



ḤĀFEẒ-E ABRU

ḤĀFEẒ-E ABRU, Timurid historian known by this *laqab*, whose full name was ‘Abd-Allāh (or Nur-Allāh) b. Loṭf-Allāh b. ‘Abd-al-Rašid Behdādini (also K̲vāfi or Haravi; d. Šawwāl 833/June 1430). He was the author of many historical and historico-geographical works in Persian, which were commissioned by Šāhroḡ, the Timurid ruler of Herat during the first decades of the 15th century, and he remains the earliest Timurid historian from eastern Persia whose works have survived. Born in Khorasan but educated in Hamadān, Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru became a member of Timur’s retinue in the 1380s and regularly attended court gatherings of learned men and literati, where he became renowned as a chess player. He accompanied Timur on several of his campaigns, and after the latter’s death entered the service of his son Šāhroḡ, to whose court he was attached for the remainder of his life. His role at court, at least under Timur, seems to have been as a boon companion (*nadim*) rather than a functionary, though he apparently did serve for a short time as a government official in Ḥawiza (Lambton, p. 1, n. 2). He was buried in Zanjān (Faṣiḥ-e K̲vāfi, III, p. 266; Samarqandi, pp. 576-77; K̲vādamir, IV, p. 8; Tauer, 1971, p. 57; Woods, p. 96).

The complex chronology of the known works of Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru, as established by Felix Tauer, is as follows:

1. *Dayl-e Jāme’ al-tawāriḡ*, an anonymous continuation of Rašid-al-Din’s famous universal history, from 703/1304 up to 736/1335 (the reigns of Öljeitü and Abu Sa’id), commissioned by Šāhroḡ (Tauer, 1971, p. 57; Woods, p. 96; Storey-Bregel, I, pp. 342-44). This work follows the pattern of its model, treating each ruler in three sections. It is based on Jamāl-al-Din Kāšāni’s



history of Öljeitü, relying on Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfi's *Zafar-nāma* for events in western Persia and Sayf b. Moḥammad Haravi's *Tāriḳ-nāma-ye Herāt* for Khorasan, but it also contains a considerable amount of information not found elsewhere and not included in his later and longer continuation of Rašid-al-Din's work (see no. 5 below). Baron Constantin D'Ohsson made use of this work in his four-volume *Histoire des Mongols* (The Hague, 1834-35; Melville, pp. 7-8). The text itself has not been edited.

2. *Dayl-e Zafar-nāma-ye Šāmi*, a continuation of Neẓām-al-Din Šāmi's biography of Timur from 806/1404 up until Timur's death in 807/1405, which was completed in 814/1412 on the order of Šāhroḳ (Tauer, 1971, p. 57; Woods, p. 96; Storey-Bregel, I, pp. 344-45). Editions: Felix Tauer, "Continuation du Zafarnāma de Niẓāmuddin Šāmī par Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. Editée d'après les manuscrits de Stamboul," *Archiv Orientalní* 6, 1934, pp. 429-65; repr. with a preface by B. Karimi, Tehran, 1328 Š./1949.

3. *Tāriḳ-e Šāhroḳ(i)*, a history of the reign of Šāhroḳ to the year 816/1413-14 which was incorporated into Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru's later compilations, the *Majmu'a* and *Zobdat al-tawāriḳ-e Bāysonḡori* (Woods, p. 96; Tauer, 1971, p. 57; Storey-Bregel, I, p. 344).

4. *Tāriḳ-e Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru* (more commonly referred to as *Joḡrāfiā-ye Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru*), a universal historico-geographical work commissioned by Šāhroḳ in 817/1414 (ed. Sajjādi, p. 52; see below). It was originally intended as a translation of an Arabic geography, the precise identification of which is disputed, supplemented by other written sources, of which Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru himself names Ebn Ḳordāḏbeh's (q.v.) *Masālek al-mamālek* (almost certainly intending the work of that name by Estakri, q.v.) and the *Šowar al-aqālīm* of a certain Moḥammad b. Yaḥyā (see ed. Sajjādi, intro., pp. 22-33; text, pp. 49-50). Significantly, he does not name the *Nozhat al-qolub* of Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfi (q.v.) among his sources, either for the text or for his world map. Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru's map, which is found in the British Library manuscript of the *Joḡrāfiā* (Ms. 1577), represents the Balki school of cartography, and has a longitude-latitude grid of five-degree squares, one of the earliest extant examples (see Harley and Woodward, eds., esp. pp. 149-50, 170, 390). His *Joḡrāfiā* represents a departure from its Arabic (and Persian) models, as it contains long excurses on the history of such regions of Persia as Fars, Kerman, and Khorasan, and is thus an important source of historical as well as geographical information (hence its alternative title; Krawulsky, I, pp. 13-17; Tauer, 1971, p. 57; Bartol'd, pp. 76-77; Storey, II/2, pp. 132-33, no. 192). It is not entirely clear to what extent



it remained a separate project, for in another of the numerous introductory sections (ed. Sajjādi, p. 71) the author gives the year 820/1417-18 as the date of commission, which he refers to in the same terms as in his introduction to the *Majmu'ā* (see no. 5 below), informing of Šāhroḡ's desire for a historical work that builds on the earlier chronicles of Bal'ami (see [AMĪRAK BAL'AMĪ](#)) and Rašid-al-Din. The two projects must anyway have been undertaken at the same time, the first volume (containing a physical geography and description of the lands from Fars in the West to Kerman in the East) being written in 820-21/1417-19, and the second (containing a description and history of Khorasan and Transoxiana) continuing until approximately 823/1420. Other introductory sections reveal the author's views on history (published separately in Tauer, 1963) and on kingship (see Lambton, esp. pp. 3-8). His own interest in geography lay in identifying the characteristics and locations of the different countries of the world (p. 47), and significantly he states the importance of dating his descriptions in order to make it possible to identify subsequent changes (p. 52). Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru's extensive travels, which encompass virtually the whole eastern Islamic world (pp. 49-50), made him particularly well qualified to prepare this work. Editions and translations: *Joḡrāfiā-ye Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru, qesmat-e rob'-e Ḳorā-sān: Herāt*, ed. R. Māyel Heravi, Tehran, 1349 Š./1970 (incomplete edition of the geographical section on Khorasan). D. Krawulsky, ed. and tr., *Ḥorāsān zur Timuridenzeit nach dem Tārīḡ-e Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū (verf. 817-823 h.)*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1982-84 (complete critical edition and German translation of the section on Khorasan). *Joḡrāfiā-ye Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru I*, ed. S. Sajjādi, Tehran, 1375 Š./1997 (critical edition of the first part of volume one, including Arabia, the Maghreb, Spain, Egypt, and Syria). Translations of excerpts from the section on Transoxiana as far as 795/1393 are found in Bartol'd, pp. 83-93 (see Melville, p. 4).

5. *Majmu'ā-ye Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru*, a compiled universal history commissioned by Šāhroḡ in 820/1417-18, incorporating the following earlier works: (a) Bal'ami's translation of Ṭabari's *Tārīḡ*, with a continuation by Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru as far as the year 656/1258; unedited. (b) Rašid-al-Din's *Jāme' al-tawāriḡ* and its continuation by Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru (see no. 1 above), extended as far as the year 795/1393. The latter is based on various sources: Mostawfi's *Zafar-nāma* for a shortened account of the reigns of Ġāzān's two successors up until 735/1334, Mostawfi's prose continuation of his *Zafar-nāma* for the period until 744/1343, the continuation of the latter work by Mostawfi's son Zayn-al-Din for the period extending until the death of Shaikh Oways in 766/1374, and thereafter on this and other works until 795/1392 (see Melville, p. 4). His use of these



sources remains to be analyzed critically. Editions and translations: *Dayl-e Jāme' al-tawāriḳ-e rašidi*, pt. 1, ed. Ẕ. Bayāni, Tehran, 1317 Š./1938 (see also Felix Tauer's extensive corrections to this edition: Tauer, 1952, 1953, 1954, and 1955; 2nd rev. ed., Ẕ. Bayāni, Tehran, 1350 Š./1972; *Chronique des rois Mongols en Iran*, pt. 2, tr. Ẕ. Bayāni, Paris, 1936 (partial French translation). (c) A history of the Kart dynasty of Herat (based mainly on Sayf b. Moḥammad Haravi's *Tāriḳ-nāma-ye Herāt*), and four excurses on Ẕaḡāy Timur, Amir Wali, the Sarbadars, and Amir Arḡunšāh (ed. F. Tauer, 1959). (d) A history of the Mozaffarid dynasty, based mainly on Mo'in-al-Din Yazdi's *Mawāheb-e elāhi*. (e) Neẓām-al-Din Šāmi's *Ẕa-far-nāma* and its continuation by Hāfez-e Abru, *Dayl-e Ẕafar-nāma-ye Šāmi* (on which see no. 2 above). (f) A history of the reign of Šāhroḳ as far as the year 819/1416 (a second redaction of the *Tāriḳ-e Šāhroḳ* mentioned above; Storey-Bregel, I, pp. 344-45; Tauer, 1971, p. 57; Woods, p. 97).

6. *Majma' al-tawāriḳ [al-solṭāni(ya)]*, a universal history to the year 830/1426, written for Šāhroḳ's son Bāysonḡor. The first three sections concern, respectively, the pre-Islamic prophets, Moḥammad and the caliphate and the dynasties contemporaneous with the Abbasids and the Mongols up to the death of Abu Sa'id (for a description of the contents, see Rieu, pp. 16-17, no. 27; ed. Zanjāni, pp. 9-11). This suggests that there is much duplication of the material already assembled in no. 5 above, and also probably of the introductory matter in the *Joḡrāfiā*. Edition: *Majma' al-tawāriḳ al-solṭānia: qesmat-e kolafā-ye 'alawiya-ye Maḡreb wa Meṣr wa Nezāriān wa rafiqān*, ed. M. M. Zanjāni, Tehran, 1364 Š./1985 (partial edition of the section on the Isma'ilis with parallel texts of the corresponding sections of Jamāl-al-Din Kāšāni's *Zobdat al-tawāriḳ* and Rašid-al-Din's *Jāme' al-tawāriḳ*). The fourth part, entitled *Zobdat al-tawāriḳ-e Bāysonḡori*, is the most valuable as an historical source. It contains a continuation of the history of Timur in the form of what is primarily a revised, expanded and chronologically-arranged version of the *Ẕa-far-nāma-ye Šāmi*, followed by Hāfez-e Abru's *Dayl-e Ẕafar-nāma-ye Šāmi* (supplemented with information from Naṭanzi's *Montaḳab al-tawāriḳ-e mo'ini*, as well as, probably, the lost *Fotuḡāt-e mirānšāhi* by Sa'd-Allāh Kermāni) and a continuation of the *Tāriḳ-e Šāhroḳ(i)* as far as the year 830/1427 (thus representing a third redaction of this work). The *Majma'* is a source of major importance for the reign of Timur and the first half of the reign of Šāhroḳ. The *Zobdat al-tawāriḳ* served as a primary source for many later works, starting with 'Abd-al-Razzāq Samarḡandi's *Maṭla'-e sa'dayn* (Tauer, 1956; Tauer, 1971, p. 58; Woods, pp. 97-99; Storey-Bregel, I, pp. 346-49). Editions and translations: *Histoire des con-quêtes de Tamerlan intitulée Ẕafarnāma, avec des additions*



empruntées au Zubdatu-t-tawārīḥ-i Bāysungurī de Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, ed. Felix Tauer, 2 vols., Prague, 1937-56.

Zobdat al-tawārik, ed. S. K. Ḥājj Sayyed Jawādi, 2 vols., Tehran, 1372 Š./1993.

K. M. Maitra, tr., *A Persian Embassy to China, Being an Extract from Zubdatu't Tawarikh of Hafiz Abru*, Lahore, 1934; repr., New York, 1970.

Despite the pioneering work of Felix Tauer, much remains to be studied regarding Ḥāfez-e Abru's use of sources, the full extent of his own contribution to the compilations he produced (cf. Zanjāni's partial edition of the *Majma'*, and Daftary, p. 96) and the evolution of the texts through their various recensions. His wide-ranging and voluminous corpus of works influenced considerably the compilations of later historians of the Timurid period.

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Storey-Bregel, I, pp. 341-49.

Felix Tauer, “Vorbericht über die Edition des *Ẓafarnāma* von Niẓām Šāmī und der wichtigsten Teile der Geschichtswerke Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū’s,” *Archiv Orientální* 4, 1932, pp. 250-56.

Idem, “Continuation du *Ẓafarnāma* de Niẓāmuddin Šāmī par Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. Editée d’après les manuscrits de Stamboul,” *Archiv Orientální* 6, 1934, pp. 429-65; repr. with a preface by B. Karimi, Tehran, 1328 Š./1949.

Idem, “Le *Zail-i Ġāmi‘u-t-Tawārīḥ-i Rašidi* de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū et son édition par K. Bayani,” *Archiv Orientální* 20, 1952, pp. 39-52; 21, 1953, pp. 206-17; 22, 1954, pp. 88-98, 531-43; and 23, 1955, pp. 99-108.

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