KURDISH
STUDIES

# What's old is new again: A study of sources in the *Šarafnāma* of Šaraf Xān Bidlīsī (1005-7/1596-99)

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**Abstract**

The *Šarafnāma* of Šaraf Xān (949-1009/1543-1600), prince of Bidlīs, was composed in 1005-7/1596-99 and is arguably the most important work on Kurdish history. It displays an uninterrupted chain of transmission from its composition to the present time, and nearly two centuries have passed since it was "discovered" and studied by Orientalists. Still, many aspects of the *Šarafnāma* have yet to be studied, including the work's sources and how they were utilised by Šaraf Xān. This article aims to be a contribution to the study of this particular aspect, through identifying the historians who inspired Šaraf Xān, and providing an analysis of his methodology and approach to the sources.

**Keywords**: Kurdish history; *Šarafnāma*; Safavid historiography; Bidlīs; Kurdistan.

**Abstract in Kurmanji**

**Ya kevn di ya nû de dîsa: Lêkolînek li ser Şerefnameya Şeref Xan Bidlîsî (1005-7/1596-99)**

Şerefnameya Şeref Xan (949-1009/1543-1600) ê mîrê Bidlîsê di salên 1005-7/1596-99 de hat nivîsandin û li nav berhemên herî hêja yên dîroka kurdî cih digire. Ji dema weşandina wê ta îro, ew bê navber hat kopîkirin; wekî din, nêzî dused sal bi ser "kefşkirina" wê û xebatên "rojhilatnasan" ên li ser wê re buhorîn. Dîsa jî, pêwîstiya gelek aliyên Şerefnameyê bi lêkolînên zêde heye, di nav wan de çavkaniyên berhemê û bikaranîna wan ji hêla Şeref Xan ve. Mebesta vê nivîsarê jî ew e ku li ser vê meseleya taybet lêkolîneke bi feyde pêşkêş bike, ango bikeve hewla diyarkirina dîroknasên ku Şeref Xan ilhama xwe ji wan wergirtiye û, her weha, rêbaza wî û awayê bikaranîna wî ya çavkaniyan tehlîl bike.

**Abstract in Sorani**

**Kon le nwê da dîsanewe: Lêkollîneweyk le merr Şerefnamey Şeref Xan Bidlîsî (1005-7/1596-99)**

Şerefnamey Şeref Xan (949-1009/1543-1600), mîrî Bidlîs, le salanî 1005-7/1596-99 da nûsrawe w yekêk le şiyawtirîn berhemekanî mêjûy kurdîye. Em berheme le demî dananî hetakû êsta be berdewamî nesx kirawe. Nizîkey dused sall be ser "dozînewey" û xebatekanî rojhellatnasan le ser em berhemey têper bûwin, bellam, hêştaş zor layenî Şerefname pêwîste lêkollînewe le ser bikrêt, wekû serçawekanî em berheme w bekarhênanyan le layen Şeref Xanewe. Amancî em wutareş ewe ke le merr em babete lêkollîneweyêkî sûdmend pêşkêş bika, be rêgay destnîşankirdinî mêjûnûsanî ke îlhamyan be Şeref Xan bexşîwe, w be hellsengandinî rêbaz û boçûnî ew sebaret be serçawekan.

## Introduction

The *Šarafnāma*, written in 1005-7/1596-99 by Šaraf Xān (949-1009/1543-1600), prince of Bidlīs, is a history of Kurdish dynasties from the 5th/11th century to

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the time of the author.[1] Arguably the most important text for the study of Kurdish history, the *Šarafnāma* has reached us through numerous manuscripts, products of an uninterrupted chain of transmission from its composition to the present time. After being "discovered" by Orientalists in the first half of the 13th/19th century, it was the object of several studies, translations and editions, notably the edition by Vladimir Veliaminov-Zernov (*Scheref-nameh*, 1860-62).[2]

Yet, the *Šarafnāma* still lacks a critical edition, and many important aspects of the work await further study. This includes an analysis of the sources of the *Šarafnāma*, which, apart from a few pages in Mehrdad Izady's partial English translation (2005), and an article by Mustafa Dehqan (2014), have not been closely examined.[3] This article stands as a modest contribution to the study of the sources employed by Šaraf Xān.

To this effect, we begin by discussing the historiographical category to which Šaraf Xān belonged, namely the Qazvīnī tradition of Safavid historical writing that developed in the second half of the 10th/16th century in Šāh Ṭahmāsb's royal capital. This is the intellectual and courtly milieu where Šaraf Xān was educated and from which he drew his inspiration. The second section will study each of the five chapters of the first book of the *Šarafnāma*, with the aim of describing how Šaraf Xān worked with his sources. It is hoped that this might contribute to a better understanding of Šaraf Xān's intellectual and cultural world, by showing how he was able to put traditional methodological approaches of Persian historiography to the service of an original project.

## The *Šarafnāma* as a late representative of the Qazvīn school of Safavid historiography

Throughout most of the history of modern scholarship, Persian historiography in general, and Safavid historiography in particular, have remained understudied topics. In the closing decades of the 20th century, however, an increasing number of works devoted to this subject have been published, providing a sound basis for further scholarship. This is best

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[1] The edition of the *Šarafnāma* used in this study is by Vladimir Veliaminov-Zernov, *Scheref-Nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes*, published in 1860-62 in St. Petersburg by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Other primary sources used in this article include Qāżī Aḥmad Ġaffārī Qazvīnī's *Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā* (edited by Ḥasan Narāqī as *Tārix-i Jahān-Ārā* and published by Ḥāfiż in Tehran, 1342š/1963), Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī's *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* (edited by Guy Le Strange and published by E. J. Brill in Leiden, 1913) and *Tārix-i Guzīda* (edited by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī and published by Amīr Kabīr in Tehran, 1339š/1960), and Ġiyās al-Dīn Muḥammad Xwāndamīr's *Tārix-i Ḥabib al-Siyar fī Axbār Afrād al-Bašar* (edited by Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāqī with an introduction by Jalāl al-Dīn Homā'ī and published by Xayyām in Tehran, 1362š/1983-84).

[2] On the different editions and translations of the *Šarafnāma*, see Glassen, 1989.

[3] A critical edition of the *Šarafnāma* is currently in progress, which will address this and other issues. This edition, preceded by a thorough introduction and based on the study of 35 extant manuscripts of the *Šarafnāma*, is being prepared by Yusuf Baluken, Mustafa Dehqan and myself.

exemplified by the publication, in 2012, of a volume of *A History of Persian Literature* edited by Charles Melville and devoted to Persian historiography.[4]

In relation to our topic, Sholeh Quinn has dealt extensively with issues related to Safavid historiography.[5] She was the first to study most of the extant Safavid historical chronicles in order to categorise and compare them.[6] Whilst mentioning that it might be "too soon to use such a definitive word" as "schools of Safavid historiography", Quinn delineates three major traditions of Safavid historical writing: 1) The "Herat school", based on the Timurid "eastern Iranian tradition of historiography" which "had its center in the courts of the urban areas of Samarqand and Herat in the fifteenth century"; 2) The Qazvīnī school of Šāh Ṭahmāsb's reign (r. 930-84/1524-76), during which "many of the historians (…) either were originally from Qazvīn or wrote in that city after Shah Tahmasb moved the capital there in 955/1548"; and 3) a later school, developing during the reign of Šāh Sulaymān (r. 1076-1105/1666-94), represented by "anonymous (…) histories rich in dialogue and short on embellished phrases" (Quinn, 2000: 23-24, 2003).

A discussion of these categories, which were recently refined by Quinn and Melville (2012: 209-57), falls outside the scope of this article. To summarise, the Herat tradition is best reflected in works such as the *Rawżat al-Ṣafāʾ* of Mīrxwānd (d. 903/1498) and the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* of his grandson Xwāndamīr (d. 941/1534-35), featuring "ornate, florid sentences, often in rhymed prose (*sajʿ*) and interspersed with poetry" (Quinn and Melville, 2012: 254). Meanwhile, authors in the Qazvīnī tradition introduced a stylistic break by favouring the use of a language much simpler than the complex prose of their predecessors.[7]

This Qazvīnī school of Safavid historiography came about in conjunction with political circumstances, namely, the advent of Šāh Ṭahmāsb and the shifting of the "physical center of historical writing" from Herat to Qazvīn, where the new shah and other members of the royal family became "great patrons of the arts" (Quinn, 2000: 16, 23). It was within this rich artistic and cultural environment that Šaraf Xān was raised. Born in 949/1543, he was six years-old when the Safavid court moved to Qazvīn in 955/1548 and, from

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[4] The introduction to this volume features a discussion of previous works on the subject (Melville, 2012: xxxv-xxxvii). See also the comprehensive bibliography (Melville, 2012: 611-68).

[5] See Quinn (1996), where she discusses the use of Mīrxwānd's *Rawżat al-Ṣafāʾ* as a source in the *Šarafnāma*'s preface (*dībāča*); see also Quinn (2000; 2003) and the chapter she co-authored with C. Melville in Melville (2012: 209-57).

[6] This was mostly done in Quinn (2000), in which the *Šarafnāma* is not discussed.

[7] This is a general trend reflected to various degrees in specific works. Indeed, as Quinn and Melville (2012: 255) have stated, "generalizations about literary style are likely to be oversimplistic in the absence of detailed studies of individual works, for many authors utilize a range of style within a single text, depending on the subject matter and the effects desired".

958/1551 to 961/1554, he was educated amongst the Safavid princes in the private quarters of the shah.[8]

It is not surprising to see Šaraf Xān's *Šarafnāma* emerge as a late representative of the Qazvīnī school of Safavid historiography, despite being written decades later in Bidlīs. As a historian, Šaraf Xān clearly drew his inspiration from the authors who were active in Qazvīn during Šāh Ṭahmāsb's time. Conversely, he seems to have been unaware of or uninterested in the chronicles written after his move back to Bidlīs.[9]

Šaraf Xān's own personal biography, notably his early years spent in the palace in Qazvīn, might also explain why he was influenced by one historian in particular when he wrote the *Šarafnāma*. Qāżī Aḥmad Ġaffārī Qazvīnī (ca. 910-975/1504-5-1567-68) came from a family of notables from Qazvīn, and he embarked on a career as a scribe at the court of Šāh Ṭahmāsb, later entering the service of the shah's brother Sām Mīrzā.[10] He dedicated his first work, the *Tārīx-i Nigāristān* (c. 959/1552), to Šāh Ṭahmāsb. In 970/1563, Aḥmad Ġaffārī made the pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he stayed in Hejaz. He finished his second work, the *Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā* or *Tārīx-i Jahān-Ārā* ("World-adorned history", hereafter *NJA*) in 972/1564-65 and died in 975/1568 on his way to India.[11]

Šaraf Xān was ten years-old when Aḥmad Ġaffārī's *Tārīx-i Nigāristān* was published. This work, a compilation of historical anecdotes, was designed to "[provide] Shah Ṭahmāsp and other members of the Safavid royal family with an educational text on the lessons of history" (Ghereghlou, 2016). This didactical purpose makes it very likely that Šaraf Xān read the *Tārīx-i Nigāristān*, especially considering that he was then living in Šāh Ṭahmāsb's quarters inside the royal palace and receiving the same education as the Safavid princes. Perhaps Šaraf Xān even personally knew Aḥmad Ġaffārī.

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[8] Šaraf Xān left the Safavid court in 961/1554 to take up his first post in Sāliān, and briefly came back to Qazvīn from 973/1565-66 to 975/1567-68, before heading to Gīlān. See *Scheref-nameh*, ed. V. Veliaminov-Zernov, 1860-62, I, pp. 447-59.

[9] It is difficult to determine whether Šaraf Xān knew about works like 'Abdī Beg Šīrāzī's *Takmilat al-Axbār* (978/1570), Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tavārīx* (985/1577) or Qāżī Aḥmad Qomī's *Xulaṣat al-Tavārīx* (1000/1592), to name a few. Šaraf Xān seldom mentions books by names, even when he has obviously used them as sources. The names of most books in the *Šarafnāma* are actually found in passages reproduced from other works. Interestingly enough, Šaraf Xān does mention Xwāja Sa'd al-Dīn's Ottoman Turkish history *Tāj al-Tavārīx*, completed in 992/1584 (*Scheref-nameh*, I, p. 16).

[10] Aḥmad Ġaffārī's ancestor was a well-known Šāfi'ī Sunni jurist and scholar, Najm-al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ġaffār Qazvīnī (d. 665/1266), and his grandfather, 'Abd al-Ġaffār, was Uzun Ḥasan's army judge (*qāżī-i muʿaskar*). His father, Muḥammad (d. 932/1525), was chief judge of Rayy under Šāh Ismaʿīl, and also composed poetry under the pen-name of Wiṣālī (Ghereghlou, 2016, see also Woods, 1999: 222).

[11] ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Navāʾī, editor of the *Takmilat al-Axbār* (1369š/1990, pp. 11-12), links Aḥmad Ġaffārī's decision to leave Iran with the execution of his patron, Sām Mīrzā. See also Ghereghlou (2016), Quinn (2000: 17), and Quinn and Melville (2012: 212).

Aḥmad Ġaffārī's *Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā* was completed in 972/1564-65, just a year before Šaraf Xān came back to Qazvīn from Karahrūd, near Qom, where he had been given an official position as head of the Rōjikī tribe.[12] In 973/1565-66, when Šaraf Xān returned to the court after twelve years of absence, Aḥmad Ġaffārī's works were among the most widely read. The production of a decorated copy of the *Tārīx-i nigāristān* in 976/1568-69, in addition to the hundreds of copies remaining of this work and of the *NJA*, in Iran alone, attest to this fact (Ghereghlou, 2016).

The *NJA* is a universal history from pre-Islamic times up to the year of its completion, divided into three books (*nusax*) devoted to the Prophets and the twelve Imams, the pre-Islamic and Islamic kings, and the Safavids. The first two books are further divided into chapters (*saḥīfa*) narrating the history of various individuals or dynasties, while the third book on Safavid history has an annalistic structure.[13]

Despite differences in terminology (Aḥmad Ġaffārī's *nusax* become Šaraf Xān's *ṣaḥīfa*s, and Aḥmad Ġaffārī's *ṣaḥīfa*s are called by Šaraf Xān *faṣl*s), any reader familiar with the *Šarafnāma* will have noted the structural similarity between the two works. The *Šarafnāma* includes four thematic books (*saḥīfa*), further divided into chapters (*faṣl*) devoted to the various dynasties, and an epilogue (*xātima*) meant to describe, in an annalistic form, the history of the Ottomans and Safavids. Furthermore, the *NJA*'s *ṣaḥīfa*s and the *Šarafnāma*'s *faṣl*s devoted to individual dynasties are also similarly arranged: in both works, they are made up of short, simple-worded paragraphs on the successive rulers (although, in the *Šarafnāma*, this factual narrative is frequently interspersed with poetry and anecdotes).

Šaraf Xān did not only adopt the formal structure of the *NJA*; he also reproduced Aḥmad Ġaffārī's categorisation of the Kurdish dynasties. The Marwānids, Ḥasanwayhids, Greater Lors and Lesser Lors are the four dynasties mentioned, in this order, by Aḥmad Ġaffārī in the *saḥīfa* 16 of *nusax* II of his work, devoted to the Kurdish and Lorish dynasties.[14] These are also the first four dynasties of the *saḥīfa* I of the *Šarafnāma*, to which Šaraf Xān added the Ayyūbids to complete the book.[15] The title of this first *ṣaḥīfa*, "On the rulers of Kurdistan who raised the flag of the sultanate and whom the historians have included among the sultans" ( و در ذکر ولات کردستان که علم سلطنت برافراشته‌اند ) مورخان ایشان را داخل سلاطین نموده‌اند), is a reflection upon this. The addition of the Ayyūbids to the list of Kurdish and Lorish dynasties indicates a difference in perspective, which lies at the core of the *Šarafnāma*'s project. While the

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[12] *Scheref-Nameh*, I, p. 451.

[13] For a complete table of contents, see Aḥmad Ġaffārī, *Tārīx-i Jahān-Ārā*, ed. Ḥasan Narāqī, 1342š/1963, pp. 5-8.

[14] *Tārīx-i Jahān-Ārā*, pp. 167-74.

[15] They are discussed in their own chapter in the *NJA*, *nusax* II, *ṣaḥīfa* 7.

Kurdish origins of the Ayyūbids are mentioned in the *NJA*, they are not, as in the *Šarafnāma*, presented as their defining characteristic.

Still, the *NJA* is the only work of Timurid and early Safavid historiography (except the *Šarafnāma* itself) to include a specific chapter on Kurdish and Lorish dynasties. Šaraf Xān's very idea of a historical book on Kurdish dynasties might have been inspired by his reading of the *NJA*. Furthermore, Aḥmad Ġaffārī was the only historian contemporary of Šaraf Xān to include dynasties such as the Marwānids or the Ḥasanwayhids in a Persian-language work. This is reflected in M. B. Dickson's (1958: LVI) remark that the *NJA* is "particularly valuable for its references to minor dynasties".

The *NJA* was thus a major inspiration for Šaraf Xān in conceiving the *Šarafnāma*. This was possibly because of a personal acquaintance of Šaraf Xān with Aḥmad Ġaffārī, and certainly because the *NJA* had just been composed when Šaraf Xān made his last lengthy stay at the Safavid court, from 973/1565 to 975/1568. It then represented the latest trend in Persian historiography. In the years that followed, the life of a warrior prince presumably kept Šaraf Xān from keeping up with new historiographical developments.

In terms of narrative content, the *NJA* also constituted an important source for the *Šarafnāma*. However, it was by no means the only one. Whenever possible, Šaraf Xān seems to have given priority to earlier works, such as Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī's *Tārīx-i Guzīda* (c. 730/1330) or Xwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (c. 930/1524).[16] The next section will study the sources used by Šaraf Xān in the first *ṣaḥīfa* of the *Šarafnāma*, analysing how they were compiled and assembled, including the addition of his own contributions, to give shape to the project that he had envisioned.

### New history, old content: Šaraf Xān's work on sources in Book I of the *Šarafnāma*

A detailed treatment of the sources in the *Šarafnāma* as a whole would represent a book-length study, thus the scope of this article is limited to a specific section of the *Šarafnāma*. The variety of historiographical cases presented in the first book, in terms both of geographical and chronological boundaries, made it seem the most suitable choice. This first *ṣaḥīfa* of the *Šarafnāma* (*Scheref-nameh*, I, pp. 19-82), devoted to the most prominent Kurdish dynasties, contains five *faṣl*s, or chapters, on the Marwānids, Ḥasanwayhids, Greater Lors, Lesser Lors and Ayyūbids. In this section, I will briefly examine each of these five chapters, in order to identify the sources used by Šaraf Xān and how they were utilised.

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[16] In his English translation of the first book of the *Šarafnāma*, M. Izady (2005: xxi-xxiv) remarks that "Ghaffārī and Mustawfī provide almost all the information that [Šaraf Xān] Bitlīsī uses for the first four chapters of Book One." However, he did not identify Xwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* as the source for the fifth chapter on the Ayyūbids.

*a) The Marwānids (372-478/983-1085)*

Mehrdad Izady (2005: xxi-xxii) and Mustafa Dehqan (2014: 30) have argued that Šaraf Xān possessed a sketchy knowledge of Arabic, and based on the sources he used for this chapter as well as the chapter on the Ayyūbids, this certainly seems to have been the case.[17] The Marwānids were a Kurdish dynasty centred around Āmid and Mayyāfāriqīn, in the Diyār-Bakr region, and the more reliable sources on the history of this dynasty are in Arabic.[18] But whether or not Šaraf Xān was aware of the existence of these sources, he could/would not use them, and chose instead to rely on the *NJA*.

Šaraf Xān's use of the the *NJA* is marked by a phenomenon Quinn (2003) has called "imitative writing", which she describes as "choosing an earlier text as a model, which the historian would 'update', making changes to reflect the stylistic, political, and legitimizing trends of his own time". Accordingly, the content of Aḥmad Ġaffārī's work is, in this first chapter, largely "imitated" by Šaraf Xān. Unfortunately, the *NJA*'s narrative is incomplete, starting with Aḥmad b. Marwān, fifth ruler of the dynasty, which reached its pinnacle under his rule. The following example, taken from his reign, will serve to demonstrate how Šaraf Xān worked on his source:

*Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā* (ed. Ḥasan Narāqī, 1342š/1963, p. 167)

احمد بن مروان، قادر عباسی او را ملقب بنصیر الدوله گردانید مدت هشتاد و نه سال
زندگی کرد، از آنجمله پنجاه و دو سال بسلطنت بلاد جزیره و دیاربکر در کمال تنعم و
کامگاری اقدام نمود ایلچی بسلطان طغرل بیک سلجوقی روان داشته از آنجمله تنسوقاتی
که بدو فرستاده قطعه یاقوتی بود که از سلاطین دیالمه بمبلغ کلی خریده بود و فخر الدوله
بن جهیر که آخر وزیر عباسیه شد و ابو القاسم مغربی از جمله وزرای او بودند، آخر در
سنه ثلاث و خمسین و اربعمائه وفات یافت.

Al-Qādir the Abbassid [r. 381-422/991-1031] bestowed upon Aḥmad b. Marwān the title of Naṣīr al-Dawla [actually Nāṣir al-Dawla]. He [Aḥmad b. Marwān] lived eighty-nine years, fifty-two of which he spent as ruler of the lands of Jazīra and Diyār-Bakr, with great power and prosperity. He dispatched an envoy to the Seljukid sultan Toġrul Bēg [r. 429-455/1038-1063]; among the precious gifts he sent him were a corundum gem that he had bought from the Daylamite sultans for a considerable sum. Two of his viziers were Faxr al-Dawla b. Jahīr [d. 483/1090], who later became vizier of the Abbasids, and Abū al-Qāsim Maġribī [d. 418/1027]. He died in 453 [1061-62 AD].[19]

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[17] Šaraf Xān does not seem to have used any Arabic sources in his work, and indeed even the number of Persian sources consulted appears limited. In any case, he did not use al-Yāfiʿī's *Mirāt al-Janān* and Ibn Xallikān's *Wafayyāt al-Aʿyān*, as M. Izady claims. As we will see, the passages where these works are mentioned are copied from Xwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*.
[18] For a comprehensive discussion of the sources on Marwānid history, see Baluken (2010: 2-10).
[19] All translations are my own, unless stated otherwise.

*Šarafnāma* (ed. Vladimir Veliaminov-Zernov, 1860-62, I, pp. 19-20; in bold, elements added by Šaraf Xān)

**بر مرآت ضماير مهر تنوير دانشمندان صافى ضمير صورت اينمعنى عكس پذير**
**خواهد بود كه اول كسى كه از طايفه اكراد در دياربكر و جزيره حكومت نموده احمد بن**
**مروانست و در زمان قادر عباسى كار او عروج تمام يافته چنانچه** قادر او را ملقب
بنصير الدوله گردانيد مدت سال هشتاد سال زندگانى كرده از آنجمله پنجاه و دو سال بسلطنت
دياربكر و جزيره در كمال تنعم و كامگارى **قيام** نمود ايلچى بسلطان طغرل بيك
سلجوقى ارسال **نموده اظهار صفاى نيت و خلوص طويت كرد و** از جمله تنسوقاتى كه
بدو فرستاده **يك**قطعه ياقوت بود كه از سلاطين ديالمه بمبلغ **خطير** خريده بود و فخر
الدوله بن جهير كه آخر وزير **خلفاى** عباسيه شد و ابو القاسم مغربى از جمله وزراى او
بودند آخر در سنه ثلاث و خمسين و اربعمائه **باجل موعود در گذشت روايت است كه**
**سيصد و شصت جاريه محبوبه داشته كه هر شب با يكى از يشان معاشرت مينمود**
**چنانچه در سالى دو نوبت با يكى از يشان مباشرت واقع نشده.**

**Mirrored in the sunlit spirits of the pure-minded wise men, the appearance of the following events will be reflected: The first person who, from among the Kurdish people, ruled in Diyār-Bakr and Jazīra is Aḥmad b. Marwān, whose career reached the highest summit during the time of the Abbasid al-Qādir.** Al-Qādir bestowed upon him the title of Naṣīr al-Dawla. He [Aḥmad b. Marwān] lived eighty years, fifty-two of which he spent as ruler of the lands of Jazīra and Diyār-Bakr, with great power and prosperity. He **sent** an envoy to the Seljukid sultan Toġrul Bēg, **demonstrating the sincerity of his intentions and the probity of his designs**; among the precious gifts he sent him were **one** corundum gem that he had bought from the Daylamite sultans for a **great** sum. Two of his viziers were Faxr al-Dawla b. Jahīr, who later became vizier of the Abbasid **caliphs**, and Abū al-Qāsim Maġribī. He **met his predestined fate** in 453 [1061-62 AD]. **It is said that he had six hundred and sixty lovely concubines and that each night he enjoyed the society of one of them, so that in a year, he did not have intercourse twice with the same one of them.**

As can be seen, the central part of the text is very similar in the *NJA* and in the *Šarafnāma*. The very few changes made by Šaraf Xān represent stylistic and political updates, in accordance with Quinn's definition of imitative writing.[20] The main additions provided by Šaraf Xān are found before and after this narrative core. The opening sentence is written in a flowery style, unlike anything in the *NJA*. Formulas of this kind, which were pieced together from bits taken from Mīrxwānd's *Rawżat al-Ṣafā'* and Xwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, are

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[20] For example, "the Abbasids" in the *NJA* become "the Abbasid caliphs" in the *Šarafnāma*, reflecting the different perspectives between the works of nominally Shi'i and Sunni authors.

actually found at the beginning of almost every chapter of the *Šarafnāma* (excluding the annals of the *xātima*). Furthermore, the omission by Aḥmad Ġaffārī of earlier rulers apparently led Šaraf Xān to assume that Aḥmad b. Marwān was the first ruler of the dynasty.

The concluding anecdote reflects the desire by Šaraf Xān to shake up the dry, factual style of the *NJA* and make the *Šarafnāma* more entertaining to his audience. This wish to entertain on the part of Šaraf Xān is visible throughout the book, and frequently results in the addition of similar stories, as well as verses by classical poets. Here, the anecdote on the 360 concubines of Aḥmad b. Marwān, absent from the *NJA*, serves this purpose.

*b) The Ḥasanwayhids (330-460/942-1067) and the ‘Annāzids[21] (ca. 380-510/990-1117)*

Like the Marwānids, the history of the Ḥasanwayhids is seldom found in Timurid and Safavid chronicles. It is present in Xwāndamīr's universal history *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, which was used as a source by Šaraf Xān in other parts of his work.[22] However, for this chapter, Šaraf Xān again uses exclusively Aḥmad Ġaffārī's *NJA* (p. 173), which he follows even more closely than he had in the previous chapter. Apart from the opening sentence, another ornate formula partly taken from Xwāndamīr,[23] Šaraf Xān does not make any significant additions to the *NJA*'s narrative, as can be seen from the following examples, taken from the reigns of Badr b. Ḥasanwayh, Badr b. Ṭāhir and Abū al-Fatḥ b. Annāz.

*Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā* (ed. Ḥasan Narāqī, 1342š/1963, p. 168)

بدر بن حسنویه بعد از پدر بحکومت رسید و در سنه [ثلاث] و ثمانین و ثمانمائه عظیم
الشان شده از دیوان بغداد او را ناصر الدوله لقب نهادند و او از دینور تا اهواز وخوزستان
و بروجرد و اسد آباد و نهاوند و قلاع آنجا را در تصرف داشت.

Badr b. Ḥasanwayh became ruler after his father and, in [3]88 [998], he had the honour of receiving the title of Nāṣr al-Dawla from the *dīvān* in Baghdad. He possessed the land from Dīnawar up to Aḥvāz and Xuzistān, including Borūjird and Asadābād and Nihāvand and the fortresses of this area.

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[21] The name of this dynasty is spelled ‘Ayyārids in the various manuscripts of the *Šarafnāma*, but ‘Annāzids in older sources. Šaraf Xān's spelling comes from the *NJA*. There is currently no consensus on this issue. See Ahmad (1985); Izady (2005: 68, note 1); and Peacock (2006: 602).

[22] *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, 1362š/1983-84, II, pp. 438-39. The books by Xwāndamīr and his grandfather, Mīrxwānd, were the main references for all later Safavid chroniclers. See Melville and Quinn (2012: 212 and 254-55).

[23] Compare *Scheref-nameh*, I, pp. 20-21 ( بر الواح ضمایر مستخبران احوال اوایل و اواخر و خواطر مهر کردار ) with *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, III, p. 251 ( بر الواح ضمایر ) (مستحفظان قضایای اکابر و اصاغر منتفی و مستتر نماند که... ). In the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, this formula is used ( مستخبران احوال اوایل و اواخر مخفی و مستتر نخواهد بود که... ) to introduce the chapter on the Ayyūbids.

*Šarafnāma* (ed. Vladimir Veliaminov-Zernov, 1860-62, I, p. 21)

بدر بن حسنویه بعد از پدر بحکومت رسید و در سنه [ثلاث] و ثمانین و ثمانمائه عظیم الشان شده **چنانچه** از دیوان بغداد او را ناصر الدوله لقب نهادند و او از دینور تا اهواز وخوزستان و بروجرد و اسد آباد و نهاوند و قلاع **و جبال و صحرای** آنجا را در تصرف داشت.

Badr b. Ḥasanwayh became ruler after his father and **hence**, in [3]88 [998], he had the honour of receiving the title of Nāṣr al-Dawla from the *dīvān* in Baghdad. He possessed the land from Dīnawar up to Aḥvāz and Xuzistān, including Borūjird and Asadābād and Nihāvand and the fortresses **and plains and mountains** of this area.

*Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā* (ed. Ḥasan Narāqī, 1342š/1963, p. 168)

بدر بن طاهر بن هلال در سنه ثمان و ثلاثین و اربعمائه بحکم ابراهیم نیال حاکم قرماسین و دینور گردید.
ابو الفتح بن عیار مدت بیست سال حکومت کرده در حلوان در شهور سنه احدی و اربعمائه وفات یافت و او از قبیله دیگر اکراد است و دار الملکش قرماسین و شهرزور.

Badr b. Ṭāhir b. Hilāl became ruler of Kirmānšāh and Dīnawar in 438 [1046-47], by the order of Ibrāhīm Īnāl [d. 450/1060].
Abū al-Fatḥ b. ʿAyyār ruled for a period of twenty years in Ḥulwān and died in 401 [1010-11]. He is of a different Kurdish clan, and his capitals were Qirmāsīn and Šahrazūr.

*Šarafnāma* (ed. Vladimir Veliaminov-Zernov, 1860-62, I, p. 22)

بدر بن طاهر بن هلال در سنه ثمان و ثلاثین و اربعمائه بحکم ابراهیم نیال حاکم **باستقلال قومش** و دینور گردید.
ابو الفتح بن عیار مدت بیست سال در حلوان حکومت کرد در شهور سنه احدی و اربعمائه **از دار فُنا بدار بقا رحلت نمود** و او از قبیله دیگر اکراد است **از نبایر و نتایج حسنویه نیست اما مورخان او را نیز از جمله حکام دینور و شهرهزول عد کرده‌اند و** دار الملکش **قومش** و شهرزول **بوده**.

Badr b. Ṭāhir b. Hilāl became **independent** ruler of Kirmānšāh and Dīnawar in 438 [1046-47], by the order of Ibrāhīm Īnāl.
Abū al-Fatḥ b. ʿAyyār ruled for a period of twenty years in Ḥulwān and in 401 [1010-11], **he left the kingdom of frailty for the everlasting world**. He is of a different Kurdish clan **and he is not one of the descendents of**

**Ḥasanwayh, but historians have also counted him among the rulers of Dīnawar and Šahrazūr**. His capitals were **Qumaš** and **Šahrazūl**.

This last example is interesting as it is, again, illustrative of the concept of "imitative writing". Thus, we see that Šaraf Xān sometimes updates the place names found in the *NJA* with variants that were either more modern, or that he deemed more correct: Qirmāsīn becomes Qumaš (Kirmānšāh), and Šahrazūr becomes Šahrazūl.[24] Šaraf Xān stresses the independent character of Badr b. Ṭahir's rule and, as in the chapter on the Marwānids, Šaraf Xān also replaces the very dry *vafāt yāft* ("he died") by a more metaphorical formula ("he left the kingdom of frailty for the everlasting world"), either for stylistic reasons or to show greater respect for the historical characters discussed.

However, Šaraf Xān's most extensive additions serve to explain the peculiar transition from the Ḥasanwayhids to the 'Annāzids, two different Kurdish dynasties having ruled in Dīnawar, which is left unexplained in the *NJA*. Aḥmad Ġaffārī is undoubtedly one of the historians referred to by Šaraf Xān in this passage, and it is unlikely that there were any others. Šaraf Xān seems to have used a plural for effect.

*c) The Greater Lors (extinguished in 827/1424)*

Contrary to the two previous chapters, in the sections on the Greater and Lesser Lors, the *NJA* is not the sole source, nor even the main source, used by Šaraf Xān in his narrative. Without the usual introductory formula, the beginning of the chapter on the Greater Lors is directly taken from Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī's (ca. 680-744/1281-1344) *Tārīx-i Guzīda* ("Select History", hereafter *TG*), a work of general history composed in 730/1330 and dedicated to the vizier Ġiyāṯ al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of the famous Ilkhanid historian and author of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīx*, Rašīd al-Dīn (Melville, 2003). In the *TG*, the part on the Lors (pp. 537-49) begins as follows:

*Tārīx-i Guzīda* (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī, 1339š/1960, p. 537)

در زبده التواریخ آمده که وقوع این اسم بر آن قوم، بوجهی گویند از آن است که در
ولایت مانرود دهی است که آن را کرد خوانند و در آن حدود بندی که آن را بزبان لری
کول خوانند و در آن بند موضعی که آن را لر خوانند.
چون در اصل ایشان از آن موضع بر خواستهاند، از آن سبب ایشان را لر گفتهاند.
وجه دوم آن است که بزبان لری، کوه پر درخت را لر گویند [...].
وجه سیوم آنکه شخصی که این طایفه از نسل او اند، لر نام داشته است [...].

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[24] Šaraf Xān actually alludes to the two variants of this name in the beginning of the second chapter of the second book, devoted to the Ardalāns. On the authority of Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī's *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, he considered the form *Šahrazūl* as the more correct one, although this is far from evident. See *Scheref-nameh*, I, p. 83; *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, 1913, pp. 107-8.

وجهی دیگر آنکه جمعی اعراب بر سلیمان (ع) عاصی شدند و بدان ولایت رفتند.
[...]
ولایت لرستان دو قسم است: لر بزرگ و لر کوچک [...].

In the *Zubdat al-Tawārīx* [Cream of Histories], it is said that the Lors are so called for the reason that, in the province of Mānrūd, there is a village called Kurd and, around this area, there is a narrow pass called Kūl in the Lor language. In this narrow pass, there is a place called Lor and because they originally rose from this place, they are called Lors.

The second reason is that in the Lor language, a mountain with many trees is called a *lor*. [...]

The third reason is that the ancestor of this group was named Lor. [...]

Another reason is that a group of Arab nomads rebelled against Solomon and fled to this province. [...]

The province of Loristān is divided into two parts: the Greater Lors and the Lesser Lors [...].

Let us now compare it with the beginning of the chapter on the Greater Lors in the *Šarafnāma*:

*Šarafnāma* (ed. Vladimir Veliaminov-Zernov, 1860-62, I, pp. 23-24)

در زبده التواریخ **مذکور است** که **اطلاق لر** بر آن قوم، بوجهی گویند **بدان واسطه** است که در ولایت مانرود **قریه** ایست که او را کرد خوانند و در آن حدود **دربند ایست** که آن را برزبان لری کول خوانند در آن دربند موضع ایست که آن را لرگویند و چون در اصل ایشان از آن موضع بر خواستهاند، ایشان را **لران** گفتهاند **و در این باب چند روایت دیگر نیز نقل کنند و چون باعتقاد فقیر اقوال ضعیف بود در این نسخه رقم ننمود** و ولایت لرستان دو قسم است لر بزرگ و لر کوچک [...].

In the *Zubdat al-Tawārīx*, it is **written** that if the Lors are **named as such, it is because** in the province of Mānrūd, there is a village called Kurd and, around this area, there is a narrow pass called Kūl in the Lor language. In this narrow pass, there is a place called Lor and because they originally rose from this place, they are called Lors. **Some other stories are also being told on this matter; however, this mediocre [author] deemed them unworthy of credibility and did not write them down in this manuscript.** The province of Loristān is divided into two parts: the Greater Lors and the Lesser Lors [...].

As in the previous chapters, Šaraf Xān makes a few terminological adaptations (*qarya* for *dah*, village; *darband* for *band*, narrow pass). Interestingly, he keeps Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī's reference to Kāšānī's *Zubdat al-Tawārīx* and

appropriates it.[25] However, Šaraf Xān only mentions the first of the four alternative explanations to the onomastics of the Lor ethnonym given by Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī, arguing that the other three are not credible. Whether Šaraf Xān was really unconvinced or simply did not feel like burdening his story, we do not know. Šaraf Xān then comes back to Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī's narrative for the account of the Greater Lors' rise to power and the rule of their early princes.[26]

Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī's account of the dynasty of the Greater Lors stops during the reign of Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Šāh, who was in power in 730/1330, when the *Tārīx-i Guzīda* was written. Thus, for the reign of this ruler, as well as his successors Rukn al-Dīn Yūsuf Šāh b. Aḥmad and Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrasiyāb Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Šāh, Šaraf Xān turns to Xwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, which includes a brief chapter on the Greater Lors.[27] Even though he wrote in the first half of the 10th/16th century, Xwāndamīr stopped his narrative after the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn and did not provide an account of the dynasty's later history. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that his main source was also Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī's *Tārīx-i Guzīda*; in fact, his accounts of the reigns of Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad, Rukn al-Dīn Yūsuf and Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrasiyāb are significantly shorter than for the previous rulers.

After using the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Šaraf Xān then goes back to the *NJA* for the reigns of the last four princes of the Greater Lors, Pešeng b. Yūsuf Šāh, Aḥmad b. Pešeng, Abū Saʿīd b. Aḥmad and Šāh Ḥusayn b. Abū Saʿīd (*NJA*, pp. 169-72).[28] He concludes with a verse from the poet Xwājū Kirmānī (d. ca. 753/1352);[29] in the section devoted to the reign of Yūsuf Šāh b. Alp Arġūn (d. 684/1285), he had also added a verse of poetry about the execution of the *ṣāḥib-*

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[25] The *Zubdat al-Tawārīx* by Abū al-Qāsim al-Kāšānī (d. after 724/1324) is a general history dedicated to the Ilkhanid ruler Öljeytü (r. 703-16/1304-16). Kāšānī was a Shi'i Isma'ili, and the noteworthy section devoted to the Isma'ilis was edited by M. T. Dānishpāzhuh in 1987. Kāšānī was also one of the assistants of Rašīd al-Dīn who worked on the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīx*, and claimed he was the sole author of the work. This is the basis for M. Izady's suggestion that Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī here refers to the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīx*, rather than to al-Kāšānī's less-known work. See Daftary (2004: 187); Davud and Nazerian (2008); Izady (2005: xxiv).

[26] A notable omission, in the story of their rise, is the mention of the prominent role played by the Shuls, present in Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī's narrative but not in Šaraf Xān's, for reasons unknown to us.

[27] *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, III, pp. 325-28. This was the source used by Šaraf Xān, rather than Mīrxwānd's *Rawẓat al-Ṣafāʾ*, as suggested by M. Izady (2005: 100, note 3, 102, note 1). While for the first two rulers, Xwāndamīr clearly used his grandfather's work as a source, he also writes a few lines on the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrasiyāb, which is missing from the *Rawẓat al-Ṣafāʾ* (ed. ʿAbbās Parvīz, 1338-39š/1959-60, II, 782-84).

[28] M. Izady (2005: 101, note 7) claims that for the reigns of these four rulers, Šaraf Xān offers "variant information" that is sometimes "radically different" from the *NJA*; however, this is not the case. Apart from a few textual modifications, similar to the ones discussed in the previous chapters, the text of the *Šarafnāma* is clearly taken from the *NJA*.

[29] See Dehqan (2014: 25).

*dīvān* (minister of finance) Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad Juvaynī, brother of the historian ʿAtā Malik Juvaynī.[30] This again highlights Šaraf Xān's use of poetry to make his narrative more appealing.

It appears that, whenever possible, Šaraf Xān tried to use the earliest and most complete sources available to him. This explains his use of the *Tārīx-i Guzīda* up to the reign of Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad, then his switch to the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, in which the narrative is a lot shorter (a few lines for each ruler), and finally to the *NJA*. Even though the *NJA* features a complete history of the dynasty, the sections devoted to individual rulers are very brief, sometimes no longer than a single sentence. Šaraf Xān thus chose to compile different sources to gather more information. Conversely, this shows that, for the first two chapters, Šaraf Xān probably did not have any other sources than the *NJA* at his disposal.

Šaraf Xān did not merely copy his sources; he also made choices as to what to include and exclude in his narrative. In addition to allowing for updates and modifications to the sources used, the practice of imitative writing also served as an important means of preserving and passing down relevant information. Thus, the reproduction of the mention of Kāšānī's *Zubdat al-Tawārīx* does not mean that Šaraf Xān wished to suggest that he had used this source. While Kāšānī's history is extant and has been edited, many works are actually only known to us through such second or third-hand references.

### d) The Lesser Lors (extinguished in 1006/1598)

This chapter is especially interesting, because it is the only one of the five studied here including events of which Šaraf Xān was a contemporary. For the earlier part of the dynasty, Šaraf Xān follows the same methodology as in the previous chapter, first using the *Tārīx-i Guzīda* (pp. 549-62) up until the reign of Dawlat Xātūn, where the narrative stops, and then continuing with the *NJA* (pp. 172-74) to the reign of Jahāngīr Sulṭān b. Šāh Rustam, who was put to death on the order of Šāh Ṭahmāsb in 949/1543, the year Šaraf Xān was born.[31]

For the period 949-1005/1543-97, comprising the reigns of Šāh Rustam b. Jahāngīr, Muḥammadī b. Jahāngīr and Šāh Verdī b. Muḥammadī, Šaraf Xān thus relied only on his own knowledge of events, as well as what he could gather from oral sources. One of these sources was most certainly Muḥammad Bēg Amīr Xān Mawṣillū, Šaraf Xān's maternal uncle, guardian and step-father, who

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[30] According to Dehqan (2014: 25), this verse can be found in E. G. Browne's 1901 edition of the *Tazkirat al-Šuʿarāʾ* of Dawlatšāh Samarqandī (d. 900/1494 or 913/1507), p. 106.

[31] In the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, there is no chapter on the Lesser Lors. However, there are passages pertaining to one of the rulers of the dynasty, Šāh Rustam (called Malik Rustam by Xwāndamīr), who was a contemporary of Šāh Ismaʿīl I (r. 907-30/1501-24), in the context of an expedition he led against the Mušaʿšaʿ Arabs of Xūzistān. Xwāndamīr offers a quite different version of events from the *NJA*, but this is not included in the *Šarafnāma*, which suggests that Šaraf Xān, rather than reading through the whole work, simply perused it to find the relevant chapters. See *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, IV, pp. 496-99.

played for him the role of a "father figure" (خالوی پدر منزلت, *Scheref-nameh*, I, p. 451) and, as governor of Hamadān, was closely involved in the Lor princes' power struggles. It is possible that Šaraf Xān also witnessed some of the events he discusses, although he does not indicate this.

As a result, the narrative for this period is a lot more detailed than it is in the other parts of Book I. Taking up more than a third of the chapter, it discusses context, causes and consequences, as well as the motivations of the different protagonists. Šaraf Xān recounts in detail several important episodes of the conflict between Jahāngīr's two sons, Šāh Rustam and Muḥammadī, for the rulership of the Lesser Lors. While most sections on individual rulers usually end with the death or demotion of that ruler, the section on Šāh Rustam's rule remarkably ends with a comment that "the end of the story of Muḥammadī and Šāh Rustam will be mentioned along with the narration of future events, God willing" ( مآل و حال محمدی و شاه رستم در ضمن قضایاء آینده ذکر خواهد شد انشاء الله تعالی), *Scheref-nameh*, I, p. 49), followed by the beginning of the section on Muḥammadī. This indicates a willingness by Šaraf Xān to sacrifice structure in favour of content: by turning away from the pattern of clear-cut sections on individual rulers used throughout the book, he can tell the same story from the perspectives of its different protagonists, allowing for the emergence of a more nuanced understanding of events.

The text of this chapter ends while Šāh Verdī b. Muḥammadī is still in power, in the year 1005/1596-97, at the time of the first redaction of the *Šarafnāma*.[32] We thus read (*Scheref-nameh*, ed. Vladimir Veliaminov-Zernov, 1860-62, I, p. 55):

حالا که تاریخ هجری در سنه خمس و الف است کامران بحکومت لرستان مبادرت مینماید.

"Now that we are in the year 1005 of the Hijra [1596-97], [Šāh Verdī] is exerting absolute rule in Loristan."

We know that, shortly thereafter, Šāh Verdī was executed by Šāh 'Abbās (r. 996-1038/1588-1629), an event which put an end to the dynasty of the Lesser Lors. This happened in 1006/1598, before the production of the *Šarafnāma* manuscripts Hunt. Don. 13 (Muḥarram 1007/Aug.-Sep. 1598) and Dorn 306 (Šavvāl 1007/May 1599), both of which were realised under the supervision of Šaraf Xān.[33] It is unknown why Šaraf Xān did not update the text, as he has

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[32] This corresponds with the date given in the colophon of the autograph manuscript Elliott 332 (kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), which was completed, if we are to believe it, on the last day of the year 1005/13 August 1597.

[33] The manuscript Hunt. Don. 13 (also kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford) claims to be an autograph in its colophon, but upon comparison with Elliott 332, only a few specific parts of it were actually written by Šaraf Xān. In the colophon of the manuscript Dorn 306, it is stated that it was realised "under the author's supervision". See Hunt. Don. 13, f. 263v, ll. 17-22; Dorn 306, f. 252r, ll. 6-10; and my forthcoming dissertation for details.

done in other places (for example with the ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn, Ibrāhīm Bēg Aqsāq b. Jahāngīr). Šaraf Xān might not have been aware of Šāh Verdī's execution until the end of the year 1007/mid-1599, although this is unlikely.

### e) The Ayyūbids (564-648/1168-1250)

For the fifth and last chapter of Book I, on the Ayyūbids, Šaraf Xān again decided to use Xwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* as a source, rather than the *NJA*, where a chapter on the Ayyūbids is also present (pp. 134-40).[34] This can be explained by the fact that the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*'s narrative (II, pp. 584-98) is much more complete than the *NJA*'s. It is telling, however, that Šaraf Xān used this very late Persian source, while many earlier Arabic sources were in wide circulation. This suggests that Šaraf Xān's abilities in Arabic were indeed limited.[35]

At this point, the outlines of Šaraf Xān's methodology in dealing with his sources have been sufficiently described. I will discuss two further interesting examples in this section. The first of these is related to the acquisition by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 564-89/1169-93) of the treasury of the Fatimid caliph 'Āẓid (r. 555-64/1160-69), an episode for which Xwāndamīr gives his source as the *Tārīx Yāfi'ī*, or *Mirāt al-Janān wa 'Ibrāt al-Yaqẓān*, by the Yemenite scholar Abū 'Abdallāh b. As'ad al-Yāfi'ī (c. 698-768/1298-1367).[36] As for the *Zubdat al-Tawārīx* of Kāšānī, Šaraf Xān reproduces the reference:

*Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, 1362š/1983-84, II, pp. 585-86)

در اوایل محرم الحرام سنه سبع وستین وخمسمائه مزاج عاضد فاسد شده در روز
عاشورا قاصد سفر آخرت گشت وصلاح الدین خزاین اسمعیلیه را که از نقود نامعدود
وجواهر زواهر واقمشه نفیسه مالامال بود تصرف نمود ومن حیث الاستقلال بضبط امور
ملک ومال پرداخته رعیت وسپاهی را مستمال گردانید در تاریخ امام یافعی مسطور است
که از جمله تنسوقات که از خزانه عاضد بدست صلاح الدین افتاد عصائی بود از زمرد
واز کتب نفیسه بخطوط جیده صد هزار مجلد.

At the beginning of the sacred month of Muḥarram in the year 567 [1171], 'Āẓid's health deteriorated and, on the day of 'Āšūrā, he departed for the eternal journey. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn seized the treasures of the Ismailites, among which were innumerable sums of ready money, beautiful precious stones and countless delicate fabrics. He took up independent rule over the realm and the estate, and contented both soldiers and subjects. In the history of the Imām Yāfi'ī, it is written that among the valuable objects that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn retrieved from 'Āẓid's

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[34] M. Izady did not identify this source; as a result, he incorrectly attributes many passages taken from the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* by Šaraf Xān to the earlier Arabic histories used as sources by Xwāndamīr.
[35] For a summary of the most important sources for Ayyūbid history, see Humphreys 1987.
[36] This work was edited by Xalīl Manṣūr in Beirut in 1997.

treasure, there was an emerald sceptre and a hundred thousand volumes of precious books expertly calligraphed.

*Šarafnāma* (ed. Vladimir Veliaminov-Zernov, 1860-62, I, pp. 57-58)

در اوایل محرم سنه سبع و ستین و خمسمائه عاضد مزاج فاسد شده در روز عاشورا قاصد سفر آخرت گشت و صلاح الدین خزاین اسماعیلیه را که از نقود نامعدود و جواهر زواهر و اقمشه نفیسه مالامال بود تصرف نمود و من حیث الاستقلال بضبط امور ملک و مال پرداخته رعیت و سپاهی را **مستظهر و** مستمال گردانید و در تاریخ یافعی مسطور است که از جمله تنسوقاتی که از خزینه عاضد بدست صلاح الدین افتاد عصائی بود از زمرد و از کتب نفیسه بخطوط جیده صد هزار مجلد **بود**.

At the beginning of the sacred month of Muḥarram in the year 567 [1171], ‘Āżid's health deteriorated and, on the day of ‘Āšūrā, he departed for the eternal journey. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn seized the treasures of the Ismailites, among which were innumerable sums of ready money, beautiful precious stones and countless delicate fabrics. He took up independent rule over the realm and the estate, and contented **and comforted** both soldiers and subjects. In the history of the Imām Yāfī‘ī, it is written that among the valuable objects that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn retrieved from ‘Āżid's treasure, there was an emerald sceptre and a hundred thousand volumes of precious books expertly calligraphed.

Even more interesting is the treatment by Šaraf Xān of a sentence found at the end of the chapter in the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (II, p. 598). In it, we read that "since ‘Izz al-Dīn [Aybak al-Turkmānī, the Mamlūk ruler who put an end to the Ayyūbid dynasty, r. 648-55/1250-57], and the servants who succeeded him on the glorious throne of the government in Egypt, were contemporaries of the Chingizid sultans, and were incessantly at war with Hulāgū Xān and his offspring, their history will be narrated in the second part of the third volume, God willing" (چون عز الدین و غلامانی که بعد از وی در مصر بر سریر عزت و حکومت نشستند با سلاطین چنگیز خانی معاصر بودند و دایم الاقات با هلاکو خان و اولاد او مقاتله و محاربه مینمودند ذکر ایشان در جزو دوم از مجلد ثالث مذکور خواهد شد انشاءالله تعالی). The second part of the third volume of the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* indeed starts off with a "discourse on the events of the period of the rulers of Egypt from the extinction of the felicitous days of the Ayyūbids till today" (گفتار در بیان کیفیت وقایع زمان ملوک مصر از وقت انقراض ایام اقبال آل ایوب تا این عصر; III, pp. 251-66).

In the *Šarafnāma*, there is no such section on the Egyptian Mamlūks. However, Šaraf Xān still reproduces this sentence, with a slight modification. He writes (*Scheref-nameh*, I, pp. 81-82) that "since some servants of the dynasty of Ayyūb who, after the extinction of his lineage, succeeded him on the glorious throne of the government in Egypt, were contemporaries of the Ottoman

sultans, their history will probably be narrated in the chronological epilogue, at the same time as the events of these majestic sultans, by the grace of the Lord of the worlds" ( چون **بعضی غلامان آل ایوب** که بعد از **انقطاع نسل** وی در مصر بر سریر عزت و حکومت نشسته با سلاطین **آل عثمان** معاصر بوده‌اند ذکر ایشان **بتقریب در خاتمه بر توالی سنه در ضمن قضایای آن سلاطین شوکت آیین بتوفیق رب العالمین** مذکور خواهد شد). Despite the absence of a chapter on the Mamlūks in the *Šarafnāma*, their history is indeed mentioned in passing in the *xātima*, notably in the year 923/1517, when Egypt was conquered by the Ottoman armies of Sultan Selim (r. 918-26/1512-20), putting an end to the dynasty (*Scheref-nameh*, II, pp. 160-61).

In general, Šaraf Xān seems to have been less inclined to modify or "update" Xwāndamīr's text, compared to his (relatively) more liberal use of Aḥmad Ġaffārī's *Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā* or Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī's *Tārīx-i Guzīda*. This probably has to do with the fact that Safavid historians held Xwāndamīr's work in high regard, and were thus reluctant to change it. Hence, the modifications made by Šaraf Xān in this chapter are scarce. The only real change is the addition by Šaraf Xān, at the end of the section on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reign, of a paragraph on his relations with the *'ulamā* and the pious foundations he had constructed.[37] This part might have been borrowed by Šaraf Xān from an unidentified other source; it is also possible that it was present in Šaraf Xān's manuscript of the *ḤS*, but not in the manuscript used for the printed edition.

### Conclusion

The author of the *Šarafnāma*, Šaraf Xān, can be considered a late representative of the school of historiography which flourished in Qazvīn during Šāh Ṭahmāsb's reign, at a time when Šaraf Xān was receiving his education in the capital city's royal palace. For his own historiographical project, the *Šarafnāma*, he drew his main inspiration from one of the works of the Qazvīnī school, Aḥmad Ġaffārī's *Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā*. The *Šarafnāma*'s structure is especially reminiscent of this work, and it might have contributed to Šaraf Xān's decision to write a book on Kurdish dynasties.

As for the content of the *Šarafnāma*, our study of Book I has shown that, whenever possible, Šaraf Xān gave priority to the earliest and most complete sources. However, his deficiencies in Arabic, associated with a glaring lack of sources for all but the most prominent Kurdish dynasties, meant that he often had to rely on a select set of works, among which were Aḥmad Ġaffārī's *Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā*, Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī's *Tārīx-i Guzīda* and Xwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*. When using these histories, Šaraf Xān's methodology was like that of other

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[37] In this passage, Šaraf Xān stresses Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's good treatment of the *'ulamā*, his pious personality, and a list of eight religious foundations that he had constructed in Egypt and Syria. See *Scheref-nameh*, I, pp. 67-68, from بود سلطان صلاح الدین پادشاهی to ... باتمام و کرده بنا خلیل قدس در ; رسانید; compare with *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, II, p. 591.

Safavid historians. In particular, he used a technique of "imitative writing", which consisted in the copy and actualisation of his sources' narratives.

As with all Safavid historians, the original information provided by Šaraf Xān on contemporary events represents without doubt the most interesting parts of the book. However, it seems pointless to draw a distinction of interest between this content and the passages that were copied from earlier sources. Both operations were part of a same project with a view to update and adapt earlier historical works. This update was done through both a modification of sources to account for linguistic, stylistic and political changes, and the inclusion of new information to bring the chain of events up to the date of writing.

This is exemplified by the inclusion of the Ayyūbids at the end of the first book: while they were present in the *Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā* and many other sources, the Ayyūbids had never been included in a category specifically devoted to Kurdish dynasties. By adding them to the list of four Kurdish and Lorish dynasties of the *Nusax-i Jahān-Ārā*, Šaraf Xān was the first to consider the Kurdishness of the Ayyūbids as their main defining characteristic. Although it was probably anachronistic, such a definition is telling about his project.

Through similar processes, authors such as Šaraf Xān built on generations of previous scholarship to produce historiography in line with their epoch. With the inclusion of numerous Kurdish dynasties in a single, coherent historical work, the *Šarafnāma* was the manifestation of a conceptual, thematical and structural shift, also incorporating sections on the rulers of Bidlīs (Book IV) and on the history of the Ottomans and Safavids (the *xātima*). Creating a work at the crossroads of dynastic, local and general history, Šaraf Xān used existing categories in new ways to introduce an original historical product. This is how modern authors seemingly reproduced old content to write new histories.

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