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# Interpretation of Arms and Armor in Fakhr-e Modabbir Mobarākshāh's Ādāb al Ḥarb wa'l Shujāʿah (Two Passages from Chapter 11 and 19)

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## Abstract

Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr Mubarākshāh al-Qurashī was born around 1150 CE, probably in Ghazna, and eventually joined the court of Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak, the first Turkish Mamlūk or "Slave King" of northern India. He died around 1224 CE. His Ādāb al Ḥarb wa'l Shujāʿah ("Rules of War and Bravery") was a treatise on statecraft in the Persian tradition of "Mirrors for Princes". A substantial, if idealised discussion of warfare, it includes sections on tactics, troop organisation, various weapons, sieges and many military-historical anecdotes. Nevertheless, these chapters also include more recent, more localised Indian and Turkish elements, plus otherwise lost aspects of military practice or theory. For example, the essentially traditional Islamic or ʿAbbāsid sections include Chapter 12 which describes "How to arrange an army firmly and to maintain that (arrangement)". The first part of Chapter 13 describes "How to bring the army to a halt and the (best) place to do this". Some specifically military chapters of the Ādāb al Ḥarb wa'l Shujāʿah are clearly based upon ʿAbbāsid military theory as developed during the 8th to 10th centuries CE; notably sections such as "How to arrange an army firmly and to maintain that (arrangement)", and "How to bring the army to a halt and the place to do this". Other sections reflect more recent Indo-Islamic, Indian and Turkish military ideas, as well as otherwise lost aspects of earlier military practice, plus plans of military arrays, idealised encampments and exercises in the tradition of Islamic furusīyah military training manuals. Chapter 11, which is interpreted here, concerned the characteristic features, advantage and usage of a wide array of weapons. Chapter 19, which is also interpreted here, focussed on various aspects and variations in the array and deployment of an army for battle.

**Keywords:** Archery, Swords, Polearms, Armor, Battle Array, Cavalry Training, Furusīyah, Horse Harness, Horses Weapons.

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## Introduction

Fakhr-e Modabbir Mobarākshāh's full name was Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr Mubarākshāh al-Qorashī (Bosworth, 1965: 284-5). Born around 1150 CE, probably in Ghazna, modern Afghanistan, Mobarākshāh experienced the overthrow of the Ghaznawid dynasty by the Ghūrids in 1186 CE. After studying in Lahore, and producing a book of genealogical tables from the Prophet Mohammad onwards, he joined the court circle of the first Turkish Mamlūk or "Slave King" of northern India, Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak (1206-1210 CE). He died around 1224 CE. According to Agha Abdus-Sattar Khan (Agha Abdus-Sattar Khan, 1938: 377-8). Fakhr-e Modabbir was not the same person as Fakhr al-Dīn Mobarākshāh [Mobarāk Shāh], a somewhat older poet at the Ghūrid court at Fīrūzkūh [now Chaghcharān in central Afghanistan] who died in 1205 CE. The author of the Ādāb al Ḥarb was nevertheless also known as Mobarāk Shāh and came from a line of scholars in Ghazna. His family was forced to move to Lahore in 1162 CE because his home region had been attacked by Ghuzz Turkish tribesmen. Sometime after the latter were expelled, Fakhr-i Modabbir returned to Ghazna to retrieve his family's genealogical records. He served the ruling dynasty in a clerical or scholarly capacity and although there is no evidence that he himself served in any army, he might have had experience of military administration.

## The book

Fakhr-e Modabbir Mobarākshāh dedicated his Ādāb al Ḥarb wa'l Shujāʿah ("Rules of War and Bravery") to Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, the current Sultan of Delhi [1211-1236 CE]. Written in Persian, it was a treatise on statecraft in the Persian tradition of "Mirrors for Princes" with a strong Arabic influence in content, style and terminology. For example, the specifically military chapters are largely based upon military theory as developed during the golden age of classical Islamic civilization from the 8th to 10th centuries CE. Nevertheless, these chapters also include more recent, more localised Indian and Turkish elements, plus otherwise lost aspects of military practice or theory. For example, the essentially traditional Islamic or ʿAbbāsid sections include Chapter 12 which describes "How to arrange an army firmly and to maintain that (arrangement)". The first part of Chapter 13 describes "How to bring the army to a halt and the (best) place to do this" (Nicolle, 2013: 128-9). This substantial, if rather idealised discussion of warfare includes sections on tactics, troop organization, various weapons, sieges, morale and motivation. The book also contains historical anecdotes as object lessons, many relating to military matters. Other sections reflect more recent Indo-Islamic, Indian and Turkish military ideas, as well as otherwise lost aspects of earlier military practice, plus plans of military arrays, idealised encampments and exercises in the tradition of Islamic furusīyah military training manuals (for an earlier translation of these parts see Moshtagh Khorasani, 2006).

**Fig. 1: Introduction page of the Manuscript.**

Sections which focus upon military practice in the eastern provinces of the Islamic world, including northern India, highlight cavalry manoeuvres and unit training, while others deal with various weapons. The seemingly archaic archery terminology in the Ādāb al Ḥarb probably reflect the survival of Persian, Arab and clearly pre-Turkish styles of archery in these eastern Islamic regions (McEwen, 1974: 76-99). There is also information concerning local Indian infantry archery. Although the attention which Fakhr-e Modabbir paid to infantry might result from the old-fashioned and traditional character of his work, it is also likely to have reflected their continuing importance in Indian warfare. The text certainly contains a significant amount of information about non- or pre-Islamic military traditions, technology, organization and tactics which is not found elsewhere in medieval Middle Eastern or Indian literature.

Sa'id al-Hunaydi, a specialist in the training of both horses and men in medieval Islamic cavalry training [namely furusīyah] has stated his opinion that the author of the Ādāb al Ḥarb had little understanding of the real practicalities of training cavalry horses (private emails January 2022). In fact Fakhr-e Modabbir probably repeated information from pre-existing, largely Arabic but perhaps also lost Persian furusīyah sources without necessarily fully understanding them. That appears highly likely of Fakhr-e Modabbir's passages on arms and armor, which nevertheless remain uniquely important, despite the author's apparent lack of personal experience of their use. Even so, Fakhr-i Modabbir's Ādāb al Ḥarb wa'l Shujāʿah probably soon became an outdated literary curiosity.

## Chapter 11

About the properties and advantages of all weapons and their Uses (Page numbers from A.S. Khwānsārī [ed.], Ādāb al Ḥarb wa'l Shujāʿah [Tehran 1969] given on the left in brackets)

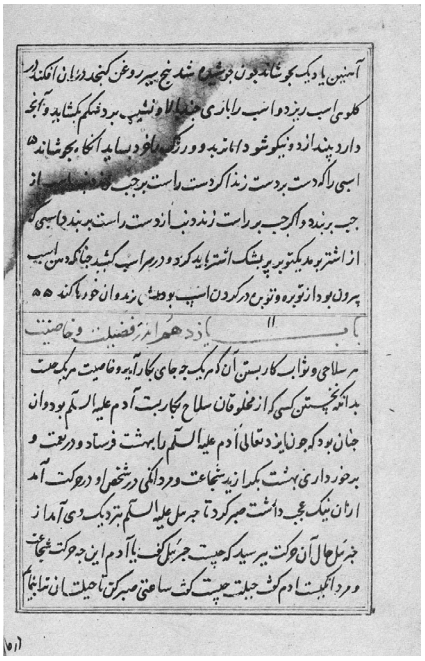

**Fig. 2: One of the pages of chapter 11.**

(257 from line 14) – Jamshīd [Jamshīd was the fourth shāh or ruler of the mythological Pīshdādiyān dynasty who are believed to have ruled the world in primordial times before being reduced to the Iranian lands] invented the tīgh (sword, تیغ) [the most common word for a sword in medieval Persian literature, sometimes referring specifically to the blade] which was evidence of his intelligence and dignity, for which all the peoples of the world are grateful. He worked for a hundred years, extracting

(258) Iron from the mountain mines to make a sword, and the shamshīr (sword or its blade, شمشیر) [A term normally referring to the entire sword, and virtually synonymous with the Arabic word sayf (سیف). It later came to refer more specifically to a curved sabre] inspired more fear and awe than other weapons. Of all arms in battle the sword is supreme as the weapon of brave warriors. Yet it is a dormant weapon until it is shaken/wielded and awakened. If not shaken beforehand, it can fail and break [Perhaps indicating that an otherwise cold and brittle blade could be warmed by being shaken and flexed]. If someone claims to have escaped unscathered from amidst a thousand [enemy] men and nobody was equal [to him], it can only be a man with a shamshīr (sword, شمشیر). The Prophet, peace be upon him, stated that "Paradise is under the shadow [protection] of swords", and the status of the sword is higher than that of any [other] weapon. Even when they [men] conquer lands and states with other weapons, they say that these were taken by the sword. Moreover, there are many types of tīgh (sword, تیغ): chīnī (Central Asian/Chinese, چینی), rūsī (Rus/ Russian روسی), khazarī (Khazari, Caspian, خزری), rūmī ("Roman", meaning Byzantine, رومی), farangī

(Frankish, meaning western or central European, فرنگی), yamānī (Yemeni, یمانی), sulaymānī (Sulaymani [meaning unclear in this context], سلیمانی), shāhī (royal/imperial or perhaps relating to the pre-Islamic Hindu-Shāhī dynasty [c.822-1026 CE] of eastern Afghanistan and northern Pakistan, شاهی), ᶜAlā'ī (superior or high-quality, علایی), Hindī (Indian, هندی) and Kashmīrī (Kashmiri, کشمیری). All of the [these] swords were famous but Indian swords are the best, have the best pattern (gohar), and are the sharpest. There are many types [of Indian swords]: the parālak ("excellent steel, پرالک), tarāwatah (refreshed, perhaps in this context meaning quenched during the forging process, تراوته), rohīnā (best [Indian] steel, روهینا), maqbarūmān ("tomb" or excavated, perhaps in this context chiseled, مقبرومان), gohar parimagas (wing-fly pattern, گوهرپرمگس) which many call "waves of the sea" due to an "abundance of lines". It is the most valuable and the finest of all. There are none [other] in the entire army, treasury or arsenal of the Padeshāh (kings). The others are bākheri and surmān and turmān.

(259) Parālak, tarāwatah, rohinā and sea waves can only be found in the land of Hindustan. These blades are sharper than other blades because they are drier and further if they make them bigger, they become fatter/oilier (more flexible) and they cause big wounds. In the regions of Khorāsān, Iraq, they can encounter more bākheri. But these [referring to bākheri blades)] do not have good patterns (gohar) but they are oily/fat (flexible) and break less upon causing wounds. There is another sword in India called benāh بناه made from a product used by master smiths by using narmāhan نرم‌آهن [soft iron], copper, and silver. The silver causes larger patterns. The wound inflicted by this kind of sword does not heal easily. Parālak ("excellent steel, پرالک), tarāwtah (refreshed, perhaps in this context meaning quenched during the forging process, تراوته), rohīnā (best [Indian] steel, روهینا), gohar parimagas (fly-wing pattern, گوهرپرمگس) and maqabarūmān ("tomb" or excavated, perhaps in this context chiselled, مقبرومان) are suitable for the sword belts and the saddle-swords [carried beneath the saddle] of Padishāhs [kings]. And the Afghans use more surmān and turmān.

In the fortress called Kūraj close to the banks [literally the "mud"] of the waters of the Sind [river], close to Kodur and [here] if one of the master blacksmiths and sword-smiths will make [forge] a tīgh (تیغ, sword [blade]) he takes two small ingots/billets of iron and steel and heats them and twists [together], one to the right and one to the left. He then covers them in the clay. Then he places them in an oven and bellows them for one night and one day so that both billets are heated and molten together and become hard. Then he removes the mud and makes/forges a blade and shapes it. After polishing it and adding the ingredients [dāru: this is medicament but all crucible steel texts refer to the added material to the crucible charge or for polishing liquid as dāru], its pattern (gohar)

appears like the leaves of a date palm. It is very fine and people of Rāngān (unidentified, رانـگان; perhaps a mistranscription of Zāngān in north-western Iran, زانـگان), Takharān (unidentified, تکهران) and tribal people take this type of swords with great pleasure. This sword wounds effectively [For a better-known and more accurate description of this forging process, see Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī's Al-Suyūf wa 'Ajnāsuhā [ed. & trans. R.G. Hoyland & B. Gilmour], Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking: Kindi's treatise "On swords and their kinds" Oxford 2006, passim)].

The qalāchūrī (now identified as a curved sabre, قلاچوری) is the weapon of the Turks and those who fight with the nīzah (spear, نیـزه) [Though known earlier, the qalāchūr probably spread westward from its original Central Asian homeland during the 11th century CE (Allan, 1979]: 90). A sword seemingly known as the qaljūrī was known in 10th century Fāṭimid Egypt (Beshir 1970: 67-70) while a weapon known as a qarāchul was used in the Qarā Khānid state (840-1212 CE), in the 10th century (Allan, 1979: 90). Some sort of link with the Turkish word Kilij or Qilich, which undoubtedly referred to a single-edged and normally curved sabre, seems logical if not inevitable, but has sometimes been disputed]. It is longer than a shamshir. It (the qalāchūrī) is curved because they do not want it to lose its width (effectiveness) upon inflicting wounds. Its wound [injury caused] is more serious because of the curvature and the sharper it becomes. If the nīzah (spear, نیـزه) fails or breaks, it [the pointed and slightly curved qalāchūrī sabre] can be used like a spear as well as a sword [It is interesting to note that sword-armed 19th and early 20th century British cavalry were trained to charge with their sabres thrust horizontally forward, their bodies also leaning forward to extend their reach. Like so many other 19th century British cavalry tactics, this practise appears to have been learned in India].

The nāchakh (ناچـخ, battle-axe with a large half-moon or crescent-shaped blade or perhaps hammer axe) is the weapon of the Padeshāh [this word means "king"] which can be used in battle against friends [fellow Muslims] or enemies [infidels] [On a later page Fakhr-e Modabbir Mubarākshāh seems to suggest that the nāchakh was of Indian origin and came into use towards the end of the Ghaznawid era (Khwānsārī, A.S. 1969: 272. However, al-Ṭarsūsī, writing for Sultan Saladin in Egypt in the latter part of the 12th century CE, describes a weapon he calls a nājikh as being of Persian origin, and having a semi-circular blade sometimes inlaid with gold or silver. He considered it highly effective against enemy infantry, having a blade one hand-span in length and a width of one fitr, the span between the tips of the thumb and index finger when stretched apart (Ṭarsūsī, 1947-8: 118 & 240). This axe continued to be used for several centuries, judging by Islamic manuscript illustration from the 14th century and later.]. Its mohreh (rounded back) can be used instead of a gorz (mace, گـرز). And the enemy [infidel] is struck with the [sharp] front side of the nāchakh instead of using a shamshīr (sword). The deshneh (dagger, دشـنه) is the usual weapon of the ayārīshgān (brave people) and soldiers and thiefs [On later pages, Fakhr-e Modabbir Mubarākshāh states that the

deshneh was amongst the weapons commonly used in Iraq and Khūrāsān, amongst the Ṭāhirids (821-873 CE), Sāmānids (819-999 CE) and Ghaznawids (Khwānsārī, 1969: 266-7). The term was commonly used by Ferdawsī for a close-combat dagger in his Shāhnāmah, while in early 12th century Syria Usāmah ibn Munqidh recalled that an amīr kept a dushnīy dagger in his khuff boot during battle (Usāmah ibn Munqidh 1930: 51-2 & [tr. P.H. Hitti] Memoires of an Arab-Syrian Gentlemen Princeton 1929: 80).

The katārah (a type of weapon, possibly a short sword or a large punch-dagger, کتاره) is the weapon of Indians (literally Hindus) and those without fear and and traitors [Many decades ago, Holstein suggested that a dagger or punch-dagger with a crosspiece grip might have been known in the 7th century eastern Indian region of Orissa (Contribution à l' Étude des Armes Orientales, Inde et Archipel Malais, Paris n.d., 74). More recently it has been confirmed that the katar, or at least a weapon with a horizontal crosspiece grip, can be seen on carved stone reliefs from 10th century Orissa (Nordlunde, 2013: 71-80). This weapon's association with assassins in the minds of many Muslims is confirmed by Ibn Batutta's well-known account of the killing of a Muslim amīr named Badr, the governor of ʿAlābūr, by Hindu villagers (Ibn Battuta, 1994: 787). The shil (light javelin, شـل) [Also written as شـیل. Other sources indicate that the shil was often used from elephant-back, from five to ten of these small and light javelins sometimes being held in the left hand and thrown with the right (Maulānā Minhaj al-Din, 1881: 461). It might also have had three barbs, rather than the three points sometimes suggested (Khan, 1950: 109)] and zūpīn (javelin, a short throwing spear, زوپیـن) [The zūpīn, zūbīn or zhūpīn was a distinctive weapon, closely associated with the peoples of Daylam in northern Iran, amongst whom it also had a ceremonial function. It means a javelin. The zūpīn may have been synonymous with the Arab mizrāq (C.E. Bosworth, 1965-55: 149-50). It seems normally to have been used on foot (Firdawsī, 1877-80] passim) but could also be used on horseback, for example during the lucab cavalry exercise in late 10th century Syria (Ibn al-Qalānisī, 1980: 14). It was wielded as a spear rather than being thrown in 11th century north-western Iran (Ayyūqī, 1970: verse 328) and was still associated with Daylamis when they were enlisted as a far away as Egypt during the Fāṭimid period (Beshir Ibrahim Beshir, 1970: 47-9). To a perhaps lesser extent it was also more generally associated with Afghanistan and, with a slight variation of its name, with Armenia (Bosworth, 1965-55] loc. cit.). It may even have been known as far west as al-Andalus (Millán Crespo, 2001: 569-578). ] are the weapons of Afghans and Indians [Hindus] and those who also have blades/swords. After they throw shil and zūpīn, if they prove to be ineffective, they use their swords to fight.

The bīlkesh (obscure form of probable staff weapon, literally "shovel breaker" or "loin destroyer", بیـل کـش) and nīm neyzeh (half-sized spear, نیـم نیـزه) are the weapons of infantry and [also by ] people of distinction who have separ chakh (battle-shield or large shield, سـپر چـخ) and gerdeh (round shield, گـرده) and are [stationed or on guard]

upon the gateways of fortifications.The dahrah (dagger, probably curved, sickle-like دهره) and khesht (javelin, probably of the heavy type, خشت) and dūrbāsh (probably large-bladed staff weapon with a two-pronged sperhead, دورباش) are the weapons of bodyguards and those who protect the Padishāh (king) and keep enemies away from him.

The neyzeh (lance, نیزه) is the weapon of the Turks and Arabs and is a "wakeful" weapon because it can be grasped immediately [Although the Persian term neyzeh is generally considered to have been synonymous with the Arabic term rumḥ, and was even used when referring to a European knight's lance in late 12th century Anatolia (Ibn Bibī, 1889: 32-3 & 75-6), written sources make it clear that the nīzah could also be thrown from horseback as a javelin (Firdawsī, 1877-80: 113; Ayyūqī, 1970: verse 1153). It could be decorated with one or more coloured pennons (Firdawsī, 1877-80: 369-370) and that the infantry version might be nine cubits 9 (approximately 4.5 m.) long].

(261) The protection of horsemen is bargostovān (horse-armor, گستوان) [Gostowān, more commonly written as bargustowān was the usual Persian term for horse armor during the medieval period, and is generally considered to have been almost synonymous with the Arabic word tijfāf. If these two horse armors were indeed the same, or at least very similar, then the gostowān in this context was usually of quilted or thick felt construction. However, the most elaborate and heavier forms sometimes included metal scale or lamellar elements. Fully lamellar horse armors of rawhide, hardened leather and even metal construction, frequently seen in later medieval Persian and related styles of manuscript illustration, may already have been used in the eastern and Central Asian Islamic lands, but only became common and perhaps more widespread following the Mongol invasions (Nicolle, 2017). The Arabised Persian term bark ustawān (برک أستوان) was used for an apparently steel horse-armor in 14th century Mamlūk Egypt (Ayalon, 1961: 48). The word bargostowān was sometimes also used for elephant armor (Ferdawsī, 1877-80: 480; Digby, 1971: 50-3).] and if someone claims that one man broke or faced a thousand horsemen in battle, he can only have been armed with the neyzeh (lance, نیزه). Amongst the Arabs the [types of] heavy nīzah include the nīzah sumayrī (نیزه سمیری) associated with [strong?] men, and the nīzah rudayni (نیزه ردینی) [associated with?] with brave man. In all battles both of them [both types] were celebrated. Among the villages of Bahrayn [then referring to a substantial section of the Persian Gulf coast of the Arabian Peninsula] is Khuṭṭ [or Khaṭṭ] (خط) from which comes the nīzah khatti (Khaṭṭi spear, نیزه خطّی) Khaṭṭ was established in the 3rd century by Ardashir I, founder of the Sassanid Empire, and became a major lance production and marketing center from the 9th to the 14th centuries. Although there is no specific evidence of such weapons being made in Khaṭṭ prior to the 9th century, it is likely that they were (İbrahim Duman, 2022: 307).]. In Khūrāsān

and the two Iraqs [now approximately Iraq and western Iran] most lances are made of willow wood and many are light. No weapon is lighter and easier [to use] in war and less tiring. The sinān (blade, سنان) is the same as [that of] the nīzah at making a wound but generally light weapons are less effective in war. You can strike well with the blade and the [pointed] butt but if you want to knock a man [opponent] from his saddle the [this] spear will fail and will break. And the horseman [using this nīzah] might wobble [?] and fall [from his saddle]. But there is no spear better than the Indian spear of which there are two types, [made of] male and female reeds [bamboo]. In the male version the core [central part] of the bamboo is hollow and long and heavy and twisting [flexible?] and will cause the horseman problems and even torment because of the weight. The female bamboo will be good and hollow and even if it is light it will not flex and become lifeless if the rider is agile and well trained. [However] He is not well educated unless he knows the movements [in the maydān or training ground] and royal maydān manoeuvres and [those of] Rustam, Isfandiyār, Farāsiyāb and the maydān of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him,

(262) and and Zubayr ᶜAwām [Zubayr ibn al-ᶜAwwām, an early Islamic military leader, born c.594, died c.655 CE] who was powerful both on horseback and on foot. To accomplish [succeed] in any combat you can overcome any opponent, good or bad, with properly learned skill. If you drill the correct hole into the bamboo lance and heat the lance blade and bind it on with sinews and in battle attack [with this] all will avoid you and be put to flight [The possibility of the sinān or blade coming off in battle was mentioned in the Shāhnāmah (Firdawsī, 1877-80: 1304), and was probably not an uncommon occurrence].

The separ (shield, سپر) [The world separ was the generic Persian term for a shield during the medieval period and was often used with another word indicating the material from which the shield was made, its size, shape, decoration or specific purpose] and tabarzīn (saddle axe or great axe, تبرزین) [the word tabarzīn is almost invariably translated as saddle axe because tabar clearly means axe and zīn means saddle. However, Dr. Shihab al-Sarraf has suggested that, at least from the end of the Sasanian period to the late 10th century CE, the term might more correctly be translated as a heavy or large-bladed war-axe, without a specific association with saddles (Sarraf, 2002: 162-167) are, thus becoming 167)] are.

The sāreᶜ or sārikhᶜ (an unknown term, ساریخ، سارع, perhaps related to the flight-mace or war-flail of both western steppe peoples or the comparable kisten of Russia. [For a discussion of the flight-mace amongst the nomadic peoples of south-eastern Europe and the western steppes, see Gorelik, 2002: 134 & pl. XI-8). A Turco-Tartar origin for the Russian term kisten has also been noted (Warner, 1965: 230). It is also mentioned in the Lexicon of Mo'in.] is the weapon [tool] of shepherds [sheep nomads] and herdsmen.

The iron-bound [or iron-tipped] kaṯḥī (unknown, کتهی) is the weapon [tool] of the camel driver.

The tabar (axe, تبر) is the weapon [tool] of shepherds and the Jatts [an Indian people] [The fact that Fakhr-e Modabbir dismisses the term tabar or ṭabar as merely the weapon or tool of shepherds surely adds weight to the argument that, in his eyes, the specifically military tabarzīn referred to any, or or leaſt moſt, forms of war-axe. However, the Jatts are generally considered to have been the same as the Zutt whose original home was in the Indus Delta and along the coaſt towards Multan. They were amongſt a number of potentially warlike Indian peoples who had been mentioned in a military context, fighting both againſt and in support of Islamic forces since the early Islamic period (Bazmee Ansari, 1965: 488-489; ʿAthamina, 1998: 355-358). It is also important to note that the terms tabar or ṭabar had been used for clearly war axes in 10th century Iran (Firdawsī, op. cit., vol. 2: 303-304 & 382) and would be used for infantry axes in Mamlūk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria during the 14th century (Ansarī, 1961: 108)].

The dās (sickle or bill, داس) is the weapon [tool] of farmers.

Jawāhah (jewels [treasure], جواهـه) are the weapons of bashiyān (unclear, بشـیان) and botrāhiyān (unclear, بتراهیـان) [This obscure sentence might be suggeſting that the use of jawāhah, meaning wealth used to bribe or conciliate a foe, was the beſt weapon because it avoided bloodshed, or that it was the resort of the "fat" [lazy] or those already defeated and thus weak].

The bīl (spade, بیل) is the weapon [tool] of the gardener and of ditch-diggers [literally water-diſtributors].

The tīshah (pick-axe, تیشه) is the weapon [tool] of the carpenter [wood cutter] [Here the text surely emphasises the fact that the tīshah was a form of axe that was to be used as a working tool rather than a weapon. Nevertheless, it has sometimes been interpreted as a battle axe (Scanlon, G.T., in the "Glossary" to his edition and translation of Ansarī, op. cit., 129), even specifically one with a double-pointed of double-edged blade like the ancient Roman bipennis (Rehatsek, 1880: 225-226)].

The kārd (knife, کارد) is the weapon [tool] of the butcher [Kard is a generic Persian term, and as such would enter various Slavonic languages with almoſt no change in meaning. But, although the text here makes it clear that the kard is simply a working knife, the text will subsequently use the word in a specifically military context as the kārdhū-i bozorg infantry dagger (see: page 330)].

The kaland (shovel or pick-axe, کلنـد) and lihī (unknown, perhaps in this context a slender tool to cut free another object, لحی) are the weapons of those who plant flowers.

(263) The ʿaṣā (mace, cudgel or ſtaff, عصـا) is the weapon of the righteous [pious] and world travellers [The ʿaṣā appears to have been a ſtraightforward cudgel or mace, sometimes specifically of iron and weighing twelve raṭl (Ṭabarī, 1879-1901, vol. 2, 927; Fries, 1921: 52). It thus weighed around 4.875 kg. if the weight was in

Iraqi raṭl, or an impossible 22.2 kg. if it was in Syrian raṭl (the conversion rates were kindly given to me by Shihab al-Sarraf). Although its popularity seems to have fallen following the decline of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, it was nevertheless stated to be a majority weapon amongst German Crusaders in the late 12th century (ᶜImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahanī, 1888: 265, Al Fatḥ al Qussī fī'l Fatḥ al Qudsī. 1972: 232), and by the "nimble rearguard" of a Ḥafṣid army in mid-14th century North Africa (ʿUmārī, Ibn Faḍl Allah al- 1973: 233). Shihab al-Sarraf is of the opinion that the term ᶜaṣā referred primarily to the handle or haft of the weapon, which was why it was sometimes necessary to specify that it was of iron, since a mace-head would almost invariably have been of metal. Furthermore, this handle or haft might be highly decorated, perhaps even to the point of becoming impractical as a fighting weapons, while so much metal was involved in the making of an iron ᶜaṣā that several other weapons could reportedly be made from its recycled material (Sarraf, 2002: 152-158). ᶜAsā shamshir was a cane sword, perhaps a training weapon comparable to the shinai used in the Japanese martial art of Kendo].

The dīwār kan (wall breaker [?], دیوار کن) is the weapon of the carpenter and oil maker [olive presser?] and potter [?].

The gorz (type of mace, گرز) [Gorz is a general term for mace in Persian regardless of its shape. In combinations it describes different types. The gorz was characterized by having a knobbed or otherwise distinctively shaped head (Sarraf, 2002: 158-159). It was often associated with the closest guards attendant upon a ruler or was held by a ruler himself (Anon., 1841: 263-5). Al-Ṭabarī, recorded that it could be thrown at a foe (Ṭabarī, 1879-1901: vol. 2, 1927), while the Shāhnāmeh stated that it could have an animal-shaped head (Firdawsī, op. cit. [1877-80], 49 & 1133). It could be hung from the user's belt (Ibid:, 106), from his saddle or beneath the girth (Ibid:, 302,), and could be made specifically of steel (gurz pūlād, گرز پولاد) (Ibid:, 424 & 1135. A mid-13th century Turkish Anatolian source mentioned that it could be held in a ṭirfil (طرفل) sheath or scabbard (ʿArīf ʿAlī of Toḳat, 1960: 76 & 261) while Fakhr-i Mudabbir himself stated that Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna had a training gurz and a combat gurz with differing weights; being 70 manī and 40 manī respectively. Unfortunately the variability of the man as an measure of weight varied so much that is is not really possible to convert in this context (Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubarākshāh [ed. A.S. Khwānsārī], op. cit., 268). This form of mace was also known by an Arabic version of its name, khurz (خرز) and khurzah dabbūs (خرزه دبّوس) in 12th century Egypt where its iron head, the construction of which was "secret", was believed to possess almost magical qualities, especially when dipped in "special herbs", perhaps during the casting or forging process (Ṭarsūsī, 1947-8: op. cit., 117 & 139).] and chāk (type of mace, literally "split" or "rend", چاک) [a descriptive term] and khūd shikan (type of mace, helmet-breaker, خود شکن) [a descriptive term] and

belkā takīnī (type of mace, literally "bunch of unripe grapes", بلکا تکینی) [a descriptive term] are suitable for persons who have confident faith in the strength of their [own] arm and against those who wear the jawshan (lamellar cuirass, جوشن) [see Nicolle, 2002: 179-221 & pls. XIII-1 to XIII-45] and khaftān (in this context a thickly quilted coat, خفتان) [Medieval Middle Eastern sources made little attempt to differentiate between the khaftān as a civilian coat, and the khaftān as a form of cloth or cloth-covered armor. In the latter case it was almost certainly a thickly padded or quilted version of the ordinary coat, serving as an example of "soft armor", but was presumably shaped or tailored in essentially the same style. Often it appears to have been worn on its own, when it was stated to be vulnerable to certain types of arrows (McEwen, 1974: op. cit., 242), but sometimes it was clearly used as padding beneath other more rigid, heavier or simply less comfortable protections (Firdawsī, op. cit. 1877-80: 485, 694 & 948). Also a mid-14th century military training manual from the Mamlūk Sultanate was somewhat dismissive of the khaftān, stating that when trying to identify or solve the problem of damage to an iron armor, "As for the khaftan, which is the most usual substitute, this does little to keep out the heat or cold and is of little real use. Those that think otherwise are misled in this matter" (Nicolle, 1994: 89; Aqsarā'ī, 1956: 145). Other sources seem to suggest that the military khaftān could incorporate metal elements (Firdawsī, op. cit. 1877-80: 23) while it has also been suggested that the military khaftān might incorporate leather (Gorelik, M.Y., "Oriental Armour of the Near and Middle East from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries as shown in works of art", in Elgood, 1979: 12-13) or be stuffed with camel-hair (Schwarzlose, 1886: 328-9). A source which emphasises the khaftān's importance during siege warfare, when it was presumably worn on foot, might hint at its sometimes cumbersome character (Ibn Bibī, op. cit., 55 & 92).] and zereh (mail hauberk, زره) [this is the standard Persian term for a mail hauberk and is considered to be synonymous with the Arabic dirᶜ. Its invention was again credited to the mythological ancient Iranian ruler Jamshīd. It came in a variety of sizes, both short and long-sleeved, with Ferdowsi stating that a zereh could or usually did incorporate band straps and gereh knots or buttons (Firdawsī, op. cit. [1877-80], 368-9 and 818), while the rūmī zereh or Byzantine-style left no part of the wearer exposed (Firdawsī, 1877-80: 105). A medieval Turkish source from Anatolia agreed that a zereh covered part of the wearer's face (ʿArīf ʿAlī of Tokat, 1960, 367-8, vol. 1; 185, vol. 2). On the other hand, a zereh-i dawūdī in the mid-14th century Delhi Sultanate was said to incorporate forty-four pieces of steel, which sounds more like a form of composite armor now known as mail-and-plate (Khan, 1950: 113). But this term is also used in Persian sources to refer to riveted mail armor, see Moshtagh Khorasani, 2010] and jay-w-r-k (or jīwarak, unknown, possibly a protection for the body, جیورک) [The chapter on archery in the Ādāb al Ḥarb includes a description of a battle between an army led by Sultan Masᶜūd of Ghazna and that of Sandibāl, grandson of the Hindu ruler of Kabul. According to the text; "A Turk in the Muslim army killed Sandibāl by shooting with a poplar arrow

through the shield held by servants in front of him and through his jīwarak" (Khwānsārī, 1969: 255-6; McEwen, 1974: 88-9). Edward McEwen suggested that the word or name incorporated the Hindi [Sanskit] term jīvrā meaning life or soul, and would therefore be a form of armor of Indian origin or at least developed within an Indian context (Ibid:). It might even be the small and otherwise mysterious thorax and abdomen covering cuirass occasionally shown in temple carvings and on vīragallu "hero stone" memorials from 12th-13th century Hoysala southern India.]. If a man has all [the full panoply, all types] of weapons but does not have a shamshīr (sword, شمشیر), his armament [military equipment] is defective and incomplete, but if he has only a shamshīr (sword, شمشیر) his panoply is considered complete and not defective

## Chapter 19: How to array an army and deploy it for battle

This interpretation was made jointly with the late Prof. Clifford Edmund Bosworth around 1980, when the author of the present article (David Nicolle) was working on his PhD thesis at Edinburgh University. He had attempted to make a rudimentary translation of pages 330 to 333 in A.S. Khwānsārī's edition of the Ādab al-ḥarb wa'l-Shujāʿah, which he then sent to Prof. Bosworth who then very kindly corrected - or more truthfully rewrote and retranslated - the pages in question. Although David Nicolle has subsequently included elements of Prof. Bosworth's translation in various largely non-academic publications, the complete text has not, as far as we know, been published elsewhere.

(330) Know that for this purpose it is necessary to have the first rank consisting of armed infantrymen with silāḥ (weaponry, سلاح) with a separhā-e farākh (broad shield, فراخ سپرهای) and ḥarbah / harbeh (javelin or spear, حربه) [The word ḥarbah appears in both Arabic and Persian sources, seeming to have been used for both a javelin and a spear, or perhaps it originally referred to a weapon which would be both wielded in close combat as a spear or thrown as a javelin. Descriptions of them going "to and fro" in battle might indicate throwing or thrusting, as do references to their shafts sometimes breaking in the process (ʿAabd Allāh Sulaymān al-Jarbūc, 1974: 229). The ceremonial use of a ḥarbah as a mark of status or rank (Canard, 1951: 389), in procession (Sourdel, 1960: 144) or instead of a flag by the governor of Khūrāsān (Ṭabarī, 1991), does not tell us much. However, Ibn Hudayl, writing in 14th century al-Andalus but largely drawing upon traditional sources, stated that the ḥarbah was longer than a nayzak, miṭrad or mizrāq and had a larger blade (Ibn Hudayl al-Andalusī, 1924: 242-3); Ibn Hudayl al-Andalusī; 1997: 128-129). ], and tīr-āndāzān (another word for "archers") (literally "throwing arrows", اندازان تیر) [although this term seems to be self-explanatory, it is possible that it was intended as a generic term for any "missile" weapons, including both hand-thrown javelins and arrows shot from a bow, rather than a specific form of

light, arrow-like javelin. Nevertheless, a reference to a tarkash quiver only being held by the third rank of serried infantry (see: below) might indicate that any archers in the first rank held their arrows in a different way, perhaps thrust into the ground in front of their feet as would be normal practice for later medieval western European archers, most notably English so-called longbowmen during the Hundred Years War]. This is because their role is defensive. The second rank should be of infantry wearing a jawshan (lamellar cuirass, جوشن) and khaftān (coat, almost certainly thickly quilted in this military context, خفتان), and be armed with a shamshīr (sword, شمشیر), separ (shield, سپر) and neyzeh, (spear, نیزه). The third rank should be of infantry armed with a shamshīr (sword, شمشیر), tarkesh (quiver, for arrows, ترکش) [the Persian and latterly Turkish word tarkesh was used for the quivers of men both on foot and horseback. It does not seem to have differentiated between an early style of vertically carried, almost tube-like quiver which normally held arrows with their flight uppermost, and later box-like or broad quivers typically used by horse-archers in both the Islamic, Central and Inner Asian regions, which normally held arrows with their points uppermost. Why they are only mentioned for the third rank in Ādāb al Ḥarb, with no specific mention of bows, is unexplained. Perhaps any archers in the first rank, with their tīr-āndāzān, lacked a substantial quiver which, flapping around their legs, would have been a dangerous encumbrance in their more exposed position], chūbhā-e āhan-basta (iron-bound staves, چوب‌های آهن بسته) [The words chūbhā-i āhan-basta have been thought to refer to a particular form of mace or club. However, in this context it might be more logical to interpret them as wooden stakes, either thrust into the ground or ready to be driven into the ground to form some sort of palisade, and either strengthened with iron bands or perhaps linked to one another by chains. Such a form of field fortification could be found across much of the medieval world amongst the most organised, best equipped and most disciplined armies, from China to Europe and certainly including the Middle East, India and West Asia] and kārdhāye-e bozorg (large daggers, کاردهای بزرگ) [These were clearly fighting knives, perhaps khanjar-style large daggers. The origins of the latter are almost certainly to be found in Central Asia amongst Turkish settled and nomadic peoples. The khanjar was soon adopted by Muslim troops, particularly in the eastern and to a lesser extent the central regions of the medieval Islamic world (Nicolle, 2022: 1-19). However, the word itself eventually came to refer to a variety of large daggers or fighting knives, the styles of which were often closely linked to a specific region or people, and were adopted as a form of cultural identification. In Persian, khanjar is used to refer to double-edged ones and kard to single-edged ones.]. The fourth rank should consist of ᶜArīfān bāpayād dagān (junior infantry officers, عریفان باپیادگان), with men armed with daraqeh (small shield, درقه) [the daraqah was usually made entirely of leather,

though often with a horizontal wooden grip, and was normally held in the fist rather than on the forearm. It was usually characterised by a somewhat bulbous or domed profile (Hamdānī, 1931: 42). It was associated with both cavalry (Amari, 1880-1: 310, vol. 1) and infantry (Ansarī, op. cit., 107), and could be made of the hide of onager or ox (Ibn Hudayl, 1924: 269-71; Hamadhanī, 1949: 32-3; Buttin, 1960: 411), or elephant (Masʿūdī, al- 1861-77: 18, vol. 2, 18). Occasionally the daraqah may have incorporated some sort of wooden frame (Gabrieli, 1968: 709-711), though this is unclear. A reference to a notably well armored Byzantine champion having a daraqah hadīd, made or iron or more likely reinforced with iron, probably reflected its shape and size (Masʿūdī, al- 345-9, vol. 2). It would also be adopted by the Byzantines as the dorka, being especially associated with sailors and marines (Haldon, 1975: 34 n.114), and in medieval and post-medieval Spain as the adarga], shamshīr (sword, شمشیر) and ʿamūd (mace, عمود).[1]

Between such ranks there should be a wide space so that each rank of soldiers is able to see what is happening, so that there may be a way through for the cavalry, and so that the warriors in the forefront can go forward and get through.

Warriors are of four gorrūh (companies, گروه) [perhaps the word gorrūh might be translated as "types" in this context]. The first are the dare-devil warriors in the forefront, or mobārizūn (champions, مباریزون), who seek fame in the battle. These should be placed on the right wing. The second group are the outstandingly firm and steadfast troops in battle. These should be placed in the rear-guard. The third group are the [infantry] archers who may be necessary as a supporting force, and who bear a separ (shield, سپر) as protection for themselves and who get down on their knees to lose their arrows. These troops should be placed on the left wing. The fourth group comprises the non-combatant [literally ornamental or auxiliary], element of the army, such as ʿalamdārān (standard-bearers, علمداران), those holding short miṭrad (short spear, مطرد) [Although the terms miṭrad and miṭrād are seemingly of Arab origin and are most commonly found in Arabic rather than Persian sources, al-Jāḥiẓ of Basra writing in the early 9th century CE, stated that the miṭrād was not used by Arabs, by whom he almost certainly meant the Arab bedouin (Jāḥiẓ, 1947: 14). Other sources indicate that the miṭrad was sometimes used as a form of standard by Ikhshīdid armies (Cahen, 1940: 369 & 369 n.3), as it may have been by the Ghūrids. According to Ibn Hudayl it was a short javelin, though longer than an ʿanazah, being similar to the nayzak or nīzak and mizrāq, had a shaft of light wood and a similarly light, square-section blade being specifically designed to pierce shields and armor (Ibn Hudayl, op. cit., 242-3)] [perhaps with insignia on their tips], warriors with dababah (drums, دبدبه) of the dohol (small drums, دهل) and tabīreh (kettle-drums, تبیره) kinds, zangiyāneh (probably frames of bells, زنگیانه) [The zangiyānah may have been an early version of the çevgen, a set of bells mounted on a staff which came to be known in Europe as a "jingling johnny". This distinctive feature of the Ottoman Turkish

mehter military band was then adopted by some Central European armies. In the early 9th century, Khorāsānī cavalry had regarded jaras bells as a typical feature of their own military equipment or horse harness (Jāḥiz, al- [tr. C.T. Harley-Walker], " Jāhiz of Basra to Al-Fath ibn Khāqān on the Exploits of the Turks and the Army of the Khalifate in General", 1915: 649; Jāḥiz, 1965: 19-20), though these were also used by other "non-Arabs" (Jāḥiz, 1947: 15). Whether such jaras had anything in common with the darāy bell sounded in battle in the late 10th century Persian Shāhnāmah epic is unknown (Firdawsī, 1877-80: 849; Firdawsī, 1905: 89, vol. 3). According to legend, the famous Ottoman Turkish Ṭabl-i Ali-i Osman "Great Ottoman Band," or as it is better known today the Mehterhane, began when the Seljuq Sultan of Rūm [Anatolia] recognised ʿOthmān Ghāzī, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman state, as an autonomous amīr late in the 13th century. Part of the recognition ceremony supposedly entailed sending ʿOthmān various insignia of authority, including a large kös war-drum, nekkare small double kettle-drums and a çevgen set of bells mounted on a staff], būq (type of horn sounding like a bellowing she-camel, بـوق), ṭabl (type of drum طبـل) and suchlike [for an overview of the history of military music in the medieval Islamic world see Nicolle, 2017: 44-51]. There should also be a unit of valiant and hardy men who can inspire the troops with bravery, make them keen to throw themselves into battle and give heart to the army so that it becomes intrepid and fearless. The baggage and impedimenta, the treasury, the army bazaar and the artisans should be kept in the rear but near to the center and the two wings [of the main body of the army].

## When the caliph [if present]

(331) is established in his place with his leading commanders, the arrangement should be that each group should be deployed in its allotted place with its sarhangān (field officers, سرهنگان) and with its complete array of weapons. In particular, the cavalry troop commanders, and then grooms and chākerān (attendants, چاکـران), all fully armed, should be in their designated places. The ḥājebān (generals or chamberlains, حاجبان) and khāṣṣegān (royal guards or nobles, خاصگان) must stay very close to the ruler and the army's sepahsālār (commander-in-chief, سپهسالار). The rahbarān (guides, رهبـران) who police and keep the routes open, with their aides, should be at the right side of the center. The archers, the ḥalātgarān (troops operating various mechanical devices, حلاتگـران) and naft-andāzān (naphtha throwers, نفـط انـدازان) should be at the left side of the center. The mokab dārān (men who lead the baggage train, موکـب داران), the qūdkashān (men who lead the strings of remounts, قودکشـان) and the experts with kamand-andāzān (lasso-men or throwers of scaling- ropes, کمنـد انـداران) should be close at hand. The khasakdārān (men bearing or throwing caltrops. خسـک داران) [A more detailed account of how khasak spiked calthrops should be not only be scattered ahead of an army's position, but should be attached to cords so that they could be

pulled out of the way when the army needed to advance over the same ground, can be found in Byzantine military treatises from around the same period (Leo VI, 2010: 315)], the manjanīq and ʿarādah dārān (men operating catapults and stone-throwing mangonels, منجنیق و عراده داران) [For many years the Arabic and Persian term ʿarādah was translated or interpreted as a ballista. The latter was a torsion-powered rather than beam-sling form of stone-throwing siege weapons, at least in its original Latin form. However, it is now clear that the ʿarādah was not torsion-powered, but was another form of beam-sling stone-throwing weapon (Zarḍkash, 1985, passim; Zarḍkash, 2004. There have been many publications on this question, which is still not entirely resolved (Sezgin, 2004: 96-119; Hill, 1991.405-406; Cahen 1960: 658-9; Nicolle, 2004: 268-278)], the kamand-ḥalqa-andāzān (men with scaling ladders and ropes, حلقه انداران) and the jigar-andāzān (outstandingly bold troops, literally "those who hazard their livers", جگر اندازان), are held on the right [of the center]. The animals, herds of horses, sheep and oxen, should be held away from the army. The riding camels dispersed [at pasture], the beasts carrying fodder and other loads and baggage, should be placed furthest back of all, with trusty, strong and fully-armed men looking after them.

The great generals and senior field officers, the long-experienced veterans of the army, the religious scholars, the physicians, the ruler's boon-companions and the astrologers should remain near to the monarch and the supreme commander of the army. Khādemān (servitors or eunuchs, خادمان) and slaves, both those of the ruler's personal retinue and those in general, should be placed at the right hand [of the preceding], together with the vizier and two knowledgeable, sharp-witted and experienced of [from amongst] the ruler's amīnān (trusted confidants). A second [group] of the Padishāh's (king's) jāndārān (sword-bearers, جانداران) and the negāhabānān (guards, نگاهبانان) should also be stationed on the army's right. The ruler's ḥaram (womenfolk, حرم), treasury and selāḥ (weaponry, armory, سلاح) should invariably be near the center, together with the ruler's personal kitchen. The rear-guard remains stationed behind the ranks of the [front-line] troops with its back to the main body of the army

(332) and its front placed so as to protect and watch over the army and the baggage train [namely facing to the rear]. If the [opposing] army appears before the left wing, the following deployment should be made, in the manner which they [experienced commanders] usually make for the battlefield and for war and for drawing up the ranks of troops. A field officer or general moves from the center to the right and left flanks in order to arrange and deploy the troops for battle and goes round the ṭalāyeh (scouts, طلایه) and the four fronts of the army [the center, the two wings and the rear-guard]. If the danger of attack [by the enemy] is coming from the front, one should throw forward half of the left wing towards [the opposing] line of troops,

and another half, from the right wing, so that the center is just behind them. In this way, the right and left wings and the center remain compact and close together and maintain their battle order. If battle has then to be engaged, then first of all the right wing gives battle in that place and then the rest [of the army joins in]. If the danger of attack comes from behind the army's center, it is necessary to adopt the same procedure as has been described above. If it is unclear where the threatened attack is going to come from or from which direction, the army should remain silent and calm, and scouts should be sent out. In any case, the ruler and the supreme commander who deploys the army should remain in the center, with the treasury before him, and experienced cavalrymen and infantrymen drawn up behind him, so that the ruler may have a view over all his troops.

On the actual day of battle, an issue of two days' rations of fodder, hay, bread and meat should be given out. Every cavalryman intending to give battle should carefully check his zīn (saddle, زیـن), and legām (bridle, لـگام) and selāh (weapons/arms, سـلاح), for if some failure of these should occur in the midst of the fray, he will be thrown into a distressed state and pay for it with his life. He should ensure that five things are firm and strong: the dowāl (leather straps, دوال) of the ʿenān (reins, عنان) and the rekāb (stirrups, رکیب, reading thus for rakīb), the tang (girth, تنـگ), the poshtak (various meanings, but in this context perhaps the breast-strap, or the knots which secure various straps to the saddle, پشتک) [If Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubarākshāh is correct in listing five vital elements of a war-horse's harness, and one then looks at elements or harness which are almost always present in pictorial representations of war-horses during this period, a process of elimination leaves the breast-strap missing. Thus, the pushtak seems likely to be a breast-strap. Unlike the crupper strap which was primarily intended to prevent a saddle from slipping forwards, for example when riding down a steep slope, the breast strap, while holding the saddle in position when riding up a steep slope, also took the shock of impact when a rider, his shield or indeed his saddle was struck by an opponent's lance or spear. It was therefore a major feature of a horse's war harness in virtually all cavalry cultures around the world] and hayāsah (probably a surcingle used in addition to a girth and which might go over or through the girth, هیاسـه),

(333) for a cavalryman's effectiveness depends on these things. If a pār-dum (crupper strap, پاردم) or bar-band (collar, بربند) is faulty, this is not usually a grave problem. A cavalryman should never be without a derafsh (cobbler's awl, درفش), a jawāldūz (large pack-needle, جوالدوز), a sūzan (sewing-needle, سوزن) and rīsmān (thread, ریسمان), plus a [additional] dowāl (leather strap, دوال) and rīsmān (thread, ریسمان) so that if any damage occurs to any of these pieces of equipment, he can speedily put it right and sew it up. Also, if the leather strap is not long enough, he can take some hair from the horse's tail, twist it together and sew with that.

## Conclusion

Those sections of the Ādāb al Ḥarb which focus on military practice in the eastern provinces of the Islamic world include northern India, which was then under Islamic rule. It also provides significant information about traditional, non-Islamic, military traditions, technology, organization and tactics, which is not found elsewhere in medieval Islamic literature. This again includes indigenous or traditional Indian warfare. Nevertheless, Mubarakshah's Ādāb al Ḥarb probably soon became an outdated literary curiosity.

## End Note

1. The use of the term ʿamūd in Chapter 19, but not in Chapter 11's discussion of weapons, strengthens the idea that Fakhr-e Modabbir was drawing upon different sources for these two chapters. The ʿamūd was another form of mace and the word is believed to have been of Arab origin. It would feature as a basic weapon in the 14th century Mamlūk Nihāyat al-Su'l; where it was described as unsuitable for use by cavalry against infantry armed with swords, but suitable for stampeding or panicking enemy horses, and for infantry who are attacking cavalry (Aqsarā'ī, al-, op. cit., 23 & 325). It is listed in what might be called a pecking order of weapons vis-a-vis one another (Aqsarā'ī, al-, op. cit., 44-48 & 336-338). Often mentioned in the Shāhnāmeh, one of the most interesting features mentioned in this source is the possibility that an ʿamūd could bend in battle as a result of being frequently used against hard objects such as helmets or armor (Ferdawsī, 1877-80:162, 489, vol. 2,. Al-Ṭabarī, referred to ʿamūd maces weighing 15 and 18 raṭl, just over 6 kg. and 7.3 kg. respectively if the weight was using the more likely Iraqi raṭl (Ṭabarī, op. cit., vol. 2, 966 & 1889), while al-Ṭarsūsī maintained that it caused more severe wounds than a dabbūs mace (Ṭarsūsī, [ed. & tr. C. Cahen], op. cit., tr. 139 & ed. 118). A comparable and surely related mace appeared in Indian sources as various forms of amukta (Holstein, op. cit., 108).

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# بازنگرشی دربارهٔ نام و اصطلاحات رزم و رزم‌افزارهای کتاب «آداب الحرب و الشجاعه» از فخر مدبر مبارک‌شاه (فصل‌های ۱۹ و ۱۱)

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## چکیده

«فخرالدین محمد ابن منصور مبارک‌شاه القوراشی» به سال ۱۱۵۰م. (نیمهٔ اول سدهٔ ششم هجری) به گمانی در غزنی (افغانستان کنونی) زاده شد. او به‌تدریج به خدمت دربار «قطب‌الدین ایبوک»، نخستین مملوک ترکی، یا پادشاه غلام‌های جنگجو، در شمال هند درآمد. فخرالدین در حدود سال ۱۲۲۴م. درگذشت. کتاب ایشان با عنوان آداب الحرب و الشجاعه (آئین جنگ و دلاوری)، رساله‌ای در موضوع حکومت‌داری، به‌عنوان یک دستنامه (راهنما)، برای شاهزادگان به‌شمار می‌رفت؛ کتابی اساسی دربارهٔ جنگ، تاکتیک‌ها، ساختار سپاه، رزم‌افزارهای مختلف، فن محاصره و داستان‌های بسیار تاریخی-نظامی؛ این کتاب بسیار مهم، ولی تاحدی آرمان‌گرایانه به موضوع رزم‌افزارها پرداخته است. با وجود این، فصل‌های مختلف کتاب دربردارندهٔ توصیف رزم‌افزارهای متأخر، نیز همراه با رزم‌افزارهای هندی و ترکی است. هم‌چنین این کتاب به دیدگاه‌های عملی و نظری نظامی فراموش‌شده نیز پرداخته است؛ برای مثال، باید به فصل ۱۲ اشاره کرد که کاملاً بر پایهٔ سنتی اسلامی یا همان تفکر (نظامی) عباسی است؛ آنجا که می‌نویسد: «چگونه باید ارتش را نیرومندانه فرماندهی کرد و این فرماندهی را نگه‌داشت»؛ در بخش نخست از فصل ۱۳ به توضیح این‌که «در کجا و چگونه باید به سپاه درنگ (توقف) داد» پرداخته است. برخی از فصل‌های کتاب آداب الحرب و الشجاعه آشکارا برپایهٔ ساختار نظامی‌گری عباسیان استوار است که در سدهٔ ۸-۱۰م. توسعه یافته بود؛ از این‌جمله می‌توان اشاره کرد به آن‌چه که: «چگونه می‌توان سپاه را مستقر کرد و این استقرار را حفظ کرد». دیگر بخش‌ها به بازتاب دیدگاه‌های متأخر نظامی‌گری هندی-اسلامی، هندی و ترکی، دیدگاه‌های اولیهٔ نظامی‌گری، آرایش‌های نظامی، اردوهای مناسب و تمرین بنابر سنت اسلامی سوارکاری برابر دستورالعمل‌های آموزش نظامی می‌پردازد. فصل ۱۱ که در اینجا به تفسیر و ارزیابی آن پرداخته شده، به موضوع بهره‌گیری گسترده از چگونگی آرایش رزم‌افزارها می‌پردازد. فصل ۱۹ نیز که در اینجا مورد تفسیر واقع‌شده، به چگونگی آرایش سپاه به هنگام کارزار محدود می‌شود.

**کلیدواژگان:** کمان‌وری، شمشیر، رزم‌افزار، رزم، سوارکاری، اسب.

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## مقدمه

«فخرالدین محمد ابن منصور مبارکشاه القوراشی» به سال ۱۱۵۰ م. (نیمه اول سدهٔ ششم هجری) به گمانی در غزنی (افغانستان کنونی) زاده شد. کتاب ایشان با عنوان آداب الحرب و الشجاعه (آئین جنگ و دلاوری)، رساله‌ای در موضوع حکومت‌داری برای شاهزادگان به‌شمار می‌رفت. فصل یازده که در اینجا ترجمه شده، دلیلش تمرکز آن بر دایرهٔ گسترده‌ای از رزم‌افزارها است. فصل نوزده نیز به‌دلیل اهمیت در موضوع چگونگی استقرار و چیدمان واحدهای نظامی در جنگ ترجمه شده است.

## بحث و تحلیل

فخرالدین مبارکشاه کتاب آداب حرب را به حاکم دهلی با نام «شمس الدین ایلتتمیش» (۱۲۱۱-۱۲۳۶ م.) پیشکش کرده است. مباحث نظامی کتاب بر پایهٔ ساختار نظامی دوران عباسی با گسترش‌های انجام‌شده بر آن به سده‌های ۸-۱۰م. را شامل می‌شود. با این‌وجود، نمی‌توان از تأثیر تاکتیک‌ها و دیدگاه‌های نظامی ترکی و هندی بر کتاب چشم پوشید؛ برای مثال: باید به فصل ۱۲ اشاره کرد که کاملاً بر پایهٔ سنتی اسلامی یا همان تفکر (نظامی) عباسی است؛ آنجا که می‌نویسد: «چگونه باید ارتش را نیرومندانه فرماندهی کرد و این فرماندهی را نگه‌داشت».

## فصل یازدهم

کتاب در صفحهٔ ۲۵۷ از سطر ۱۴ به رزم‌افزار چون «تیغ» و «شمشیر» و پیشینهٔ ساخت آن به‌دست «جمشید» پرداخته است. در ادامه، نویسندهٔ کتاب به انواع تیغ‌ها اشاره دارد: تیغ چینی، روسی، خزری، رومی، فرنگی، یمانی، سلیمانی، علایی، هندی، کشمیری...؛ می‌نویسد: همهٔ این تیغ‌ها بسیار خوبند، اما تیغ هندی با ساخت از فلز گوهر تیزترین است. از شمار تیغ‌های هندی می‌توان نام‌برد: «پرالک، تراوته، روهینا، مقبرومان و گوهر پرمگس» که بهترین و گران‌بهاترین است. تیغ‌های دیگر نیز در ارتش کاربرد دارد که باید به نوع «باخری»، «سورمم» و«تورمام» اشاره کرد. تیغ‌های پرالک، تراوته و روهینا تنها در هندوستان یافت می‌شود؛ آن‌ها بسی کارآمدتر و زخم (وارده) آن‌ها بسی عمیق‌تر است. از دیگر رزم‌افزار هندی باید به «بناه» اشاره کرد که از فلزی به‌نام «نرم آهن» که با ترکیب با مس و نقره ساخته می‌شود.

«قلاچوری» رزم‌افزار ترک‌ها است که بیشتر «نیزه‌وری» می‌دانند. اگر نیزهٔ آن‌ها در جنگ بشکند (از دست برود)، آن‌ها از قلاچوری استفاده می‌کنند که چون شمشیر و نیزه (هر دو) کاربرد دارد. «ناچخ» رزم‌افزار شاهان است که دارای سر جنگی به‌سان شکل ماه یا هلال ماه است.

«دشنه» رزم‌افزار گروه «عیاریشگان» (عیاران)، سربازان و دزدان است. «کتاره» رزم‌افزار هندوان و بی‌باکان است. «شل» (زوبین سبک) و «زوبین» رزم‌افزار افغانان و هندوان که همراه خود شمشیر نیز دارند. رزم‌افزارهای «بیل کش» و «نیم نیزه» از آن پیاده نظام، آن گروه که «سپر چخ» (سپرجنگی) و «گرده» (سپر گرد/مدور) نیز حمل می‌کنند. رزم‌افزارهایی چون: «دهره» (نوعی شمشیر)، «خشت» (نوعی زوبین) و «دورباش» (احتمالاً نوعی رزم‌افزار با تیغهٔ بزرگ و نوعی سر نیزهٔ دو شاخ)، مخصوص محافظان شاهان به‌منظور دور نگاه‌داشتن (ایجاد فاصله با) دشمنان است. «نیزه» رزم‌افزار اعراب و ترکان است و اسلحه‌ای همواره آماده در هر زمان برای استفاده است. «برگستوان» رزم‌افزار دفاعی (مراقبت) از اسبان است؛ اگر کسی ادعا کند که یک نفره در جنگ هزاران سوارکار جنگی را شکست داده یا روبه‌رو شده، او حتماً از نیزه

استفاده کرده است. نیزه‌های عربی خود بر چند گونه است: «نیزهٔ سمیری» که مخصوص مردان بسیار جنگاور(؟) است؛ «نیزهٔ ردینی» که مخصوص دلاوران است؛ با وجود این، هر دو نوع در تمامی جنگ‌ها کاربرد دارد.

در میان روستاهای کنار دریای پارس (خلیج‌فارس)، روستای «خطّ» به «نیزهٔ خطّی» معروف است. بسیاری از نیزه‌های خراسان و عراق (ایران) از چوب بید ساخته شده و بسیار سبک هستند. «سنان» نیز چون نیزه زخم می‌زند، اما سبکی در جنگ چندان تأثیرگذار نیست؛ اما هیچ نیزه‌ای بهتر از نیزهٔ هندی وجود ندارد و خود بر دو نوع، ساخته شده از بامبوی نر و ماده است. در نوع نر، هستهٔ مرکزی بامبو، توخالی، بلند، سنگین و تاب داده است و اسب‌سوار (سواره‌نظام) را، به‌دلیل وزن دچار، مشکل و حتی گرفتاری می‌کند. بامبو ماده، خوب و توخالی و حتی اگر سبک نیز باشد، در صورت استفاده از سوی یک سوارکار چابک و آموزش دیده، نه خم می‌شود و نه می‌شکند.[۱]

«سپر» و «تبرزین» دو رزم‌افزار دیالمه هست و آن‌ها با این دو به نبرد می روند. «سارع» یا «ساریخ» (به گمانی نوعی گرز زنجیره‌ای) رزم‌افزار مردمان استپ‌های غربی (مانند «کیستن» روسیه) است. «کتهی» (میلهٔ بلند نوک تیز فلزی) رزم‌افزار خاص شترسواران است. «تبر» رزم‌افزار چوپانان و «جت‌ها» (گروهی از هندیان) است. «گرز»، «چاک» (نوعی گرز) و «خودشکن» (نوعی گرز) و «بلکاتکینی» (نوعی گرز)، مخصوص کسانی است که به نیروی بازوی خود ایمان دارد و برای پیروز بر کسانی است که «جوشن، خفتان و زره» و «جیورک» (نوعی رزم‌افزار ناشناخته، اما دفاعی باید باشد) حمل می‌کنند.

## فصل نوزدهم

بدان که در جنگ نخستین صف نبرد از پیاده‌نظام است با «سلاح»، با سپرهای فراخ (بزرگ)، «حربه» (نوعی زوبین یا نیزه)، «تیراندازان» (کمان‌وران)؛ زیرا نقش آنان بسیار چشمگیر است. صف دوم پیاده‌نظام باید غرق در: «جوشن و خفتان»، مسلح به «شمشیر»، «سپر» و «نیزه» باشد. صف سوم پیاده‌نظام باید مسلح به «شمشیر»، «ترکش»، «چوب‌های آهن بسته» و «کاردهای بزرگ» هستند. صف چهارم باید مسلح «عریفان با پیادگان» (افسران رده پایین نظامی)، مردان مسلح به «درقه» (نوعی سپر)، «شمشیر و عمود» (نوعی گرز) باشد. درمیان این صفوف باید فاصله آن‌قدر زیاد) باشد که سربازان دید کافی برای آن‌چه (در میدان نبرد) رخ می‌دهد داشته باشند؛ مسیر حرکت سواره‌نظام (درمیان آنان) باز باشد؛ و جنگجویان خط مقدم فضای کافی حرکتی داشته باشند.

جنگجویان به چهار «گروه» تقسیم می‌شوند: ۱- نخست گروه (صف مقدم)، «مبارزون» (مبارزان)، شهره در نبرد، هستند. این گروه باید در سمت (بال) راست نبردگاه آرایش شوند. ۲- گروه دوم به نظامیان زبده و کارآزموده در جنگ اختصاص دارد. این گروه باید در دفاع صفوف عقب استقرار یابند. ۳- کمان‌وران پیاده‌نظام هستند که در پشتی و حمایت از دیگر نیروها، آرایش می‌گیرند. این گروه «سپری» نیز برای مراقبت از خود تا ترکش تیر دشمن ایمن باشند. این گروه، باید در بال چپ سپاه، آرایش استقرار یابد. ۴- گروه چهارم شامل افراد غیررزمی (مبلغان) است؛ مانند کسانی که درفش (پرچم)ها را حمل می‌کنند و «مطرد» (نیزه) کوچکی به همراه دارند؛ این گروه هم چنین شامل «دبدبه زنان» (نوعی طبل)، «دهل زنان»، «تبیره زنان»، «زنگیانه» (زنگ زنان)، «بوق زنان» و «طبل زنان» را شامل می‌شود...

## نتیجه‌گیری

کتاب آداب الحرب به موضوع چگونگی اجرای عملیات نظامی با تمرکز بر پهنهٔ جغرافیایی استان‌های شرقی مرزهای اسلام و شمال هند به‌عنوان بخشی از جهان اسلام می‌پردازد. این کتاب، سوای واژگان و نام‌های تخصصی رزم‌افزارها و معرفی و کاربرد هر یک، داده‌های قابل‌توجهی درمورد سنت‌های نظامی‌گری سنتی، غیراسلامی، نظامی‌گری، فناوری، سازماندهی و تاکتیک‌های نظامی را به‌دست می‌دهد که در دیگر منابع برجای‌مانده از ادبیات اسلامی (کلاسیک) دیده نمی‌شود.