambition was tempered by a commitment to preserving the unity of the Buyid house. When the opportunity arose in 364 AH / 974 CE, he marched on Baghdad, entered the city, and captured Bakhtiyar—confident that his father, Rukn al-Dawla, would support this decisive action. But upon hearing what had transpired, Rukn al-Dawla was incensed. He rebuked his son through a messenger, saying, “Did you abandon support for my nephew out of greed for his kingdom?” So ‘Aḍud al-Dawla released his cousin Bakhtiyar and sent him back to Fars ⁽⁷⁸⁾. This moment clearly reveals the depth of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla’s respect and obedience toward his father. He did not hesitate to comply with Rukn al-Dawla’s command, offered no resistance, and fulfilled his father’s wishes without objection. At the same time, Rukn al-Dawla’s reaction reflects his deep concern for preserving the unity and cohesion of the Buyid dynasty, placing familial solidarity above political ambition. Ibn Hamdun ⁽⁷⁹⁾ describes Baghdad at the time of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla’s entry as a city in ruins. Upon assuming control, he compelled property owners to undertake reconstruction efforts; those unable to meet the financial burden were provided loans from the public treasury. His generosity extended widely—he distributed alms to all segments of society, beginning with the Muslim population and extending to the People of the Book. Furthermore, official offerings were regularly sent to the Holy Kaaba and the City of the Prophet (peace be upon him), and these gifts were systematically distributed among scholars of every discipline, ensuring an organized and equitable allocation. Ahmad al-Khwarizmi ⁽⁸⁰⁾ was responsible for delivering these offerings. ⁽⁸¹⁾

‘Aḍud al-Dawla studied under Abu al-Fadl ibn al-‘Amid ⁽⁸²⁾. When he was in Fars, he was taught by Ibn al-‘Amid the principles of sound governance and what sustains kingdoms ("the craft of kingship is the craft of all crafts"), and he was taught this thoroughly, as he proved to be (an eager

learner and an intelligent student). ‘Adud al-Dawla would often say that Abu al-Fadl ibn al-‘Amid was *our teacher*, and he always referred to him as *the chief master* ⁽⁸³⁾.

‘Adud al-Dawla possessed mastery of the Arabic language, wielding rhetorical eloquence with remarkable skill—an ability clearly demonstrated in his response to the letter sent by Aftakin⁽⁸⁴⁾, who requested his support in money and troops to fight the Fatimids in Damascus:

"Al-Sham has now been secured and come into my hands, the rule of the ruler of Egypt has been removed from it, and if you strengthen me with wealth and forces, I will fight them in their stronghold."

‘Adud al-Dawla replied sharply: “Your pride has deceived you, and this is the utmost you can hope to achieve. Beware, for your ignoble act will be your downfall; *let this suffice.*)” ⁽⁸⁵⁾. (*His response showcased exceptional brilliance and rhetorical mastery.*) ⁽⁸⁶⁾.

He loved poetry and was praised abundantly ⁽⁸⁷⁾; he was a virtuous man who loved the virtuous and participated in many fields ⁽⁸⁸⁾. He socialized with witty and refined men of letters ⁽⁸⁹⁾, and he was a man of letters, well-versed in multiple fields of knowledge ⁽⁹⁰⁾.

Al-Suyuti ⁽⁹¹⁾ describes him as one of the scholars of Arabic and literature, saying that he composed new poetry and had valuable research in Arabic, and that he had a firm command of literature. He was a grammarian, a man of letters, a scholar ⁽⁹²⁾, a lover of knowledge and scholars ⁽⁹³⁾. He would grant stipends to jurists, reciters, and writers, which encouraged people to pursue learning while he was deeply engaged in scholarship ⁽⁹⁴⁾.

He once said: (*When we finish solving all of Euclid’s works, I will give twenty thousand dirhams in charity; and when we finish the book of Abu ‘Ali the grammarian, I will give fifty thousand dirhams in charity.*) ⁽⁹⁵⁾.

‘Adud al-Dawla preferred the company of men of letters over socializing with princes ⁽⁹⁶⁾. Al-Tha‘alibi ⁽⁹⁷⁾ says: “*Despite all that was granted to him on earth, and the power he held over the reins of authority and privilege, and the greatness of status he possessed, and the vastness of his dominion, he devoted himself to literature, occupied himself with books, and composed a great deal of poetry.*” Al-Tawhidi ⁽⁹⁸⁾ narrates from his teacher Abu Sulayman al-Mantiqi ⁽⁹⁹⁾ in his description of ‘Adud al-Dawla: “*By God, he was the sun of noble qualities, the jewel of his era, the bearer of burdens, the key to locked doors, the embodiment of true words and deeds, the course through which completeness flowed. By God, he was above what one could wish for, too great to be matched, or to find an equal. His joy lay in refining matters, and his passion was in the betterment of those whose improvement benefitted all. His banishment of the corrupt was purification itself. Were it not for the short span of a generous man’s life, we would not suffer from his absence nor grieve over the loss of what he brought to our earthly lives, which are so unjust, and in which man is wronged.*” This conversation took place with the vizier Ibn Sa‘dan ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ when al-Tawhidi met him in Fars. Although ‘Adud al-Dawla was harsh toward his enemies and those who incited unrest and rebellion ⁽¹⁰¹⁾, he was tolerant and generous toward scholars and men of letters. After he entered Baghdad, he found its people devastated by killing, burning, and starvation caused by sectarian strife at the time. He decreed that the blood of anyone who incited such sedition was forfeit. Upon learning that storytellers (*qassas*) were behind much of the incitement and bloodshed, stirring people against one another, he proclaimed throughout the city: (*Let no one preach or tell stories in any mosque or street*)¹⁰². The preacher Abu al-Husayn ibn Sam‘un ⁽¹⁰³⁾ had a strange story with ‘Adud al-Dawla. He had disobeyed the ruler’s orders and preached to the people in the Mansur Mosque on a Friday. When news of this reached ‘Adud al-Dawla, he summoned him and met with him alone in a private room at the far end of the palace, out of concern

that harsh words might be spoken that could spread and lead to undesirable consequences. Afterward, ‘Adud al-Dawla ordered his chamberlain to give him three thousand dirhams and ten robes, saying: “If he refuses them, tell him to distribute them among the poor. And if he accepts them, then bring me his head.”

Ibn Sam‘un said: “What shall I do with this?” The chamberlain replied, “He commands you to distribute them to the poor.” Ibn Sam‘un said: “None of my companions are poor, and his companions are in more need than mine. Let him distribute it to them.” The chamberlain then said, “Praise be to God who saved him from us and saved us from him.”⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

‘Adud al-Dawla took a profound and active interest in the lives and circumstances of scholars and literary figures, meticulously recording their visits. Among the notable intellectuals who passed through his court was the distinguished scribe, Abu ‘Ubayd Allah al-Marzbani⁽¹⁰⁵⁾. He would stop at the door until Abu ‘Ubayd Allah came out to greet him and would ask about his well-being. One time, ‘Adud al-Dawla asked him: “How is the one who lives between two bottles?”⁽¹⁰⁶⁾—meaning the inkwell and the wine bottle. Abu ‘Ubayd Allah used to keep an inkwell and a wine flask by his side and would write continuously⁽¹⁰⁷⁾, so ‘Adud al-Dawla used to call him “the man of the two bottles.” The scholars and men of letters would regularly visit the house of Abu ‘Ubayd Allah, and some would even spend the night there. Judge al-Saymari⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ said: “I heard Abu ‘Ubayd Allah says, ‘There were fifty blankets and quilts in my house, prepared for the scholars and literary men who spent the night with me.’”⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Abu ‘Ubayd Allah also said: “I wrote out ten thousand pages in draft, from which I finalized three thousand pages.”⁽¹¹⁰⁾ ‘Adud al-Dawla once honored him with a gift of one thousand dinars⁽¹¹¹⁾. ‘Adud al-Dawla held scholars and men of letters in the highest esteem, welcoming them into his inner circle and favoring their company over that of princes. He bestowed upon them generous gifts and financial support, reflecting both personal admiration and a broader vision for cultural flourishing. Under his rule, sweeping economic, agricultural, and architectural reforms brought significant wealth into the state treasury. A substantial portion of this prosperity was channeled into charitable works and the patronage of intellectuals. As a result, his court became a magnet for scholars, with considerable state funds devoted to honoring their presence and contributions.⁽¹¹²⁾

The formidable personality of ‘Adud al-Dawla left a lasting mark on scholarly and literary circles. Gifted with sharp wit, keen insight, and sound judgment, he drew scholars into his court and engaged them with remarkable intellectual dexterity. Not content with mere patronage, he participated actively in their discussions, often offering original insights that elevated the discourse. Though he took pride in the company of the era’s most esteemed poets, scholars, and grammarians, he did not remain a passive listener; he frequently rose from the role of student to that of teacher, contributing meaningfully to the advancement of knowledge⁽¹¹³⁾. ‘Adud al-Dawla emerged as the most intellectually and literarily attuned of the Buyid rulers, marked by a cultivated intellect and a deep, refined education. Under the tutelage of the distinguished Arabic scholar Abu al-Faḍl ibn al-‘Amid, he developed a profound appreciation for language and literature. Yet it was not learning alone that defined his legacy. What truly set him apart was the fusion of his scholarly depth with towering ambition, strategic political insight, formidable military skill, and an unyielding quest for glory, honor, and enduring fame⁽¹¹⁴⁾, and al-Miskawayh⁽¹¹⁵⁾, who served as the custodian of ‘Adud al-Dawla’s library in Shiraz, records the ruler’s remarkable generosity and deliberate patronage of knowledge and social welfare. ‘Adud al-Dawla extended regular stipends and lavish financial support not only to the poor, but also to a wide array of intellectuals—interpreters, theologians, hadith scholars, genealogists, poets, grammarians, prosodists, physicians,

astrologers, mathematicians, and engineers. Within his palace, he designated a special chamber adjacent to the chamberlain's quarters, reserved for the elite: philosophers, sages, and men of wisdom. This space became a sanctuary for elevated discourse, shielded from the ignorant and the disruptive, where scholars convened in dignity, receiving both stipends and distinction. Substantial sums from the public treasury were devoted to these endeavors, underscoring his deep commitment to learning, culture, and charitable giving ⁽¹¹⁶⁾. Al-Miskawayh captures the intellectual and literary revival under 'Adud al-Dawla with striking clarity: "The sciences were reborn and flourished in his time after having long lain dormant, their scholars dispersed. The youth yearned for refinement, the elders embraced discipline, dormant talents were awakened, and the once-stagnant markets of virtue began to thrive anew. Al-Miskawayh ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ justifies his admiration for 'Adud al-Dawla with a clear moral intent, stating: "We have set forth these accounts so that future generations may reflect upon them, and so that kings might read—or have them read—and be guided by their example. In doing so, their reputations may flourish, and God Almighty may regard their intentions, grant them strength, and increase His favor upon them. Were it not for a few minor faults—too slight to overshadow his many virtues—I would not have mentioned them at all, for he attained the pinnacle of worldly success, and I held hope for his reward in the hereafter. May God benefit him for the righteous deeds he performed and forgive him for the rest."

From these words, it is evident that 'Adud al-Dawla possessed a deep passion for the Arabic language and its literary tradition—a fact confirmed by numerous historical sources. He not only appreciated poetry but also composed it himself and engaged in poetic exchanges with leading poets of his time. Yet, curiously, despite living in an era rich with historians and literati such as al-Tanukhi, no surviving source mentions a collected Diwan of his poetry ⁽¹¹⁸⁾, al-Tuhidi ⁽¹¹⁹⁾, al-Miskawayh, and al-Thaalibi ⁽¹²⁰⁾. His council included many men of knowledge and literature, and he was the king whom prominent poets praised, echoing some of his verses in their work. Perhaps his poetic works have been lost, and only scattered lines remain—lines containing rhetorical similes that indicate his talent, eloquence, and mastery of poetry with a deep understanding. Al-Thaalibi ⁽¹²¹⁾ reports from Abu Bakr al-Khwarazmi ⁽¹²²⁾ a description of 'Adud al-Dawla's council and some of his poetry: "'Adud al-Dawla used to socialize with poets and witty men, delivering lectures full of descriptions and similes, never bringing food or drink to these gatherings except for the poetry itself, which he recited either for himself or others, beautifully composed.' Al-Thaalibi ⁽¹²³⁾ also relates from al-Khwarazmi an incident that took place at 'Adud al-Dawla's dining table: 'One day, while he was reciting poetry as usual, a "hatta" ⁽¹²⁴⁾ was brought before him. 'Adud al-Dawla looked at him as if ordering him to describe it. He was taken aback and fell silent out of embarrassment, so 'Adud al-Dawla improvised the poetry and said:

A hatta that is beyond description,

O you who falsely claim the gift of description!

In another incident, 'Adud al-Dawla composed verses of poetry that display his poetic talent in description, pride, and strength. This occurred after Abu Taghlib al-Hamdani ⁽¹²⁵⁾, the Emir of Mosul, had joined the side of 'Izz al-Dawla Bukhtīār ibn 'Amr, 'Adud al-Dawla's uncle, but then retreated, apologized, and submitted a petition requesting a pardon from 'Adud al-Dawla. 'Adud al-Dawla then recited, saying: ¹²⁶

O you who falsely claim the gift of description,

Seeking safety while desiring to be strict.

There is no steed like the mighty 'Adudiyya,

A crowned one that lifts the nose proudly and defiantly.

Also, ‘Adud al-Dawla then recited, saying:¹²⁷

**O fragrant scent from the breath of goodness,
When the cloak of darkness is torn apart
It is as if sprinkled with rosewater or perfumed
With the finest incense at the time of burning.**

Also, from his poetry (¹²⁸):

**If I came to you in love deliberately,
I would cast from the pole of the sky into the abyss.
Indeed, the leaders after Muhammad,
Are two, then two, then eight.**

He also said (¹²⁹):

**I saw a carpet for the wine, newly brightened,
Displaying edges like scattered crystal shards,
Crystals are full and empty at once,
Mixed with folds that raised the edges high.
Turning heads for the drinkers, their cups—
Turning heads for the drinkers, their cups—
And leaving the dreams of the wise as folly.**

And he chanted saying (¹³⁰):

**We slaughtered the sacrifice, and the night
Returned as morning bright and clear,
And the darkness of the sacrifice was like
The crows cry at dawn.**

It must be said that the literary books and all sources mentioned only scattered excerpts of ‘Adud al-Dawla’s poetry, not complete poems. These fragments demonstrate his poetic talent, mastery of the Arabic language, and eloquence, as well as his skill in composing poetry that employs description and simile to relate events and incidents that occurred within or outside his literary circles. Some of his poetry was improvised.

The rivalry of ‘Adud al-Dawla with the princes of the Islamic East over patronizing scholars and literati had a great impact. His policy of encouraging, embracing, and generously supporting them, along with promoting translation, cultural openness, freedom in seeking knowledge, and elevating the status of scholars economically and socially, all contributed to scientific and cultural development. During ‘Adud al-Dawla’s reign, scientific and literary life reached the highest levels of intellectual and cultural flourishing. The material and moral support scholars received at that time directly contributed to this progress and scientific advancement¹³¹. ‘Adud al-Dawla was among the most attentive princes of the Buyid dynasty to sciences and literature. Al-Šāḥib ibn ‘Abbād (¹³²) in Rayy rivaled ‘Adud al-Dawla’s councils when he was in Fāris, gathering around him men of knowledge and literature to the extent that Harun al-Rashid compared him to ‘Adud al-Dawla for the multitude of scholars and literati assembled around him (¹³³). Al-Šāḥib ibn ‘Abbād used to attend ‘Adud al-Dawla’s councils in Baghdad and recite poetry in his presence, and he also attended his gatherings in Hamadan (¹³⁴). (¹³⁵). He once recited before ‘Adud al-Dawla in Hamadan

a poem known as the “Laknīyah” because of the frequent presence of a speech impediment (lisp) in it.

**I sang of glory—yet with a lisp, I sang,
And traced out pride—though with a lisp, I traced.
I hold a longing—lisp—toward the seat of greatness,
And I burn with thirst—lisp—yet drink from the cup of honor. ⁽¹³⁶⁾**

His Death:

In 369 AH / 979 CE, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla was afflicted with epilepsy and a related condition, though he kept it hidden. Miskawayh ⁽¹³⁷⁾ states:

“‘Aḍud al-Dawla marched to Nahawand, conquered the fortress of Sarmaj, took possession of its contents, and captured other fortresses in the region. The citadels surrendered their keys to him, and the land yielded up its treasures. On this campaign, he was struck again by an illness that had recurred often—similar to epilepsy—and was later followed by a brain condition known as *lytergus* (which is forgetfulness). However, he concealed this. It is said that the illness began in Mosul, but he did not reveal it to anyone ⁽¹³⁸⁾.” In Shawwāl 372 AH / 982 CE, his illness worsened—what had been a recurring bout of epilepsy—his strength declined, the illness intensified, and his condition weakened until he passed away on the 8th of Shawwāl, 372 AH / 982 CE, in Baghdad ⁽¹³⁹⁾. Ibn al-Jawzī ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ also records his death as occurring in Shawwāl of 372 AH / 982 CE, stating he lived for 47 years and 11 months. Al-Suyūṭī ⁽¹⁴¹⁾ claims he lived for 48 years, meaning his birth would have been in 324 AH in Isfahan. While on his deathbed, he was said to be reciting lines of poetry by the vizier al-Qāsim ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ⁽¹⁴²⁾.

**I slew the nobles, left no chief alive,
No foe remained, nor one I thought might strive.
I emptied the palaces of every dweller,
Scattering them westward and dispersing them eastward.**

He would repeat these lines of poetry, and also repeatedly recite the noble verse:

“My wealth has not availed me. My authority has gone from me.”¹⁴³

It is reported that the body of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla was transferred from Baghdad to Kufa and buried near the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (peace be upon him) ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾.

Inscribed on his grave was:

“This is the grave of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, the Crown of the Nation, Abū Shujā‘ ibn Rukn al-Dawla. He loved to be near this Imam.” ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

Conclusion

The reign of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla witnessed political and security stability, which positively impacted the economic, social, and cultural conditions of the time. His strong personality had a profound influence on the flourishing of cultural life. Among the Buyid princes, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla was one of the most devoted to the sciences and literature. Though known for his firmness and severity, he was, at the same time, tolerant and gracious toward scholars and men of letters. He welcomed them into his court, brought them close to his gatherings, and even allocated a special chamber for them

in his residence. He generously provided them with financial support and encouraged them to write, resulting in a surge of literary and scientific works during his rule.

He was known for his frequent charitable acts and vows, and he took a personal interest in the conditions of scholars and literary figures, often visiting and meeting with them. Although he was humble, he was also ambitious. He sought to expand his realm, even if that meant confronting members of his own Buyid dynasty. He strived to unify the Buyid house, especially when he sensed its fragmentation after his cousin Bakhtiyar assumed power in Baghdad.

‘Aḍud al-Dawla preferred the company of scholars and literati over princes and nobles. He actively promoted translation movements, cultural openness, academic freedom, and the elevation of scholars’ status—both economically and socially. As a result, under his rule, scientific and literary life reached its peak in terms of intellectual and cultural prosperity. The material and moral support provided to scholars at the time played a direct and significant role in this literary and scientific advancement.

¹ Ameen, Hussein. *Cultural Life in the Buyid Era*, pp. 278–279.

² Abdul Rahman, Muhammad Nasr. *The Problem of Identity Among the Buyids*, p. 10.

³ Al-Zubaidi, Muhammad Hussein. *Aspects of the Scientific Renaissance in Iraq*, p. 131.

⁴ Al-Zuhairi, Muhammad Ghanawi. *Literature Under the Buyids*, pp. 119–120.

⁵ Al-Zuhairi, Muhammad Ghanawi. *Literature Under the Buyids*, p. 128.

⁶ Al-Ṣābī, *Al-Muntaẓa*, pp. 7–8; Miskawayh, *Experiences of Nations (Tajārib al-Umam)*, Vol. 5, p. 365; Ibn Mākūlā, *Al-Ikmāl*, Vol. 1, pp. 371–373; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, Vol. 14, pp. 290–291; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 7, p. 5; Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab*, Vol. 7, p. 3259; Vol. 1, pp. 174–175; Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi al-Wafayāt*, Vol. 24, p. 64.

⁷ Banū Ḍabbah: They are a branch of the ‘Adnānī Arabs, descended from Ḍabbah ibn Ad ibn Ilyās ibn Muḍar ibn Nizār ibn Ma‘d ibn ‘Adnān. They are considered one of the three major tribes of the Arabs known as "Jamrāt al-‘Arab." Their settlements were near those of Banū Tamīm, their kin, in the northern Tihāmah region of Najd. After the advent of Islam, they moved toward the Nu‘māniyyah area. It is mentioned that the Daylam were descended from Bāsil ibn Ḍabbah. The three major Arab tribes (Jamrāt al-‘Arab) are: Banū Ḍabbah ibn Ad, Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Ka‘b, and Banū Numayr ibn ‘Āmir.

Sources: Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansāb al-‘Arab*, p. 203; Al-Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Ma‘rifat Ansāb al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, pp. 125–318.

⁸ Al-Ṣābī, *Al-Muntaẓa*, pp. 7–8.

⁹ Iṣfahān: A famous and great city known among the eminent cities. It is also the name of an entire region. Its city was originally called Jiyā, and later became known as al-Yahūdiyyah (the Jewish quarter).

Source: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, Vol. 1, p. 206.

¹⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 7, p. 54; Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Wardī*, Vol. 1, p. 260.

¹¹ Rukn al-Dawla, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Būyah ibn Fanākhusrāw al-Daylamī, was the ruler of Isfahan, Rayy, and Hamadan. He was the middle of the three Būyid brothers. He died in the city of Rayy in 366 AH / 976 CE.

Source: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. 2, p. 118.

¹² Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, Vol. 7, p. 54.

¹³ Shiraz: A great and well-known town, it is the capital of the region of Fars. It is said to have been named after Shīrāz ibn Ṭahmūrath. The first to build it was Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Abī 'Aqīl, a cousin of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. It was also called "the belly of the lion," where supplies enter but nothing comes out.

Source: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. 3, p. 380.

¹⁴ 'Imād al-Dawla, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Būyah Fanākhusrāw al-Daylamī, was the eldest of the three Būyid brothers and the founder of the Būyid dynasty. He served Mardāwīj along with his brothers and gradually rose to prominence as one of Mardāwīj's distinguished commanders. He was sent to the city of al-Karaj, which marked the beginning of his independent journey. He marched toward Hamadan and eventually reached Shiraz, where his power solidified.

Source: Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, Vol. 13, p. 341.

For further reference, see: Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Salmān, *'Alī ibn Būyah*, pp. 69–111.

¹⁵ Rayy: A well-known and major city, counted among the principal cities and cultural centers. The adjective derived from it is "al-Rāzī." It produced many scholars, writers, and jurists.

Source: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. 3, p. 116.

For more, see: 'Alī Ḥasan Ghaḍbān, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Fikriyyah fī Madīnat al-Rayy*, pp. 7–58.

¹⁶ **Al-Hamadhani**, *Supplement to the History of al-Tabari*, p. 162; **Ibn Khallikan**, *Deaths of Eminent Men*, vol. 4, p. 50.

¹⁷ **The Buyids**: The Buyids trace their lineage to Abu Shuja' ibn Buwayh ibn Fanākhusrāw, from the tribe of *Shirzal Awand* of the Daylam, from the Alborz Mountains southwest of the Caspian Sea. Genealogists and historical sources have differed regarding the ancestry of the Buwayhids; some trace them back to Persian kings, while others link them to the Arab tribe of Banu Dabbah.

Sources:

- Miskawayh, *Experiences of Nations*, vol. 5, p. 365
- Ibn Makula, *al-Ikmāl*, vol. 1, pp. 371–372
- Ibn al-Athīr, *The Complete History*, vol. 7, p. 5
- Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab*, vol. 7, p. 3259
- al-Maqrizi, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 129
- For further reference, see: Ghaḍban, Ali Hasan, *The Buyids in Persia*, pp. 119–172

¹⁸ **Ibn al-Athīr**, *The Complete History*, vol. 7, p. 187; **Ibn al-Wardi**, *History of Ibn al-Wardi*, vol. 1, p. 274.

¹⁹ **Mu'izz al-Dawla**, Abu al-Husayn Ahmad ibn Buwayh ibn Fanākhusrāw al-Daylami, was the youngest of the three Buwayhid brothers. He ruled Iraq for over twenty years. He died from an intestinal illness and was succeeded by his son **'Izz al-Dawla (Bakhtiyar)** in 356 AH / 966 CE.

Source: Ibn Khallikan, *Deaths of Eminent Men*, vol. 1, pp. 174–175.

²⁰ **Ibn al-Athir**, *The Complete History*, vol. 7, p. 187.

²¹ **Miskawayh**, *Experiences of Nations*, vol. 6, pp. 408–410.

²² **Mu'ayyid al-Dawla**, Abu Mansur ibn Buwayh ibn Rukn al-Dawla:

His father appointed him over Isfahan and its districts before his death, as he was already residing there.

Sources:

- Miskawayh, *Experiences of Nations*, vol. 6, p. 410
- Al-Hamadhani, *Supplement to the History of al-Tabari*, p. 229

²³ **Fakhr al-Dawla**, Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Rukn al-Dawla:

He was entrusted with Hamadhan and the mountain provinces by his father before his death.

Sources:

- Miskawayh, *Experiences of Nations*, vol. 6, pp. 400–401
- Ibn al-Wardi, *History of Ibn al-Wardi*, vol. 1, p. 290

²⁴ Sources describing related events and regions:

- Miskawayh, *Experiences of Nations*, vol. 6, pp. 400–401
- Al-Hamadhani, *Supplement to the History of al-Tabari*, p. 299
- Ibn al-Athir, *The Complete History*, vol. 7, p. 385
- Ibn al-Wardi, *History of Ibn al-Wardi*, vol. 1, p. 290

²⁵ **Ibn al-Athir**, *The Complete History*, vol. 7, p. 343. **Al-Qalqashandi**, *Ma'athir al-Inafah*, vol. 1, p. 313

²⁶ **Ibn al-Athir**, *The Complete History*, vol. 7, p. 343

²⁷ **Ibn Khallikan**, *Deaths of Eminent Men*, vol. 4, p. 54. **Al-Suyuti**, *Bughyat al-Wu'at*, vol. 2, p. 248

²⁸ **Ibn Khallikan**, *Deaths of Eminent Men*, vol. 4, p. 51

²⁹ **Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'**, vol. 12, p. 287.

³⁰ **Al-Zubaidi**, *Iraq in the Buyid Era*, p. 208

³¹ **Al-Sabi'**, *Procedures of the Caliphal Court*, p. 95

Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, vol. 14, p. 253

³² **Al-Sabi'**, *Procedures of the Caliphal Court*, pp. 136–137

Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, vol. 14, p. 253

³³ **Ibn al-Jawzi**, *Al-Muntazam*, vol. 14, p. 291

Al-Dhahabi, *Al-'Ibar*, vol. 2, p. 367

Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya*, vol. 11, p. 341

Abu al-Mahasin, *Al-Nujum al-Zahira*, vol. 14, p. 142

³⁴ **Al-Sabi'**, *Procedures of the Caliphal Court*, pp. 136–137

Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, vol. 14, p. 253.

³⁵ This was part of a letter sent by the **Fatimid Caliph al-'Aziz Billah**, which began:

"From 'Abd Allah, His servant and ally... to 'Adud al-Imam..."

— **Abu al-Mahasin**, *Al-Nujum al-Zahira*, vol. 4, p. 124.

³⁶ **Al-Qaisi**, **Nahidh Abd al-Razzaq**, *Islamic Coinage*, pp. 115–116.

³⁷ *Ahsan al-Ta'asim* (The Best Divisions), p. 272

³⁸ *Dhayl Tajārib al-Umam* (Continuation of the Experiences of Nations), vol. 7, p. 53

³⁹ **'Arṣah**: A wooden beam placed across the top of a house when roofing it, upon which smaller wooden pieces are laid.

— **Ibn Manzur**, *Lisan al-'Arab*, vol. 7, p. 52

⁴⁰ *Al-Anba' fi Tarikh al-Khulafa'* (The Reports on the History of the Caliphs), p. 181.

⁴¹ *Al-Fakhri fi al-Adab al-Sultaniyya* (Al-Fakhri on Royal Conduct), p. 138.

⁴² *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, vol. 12, p. 287

Tarikh al-Islam (History of Islam), vol. 26, p. 524

⁴³ *Bughyat al-Wu'at*, vol. 2, p. 247

⁴⁴ *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* (Golden Fragments), vol. 4, p. 389

⁴⁵ **Ibn al-'Imad**, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* (Golden Fragments), vol. 4, p. 389

⁴⁶ **Al-Dhahabi**, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, vol. 12, p. 287

Tarikh al-Islam (History of Islam), vol. 26, p. 524

⁴⁷ **Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-Husayn Abu al-Fath ibn al-'Amid**:

A minister, writer, and poet known by the title *Dhu al-Kifāyatayn* ("Master of Both the Sword and the Pen").

He succeeded Abu al-Fadl ibn al-'Amid in the vizierate under **Rukn al-Dawla**. The commanders and soldiers loved him, which made the Buyids fear the consequences; thus, **'Adud al-Dawla** had him arrested, tortured, and killed in 366 AH / 976 CE.

Sources:

- **Al-Tha'alibi**, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, vol. 3, pp. 215–223
- **Al-Zarkali**, *Al-A'lam*, vol. 4, p. 325

⁴⁸ **Ibn al-Athir**, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh (The Complete History)*, vol. 7, p. 347

⁴⁹ **The Vizier Abu al-Qasim al-Mutahhar ibn 'Abd Allah**:

Vizier of **'Adud al-Dawla al-Buwayhi** in Baghdad, while **Nasr ibn Harun** served as vizier in Fars. ('Adud al-Dawla appointed two viziers at the same time.) Military campaigns were assigned to al-Mutahhar.

Sources:

- **Miskawayh**, *Tajārib al-Umam (Experiences of Nations)*, vol. 6, pp. 458–461
- **Khwandamir**, *Dustur al-Wuzarā'* (The Code of Viziers), p. 18

⁵⁰ **‘Imran ibn Shahin**: Of unknown lineage, originally from *al-Jāmidah*, a district in *Wasit*. He was wanted for murder and fled to the *Bata’ih* marshes, where he hid among the reed thickets and survived by fishing. Fishermen gathered around him, followed by bandits, and his power grew significantly. None of the Buyids succeeded in capturing him. He died in 369 AH / 978 CE.

Sources:

- **Ibn al-Athir**, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh (The Complete History)*, vol. 7, pp. 186–189, 193
- **Al-Dhahabi**, *Siyar A’lam al-Nubala’*, vol. 16, p. 267

⁵¹ **Al-Batīḥa** (plural: *al-Bata’ih*) and *al-Baṭḥā’* mean the same. The verb *tabbaṭaḥa al-sayl* refers to water spreading widely over the land — thus, these areas were called *al-Bata’ih* because of the water spreading over them. It is a wide marshland between Basra and Wasit. In earlier times, it consisted of connected villages and cultivated lands.

— **Yaqut**, *Mu’jam al-Buldan (Dictionary of Countries)*, vol. 1, p. 450

⁵² **Miskawayh**, *Tajārib al-Umam (Experiences of Nations)*, vol. 6, p. 458

⁵³ **Ibn Baqiyya**, *Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Baqiyya ibn ‘Ali*, known as *Abu Tahir* and titled *Nasir al-Dawla*. He served as vizier to the Buyid ruler **‘Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyar**.

— **Ibn Khallikan**, *Wafayat al-A’yan (Deaths of Eminent Men)*, vol. 5, p. 119

— See also: **Ghadban, Ali Hasan**, *The Vizierate in the Era of Emir ‘Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyar (Ibn Baqiyya as a Model)*

⁵⁴ **Miskawayh**, *Tajārib al-Umam (Experiences of Nations)*, vol. 6, p. 429

⁵⁵ **Miskawayh**, *Tajārib al-Umam (Experiences of Nations)*, vol. 6, p. 429

Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh (The Complete History)*, vol. 7, p. 358

Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān (Deaths of Eminent Men)*, vol. 5, p. 119

Al-Dhahabi, *Tārīkh al-Islām (History of Islam)*, vol. 26, p. 385

Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah (The Beginning and the End)*, vol. 11, p. 329

Abu al-Maḥāsīn, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, vol. 4, p. 130

⁵⁶ **Miskawayh**, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 6, p. 429

Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 7, p. 358

Al-Dhahabi, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 26, p. 385

Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 11, p. 329

⁵⁷ **Al-Rudhrāwarī**, *Dhayl Tajārib al-Umam (Continuation of the Experiences of Nations)*, vol. 7, pp. 55–56

Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Al-Tadhkirah al-Ḥamdūniyyah*, vol. 2, p. 162

Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 14

Ibn al-Tiqṭaqa, *Al-Fakhri fī al-Adab al-Sultaniyya*, p. 46

⁵⁸ **Al-Rudhrāwarī**, *Dhayl Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 7, pp. 55–56

⁵⁹ **Al-Tadhkirah al-Ḥamdūniyyah**, vol. 2, p. 162

⁶⁰ **Ibn al-Jawzi**, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 14, p. 293

Al-Dhahabi, *Tārīkh al-Islām (History of Islam)*, vol. 26, p. 524

⁶¹ **Islamic Civilization**, vol. 1, p. 67

⁶² **Al-Ṣābī**, *Ibrahim ibn Hilāl ibn Ibrahim ibn Zahrūn ibn Ḥabbūn Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābī*, the renowned author of epistolary literature (*rasā'il*) and official correspondence. He served as a secretary and scribe (*kātib*) for 'Izz al-Dawla and held important positions under the Buyid rulers and their viziers. He authored *Al-Tājir* for 'Aḍud al-Dawla al-Būyihī. He was born in 313 AH / 925 CE and died in 384 AH / 994 CE.

— **Yāqūt**, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'* (*Dictionary of Writers*), vol. unspecified, pp. 20–21

— **Al-Ṣafadī**, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafayāt*, vol. 6, p. 101

⁶³ **'Izz al-Dawla**, *Bakhtiyar Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Mu'izz al-Dawla Aḥmad ibn Būyah al-Daylamī* was known for his martial strength but was also wasteful and extravagant. He assumed power over Iraq after his father in 356 AH / 966 CE. His cousin, 'Aḍud al-Dawla, rebelled against him and killed him in 367 AH / 977 CE.

— **Al-Dhahabī**, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 16, p. 231

⁶⁴ **Ibn al-Jawzī**, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 1, p. 52

Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh (The Complete History)*, vol. 7, p. 385

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 1, p. 52.

⁶⁶ Al-Thaalabi, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 291; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 1, p. 52.

⁶⁷ Al-Thaalabi, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 291.

⁶⁸ *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 15, p. 524.

⁶⁹ Al-Thaalabi, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 291; Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 15, p. 524.

⁷⁰ *Rusum Dar al-Khalaqa*, p. 77.

⁷¹ Abu al-Haytham, no translation found.

⁷² Al-Rawdh al-A'wari, *Dhayl Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 7, p. 85.

⁷³ Abu al-Nasr Khawashada, Treasurer of 'Adud al-Dawla, Al-Rawdh al-A'wari, *Dhayl Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 7, p. 85.

⁷⁴ Al-Rawdh al-A'wari, *Dhayl Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 7, pp. 85-86.

⁷⁵ Al-Rawdh al-A'wari, *Dhayl Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 7, p. 85.

⁷⁶ Al-Nayruz, a Persian name Arabized, is the first day of the solar year among the Persians, and for them also the sun's descent into Aries. It means "new day," and in the Persian language (Nīgh Rōz) means "new day." Al-Jawaliqi, Abu Mansur Mahbub ibn Ahmad Muhammad ibn al-Hadharat (d. 539 AH / 1144 AD), *Al-Mu'arrab min Kalam al-A'jami 'ala Huruf al-Mudamm*, edited and explained by Abu al-Ashbal Ahmad Mahmoud Shakir, Egyptian Book House, Cairo (1361 AH / 1942 AD), p. 218, Vol. 1, pp. 71, 392; Shir, Adi, *Al-Alfaz al-Farisiyya al-Mu'arraba*, p. 107; Al-Dujaili, Khawla, *Bayt al-Mal Nash'atuha wa Tatwiruha*, p. 46.

⁷⁷ Al-Rawdh al-A'wari, *Dhayl Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 7, pp. 86-87.

⁷⁸ Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 6, pp. 387-388; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 236; Ibn al-'Athir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Vol. 7, pp. 327-332.

⁷⁹ *Al-Tadhkira al-Hamadoniya*, Vol. 1, p. 457.

⁸⁰ Ahmad al-Khwarizmi, who was among the close associates of Nuh ibn Mansur al-Samani and was responsible for collecting taxes, then became among the close associates of 'Adud al-Dawla. Al-'Utbi, *Tarikh al-Yamini*, p. 36.

⁸¹ Al-'Utbi, *Tarikh al-Yamini*, p. 36.

⁸² Abu al-Fadl ibn al-'Umayd, Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-'Umayd ibn Muhammad Abu al-Fadl, *Ayn al-Mashriq wa Lisan al-Jabal* and *'Imad al-Mulk li Aali Bani Buwayh wa Sadr Wuzara'ih wa Wahid al-'Asr bil Kitaba wa Jami' Adawat al-Riyasa wa al-At al-Wizara*. Known as the last al-Jahiz, the master, and the chief. He served as vizier to Rukn al-Dawla in the city of Ray for twenty-four years. He lived about sixty-six years and died in 360 AH / 970 AD. Al-Thaalabi, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 3, p. 183; Al-Hamdani, *Takmila Tarikh al-Tabari*, p. 208; Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, Vol. 5, pp. 105-109.

⁸³ Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 6, p. 322.

⁸⁴ Aftakin, also called Haftakin, one of the brave heroes among the princes of Sabuktakin in Iraq from the mamluks of Mu'izz al-Dawla al-Buwayhi. It is said he was the minister son of Kallas. He reportedly fell ill and died in 371 AH. Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 12, p. 323; Al-Qalqashandi, *Ma'athir al-Anafa*, Vol. 1, p. 316.

⁸⁵ Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, Vol. 4, p. 53; Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 12, p. 323; Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya*, Vol. 11, p. 341

⁸⁶ Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, Vol. 4, p. 53.

⁸⁷ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 293.

⁸⁸ Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, Vol. 4, p. 51.

⁸⁹ Al-Thaalabi, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 3, p. 183.

⁹⁰ Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat al-Dhahab*, Vol. 2, p. 389.

⁹¹ *Bughyat al-Wu'ata'*, Vol. 2, p. 247.

⁹² Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 16, p. 249.

⁹³ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 293; Al-Dhahabi, *Tarikh al-Islam*, Vol. 26, p. 254

⁹⁴ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 293.

⁹⁵ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 293; Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 26, p. 524.

⁹⁶ Al-Thaalabi, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 257; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 293.

⁹⁷ *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 257.

⁹⁸ *Al-Amta' wa al-Mu'anasa*, p. 48.

⁹⁹ Abu Sulayman al-Mantiqi, one of the greatest scholars of logic and among the teachers of Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi; he died in 391 AH / 1000 AD. Al-Tawhidi, *Al-Amta' wa al-Mu'anasa*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁰ Abu Abd Allah al-Hin ibn Ahmad, vizier to Samsam al-Dawla ibn 'Adud al-Dawla in 373 AH / 983 AD and was killed in 375 AH / 985 AD. He was generous, well-read, and participated in many fields of knowledge, literature, and philosophy. Al-Tawhidi, *Al-Amta' wa al-Mu'anasa*, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰¹ Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat al-Dhahab*, Vol. 4, p. 389.

¹⁰² Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 254.

¹⁰³ Ibn Sam'un, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Isma'il ibn 'Abbas ibn Isma'il Abu al-Husayn al-Wa'iz, unique in his era and a distinguished figure in the science of reflections, indications, and the language of preaching; died in 377 AH / 987 AD at the age of eighty-seven. Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 2, p. 95; Ibn al-Dubaythi, *Dhayl Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 4, p. 436; Ibn Hajar, *Lisan al-Mizan*, Vol. 6, p. 538.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, pp. 254-255.

¹⁰⁵ Abu Ubaid al-Marzabani, Muhammad ibn Imran ibn Musa ibn Ubayd Allah al-Katib, known as al-Marzabani, a scholar of hadith and narrator of literature, known for his excellent organization of what he compiled, said to be better arranged than al-Jahiz. He died in 384 AH / 994 AD. Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 4, p. 227; Al-Sam'ani, *Al-Ansab*, Vol. 12, pp. 189-190; Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, Vol. 4, pp. 354-355.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn al-Nadim, *Al-Fihrist*, p. 164; Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 4, p. 227.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 4, p. 227.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Qadi al-Saymari, al-Husayn ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Ja'far Abu 'Abd Allah al-Saymari, resided in Baghdad, one of the jurists among the Iraqis, well-spoken and insightful. He first served as judge of al-Mada'in and then as judge of the Karkh district, a position he held until his death in 436 AH / 1044 AD. He was born in 351 AH / 962 AD. Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 8, p. 634.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn al-Nadim, *Al-Fihrist*, p. 164; Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 4, p. 227; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 372; Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, Vol. 4, pp. 354-355; Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 16, p. 448.

¹¹⁰ Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 4, p. 227; Al-Sam'ani, *Al-Ansab*, Vol. 12, p. 189; Al-Qifti, *Inbah al-Ruwat*, Vol. 3, p. 181.

¹¹¹ Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 16, p. 449

¹¹² Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 6, p. 457.

¹¹³ Al-Zuhairi, Muhammad Ghanawi, *Literature under the Buyid Dynasty*, p. 122.

¹¹⁴ Al-Tuwati, Mustafa, *Intellectuals and Power in Islamic Civilization*, p. 137.

¹¹⁵ *Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 6, p. 457.

¹¹⁶ Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 6, pp. 457-458

¹¹⁷ *Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 6, p. 458.

¹¹⁸ Al-Tanukhi, Judge Abu 'Ali al-Tanukhi, the scholar Abu 'Ali al-Muhsin ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad Abu al-Fahm al-Basri, a literary figure and author of many works, including *Al-Faraj Ba'd al-Shiddah* and *Nishwar*

al-Muhadara. Born in 327 AH / 938 AD and died in 384 AH / 996 AD. Al-Tha'alibi, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 393; Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 16, pp. 524–525.

¹¹⁹ Al-Tawhidi, Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-'Abbas al-Baghdadi al-Safawi, author of works in literature, philosophy, and eloquence. He was of questionable belief and was exiled to Fars by the vizier Abu Muhammad al-Muhallabi, where he died in 400 AH / 1029 AD. Al-Shaykh al-Mufid, *Al-Muqni'a*, p. 9; *Awa'il al-Maqalat*, p. 248; Al-Subki, *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyyah*, Vol. 3, pp. 268–289.

¹²⁰ Al-Tha'alibi, the renowned scholar of literature, Abu Mansur 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Naysaburi, a poet and author of *Yatimat al-Dahr fi Mahasin Ahl al-'Asr*, as well as works such as *Fiqh al-Lugha* and *Sihr al-Balagha*. He excelled in both poetry and prose. He died in 429 AH / 1037 AD at the age of 80. Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, Vol. 3, pp. 198–199; Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 17, pp. 437–438

¹²¹ *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 258.

¹²² Abu Bakr al-Khwarizmi, Muhammad ibn al-'Abbas, the well-known poet, also called al-Tarkhi because his mother was from Khwarizm and his father from Tabaristan. He visited al-Sahib ibn 'Abbad, who honored him. He died in 383 AH / 993 AD. Al-Safadi, *Al-Wafi bi-l-Wafayat*, Vol. 3, pp. 157–160; Al-Qifti, *Inbah al-Ruwat*, Vol. 4, p. 101

¹²³ *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 258.

¹²⁴ **Bahta**: *Bahta* is a Sindhi word referring to rice cooked with milk and clarified butter (ghee), without water. The Arabs used it with a "h", saying *bahtah*, similar to how they used *labnah* and *'aslah*. It is a loanword, and in Persian it is *bata*. Ibn Manzur, *Lisan al-'Arab*, Vol. 7, p. 266.

¹²⁵ **Al-Ghadanfar**, Abu Taghlib ibn Sahib al-Mawsil Nasir al-Dawla al-Hamdani. Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 16, pp. 306–307.

¹²⁶ Al-Tha'alibi, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 258; Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Vol. 7, p. 389; Al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-Arab*, Vol. 26, p. 221.

¹²⁷ Al-Tha'alibi, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 2, p. 292.

¹²⁸ Ibn Shahr Ashub, *Manaqib Al Abi Talib*, Vol. 1, p. 272; Al-Amin, Muhsin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 8, p. 416; Al-Tustari, *Qamus al-Rijal*, Vol. 12, p. 123.

¹²⁹ **Al-Tanukhi**, *Nishwar al-Muhadara*, Vol. 3, p. 18.

¹³⁰ **Al-Tanukhi**, *Nishwar al-Muhadara*, Vol. 3, p. 18.

¹³¹ **Al-Sa'duni, Anwar Ahmad Husayn**, *The Linguistic Movement During the Reign of 'Adud al-Dawla*, p. 17.

¹³² **Al-Tha'alibi**, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, Vol. 3, p. 225; **Al-Urfa-li, Bilal Walid**, *Features of Arabic Literature in the Buyid Palaces*, p. 41.

¹³³ **Al-Sahib ibn 'Abbad**: Isma'il ibn 'Abbad ibn al-'Abbas, titled *Kafi al-Kuffat*, Abu al-Qasim, from Talqan, a district between Qazwin and Abhar. He was trustworthy, religious, virtuous, and distinguished in the art of writing. He served as a scribe to Rukn al-Dawla al-Buyhi and later became vizier to Mu'ayyid al-Dawla

and Fakhr al-Dawla al-Buyhi. He was known as *al-Sahib* due to his frequent companionship with the vizier Mu'ayyid al-Dawla. He was born in (316 AH / 928 CE) and died in (385 AH / 995 CE). For more, see: **Yaqut**, *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*, Vol. 6, pp. 168–318; **Ibn al-Najjar**, *Al-Mustafad min Dhayl Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 1, pp. 61–62.

¹³⁴ **Hamadhan** (with a vowelized "dhal", and ending with "nun") is located in the fourth climate zone. The conquest of Hamadhan occurred in Jumada al-Awwal, six months after the assassination of Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab, may Allah be pleased with him. It was conquered by al-Mughira ibn Shu'bah in 24 AH. — **Yaqut**, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, Vol. 5, p. 410.

¹³⁵ **Ibn al-Najjar**, *Al-Mustafad min Dhayl Tarikh Baghdad*, Vol. 1, pp. 61–62.

¹³⁶ **Al-Amin**, **Muhsin**, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, Vol. 8, p. 416.

¹³⁷ *Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 6, p. 467.

¹³⁸ *Tajarib al-Umam*, Vol. 6, p. 467; **Abu al-Fida'**, *Al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*, Vol. 2, p. 122.

¹³⁹ **Ibn al-Athir**, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh* (The Complete History), Vol. 7, p. 388.

¹⁴⁰ *Al-Muntazam* (Chronicle), Vol. 14, p. 295.

¹⁴¹ *Bughyat al-Wu'at*, Vol. 2, p. 248.

¹⁴² **Al-Tanukhi**, *Nishwar al-Muhadara*, Vol. 7, p. 256; **Ibn al-Jawzi**, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 259; **Al-Dhahabi**, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, Vol. 13, p. 477; **Abu al-Mahasin**, *Al-Nujum al-Zahira*, Vol. 4, p. 142.

¹⁴³ Surah Al-Haqqah, verses 28–29.

¹⁴⁴ **Ibn al-Athir**, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Vol. 7, p. 388; **Ibn Khallikan**, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, Vol. 4, p. 54; **Ibn al-Imad**, *Shadharat al-Dhahab*, Vol. 3, p. 379.

¹⁴⁵ **Ibn al-Jawzi**, *Al-Muntazam*, Vol. 14, p. 300; **Ibn Kathir**, *Al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya* (The Beginning and the End), Vol. 11, p. 342.