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TUBA, v/c. 2, 1978
For over a millennium, about 850 to 1900, Turks dominated the military and political life of the central Muslim lands. Although few in number, they consistently managed to conquer and rule the other peoples of this area. They not only held power in regions adjacent to their homeland, the Central Asian steppe, but even in distant countries. That is, they not only ruled northern India, Iran, and Anatolia for long periods, but also such remote areas as southern India, the Yemen, and Egypt. Turks founded many of the great dynasties of Islam, such as the Seljuks, Mamluks, Mughals, Safavids, and foremost of all, the Ottomans. Under the Ottomans, Turks ruled such distant areas as Algeria and the Sudan.

Although the reasons for the Turkish military and political predominance over other Muslims are too complex to discuss here, we can trace the Turks' first rise to power in an Islamic setting. Turkish domination did not begin during the very first years of Islam; nor did it suddenly occur in the reign of al-Mu'tamid (218-27 / 833-42), as is commonly thought. Rather, Turks played a small but growing role from the 50 / 670's on. The following pages trace this development from its beginnings to its florescence under al-Mu'tamid.

The history of Turks in early Muslim service divides at al-Ma'mun's accession in the year 198 / 813. Before then, Turks had only a moderate role in Muslim governments and armies; from that date on they acquired enormous significance.

In reference to the first two centuries of Islam, the term 'Turk' as used by Arabic and Persian sources presents difficulties. The Muslim authors mean different things by the term, depending on their era, proximity to Inner Asia, and knowledge of that region. It can overlap in meaning with other ethnic names (e.g. "Soghdian, Khazar, Farghanian"). Modern scholars have concluded that the term had a very wide meaning in the early centuries: "all the non-Persian peoples of the East;"¹ "any non-Persian people north-east of the Oxus;"² "a person who spoke Turkish;"³ "nomads of the Central Asian Steppes."⁴

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Despite the vague and wide meaning of the word "Turk," the following pages discuss only persons specifically identified as Turks, since it was soldiers by that name who eventually acquired control of the central Abbasid government shortly after the death of al-Mu'tasim.

By "Muslim service," I mean the armies, courts, and governments of the Muslims.

A number of secondary works deal with the Turks from the time of al-Mu'tasim; little work has been done on their earlier role in Muslim countries.5)

THE FIRST TURKS, 54-1988 / 674-813. Although the earliest certain date for a Turk in Muslim service is 60 / 680, it appears likely that Turks fought in numbers for the Muslims already a few years earlier. In 54 / 674, Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of Khurasan, vanquished the city of Bukhara and its Turkish allies.6) A year later, on being appointed governor of Basra, he took with him 2,000 or 4,000 of the Bukharan captives as slaves.7) These captives formed a military unit known as the Bukhāriya which was famed for the skill of its archers.8)

It is unclear whether the Bukhāriya were slaves or free men; it is also unclear how many of them were Turks. The fact that Turks fought with Bukhara against the Muslims implies that they made up a portion of the captives; the excellence of the Bukhāriya at archery confirms this likelihood, since Turks have always been renowned for their skill at shooting arrows. Further support for this idea comes from the first specific mention of a Turk in Muslim service, for he was a freed slave of Ubaydallāh's Bukhārya corps.

This first Turk was a mawālī (freed slave) named Rashīd; in 60 / 680 he executed an ally of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbī Ṭalib, an enemy of the Umayyads.9) Six years later comes the first specific mention of a Turk fighting for the Muslims; he was a slave (a ghulām) who participated in the tribal warfare of Khurasan on the side of Tamīm.10)

When Qutayba b. Muslim faced a revolt by his Arabian soldiers in 96 / 715, he threatened them with his non-Arabian troops. The following passage comes from his speech to the rebellious soldiers:

"Who are the archers, those who with their arrows shot by sure hands can hit the eye of the enemy and sew his eyelids to his socket?"

Then the princes and nobles of Persia, the Turkish nobles, as well as those of Soghdia, Badeghi, Tekhārīstān, and Khurasan got up. They numbered more than 10,000 men, all of them capable archers who never missed the mark.

Pointing to them, Qutayba said "... they are braver than the Arabians."11)

Although highly respected as soldiers, this passage indicates that Turks had not distinguished themselves from other Central Asian groups by 96 / 715.

Just two years later the Muslims had an opportunity to acquire Turkish troops but passed it up. When they reached a truce with the pagan ruler of Tabaristan one of the conditions stipulated that "he deliver to them 500 Turks who had killed many Muslims and who then had taken refuge with him." Rather than incorporate these Turks into the Umayyad armies, the Muslims executed them.12)

Some 35 years went by before the next mention of Turks in Muslim service; in 123 / 741
a Soghdian leader from Khurasan, Muqatil b. cAli traveled to Damascus to tell Caliph Hishām about conditions in Khurasan. On this trip, Muqatil b. cAli commanded a force of 150 Turks.15) Two years later, when Muqatil b. cAli was appointed sub-governor of Amul, he and several other new appointees received instructions from Naṣr b. Sayyār, the governor of Khurasan ; in the event of Naṣr’s expulsion from Merv, they should import Turks and cross into Transoxiana.16) Although this passage is not entirely clear, some Turkish military role can be adduced.

Rebellious Umayyads killed Caliph al-Walid II and his family in 126/744 ; a mawla, "said to be Turkish" executed a grandson of al-Walid’s.17)

What role did Turks have in the Abbasid takeover? An historian of Turkish soldiers writes that "it may be assumed with certainty that Turkish units fought in Abū Muslim’s army,"18) though the sources (including the recently available Akhḫūr ad-Dawla al-Abbaṣīya) do not substantiate this statement.19) Further, I have found no mention of Turks in the service of the first Abbasid caliph, Abū-l-cAbbas.

The first mention of a Turk in Abbasid service comes only in the reign of the second caliph, al-Manṣūr; in 137/754 Zuhayr b. at-Turki was governor of both Hamadhān and Mosul.20) This made him the first person of Turkish origins to hold a high position in Muslim service. Pseudo-Deyonošioś Telmahriva, a Syriac chronicler, informs us of Turks in al-Manṣūr’s army.21) Another source states that at his death al-Manṣūr left 40,000 mawlaś22) and it is safe to assume that a good many of them were Turks.

Perhaps more important than their numbers, Turks under al-Manṣūr became trusted servants. Ḥammād at-Turki typified this new aspect. He had an important role in the building of Baghdad ;23) he fought the ʿAlid rebel al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAli in 169/785 (one account reports that Ḥammād himself killed al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAli);24) he served al-Manṣūr personally as head of his bodyguard, chamberlain, and aide-de-camp (even taking care of such menial duties as saddling al-Manṣūr’s horse);25) finally, Ḥammād took charge of taxation in the Sawad region (taḏil as-sawād);26) Ḥammād appears to have been the first Turk with all-around importance in a caliph’s entourage. Muslim writers noted both al-Manṣūr’s heavy use of Turks and Ḥammād’s special importance:

Al-Manṣūr was the first caliph to acquire Turks. He acquired Ḥammād and al-Mahdī [his successor; on him, more below] had Mubārak. Subsequent caliphs and everyone else followed them in this practice.27)

The Turks did not stop increasing in numbers and eventually they overpowered the Abbasids.28)

All evidence points to al-Manṣūr as the first Muslim ruler to bring substantial numbers of Turks into his service. A clue to al-Manṣūr’s relations with his Turks may be gleaned from his statement about a Turkish slave who later served as governor of Egypt: "He is a man who fears me, not God!"29)

Turks continue to appear in al-Mahdi’s reign (158-69/775-85). The man who feared al-Manṣūr more than God served as governor of Egypt in the years 162-64/779-80; it is worth noting that not only was he a slave, but so were his brother and father ; and his mother was the aunt of the king of Tabaristan.30) A Turk led a rebellion in Fars; this man was related to a khādīm (eunuch ?) in the caliph’s service, Faraj al-Khādīm at-Turki (and they aided each other).31) Turks fought in large numbers for the Muslims probably for the first time in 160/777 when they fought the Khārijī rebel ʿAbd as-Salām...
When al-Mahdi's son al-Hadi came to power in 169/785, he had to spend the first ten months of his reign fighting the rebel al-Hasayn b. 'Ali in Arabia. The mawla Mubarak at-Turki was one of several Abbasid commanders; al-Hadi thought he did not show enough vigor against the rebel and confiscated some of Mubarak's property. As noted above, Hammad at-Turki also fought for the caliph in this campaign and is reported by one source to have killed al-Hasayn b. 'Ali.

Occasional mention of Turks in service continues through Harun ar-Rashid's reign (170-93/786-809). Faraj al-Khadim at-Turki governed Tarsus in the first year of his rule. Since Turks were ever associated with warfare, it comes as a surprise to hear of the Turkish mawla who was a religious scholar; he lived in Egypt and died there in 181/797. The first mention of Turks in ceremonial occasions comes at about this time; when ambassadors arrived from India bearing gifts:

Harun ar-Rashid ordered the Turks into two rows and armed them so heavily that only the pupils of their eyes showed. Then he let the ambassadors enter.

A Turk relates an anecdote about the caliph and his vizier in 187/803, as Tollner points out, this man must have been close to either the caliph or the vizier to be able make this report. The first Turkish support for a sectarian movement came in 193/809 when they helped the rebel Rafi' b. Layth; this support was short-lived, however, for the Abbasid commander split the Turks from Rafi', so they fled and weakened him. Finally, Harun ar-Rashid's received 1,000 or 4,000 (presumably Turkish) slaves from Khurasan as kharaj (general tax or land tax).

AL-MA'MUN AND AL-MUSTASHIM, 198-227/813-842. With the accession of al-Ma'mun, the Abbasid use of Turks, and especially Turkish slaves, jumped. For reasons I have tried to establish in my work on military slavery, al-Ma'mun faced a crisis of military manpower when he came to the throne and he solved it by recruiting large numbers of soldiers as slaves:

al-'Uyun wa't-Hadâ'iq: "When [al-Ma'mun] reached Baghdad [in 204/819], he bought some of his soldiers in the market.

al-Qazwini: "It is said that [Yahya b. Aktham, a high official under al-Ma'mun] made efforts to collect handsome youths so serve as slaves (mamluks) of the caliph [al-Ma'mun]. He said to them: 'If not for you, we would not be believers' [i.e. your defense of us keeps our religion safe]."

an-Nuwayri: al-Ma'mun "was the first to take Turks into his service. [As a result] their price increased to the point that it cost 100,000 or 200,000 dirhams to purchase one of them.

al-Maqrizi: al-Ma'mun "increased buying Turks so that their price rose to the point that he purchased a single slave (mamluk) for 200,000 dirhams."

It is worth noting that some sources (such as the first two quoted above) refer to the purchase of slaves in general and others (such as the latter two) specifically to Turkish slaves. It would appear that Turks made up the most important group of slaves, though without predominating.
From the first, al-Ma‘mūn’s younger brother, the future Caliph al-Mu‘taṣim, took an active part in the acquisition of military slaves, serving as al-Ma‘mūn’s deputy.

Ibn Qutayba: ‘‘Al-Ma‘mūn ordered his brother Abū Ishaq [al-Mu‘taṣim] to acquire Turks, so he imported them [as slaves].’’

So great was al-Mu‘taṣim’s role that some accounts lost sight of all the rulers who employed Turks before him:

Bal‘amī: ‘‘He was the first Abbasid caliph to take Turks into his service.’’

Al-Mu‘taṣim acquired this reputation by making a concerted effort to recruit Turks. Samarqand, a renowned slave trade center, served as his main source. The slaves had probably been captured first by local traders and rulers, then sold to agents of the Abbasids. One of those agents, a man called Ja‘far al-Khushshaki, recounted his activities:

Al-Mu‘taṣim sent me during the reign of al-Ma‘mūn to Samarqand, to Nūḥ b. Asad (the Samanid ruler there, 204-27/819-42) to purchase Turks. I presented him each year with a number of them.

Al-Mu‘taṣim already began acquiring Turks, with al-Ma‘mūn’s encouragement, right after the end of the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma‘mūn. In 199/815 he purchased Itākh, possibly his first Turkish slave. Al-Ma‘mūn received slaves from Samarqand already by 200/816. In 204/819 al-Ma‘mūn "bought some his soldiers in the market" of Baghdad. Al-Mu‘taṣim purchased Itākh, Ashnās, Wāṣif, and Simā ad-Dimashqī, all prominent figures in his own reign, in Baghdad. He acquired Ashnās and Būghā al-Kabīr already during al-Ma‘mūn’s caliphate. Yet, despite these early purchases, one account states that al-Mu‘taṣim began acquiring Turks in 220/835.

Besides the organized purchase of Turks from Samarqand, the caliphs captured Inner Asian steppe peoples. In 211-12/826-27 al-Ma‘mūn received 2,000 Ghuzz Turks as captives from Kabul. The early Tahirid governors of Khurasan owned numerous slaves which they presumably had captured (since the caliphs would surely not tolerate their purchasing slaves). Taiḥa b. Ṭāhir (governor 207-13/822-28) could give away 80 mamlūks on a single occasion; Ābdallāh b. Ṭāhir (governor 213-30/828-45) sent as yearly tribute over 44 million dirhams and either 1012 slaves (raqīq) or 2,000 Ghuzz Turks captured in Khurasan. The governor in Samarqand Nūḥ b. Asad, also sent slaves as part of his annual tribute to the caliph.

As a result of these many efforts, the caliphs al-Ma‘mūn and al-Mu‘taṣim collected large numbers of slaves. Al-Ma‘mūn had a sufficient number at his disposal to send 400 handsome mamlūks to ride in the service of a favorite cadi and high official; one source says he had in all 70,000 slaves. While al-Ma‘mūn still lived, al-Mu‘taṣim had three or four thousand slaves; after his death al-Mu‘taṣim had 4,000, 8,000, 18,000, 38,000, 50,000 or 70,000 slaves. Whatever the exaggeration of these figures, they point to the great efforts which the two caliphs made to collect Turkish slaves.
DANIEL PIPES

Turks did not achieve a predominant military role yet by al-Ma'mūn's reign. They fought for him in the civil war against his brother al-Amin, usually under the command of 'Abbās. At-Tarhīb al-Hasayn. 70) Al-Amin lamented his losses and claimed that if only Tāhir joined his side, the Turks and Daylamis could plot against him but they would fail; 71) this both confirms the Turkish presence and pays tribute to their military abilities. Rashīd at-Turkī led troops to Upper Egypt in 216/831. 72) Al-Ja-hīṣ recounts seeing a hundred Turkish cavalrymen line either side of a road for al-Ma'mūn while on campaign. He was especially impressed by the fact that nearly all of them withstood an intense midday heat to remain on horseback. 73)

Besides soldiers, we also hear of two Turks serving the Abbasids as cooks during al-Ma'mūn's caliphate; one worked for the father a vizier and the other for al-Mu'tasim. 74) When he died, al-Ma'mūn was buried in a house which had formerly belonged to one of his Turkish eunuchs. 75)

Al-Mu'tasim's close association with Turks began already in al-Ma'mūn's reign. As early as 202/818, when fighting a Kharijī rebel, he had a bodyguard of Turkish slaves and one of them saved his life. 76) When he went to Egypt in 213/828, 4,000 Turks accompanied him; they then left with him two years later. 77)

On coming to power in 218/833, al-Mu'tasim delegated much of his power to several Central Asians. The annals of his reign echo with their names: Ashnās, İtākh, Bughā al-Kabir, Waṣīf, and al-Afshīn. 78)

It was Ashnās 79) who defended al-Mu'tasim in the incident mentioned above; he saved the future caliph from an assailant's knife. 80) Ashnās undertook two expeditions for al-Ma'mūn; in 215/830 he led Abbasid troops against the Byzantines and two years later he led them in Egypt. 81) When al-Mu'tasim came to power, he appointed Ashnās governor of Egypt. 82) Ashnās retained this title for some years without actually living in or presiding over Egypt. Indeed, the chroniclers ignore him almost completely when recounting the history of Egypt during his tenure. It appears that al-Mu'tasim wished to honor Ashnās with the governorship without losing his presence at the court. In 223/838 Ashnās led a variety of units on the way both to the battle of Amorium in Anatolia and on the return. 83) Again honoring Ashnās, al-Mu'tasim allowed him to sit on a throne (kursi) in 225/840. 84) A year later Ashnās went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and al-Mu'tasim paid him a yet greater honor by giving him control of every region through which he passed between Samarra and Mecca. 85) Accordingly, he is sometimes known as the governor of Syria, al-Jazīra, and Egypt, 86) though again he never ruled those provinces. Ashnas died in 230/845. 87)

İtākh, 88) originally a cook, came to al-Mu'tasim in 199/815. 89) In 222/837 he joined the long campaign (220-23/835-38) against the Iranian rebel Bābāk. 90) A year later he led the right wing to Amorium and then the Turks and Farghanians at the battle there. 91) In 225/840 he became governor of the Yemen, but that same year we also have a report that he stood guard at al-Mu'tasim's doorway, 92) so this too was probably an honorary appointment. Two years later he fought a rebel near Mosul. 93) Soon after al-Mu'tasim's death he acquired the important position of governor of Khurasan; 94) al-Mutawakkil had him executed in 234/849. 95)

First mention of Bughā al-Kabīr 96) comes in 210/825 when he took possession of someone else's lands. 97) He brought relief to the Abbasid troops fighting Bābāk in 220/835 and a year later led troops on his own. 98) Both to and from Amorium he led the rearguard; 99) and he served al-Mu'tasim as chamberlain (ḥājīb). 100) After al-Mu'tasim's reign, Bughā al-Kabīr filled several important positions
and died in 248/862.\(^{101}\) One account says he loved warfare and died at over 90 (lunar) years;\(^{102}\) if true, then Bugha al-Kabîr was already an adult when acquired by al-Mu'tasim.

Waṣīf\(^{103}\) had a role at Amorium and served al-Mu'tasim as chamberlain;\(^{104}\) however, like Bugha al-Kabîr, his most important positions came after al-Mu'tasim's death. Waṣīf died in 253/867.\(^{105}\)

Al-Afshîn,\(^{106}\) who was al-Mu'tasim's most prominent general, already led military campaigns for al-Ma'mûn.\(^{107}\) Under al-Mu'tasim he directed the battle against Bâbâk and fought in the conquest of Amorium.\(^{108}\) We shall not dwell on his important career and fascinating downfall, however, for although two sources call him a Turk,\(^{109}\) he came from Farghana, an Iranian cultural region, and was not usually considered Turkish.\(^{110}\)

Several other lesser-known Turks also had leading positions; Simâ ad-Dimashqî, Simâ ash-Sharâbî, and Muḥammad b. Ḥâmmâd b. Danfash served al-Mu'tasim as chamberlains;\(^{111}\) Bashîr at-Turkî led Farghanian troops in an ambush against Bâbâk in 222/837.\(^{112}\)

Anonymous Turks filled a variety of military roles: some became bodyguards, either for the caliph or for others;\(^{113}\) Turks guarded İbrâhîm b. al-Mahdî in 210/825 and they fought at Amorium.\(^{114}\) They played a major part in the conspiracy of al-Ma'mûn's son al-Abbâs against al-Mu'tasim.\(^{115}\) For example, Ashnâs was to be assassinated by a fellow Turk, his drinking companion.\(^{116}\) When the conspiracy failed, it was again Turks who executed one of its leaders in 223/838.\(^{117}\) Al-Afshîn sent a Turkish mawla to kill one of Bâbâk's men in 222/837.\(^{118}\)

Turks provided personal services for al-Mu'tasim. On one occasion, he called for İtâkh to bring him dates;\(^{119}\) a Turkish slave eunuch swatted flies from al-Mu'tasim's head.\(^{120}\) Turks served other persons too in non-military ways.\(^{121}\)

Perhaps most indicative of the favor bestowed on the Turks was the fact that al-Mu'tasim raised one of them, al-Fâṭîh b. Khâqân, with his own son Ja'far, the future Caliph al-Mutawakkil.\(^{122}\) The close relationship between these two lasted for decades and al-Fâṭî played a vital role in al-Mutawakkil's reign.\(^{123}\)

This survey should establish two points: (1) Turks served Muslim rulers, governments, and armies before al-Mu'tasim's reign while (2) they gained far greater importance during his reign. In light of the Turkish usurpation of Abbasid power soon after al-Mu'tasim's death, it is worth noting that the Turks showed no signs of disobedience or ambition during al-Mu'tasim's lifetime; yet he granted them so much power that within a few years of his death they effectively controlled the Abbasid caliphate.
7. V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamán Tahir Maruza on China, the Turks and India* (London, 1942), p. 92 notes that "Turks" include "Finno-Ugarian and Slavonic Peoples of Eastern Europe."
10. Some works which deal with Turks in early Muslim service include:
   (1) Ş. Günültay, "Abbas oglullari imparatorluğunun kuruluş ve yükselişinde Türklerin rolü," *Bulatet*, 6 (1942), pp. 177-205.
   (3) Z. al-Kitabchi, "at-Turk fi mu'allifat al-Ji~i~ wa makanathum fl' t-tarikh al·islami ila awasıt al-qarn ath-thalith al-hijri." (Ph. D., University of Karachi, [date not available]).
14. al-Ṭabarī, 2. 1719.
15. al-Ṭabarī, 2. 1767.
TURKS IN EARLY MUSLIM SERVICE
(Footnotes)

17. at-Tabari, 1805.
19. Günaltay’s article on this subject turns up very little.
20. at-Tabari, 3. 118.
23. at-Tabari, 3. 276-80.
30. Ibid.
31. al-Jahshiyâri, p. 151; at-Tabari, 3. 604 calls him at-Turkî.
33. at-Tabari, 3. 562.
34. Ibid. 3.563. That property may have been the land-grant (qaṭî’â) Mubârak owned in Baghdad mentioned in al-Yâqûbî, Kitâb al-Buldân, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892), p. 253. Mubârak must have been very rich, for he could grant a million dirham loan. (at-Tabari, 3. 981, al-Jahshiyâri, p. 100)
35. For al-?âdi’s anger, see Abu’l-Faraj al-Islahâni, p. 452. Yaqût’s report on 3. 852 that Mubârak killed al-?usayn b. CAll appears to have confused Mubârak with ?hammad.
38. Ibn CAbd Rabbih, al-Ciqd al-Farîd, ed. A. Amîn et al. (Cairo, 1940-53), 2. 203.
39. at-Tabari, 3. 683.
40. Töllner, p. 18.
41. at-Tabari, 3. 775.
42. Ibn ?âmîd, at-Tâdhhîra, 2. 234, cited by Hamdî, p. 9, fn. 3.
44. al-CUyun w'al-Ifâda’îq, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1869-1871) in Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum, p. 379.
Another indication of this comes from Yaqut 4. 454; Mubarak, who was al-Mahdi’s favorite, is incorrectly called the mawla of either al-Mu’tasim or al-Ma’mun.


5. at-Ṭabarī, 3. 1383.


7. “When he reached Baghdad,” i.e. in 204/819.

8. al-Ṣayyid wa’l-Ḥadā’iq, p. 379.


18. al-Ya‘qūbī, pp. 255-56; al-Kindī, p. 188-89; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, 2. 208-09.


20. at-Ṭabarī, 3. 799, 891.

21. al-Masūdī, 3. 419.

22. al-Kindī, p. 192.


24. Ṭayfūr, p. 217, 268; at-Ṭabarī, 3. 1234, 1383.


27. al-Kindī, p. 188-89; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, 2. 208-09.

28. al-Mu’tasim himself considered these men (naming them all but Būhā al-Kabīr) as his most important agents (at-Ṭabarī, 3. 1327).

Ghulam: all the references in note 76.


Mawla: Yaqut, 3. 16.

Mawla amir al-muminin (on this term, see "From Mawla to Mamluk," pp. 128-33):

80. See the references at note 76.

81. at-Tabari, 3. 1108 and al-Kindi, p. 192.

82. al-Kindi, p. 194; Ibn Taghri Birdi, 2. 229; Abu Zakariya Yazid al-Azdi, p. 416.

83. To Amorium: (Vanguard) at-Tabari, 3. 1236; al-Yaqubi, at-Tarikh, 2. 475; (cavalry) at-Tabari, 3. 1241; (infantry) al-Uyun wa-l-Fad'iq, p. 393; (left wing) at-Tabari, 3. 1244.

From Amorium: (right wing) at-Tabari, 3. 1260; (rearguard) at-Tabari, 3. 1261-62.

84. at-Tabari, 3. 1302; al-Uyun wa-l-Hadha'iq, p. 404.

85. at-Tabari, 3. 1318.

86. Ibn al-Adim, 1. 69.

87. at-Tabari, 3. 1338.

88. Itakh is called a Turk: at-Tabari, 3. 1306, 1327; al-Mas'udi, Muruj adh-Dhahab, 4. 60; al-Yaqubi, at-Tarikh, 2. 479, 481, 485; Bal'ami, 4. 524; Ibn Taghri Birdi, 2. 243, 255, 265, 274.

Khazar: at-Tabari, 3. 1383; Ibn Taghri Birdi, 2. 276.

Ghulam: at-Tabari, 3. 1383.


Mawla amir al-muminin: Balog, pp. 246, 248. On his career, see Yuldiz.

89. at-Tabari, 3. 1234, 1383; Abu Zakariya Yazid al-Azdi, p. 424.

90. at-Tabari, 3. 1195.

91. at-Tabari, 3. 1236, 1250.

92. at-Tabari, 3. 1303, 1307, 1327.

93. at-Tabari, 3. 1322.

94. al-Yaqubi, at-Tarikh, 2. 479.

95. at-Tabari, 3. 1383-87; Ibn Taghri Birdi, 2. 276.

96. Bugha al-Kabir is called a Turk: at-Tabari, 3. 1313; al-Yaqubi, at-Tarikh, 2. 478; Ibn Taghri Birdi, 2. 218, 327.

97. at-Tabari, 3. 1085.

98. at-Tabari, 3. 1174, 1186-93.


100. al-Mas'udi, at-Tanbih, p. 356; Eutychius, Tarikh al-Majmu'a, ed. L. Cheichio et al. (Beirut, 1906-09), 2. 61 (but not on page 284).

101. at-Tabari, 3. 1506; Ibn Taghri Birdi, 2. 327.

102. Ibn Taghri Birdi, 2. 327.

Ibn Taghri Birdi, 2. 327, 338, 340; Eutychius, 2. 61-62.


Mawlû: al-UYûn wa'l-Hadâ'iq, pp. 409-10; Ibn 6Abd Rabbih, 5. 121; at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1481.


As hâjî: al-Ya'qûbî, at-Ṭarikh, 2. 478; al-UYûn wa'l-Hadâ'iq, pp. 409-10; Ibn Ḥabîb, p. 260; Ibn 6Abd Rabbih, 5. 121; Eutychius, 2. 61.


Mawlû amîr al-mu'minîn: al-Qalqashandî, Šubh al-Āṣâh (Cairo, 1913-22), 6. 404.

107. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1105, 1106.

108. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1170-1234, 1236-56.

109. See note 106 above.

110. Al-Afšîn's trial, at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1303-18, is permeated with the fact of his Iranian culture; note especially 3. 1312 and 1315.

111. al-Ya'qûbî, at-Ṭarikh, 2. 478; Ibn 6Abd Rabbih, 5. 121. Muḥammad b. Ḥâmmâd b. Danfash's name seems to indicate that his father was already a Muslim.

112. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1215-16.

113. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1076, 1289.

114. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1076, 1250; al-UYûn wa'l-Hadâ'iq, p. 394.

115. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1267; Miskawayh, pp. 501-12.

116. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1257, 1266.

117. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1265.

118. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1194.

119. at-Ṭabarî, 3. 1325.

120. al-Mas'ūdî, Murâj adh-Dhahâb, 4. 50.


122. Ibn Taghri Birdî, 2. 325.


Erratum:

After submitting this article to press, the author became aware of a mistranslation. Please ignore the quote from al-UYûn wa'l-Hadâ'iq above notes 44 and 58.