Mesopotamia and Persia under the Mongols,
in the fourteenth century A.D.

19963

From the Nuzhat-al-Kulüb of Humād-Allah Mustawfi.

By

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THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society having decided to republish the present paper separately as one of the Asiatic Monographs, a new Map has been drawn on a larger scale than the one given in the Journal for January, 1902 (p. 73), where the names were found to be indistinctly written. I may take this opportunity of adding a few corrections which have come to notice since the paper was first printed, in addition to those given below on page 115 (p. 766 of the Journal), the first of which (on the Urmiyah Lake) refers to p. 38, note 1, of the present pagination.

In chapter 7, describing Rüm (p. 48, line 28, and p. 259 of the Journal), the Castle of Awnik will be found marked, to the east of Erzerum, on the great Map of Armenia drawn by Mr. II. F. B. Lynch. On the same page (two lines from below) Zübarlı should be Divnigî (i.e. Tephrîke, the Paulician capital); and for Dhamâlû Davalü is the true reading, a place situated a few miles south-east of Kayşarîyah; these places are frequently mentioned by Ibn Bibî, an historian recently edited by Professor Houtsma, whom I have to thank for these and other corrections that he has been good enough to send me. Kâb or Gâb (p. 49, eight lines from below, and p. 260 of the Journal), not Kât, is the true reading, as given in Ibn Bibî, and it lay between Tûkât and Zîlah. Zamandû (p. 50, line 10, and p. 261 of the Journal) is mentioned by Yâkût and Ibn Bibî and in the Tzamandos
of the Byzantines; Kadük (not Kadül) is the modern Gedük to the east of Kaysariyah; Tüz Aghāch (not Tür Aghāch or Tumar Aghāch) is also given in Ibn Bībī, and lay near Kīr Shahr in the Salt District.

In chapter 14, describing Kirmān, the correction for the position of Sirjān (p. 76, three lines from below, and p. 530 of the Journal) has already been given on p. 115 (p. 766). Shukhīn, not Sākhīs, etc. (p. 81, line 5, and p. 535 of the Journal), is the true reading as given by Major Sykes. It lay south of Kāyīn (Ten Thousand Miles in Persia, p. 406). The position of Tabas Masinān (p. 81, line 17) can now be fixed, for the place was visited by Major Sykes (loc. cit., p. 397). It lies about fifty miles east of Birjand; it is still known by the old name, but is now surnamed, from being mostly inhabited by Sunnis, Tabas Sunnī-Khānah.

In chapter 17, on Khurāsān, it may be mentioned that the Amīr Chūpān (p. 83, line 26, and p. 734 of the Journal) was the celebrated Regent of Mongol Persia after the death of Uljaytu, during the minority of Sultān Abu Sa’īd. Further, a stupid mistake must be rectified, where, on p. 86, line 10 (and p. 737 of the Journal), Ḥakīm Burkāī (as the name should be read) is the well-known veiled Prophet of Khurāsān, and the line following should stand thus:—“had lived, who was known as the Moon-maker (Sūzandah-Māḥ) of Nakhshab, in Transoxiana” (cf. Literary History of Persia, by E. G. Browne, p. 319).

In the Itineraries a few corrections may be noticed. In Route III (p. 99, line 4 ff.; p. 750 of the Journal) the stages are in wrong order. We should read:—“from Farāshah to the Nil Canal in 7 farsakhs, passing . . . Kūthā Rabbā . . . to the left of the road; then, with the city of Bābil lying . . . on the right hand, in 2 farsakhs to the city of Hillah. Thence it is 7 farsakhs
to the city of Kūfah,” etc. And as regards Farūshah, this place is mentioned by Ibn Jubay (Text, p. 217), who passed it on his road north to Baghdād. In Route XVIII (p. 106, line 23, and p. 757 of the Journal) the town in Bādghīs given as Tūn should be read Bawan, otherwise called Babnah, as given by Yūkūt, i, 764. In Route XIX the latter part should be corrected from Professor De Gooje’s translation of the Turkish text (p. 347) of the Jihān Numā, given in his work Das alte Bett des Oxus (p. 112). We should read: “Hazārasp 9 farsakhs to Dīh Azrāk (Blue village), thence 7 to Rākhushmīthan, thence 6 to Andarastān, thence 2 to the city of Nuzwār, and then 6 to Urganj.” Finally, in Route XXVIII (p. 111, line 17 and five lines from below, and p. 762 of the Journal), “the city of Śaj,” which lay between Shīrāz and the coast, opposite ʿKaṣ Island, may very likely be identical with the town of Jamm mentioned by Iṣṭakhri (Text, p. 106), who writes that of the Sirāf District there were three chief cities, “to wit, Sirāf, Najīram, and Jamm,” but no mention of this place appears, as far as is known, in any other geographer.

In regard to the new Map, some places have had still to be marked by numbers, and the names of these must be sought, according to their Provinces, in the lists given on pages 25 and 26 (Journal, pp. 73, 74).

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PERSIA UNDER THE MONGOLS.

It is very generally a matter of complaint that the lithographed editions of Persian and Arabic works published in the East are, for the most part, unprovided with any index or full table of contents; and, further, that when the book treats of geography or history, the proper names of both persons and places are too often given in a manner that at first sight defies identification. Half a loaf, however, is proverbially better than no bread, and, until from some quarter funds are forthcoming to defray the cost of printing Persian texts in Europe, scholars would often be able to make use of the editions lithographed in India or elsewhere, if the true reading of the proper names were fixed by a collation of the best manuscripts, and if a full table of contents were available for purposes of reference. In many cases also a Persian work will only contain one part, or a series of chapters, that pre-eminently is of interest to Western scholars; and the remark, of course, applies more especially to the Cosmographies where the geographical chapters alone are of first-rate importance, as also to those numerous Universal Histories where only the concluding sections, dealing with the author’s own time, can in any way be considered as of primary authority. An instance in point is, I consider, the cosmographical work of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi, which forms the subject of the present article, and of which a lithographed edition appeared in Bombay in 1894 (a.h. 1311) under the editorship of Mīrzā Mahdī Shīrāzī, being published by Mīrzā Muhammad Shīrāzī, surnamed Malik-al-Kuttāb, or the Chief of the Scriveners.
Hamd-Allah Mustawfi and his two principal works—the history called the Ṭārīḵh-i-Guzūdah, and the Nuzhat-al-Ḵulūb, which last is now under discussion—were fully noticed by Mr. E. G. Browne in this Journal in a paper on "The Sources of Dawlatshāḥ" (J.R.A.S. for January, 1899), and more recently (October, 1900) he has given us a translation of the section on the "Biographies of the Persian Poets" from the Guzūdah, with a detailed account of the contents of that historical work, of which he hopes later on to publish an edition of the Persian text. As a complement and commentary to the Guzūdah, the geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-Ḵulūb is of considerable importance. Further, and from the point of view of historical geography, it is of special interest, since it gives us a detailed description of Persia in the age immediately succeeding that of the travels of Marco Polo. The first half of the fourteenth century A.D. may indeed be regarded as a turning-point in the history of Western Asia, being a period of comparative calm coming between the epoch-marking conquests of the Mongols under Changhīz Khān and the no less revolutionary period of conquest by Timur. From a geographical point of view it was a time of transition. Before this we have the lands of Islām under the Abbasid Caliphs, as described by the Arab geographers Ištakhrī, Ibn Ḥawkal, and Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣābī; after this there is Western Asia, as shown on our present maps, which last may be held to date from the changes effected by the conquests of Timur and the subsequent partition of his empire among his descendants and successors.

Nearly forty years ago Monsieur Barbier de Moynard (now director of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris) gave us the translation of the greater part of the geographical section of the Nuzhat-al-Ḵulūb in the notes to his well-known Dictionnaire de la Perse,¹ which is based on the geographical encyclopaedia of Yāḵūt. To the information contained in this book I must express my great indebtedness, and I may take the occasion of bearing witness to the

¹ Small 4to. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1861.
admirable accuracy of Monsieur B. de Meynard’s work, which, it should be remembered, had to be entirely based on manuscript material, being translated directly from the Paris MSS. of the Mut'jam-al-Buldân. Since 1861 the whole text of Yāḵūt has been edited by Professor Wüstenfeld; also, in his Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, Professor de Goeje has now given us admirable editions of nearly all the earlier Arab geographers: it is therefore very easy to verify, by a reference to the texts, the translations given by Monsieur B. de Meynard; and it will be remembered that the Dictionnaire de la Perse is still the only portion of Yāḵūt’s great Encyclopaedia of which a complete translation exists in any European language. Seeing, therefore, that we have here a translation of all the longer articles in the Nushat which treat of the towns described by Ḥamd-Allah, I shall only attempt in this paper to complete his lists of names, referring my readers to the pages of the Dictionnaire de la Perse for all further information in detail. My arrangement of the materials will, however, be somewhat different, for the Dictionnaire de la Perse being set in alphabetical order, no account is taken of the enumeration of the places as grouped by Ḥamd-Allah under the various provinces, and this arrangement, for the elucidation of the historical geography of the period, is, I deem, of much importance. Then, again, Monsieur B. de Meynard, as he acknowledges in his preface, has made no attempt to identify the sites of places mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah, as, indeed, this was inevitable forty years ago, for our maps of Persia were then in many parts a blank. Since that time, however, a host of travellers and explorers have filled in the names, and at the present day most part of the great plateau of Īrān has been explored. I need only mention the numerous excellent maps published by General Houtum

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Schindler in the Berlin Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, and the maps given by Monsieur J. de Morgan in his Mission Scientifique en Perse—which last is still in course of publication—as instances of completed surveys of the individual provinces under investigation; while in the numerous papers devoted to Persia contained in recent volumes of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society I have found much to aid me in the identification of ancient with modern sites. My mainstay, however, has been the great Map of Persia, in six sheets, on the scale of sixteen miles to the inch, published by the War Office Intelligence Department in 1886.

For the true spelling of the place-names I have had recourse to the systematic Itineraries given by Ibn Khurdadbeh and Kudāmah, supplemented by the detail of routes found in the works of Ya’qūbī, Ibn Rustah, Ištakhrī, Ibn Hawkal, and Muḥaddasi, all of which date from the middle of the third to the last quarter of the fourth century a.h. (ninth and tenth centuries a.d.). These medieval Arab Road-books have enabled me to correct, and hence profit by, the very full Itinerary which Ḥamd-Allah himself gives at the close of his description of ʿĪrān. This Persian Itinerary is now published for the first time, and it has made the location of a number of medieval towns and districts possible, all traces of which have long since disappeared from the modern map. As an instance I may mention the Mint-city of Sābūrkhwāst in Luristān, which Ḥamd-Allah shows to be not the modern Khurramabād, as has often been supposed; then some important details are given about Sirjān, the capital of Kirmān, and about Old Hurmuz; and we are now enabled to fix approximately by these Persian Itineraries the positions of many lost towns such as Țāliḵān and Faryāb of south-eastern Khurāsān; also Kāghaz-Kuṇān and Bajarvān,

1 The spelling of Persian place-names is far from being consistent. The Persian for ‘village,’ now written and pronounced Dih (vowel short), is generally in the MSS. written Diw, with the vowel long. Other common variations are Isfahān or Isfahān, Hārmūz or Hurmuz, Țihrān or Tīhrān, Kūhistān or Kūhīstān.
once important cities on the great northern high road from Adharbayjān towards the Caucasus frontier, besides many villages and post-stations.

On the vexed question of the lower course of the Oxus during the middle ages, and its outflow into the Caspian, Ḥamd-Allah has important information to give. The detailed account of the provinces into which Persia in his day was divided shows, by a comparison with the provincial frontiers as given by the Arab geographers of Abbasid times, the changes effected by the Mongol conquest, and the later administration of the Il-Khāns, who built Sulṭāniyyah in Persian ‘Irāk to be their capital, and to take the place of Baghdād as the Metropolis of Western Asia—Mesopotamia being henceforth counted as merely a province of Persia. The most notable change in the political map of İrān is the formation of the new province of Kurdishān, which was taken from the western half of the Arab province of Jībāl (Media), the remaining, or eastern, portion of the older Jībāl province now coming to be more generally known as Persian ‘Irāk. Then, again, all the Yazd district, which had formerly been counted as of Fārs, was now given to Persian ‘Irāk, thus, in compensation for Kurdishān, which had been taken away, enlarging the older frontier of the Jībāl to the eastward, and so rounding off what was now the central province of İrān under the administration of the Il-Khāns. Lastly, on the Persian Gulf region, Ḥamd-Allah divides off Shabānkārah from the south-eastern part of Fārs, making of Shabānkārah a separate province, of which the ancient Dārābjird and Lār (a town unknown to the earlier geographers) were the chief centres of population.

Ḥamd-Allah personally was well fitted thus to describe İrān, for there is evidence that he had himself travelled over the greater part of the country. In the matter of frontiers and capital cities he was trained in office-work connected with the taxation of the provinces, being one who held by inheritance the post of Mustawfi or Accountant-general, this post having been in his family since the days of his great-grandfather, who was superintendent of the
finances of ‘Irāk in Abbasid times, before the first Mongol invasion. Ḥamd-Allah himself had served under Rashid-ad-Dīn (the author of the Tāriḵ-i-Rashīdī, published in part by E. Quatremère), the celebrated minister of Ghāzān Khān, and the present description of Persia and Mesopotamia, though completed in 740 (1340 A.D.), may be taken to represent the country as it existed under the government of that Īl-Khān and his successors Uljaytu and Abu-Sa’īd (brother and nephew of Ghāzān) in whose service Ḥamd-Allah held the office of Mustawfī.

At the head of most of the chapters describing each province of the Īlkhānid empire in Persia and Mesopotamia Ḥamd-Allah has given the sum of the provincial revenue paid in his own time. These figures may be best summarized in a note,¹ and they are of interest as showing the financial condition of Persia under the Īl-Khāns. It must, however, be observed that Mustawfī very frequently also gives, under the separate articles, the state-revenues derived from the towns; hence the sums given in our footnote probably should not be held to represent the sum-total of the provincial taxes, for, while it is nowhere clearly stated whether or not these individual sums formed part of the aggregate, the revenues of all the chief towns are not given. From the point of view of Numismatics an interest lies in the statement repeated many times by Mustawfī (L. 133d, 170f, etc.) that in his day the currency-dīnār (Dīnār-i-Rāǰī), which was used in all accounts, a gold coin that possibly was only nominal (or but seldom coined), was reckoned to be worth six (silver) dirhams of the Abbasids;

¹ Reckoned in currency-dīnārs (four of these being about equivalent to the pound sterling), and in the year 35 of the Īlkhāni Era (A.D. 1335), Arabian ‘Irāk paid 3,000,000 dīnārs; Rūm (Asia Minor), 3,300,000; Armenia, 390,000; Upper Mesopotamia, ½ million dīnārs; Kurdistan, 201,500; Khūzestān, 325,000; Fārs, 2,871,200; Shabānḵārah, 266,100; and Kirmān, 676,500 dīnārs. The list of provinces, it will be observed, is not complete. Mustawfī further, in many cases, records the revenues of former periods, notably for Salfūk times during the later centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate, but these seem hardly worth tabulating, for the sums mentioned are not likely to be very reliable.
hence, as already said in our footnote, four of these currency-
dinārs were about equal in value to one pound sterling.

The present paper, it will be seen, only attempts the
summary of Part II in the Third Book of the Nushat, and
of this all that is now here given is the corrected list of
the names of places, with the reference to the pages of the
lithographed edition, and to the authority responsible for the
true reading of the name. An attempt also has been made
in every case to identify the site, or the fact is stated when
the position is unknown.

The text as found in the Bombay Lithograph has been
edited with almost incredible carelessness. The place-names
heading each article are written indifferently with or without
diacritical points, hence very often these names are perfectly
 illegible. Towns of a somewhat similar name in the written
character, but quite well known, and, in point of fact,
occupying different provinces—such, for example, as Ardabil
in Adharbayjān and Irbīl in Upper Mesopotamia—are as
a rule here systematically confounded one with the other, and
a place like Tawwaj, the celebrated commercial emporium of
Fārs in the earlier middle ages, appears in the Bombay text
as Nūḥ, that is to say, Noah. Similarly absurd mistakes
recur again and again, as, for instance, where our author,
speaking of the rivers of Persia (which for the most part do
not find their exit to the sea), describes each in turn as
“flowing out or becoming lost in the Desert (Mafāzah),” for
which the Bombay edition invariably has the statement that
the river becomes “lost in a cave (Maghārah),” the excuse
for which nonsense being that in the Arabic character there
is a similarity between Maghārah and Mafāzah by a change
of diacritical points.

For obtaining a correct text, I have collated (more or less
completely) eight of the best MSS. found in the British
Museum, also the six MSS. of the Bodleian at Oxford, and
two MSS. belonging to the University Library at Cambridge.
For Chapter 12, describing the province of Fārs, I have
been able to get the true readings for a number of place-
names, not given by Istakhri or the other Arab geographers,
In conclusion of these preliminary notes, I may remark that for the true reading of the place-names I have relied far more on the authority of Yaḳūt, supplemented by the older Arab geographers (the texts, namely, in the eight volumes of the Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum of De Goeje) and our present maps, than on the readings in the diverse MSS. of the Nuzhat, which last are often incredibly incorrect, from the carelessness of the scribes. Where the modern map and the Arab geographers together fail us (e.g. in some sections of the Itineraries), the spelling of the place-names becomes quite uncertain, and the diverse readings often equal in number that of the manuscripts consulted, each scribe having added diacritical points and letters according to fancy. The Persians are, indeed, far behind the Arab scribes in matter of accuracy in copying their texts; and, curiously enough, where a criterion has existed for settling the true reading, I have often found that the older MSS. of the Nuzhat were quite as incorrectly written as the more modern copies of the work.

I have been unable to include in the following pages the names of all the villages given by Mustawfi in his lists; indeed, as a general rule, those names only are inserted which either occur in the works of the Arab geographers, or are found still to exist on our modern maps, or, finally, are inserted in the Itinerary. An exhaustive collating of all the MSS. would be required for fixing the readings of the outstanding names in Mustawfi's lists of sub-districts and villages; and even then accuracy would probably be unattainable, until the topography of Persia becomes more accurately and completely known. In the following pages, however, all the separate articles, whether of towns or districts, given by Mustawfi have been inserted, and the attempt is in every case made to identify the places mentioned; or, when the present maps and the Arab geographers alike are at fault, and no clear indication of the site is attainable, some indication is given of the region in which the place or its ruins should be sought for.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of that section...
of the Nuzhat which especially deals with the Ilkhānid kingdom of Irān (Persia with Mesopotamia), it will be convenient to give first the general Table of Contents of the book, premising that the Nushat-al-Kulūb is a cosmographical work, of which a part only treats of geography, and that it is divided into five sections, namely, an Introduction, Three Books, and a Conclusion, these sections being in many cases further subdivided into Chapters and various Appendices or sub-sections.¹

INTRODUCTION (called Fātiḥah or Mubaddamah): treating of the Spheres, the Heavenly Bodies, and the Elements, followed by a description of the inhabited Quarters of the Earth, with an explanation of Latitude and Longitude, and the division into Climates, L. 8ñ.

FIRST BOOK (Makālah-i-Awval): describing the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms, L. inset 21z.

SECOND BOOK: Man, his nature, faculties, and qualities, L. 49a.

THIRD BOOK, divided into four Parts (Kīsm).

PART I: Mocca, Modina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, L. 116o.

PART II: The Lands of Irān, divided into twenty Chapters (Dāb)² and five Appendices (Makhlaṣ or Faṣl).

Ch. 1, ‘Irāk ‘Arab, 132p.* Ch. 2, ‘Irāk ‘Ajam, 141v.* Ch. 3, Adhurbayjān, 153m.* Ch. 4, Mughān and Arrān, 159w.* Ch. 5, Shīrvān, 160x.* Ch. 6, Gurjistān,

¹ The references (for distinction, where any ambiguity may occur, more especially marked L.) are to the lithographed edition, already indicated, of the Nuzhat. This contains in all 372 pages of text, which, for some unexplained reason, are not numbered consecutively. The pagination runs from pp. 1 to 48, this being followed by an inset of pp. 1 to 112, after which comes p. 49, thence running on continuously to the close of the work, which is numbered p. 260. Each page contains twenty-five lines of text, which for convenience I refer to under the letters of the alphabet: thus 122e and 133e indicate the last line and the first line of the text on these two pages respectively.

² The Persian text of the chapters marked * has been printed by C. Schefar in his Supplément au Sitteset Nāmeh, Paris, 1897, pp. 141-230. Of those marked † the text is given by B. Dorn in vol. iv of his Muhammadanische Quellen, St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. 81-87.
161h.* Ch. 7, Rüm, 161q. Ch. 8, Armenia, 164o.* Ch. 9, Jazirah, 165n. Ch. 10, Kurdistân, 167n. Ch. 11, Khūzistân, 168m. Ch. 12, Fârs, 170b. Ch. 13, Shâbânkârâh, 181g. Ch. 14, Kirmân, 181s. Ch. 15, The Desert, 182w. Ch. 16, Nîrûz and Kûhîstân, 183s. Ch. 17, Kûhrâsân, 185s. Ch. 18, Mâzaundarân, 190f.† Ch. 19, Kûmis, 191b.† Ch. 20, Gilân, 191s.†

Appendix I, the Itineraries, divided into the following sections:
—Route i, Sulṭânîyah to Hamadân and Kanguvûr, 192w. Route ii, Kanguvûr to Hûlûtân, 192z. Route iii, Hûlûtân to Baghdâd and Najaf, 193e. After which, 193k, come the pilgrim routes across the Arabian Desert to Mecca, Medina, and back to Najaf. Route iv, Baghdâd to Bağrûh and to the Island of Kays, 195g. Route v, Baghdâd to Raḥbah, 195v. Route vi, Baghdâd to Mosul, 195z. Route vii, Kanguvûr to Isfahân, 196g. Route viii, Sulṭânîyah to Sûmghân, 196d. Route ix, Sûmghân to Bûstân, 196d. Route x, Bûstân to Nîshâpûr, 196n. Route xi, Nîshâpûr to Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rûd, 196m. Route xii, Marv-ar-Rûd to Balkh and the Oxus, 197a. Route xiii, Bûstân to Farâvah, 197j. Route xiv, Farâvah to Urganj, 197l. Route xv, Nîshâpûr to Herât, 197r. Route xvi, Nîshâpûr to Tursâhûz, 197z. Route xvii, Herât to Zaranj, M.S. only. Route xviii, Herât to Marv-ar-Rûd and on to Great Marv, 198a. Route xix, Great Marv to Urganj, 198e. Route xx, Sulṭânîyah to Bajûrân, 198u. Route xxi, Bajûrân to Mâhîmdâbâd, 198s. Route xxii, Bajûrân to Tisfis, 198u. Route xxiii, Bajûrân to Tabriz, 199b. Route xxiv, Sulṭânîyah to Tabriz, 199k. Route xxv, Tabriz to Sîvâs, 199n. Route xxvi, Sûmghân to Isfahân, 199v. Route xxvii, Isfahân to Shirâz, 200c. Route xxviii, Shirâz to Kays Island, and thence by sea to India, 200f. Route xxix, Shirâz to Kâzîrûn, 200x. Route xxx, Shirâz to Hormûz, 200s. Route xxxi, Shirâz to Kirmân, 202c. Route xxxii, Shirâz to Yazd, 201k. Route xxxiii, Shirâz to Arâjân and Bustânak, 201p.

Appendix II, Mountains:—Alvand, 202p; Askânbarân, 202n; Bîsûtûn, 203f; Bârûchîn, 203s; Dârûk, 203g; Damâvand, 203z; Darâbjudîr mountains, 204f; Rastâk, 204g;
Râsmand, 204k; Râkhid, 204n; Kûh-Zar and Zardah-kûh, 204q; Sâblân, 204w; Sarâhand, 205e; Sahand, 205a; Siyâh-kûh, 205k; Sîpân, 205l; Shaqâl, 205m; Sûr, 205p; Tûrûk, 205q; Tabarak, 205l; Kûrin, 205x; Kâbalah, 206d; Kâfs, 206â; Kargus, 206â; Kîrmân mountains, 206â; Gulistân, 206k; Gulshân, 206l; Gunûbâd and Zibad, 206a; Kûshad, 206e; Kiliyâh, 206q; Mâst-kûh, 206r; Mûrjân, 206t; Nishî, 206e; Salt mountain of Āvâh, 206x; Iljum, 207a; Ilarîn, 207b.

Appendix III: Mines and Minerals, 207d.

Appendix IV, Rivers:—Sayhûn and Jayhân (the Sarus and Pyramus of Asia Minor), 211q; Frât (Euphrates), 211u; Nil (the Nile), 212g; Itîl (the Volga), 212â; Astrak, 212a; Aras, 213â; Ilâk, 213b; Büy, 213f; Bardäil, 213j; Jayhân (Oxus), 213l; Jurlân, 213â; Dîljâh (Tigris), 213z; Dûjûyî (Kârûn), 214e; Dîzîfûl river, 214â; Upper and Lower Zâb, 214j; Murghâb, 214n; Zandah-rûd, 214r; Zakûn, 214x; Safîd-rûd, 215e; Sayhûn or Shâsh (Jaxartes), 215h; Shâbrûd, 215a; 'Âs (Orontes), 215q; Khitay river, 215s; Fârâb-rûd, 215t; Kowâh (or Kârâh), 215â; Karkhâh, 215w; Kur of Georgia, 215y; Kur of Fârs, 216â; Gaûg (Ganges), 216f; Mîhrûn (Indus), 216â; Nahrawân, 216l; Harî-rûd, 216p; Hirmâqud (Helmund), 216s; Jâyîj-rûd, 216a; Garm-rûd or Kûh-rûd, 216x; Kûm river, 216â; Gâvmâsâ, 217a; Zânjân river, 217e; Abhar river, 217g; Kauvîn rivers, 217j, q, and t; Tûrûm river, 217h; Kâshân river, 217m; Mûzûnâkân, 217n; Kûrdûn, 217r; Khârrakân rivers, 217a and s; Andarâb, 217w; Ahar river, 217y; Awinjân river, 218â; Jâghtû, 218b; Sâliw, 218c; Sard-rûd, 218e; Sanjîd and Kâdpû, 218f; Sâfî, 218g; Shâl, 218â; Garm-rûd, 218h; Mihrûn-rûd, 218î; Marand river, 218l; Mîyanîj river, 218n; Taghtû, 218p; Hasht-rûd, 218q; Pulvâr, 218r; Tûb, 218s; Masin, 218z; Shîrûn, 218v; Siyâd-kân, 218w; Jarrâh river, 218x; Dâkhuvâyîd, 218y; Khwûnûn, 218z; Rûtîn, 219a; Jârshûk, 219b; Ikhshûn, 219d; Sam-rûd, 219a; Div-rûd, 219e; Nîshâvar river, 219f; Barârah, 219g; Balîkh, 219j; Khâbûr, 1

1 Here, and in many other instances, the form of the name given is Ab-i-Safid-Rûd, literally 'Water (or River) of the White-river,' the word for river being repeated twice.
219k; Hirmās, 219m; Tharthār, 219o; Ṣūr, 219p; Shūrāb, 219q; Dīzbād, 219r; Sahr, 219s; Ḥarū, 219t; Tūshkān, 219u; Purš-e Parūshī, 219v; Khujānik, 219x; Farājān, 219x; Dahur, 219y; Baḵrān, 219z; Chārsaf-rūd, 220a; Ṭahābahāl river, 220b; Vakhsbāb, 220d; Jāghān, 220e; Bayāt river, 220g; Daḵūk river, 220j; Barūz-ar-Rūz river, 220l.

Appendix V, Seas and Lakes:—The seven Seas, 220n; Sea of China, 220w; the Indian Sea, 221t; the Persian Gulf, 222t; the Red Sea, 223e; the Sea of the Franks, 223r; the Western Sea, 224e; the Sea of Rūm, 224m; the Sea of Darkness, 224y; the Eastern Sea, 225b; the Caspian, 225d; Lake Bakhtigān, 225y; Lake of Dašt Arzin, 226a; the Jirrah Lake, 226b; Māhulâyāh Lake, 226c; Lake of Darḵhuva, 226d; the Lakes of Māshhuyah and of Murghzār Isfandānī, 226e; Urmīyāh Lake, 226f; Arjīsh Lake (Van), 226j; Gukekèh Lake, 226k; Chashmah Sabz, 226l; the Zarah Lake, 226p; the Khwārizm Lake (Aral Sea), 226q; the Lake of Tinīs (Egypt), 226u.

Part III: The Border Lands of Irān, that at times have been subject thereof.

This part gives a number of short articles on the following countries and towns:—Alexander and the Wall against Gog and Magog, 227d; Bāb-al-Abwāb, 227k; Sīmarḵand, 228d; Siyāvūsh-gīrd, 228w; Pargāhānāh, 228w; Alexandria, 229b; Damascus, 230d; Rāḥbār, 230s; Cairo and Egypt, 231c; Southern Regions, 232f; Northern Regions, beyond Bāb-al-Abwāb with the Gog and Magog Wall, 232p.

Part IV: Foreign Lands that never have been subject to Irān.

This part briefly notices the following cities and lands with others:—Balāsagūn, 233q; Thibet, 233r; China, 233s; Khitay, 234c; Khoten, 234f; Khwārizm, 234g; the Desert of Kiporāk, 234l; Lands of Gog and Magog, 234g; Bulghār, 234; various Indian cities, 234t; Ṣahānīyān, 234w; Karāḵorum, 235c; Kandahār, 235f; Kābūl, 235h; Kashmir, 235f; Māchīn (China), 235m; Tranoxiana, 235r; Mākrān, 235w; India, 235z; Dohli, 236b; Yaman, 236f; Aden, 236k; Oman, 236m; Yamān, 236m; Ḥaḍramawt, 236f; Little Armentia, 236w; Irīḵiyān, 236y; Andalus, 237d; the Arabian Desert, 238c; Hijāz, 238m; Syria, 238q;
Tarsus, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, 239a; Tangiers, 239a; the Lands of the Franks, Constantinople, 239r; Palestine, 239r; Kayruwân, 240h; Kûlzum, 240l; Miṣr (Egypt), 240w; Maghrib and Western Lands, 240r; Greece, 243a.

CONCLUSION (Khatîmah). Description of Marvels in various parts of ʿIrān:—In Khūrāsân, Kūmis, Māzandarān, and Kūhistān, 243n; in ʿIrāk ʿAjan, Kurdistān, Lūristān, and Gilân, 243s; in Fārs, Kirmān, and Shabāṅkārah, 246a; in ʿIrāk ʿArab and Khūzistān, 246r; in Rūm, Gurjistān, Adharbayjān, Mughān, Arrān, and Shirvān, 247j; marvels in diverse other quarters of the habitable world, 248k. Finis of the Nuzhat-al-Kutub, setting forth the author’s apology, 254d; followed by a list of the chief Arabic and Persian historians, with the names of their works, 257a–259a. Colophon, 260.

Reverting now to Part II of the Third Book, On the Lands of ʿIrān—the subject of the present paper—the detailed contents of the twenty chapters into which this is divided are succinctly discussed in the following pages. And here, for the sake of convenience, I have added to each chapter, when treating of the various provinces and towns, those articles which go to form Appendices II, IV, and V, in which Mustawfī describes the Mountains, Rivers, and Lakes of Persia and Mesopotamia, giving of course also a reference to the Nuzhat where the text of the Appendix will be found. Appendix I, on the Itineraries, will be treated in detail at the close of Chapter 20; but in regard to Appendix III, on Mines, being totally unacquainted with mineralogy, and since this section treats only of the places where diverse minerals and metals are to be found, I have thought it wiser to omit this part altogether from my paper.

The list of names is a long one, and perhaps a few remarks on the nomenclature will not be out of place before proceeding to the description of the various provinces.

In glancing over the place-names which Mustawfī records it is clear that the Arab element, found in the earlier geographers, had in the fourteenth century A.D. given place
almost entirely to Persian forms. The Arabs very usually added the article *al* to place-names which in their language had a meaning, e.g., Al-Anbūr ‘the Granary,’ Al-Ḥadīthah ‘the New Town,’ and Al-Mawsīl ‘the Junction’ (Mosul); but in addition it will be found that they frequently wrote their article before purely Persian place-names, e.g. As-Ṣirjān and Al-Īṣṭahbānūn, where there was no very obvious reason for so doing. It is impossible to say why Rhages should always have been written with the article *Ar-Ray,* while *Jay,* the old name for Isfahān, should have as invariably been written without it. In Mustawfī’s lists, however, the Arabic article has everywhere disappeared, and we have Ray, Mawsīl, etc.; while names such as Ar-Rān and Ar-Ras (spelt Al-Rān, Al-Ras in the Arabic writing), which in the older geographers had thus the false appearance of Arab names, in the pages of Mustawfī appear in plain Persian as Arrān and Aras.

Glancing over the map it will thus be found that nearly everywhere the older nomenclature has disappeared: Naysābūr is become Nishāpūr (in modern Persian the diphthongs *ay* and *au* are as a rule replaced by long *i* and *u*), Kirmīsīn is replaced by Kirmānshāhān, Nashavā by Nakchivān; and Arabic names are given in their Persian equivalent, Kašr-ar-Riḥ ‘Wind Palace’ becoming Dīh Bād, Kaḥriyat-al-Asad ‘Lion Village’ and Kašr-al-Jawz ‘Nut Palace’ reappearing as Dīh Shīr and Dīh Jawz, the meanings standing unchanged. More especially in the province of Fārs it will be found that Kāl‘ah, signifying a castle in Arabic, is still very generally retained; at times, however, it is replaced by the Persian equivalent Diz, e.g. Kāl‘ah Isfandiyār, otherwise called Diz-i-Safid ‘White Castle,’ and in one case the Arabic Kāl‘ah or Kāl‘at reappears under the purely Persian form of Kīlāt, which as a place-name became common in later times throughout Western Asia. In short, Persia proper in the time of Mustawfī had already got quit of Arabic place-names; one of the few mentioned by him (and the name is still retained) being Bayḍā (Arabic al-Bayḍā, ‘the White Town’) in the
Marvdasht plain to the north of Shīrāz. Of purely Arabic names Wāsiṭah, 'the Middle place,' a post-stage between Kāshān and Isfahān, is another example, but the reading of the MSS. is not sure, and in another instance Ḥaddādah, 'the Frontier or Barrier,' a stage on the great eastern road between Damghān and Buṣṭām, the Arab name is given with its Persian alias of Mihmān-dūst, and this last is the one still in use. One other instance of an Arabic name in Persia, as given by Mustawfi, occurs in Rūs-al-Kalb, 'the Dog's Head,' a stage between Ray and Samnān. No trace of this name exists at the present time, and apparently its place is occupied by Lāṣjird, the name of the curious fortress-town (wanting in the lists of the medieval geographers) which crowns a bluff overlooking the desert plain (see illustration in H. W. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 404).

Chapter 1. 'Irāk 'Arab.

Contents: Kūfah, L. 133s; Mashhad 'Ali, 134g; Mashhad Husayn, 134f; Baghdad, 135a; Anbār, 136w; Bābīl, 136s; Barāz-ər-Rūz, 137f; Baṣrah, 137f; 'Abbādān, 137w; Bandantijin and Liḥf, 137a; Bayūt, 138a; Tukrit, 138d; Tall 'Akbūk, 138f; Ḥadīthah, 138g; Ḥarbā, 138h; Hillah, 138f; Ḥulwān, 138p; Ḥīrah, 138a; Khālis, 138v; Khānīkīn, 138w; Dujayl, 138x; Daḵūk, 139a; Duyr 'Ākul, 139b; Rūmīyān, 139e; Rādīhān and Bayn Nahrayn, 139d; Zangībād, 139s; Sāmarrah, 139f; Sadrayn, 139r; Taḵīk, or the Road of, Khurāsān and Baḵūbā, 139s; Shahrabān, 139w; 'Ānah, 139x; 'Askarāh, 139z; Kaṣr Shīrīn, 139z; Kādisiyah, 140s; Kūrān, 140s; Muḥāwval, 140f; Madāīn, 140f; Nahr 'Isā, 141g; Nahr-Malik, 141k; Nahrawān, 141m; Nu'mānīyah, 141o; Nīl, 141p; Hit and Jubbah, 141p; Wāṣṭ, 141t.

The dividing-line between the two provinces of 'Irāk and Jazirah (Lower and Upper Mesopotamia) has varied at different epochs. In Abbasid times it is generally given as running up from Anbār on the Euphrates to Takrit on
the Tigris,¹ both towns being as a rule included in the lower province. In the time of Ḥamd-Allah, however, Ḥrūḵ included as well many towns lying on the Euphrates to the north of Anbūr, up to or beyond Ḥanah, and the frontier line at that period went from a short distance below Ḫarkīsiyā, where the river Khābūr joins the Euphrates, across Mesopotamia to a point on the Tigris immediately below the junction of the Lesser Zub. Ḥamd-Allah in Appendix IV describes both the Euphrates and the Tigris at some length (L. 211u and 213z), but adds nothing to what has been already given in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion. The Tigris in his time still flowed down by the Shaṭṭ-āl-Ḥay past Wāṣīt into the Great Swamps, which in their western portion swallowed up the waters also of the Euphrates below Kūfah; in short, the state of the country described by Ibn Serapion at the close of the ninth century A.D. still existed in 1340, and for that matter continued unaltered until after the time of Ḥāfiz Abū in 1420, the change to the present state of the Euphrates and Tigris having taken place in the century before 1652 A.D., when Tavernier visited the country.²

Among the cities of Ḥrūḵ, Ḥamd-Allah being an ardent Shiʿah gives precedence to Kūfah (I.S. 53), near the burial-place of the Imāms, which he calls the Dār-al-Mulk, ‘the Abode of Power,’ though Baghdād is, he admits, ‘the Mother of Cities’ and the metropolis. His description of the celebrated shrines near Kūfah is given in the following

¹ See Map of Mesopotamia as described by Ibn Serapion. In order to save needless repetition the letters I.S. will mark a reference to the volume of this Journal for 1895 where, in the notes to my paper on Ibn Serapion, details of many of the towns here mentioned will be found.

² See Baghdad during the Caliphate, p. 8, note 1. Since writing this I have found in Pourcea’s Pilgrims (folio, 1626, vol. v, p. 1411) that in 1681 John Newbery apparently travelled down from Baghdad to Bagrah by the present, eastern, course of the Tigris. The change, therefore, from the Wāṣīt channel to that at present followed must have already taken place, in all probability, before the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. Nothing certain is to be learnt from the Narratives of Caesar Frederic in 1563 (Pourceas, v, p. 1702), John Eldred in 1683 (Hablgurt Travels, 4to edit. ii, p. 404), or the anonymous Portuguese traveller, circa 1565, whose MS. is in the possession of Major M. Hume (see Athenæum for 25th March, 1901, p. 373).
paragraph, which is a slightly condensed translation of the Persian text:

"Two leagues to the northward of Kūfah is Mashhad ‘Alī, where the Caliph is buried; for, on receiving his death wound in the Kūfah Mosque, ‘Alī had ordered that his body should be put on a camel, which was then to be turned loose, and wherever the camel knelt there his body was to be buried. All this was therefore done, but during the time of the Omayyads no tomb was erected at Mashhad ‘Alī, for the place was kept hidden for security. In the year 175 (791 A.D.) the holy site was discovered by the Abbasid Caliph Ḥārūn-ar-Rashīd, for when hunting one day near Kūfah he had chased his quarry into a thicket, but on attempting to follow it he found that no force could prevail on his horse to enter the place. Then awe fell on Ḥārūn, and on enquiring of the peasants they told him this was indeed the burial-place of ‘Alī, as such being an inviolate sanctuary. Orders were given to dig, and the body of ‘Alī was found, to guard which a shrine (or Mashhad) was then built, which became a place of visitation. At a later date in the year 366 (977 A.D.) ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid erected the Mausoleum which still exists, and the place became a little town 2,500 paces in circuit. Ghūzān Khān the Ḫāl-Khān in recent times erected here the house for Sayyids called the Dār-as-Siyūdah, also a Khānḵāh or Darvish monastery. To the north-west of Kūfah, eight farsakhs away in the desert, is Karbalā, the place of martyrdom of Ḥusayn. The building now seen here was erected by ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah aforesaid, and a small town has grown up round this shrine also, being some 2,400 paces in circuit. Outside Mashhad Ḥusayn are seen the tombs of those who fell fighting at his side in the battle that resulted in his martyrdom."

The early history of these two celebrated shrines is obscure; the foregoing is the usual Shī'ah account, but though it is true that Ḥārūn-ar-Rashīd at one period of his reign favoured the Alids, the Arab chronicles do not
relate that he 'invented' the Tomb of 'Ali. The earliest notice in detail of Mashhad 'Ali appears to be of the middle of the fourth century A.H. (tenth A.D.), written by Ibn Ḥawkāl. He says (p. 163) that the Ḥamdānid prince Abu-l-Ḥayjā, who was governor of Mosul in 292 (A.D. 904) and died in 317 (A.D. 929), had built a dome on four columns over the tomb at Mashhad 'Ali, which shrine he ornamented with rich carpets and hangings; further, he surrounded the town there with a wall. Elsewhere Ibn Ḥawkāl, however, adds that in his day the burial-place of 'Ali was also shown in the corner of the great Mosque at Kūfah, and this attribution was credited by many persons. In the pages of the Chronicle of Ibn-al-Āthīr (ix, 13, 42, 169, 394; x, 103) it is recorded that the Buyid prince 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah was buried at Mashhad 'Ali, also his sons Sharaf and Bahā-ad-Dawlah; and diverse other notable persons are under various dates stated to have been buried here.

In the year 443 (1051 A.D.) the shrine was burnt to the ground by the Baghdād populace, who, being orthodox, had taken to persecuting the Shi‘ahs; it must, however, have been rebuilt shortly afterwards, for Malik Shāh and his Wazīr, the Niẓām-al-Mulk, made their visitation to the tomb in 479 (1086 A.D.). Yāḳūt, who mentions Mashhad 'Ali in his articles on Kūfah and Najaf, unfortunately gives us no details of the shrine.

In regard to Karbalā and the shrine of Ḥusayn, it is nowhere stated by whom it was first built, but in the year 236 (850 A.D.) the Caliph Mutawakkil earned the lasting hatred of all good Shi‘ahs by ordering the buildings here to be destroyed by flooding the place with water; also he forbade the visitation of the sacred spot under heavy penalties. How long the tomb of Ḥusayn remained in ruin is not stated, but 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid in 368 (979 A.D.) built a magnificent shrine here, and this is noticed by the contemporary geographers Ištakhrī (p. 85) and Ibn Ḥawkāl (p. 166). In 407 (1016 A.D.) the dome at Mashhad Ḥusayn was burnt down, but doubtless was restored before the place was visited by Malik Shāh in 479 (1086 A.D.).
when he went hunting in these districts. Yākūt unfortunately gives us no description of Mashhad Ḥusayn to supplement the above, which is derived from Ibn-al-Athīr (Chronicle, vii, 36; viii, 518; ix, 209; x, 103).

The description of Baghdād, that follows the description of Kūfah in the Nuzhat, has already been summarized in a recent number of this Journal (J.R.A.S. for 1899, p. 385), and most of the other towns are mentioned in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion and need only a reference here. A plan of the ruins of Anbār is given by Mr. J. P. Peters in his recent work on Nippur (i, 177); he visited the site, and this lies at some distance from Sifayra (see also I.S. 52). Bābil is at the ruins of ancient Babylon (I.S. 259). According to Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 6), Bārāz-ar-Rūz and Bandanījīn were the chief towns of two neighbouring Sub-districts (Ṭusāf) of the great District (Aṣlān) of Shādī Ḵūbādī, which was the third Aṣān of the twelve Districts into which ʿIrāq was divided in the times of the Abbasids. From the mention of neighbouring places it is almost certain that Bārāz-ar-Rūz is identical with the modern Bilād Rūz, lying about twenty-five miles east of Baʿḏūbū; and Ḥamdu-Allah (L. 220.) also speaks of its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains flowed out into the plain and became lost before reaching the Tigris bank. Bandanījīn, generally called Bandanīgūn in the Lihf District, has left no trace on the map. It was an important town when Yākūt (i, 745; iv, 353) wrote, lying near the foot-hills (or Lihf) of the Khūzistān frontier, and its ruins should be sought for some fifty miles to the eastward, bearing south, of Bilād Rūz.

Baṣraḥ and ʿAbbādān have been noticed before (I.S. 302, 304). The little town of Bayūt still exists, and Ḥamdu-Allah (L. 220g) refers to its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains became lost in the plain below the town after watering many districts. Bayūt, a name which does not occur in the Arab geographers, is identical with, or rather lies close to, the ruins of Tib, a town mentioned by Yākūt (iii, 566) as of some importance during Abbasid days, the site of which has been visited and described by Sir H. Layard
Early Adventures, ii, 229). Takrit was the frontier town on the Tigris between Lower and Upper Mesopotamia (I.S. 36). The great mound of Tall 'Ašarũf still exists; its village was, according to Yākūt (i, 867), of the Ḥisā Canal District, and probably stood at no great distance from the town of Muḥawwāl, of which apparently all traces have vanished. Ḥadithah, 'the New Town' of the Euphrates, lying some thirty-five miles below Ānah, is called Ḥadithah-an-Nūrah by Yākūt (ii, 223) to distinguish it from the other Ḥadithah on the Tigris, at the junction of the Upper Zāb. Ḥarbā still exists on the Dūjayl Canal (I.S. 39), and Ḥillah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 259). The ruins of Ḥulwān exist at the site called Sar-i-pul, and have been recently visited by M. de Morgan. The remains of Ḥirah lie near Kūšah (I.S. 53), and the Khālīš is a canal of East Baghdād (I.S. 225). Khānīkīn, Daḵūk, Zangībād, and Kašr Shīrīn all figure on the map and need no comment. The first and last are in the Itinerary (Route iii), and Ḥamd-Allah describes (L. 220b) the Daḵūk river as flowing from the Kurdistān mountains by the Darband-i-Khalīfah, past Daḵūk, and out into the plain, where its waters were usually lost in the sand, though in the spring freshets they flow down to join the Tigris.

The Dūjayl Canal is of West Baghdād (I.S. 70), and Dayr-al-Āḵūl is on the Tigris, so too Rūmīyāh, opposite Madīn (I.S. 40, 41). Rādhān and Bayn-an-Nahrāyin—'Between two Canals'—were two neighbouring regions of the Nahrawān. Both names have now disappeared from the map, but, according to Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 6), there were, in Abbāsid times, two Sub-districts called the Tassūj of Upper and of Lower Rādhān which formed part of the Shād Hurmuz Astān or District, and this last was on the left bank of the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Madīn. It is to be remarked that the name of Bayn-an-Nahrāyn does not apparently occur in any other author. The Khurāsān Road is the name for the district to the eastward of Baghdād. Sūmarrāh and Baḵūbā exist, and are noticed by Ibn Serapion (I.S. 36, 268). The region of Ṣadrayn
was watered by the Euphrates, but I have failed to discover its position, though the name occurs in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 466), and all the MSS. agree in this spelling. As given in the Itinerary (Route iii), and lying to the north-east of Baghdad, Shahrabān still exists; and ‘Ānah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 52). Neither in the *Jihān Numā* nor elsewhere, apparently, is any account found of the towns named ‘Askarah (or ‘Askariyah)\(^1\) and Kūrūn, which are not either of them marked on our maps. Kādisiyyah may be either the town of that name on the Tigris (I.S. 37), or the place on the desert border near Kūfah, where the great battle was fought when the Arab armies first invaded Mesopotamia.

As already said, Muḥawwal was the town on the great canal called the Nahr Ḥṣā (I.S. 71) to the west of Baghdad, and the ruins of Madāin are still to be seen on the Tigris below Baghdad (I.S. 40). The canal called the Nahr Mālik is the one below the Nahr Ḥṣā flowing from the Euphrates to the Tigris (I.S. 74), and Nūmāniyyah (I.S. 43) stands on the Tigris a little above where the Nil Canal—on which is the town called Nil—flows in (I.S. 261). The city of Nahrawān is the place now called Sīfwh (I.S. 269) on the Nahrawān, the great loop canal of the left bank of the Tigris which, starting from Dūr below Takrit, rejoined the Tigris again below Mādhārāyā after a course of about 200 miles (I.S. 267). In its entirety this canal no longer exists, but its course can be traced, and from what Ḥamd-Allah reports it had gone out of use even in his day, for he gives the name of Nahrawān to what is now known as the Diyālā river. In Appendix IV (L. 216\(\text{v}\)) he writes that the Nahrawān river had two head streams, both of which rose in the mountains of Kurdistān. One of them was called the Shīrūn river from the district of that name on its upper course, and lower down reaching the Taymarrah District it took this latter name. Below this the Nahrawān, or Taymarrah, was joined by the other branch, which rose

\(^{1}\) This place may be ‘Askar-al-Mu‘taṣim, or the Camp Quarter, at Sāmirā, where the Ahl shrines stood: see Yākūt, ii, 676; Mushtarak, 309; Marāṣid, ii, 5.
in the mountains above Ḥulwān, at a spring in the Pass of Ṭāḵ-i-Kīzā of the Gil wa Gilān District; thence flowing down past the cities of Ḥulwān, Kaṣr-i-Shīrīn, and Khānikīn to its junction with the other stream. Below the junction, and above Baḵūbā, the united waters formed the Nahrawān, which finally flowed out into the Tigris a short distance below Baghdād.

The town of Hit lies on the Euphrates (I.S. 52), and Jubbah, if this be the right reading of the text, is a small place on an island in the Euphrates fifteen leagues above Hit. Lastly, Wāsit on the older course of the Tigris (now the Shaṭṭ-al-Ḥay) was a place of importance as late as the time of Timur (Zafar Nāmah, i, 657, and elsewhere), though at the present day its ruins have almost completely disappeared (I.S. 44).
REFERENCES TO MAP OF PERSIA.

The names of the stages on the post-roads will be found in Appendix I on the Itineraries.

'Irāk 'Ajam.—1, Firūzān; 2, Fārifān; 3, Varāmin; 4, Tibrān and Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm; 5, Fārisjūn; 6, Sūmhān; 7, Sagsābād; 8, Abhar; 9, Āvah; 10, Sāvah; 11, Sunjūrābād; 12, Sujūs and Suhravard; 13, Sātūrīk; 14, Sārjahān; 15, Shān Kal'ah; 16, Kāghadh Kūnān or Khūnaj; 17, Muzdākān; 18, Šānān; 19, Ardīstān; 20, Delijān; 21, Gulpaygān; 22, Zavārah; 23, Dih Sārūk; 24, Nāṭanz; 25, Idhāj or Māl Amir; 26, 'Arūj or Sūsān; 27, Lurdāgān; 28, Sabūrkhwāst; 29, Khurrāmābād; 30, Burūjīrī; 31, Šaymarārah; 32, Asadābād; 33, Ābāh of Kharrākān; 34, Darguzūn; 35, Rūdarūd, Tuvi, and Sarkūn; 36, Maybud; 37, Nāyīn.

Aḏharbāyjān.—1, Awjān; 2, Ṭarūj or Tāsūj; 3, Khalkhāl; 4, Shāl and Kulūr; 5, Ahar; 6, Khoi; 7, Šalmās; 8, Urmīyāh; 9, Ushnūyāh; 10, Sarāv; 11, Miyanīj; 12, Pasavā; 13, Dih Khwārkān; 14, Laylān; 15, Marand; 16, Zangiyān and Bridge of Khūdā Āfarīn; 17, Karkar and Bridge of Diyā-al-Mulk; 18, Nakhchivān; 19, Urdūbād.

Mughān and Arrān.—1, Barzand; 2, Pīlvār; 3, Maḩmūdābād; 4, Burda'ah.

Kurdīstān.—1, Alishṭar; 2, Bahār; 3, Sultānābād Jamjamāl; 4, Shahrazūr; 5, Kirind and Kūshān; 6, Harsin; 7, Vastām or Bīsūṭūn.

Khūzīstān.—1, Junday Shāpūr; 2, Hawīsah; 3, Rāmhurmuz; 4, Sūs; 5, 'Askar Mūkram; 6, Masrukān town.

Fārs.—1, Tawwaz; 2, Khabr; 3, Khunayyfghān; 4, Šimkān; 5, Kavār; 6, Kāržīn, Kīr, and Abzar; 7, Kāriyān; 8, Lāghir; 9, Kūčān; 10, Mīranā; 11, Išṭakhr; 12, Ābarkūh; 13, Iklīd; 14, Surmāḵ; 15, Baydā; 16, Kharrāmāh; 17, Māyīn; 18, Band-i-Amīr; 19, Harāt; 20, Kuṭruh; 21, Kamin; 22, Kallār and
Chapter 2. 'Irāk 'Ajam.

Contents: Isfahān, 142f; and its eight districts, viz., Jay, Mārbān, Karārij, Kahāb, Burkhuwār, Khānlānjān, Barān, and Rūdasht, with their villages, 143; Fīrūzān, 143v; Ray, 143v; Tīhrān, 144r; Varāmīn, 144v; Sultāniyāh, 144v; *Kazvin, 145k; Abhar, 146t; the Districts of Daylam and Tālish, 147a; Āvah, 147t; the Rūdbār District, with Castles of Alamūt and Maymūn Dīz, 147l; Zanjān, 147v; Sāvah, 148v; Sāūj Bulāk, Sujās, and Suhraward, 148q; Sāfūrīk, 148v; the two Tārum Districts, 149d; Sarjahān and Kūhūd or Sāyīn Kal'ah, 149a; the Tālikān District, 149l; Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj, 149p; Muzdakān and Sāmān, 149b; Tabarik, Marjamān, and Andajan Districts, 149y; Pushkīl Darrah, 150v; Kum, 150f; Kāshān and Fin, 150l; Ardīstān and the Tafrish District, 150s; Jurbādakān or Gulpaygān, 150v; Dalījān, 150y; Zavārah, 151a; Farāhān and Dih Sārūk, 151b; Karaj, 151r; Naṭanz, 151j; Nismūr, 151k; Marāvadīn, 151l;
Vashāḵ, 151m; Great Lur District, 151o; Êdhaḏ, 151q; Aruḫ or Sūs, 151r; Lurjakān, 151s; Little Lur District, 151t; Burūḏird, 151u; Khurramābūd and Samsā, 151v; Šaymarah, 151x; Namadān, 151y, and its five districts, viz., Fārīvār, Azmāḏin, Sharāḡān, A-lam, and Surdrūd, with their villages, 152g; Asadābūd, 152o; the districts of Mūḏuḏū and Tameṣar, 152p; the District of Kharrakān, with the (northern) Ṭavāh, 152q; Darguzūn, 152s; Küdrūwār, Ṭuṣi, and Surkān, 152v; Šāmān, 152y; Shabl Bahrān and Fūlān, 152z; Nihāvand, 153a; Ṭazd, 153 dú; Maybud and Nūyin, 153l.

What had of old been the province of Media the Arabs named Al-Jibāl—‘the Mountains’—a perfectly appropriate name, as will be seen by a glance at the map, for the great mountain region separating the plains of Mesopotamia from the highlands of Persia. In the time of the Saljuḵ princes, by some misnomer, this, their capital province, came to be called ‘Irāḵ ‘Ajamī, or Persian ‘Irāḵ, a name that was totally unknown to the earlier Arab geographers. Hence in after days Al-‘Irāḵayn, ‘The Two ‘Irāḵs,’ were taken to mean Media and Lower Mesopotamia, which last for distinction was thenceforth called Arabian ‘Irāḵ—‘Irāḵ ‘Arabī. Originally, it is to be observed, Al-‘Irāḵayn had been a term applied to the two great cities of (Arabian) ‘Irāḵ, namely, Kūfah and Baṣra; but the Saljuḵs had affected the title of Sultān of the Two ‘Irāḵs, which in consequence, as explained above, came to be applied to the two provinces, but as Abu-l-Fidā (p. 408) writes “among the vulgar,” and wrongfully (see also Yāḵūt, ii, 15, and Lane, Dictionary, s.v. ‘Irāḵ). The name, however, has continued in use down to the present time.

Further, it is to be remarked that after the Mongol settlement Persian ‘Irāḵ was greater in extent to the eastward than the older Arab province of Jibāl, by the addition thereto of Ṭazd and its district, which formerly had been counted as of Fārā; on the other hand, it had been diminished in size by the creation of the new province of Kurdīstān, which had been taken from its western part, and Kurdīstān now divided Persian from Arabian ‘Irāḵ. Under the Ilḵāns Persian
Irāk became the capital province of their empire, for it included the four great cities of Isfahān, Ray, Hamadān, and Sultānīyah, the new metropolis recently founded by Uljaytū.

The eight districts of Isfahān mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah all exist at the present day (as do many of the villages which he also enumerates, and which are described by General Schindler in Eastern Persian Irāk, pp. 120, 122). The city, he says, originally consisted of four wards (still existing in name), viz., Karrān, Kūshk, Jūbārah, and Dardasht, the walls round these having been built by Rūkn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. In the Jūlbārah quarter (now pronounced Gūlbārah, and lying to the north-east of modern Isfahān, round the Maydān-i-Kuhnah or Old Square) was the Madrasah (College) and tomb of Sultān Muḥammad the Saljūk, and here might be seen a block of stone weighing 10,000 man (equivalent, perhaps, to a little less than 32 tons weight), this being a great idol carried off by the Sultan from India, and set up before the College-gate (L. 142u). History, however, does not record that this Sultān Muḥammad (a son of Malik-Shāh, who reigned from 498 to 511 A.H.) made any conquests in India, nor does Ḥamd-Allah himself allude to the fact in the Guzīdah when treating of his reign.

Isfahān lay on the northern or left bank of the river Zandah-rūd, which is described as rising in the mountains of Zardah Kūh, the 'Yellow Mountains,' still so called from their yellow limestone cliffs (L. 204g). Of this region also were the Ashkahrān mountains, lying on the frontiers of Greater Lur (L. 202u). After passing the cities of Firūzān [1] and Isfahān, the Zandah-rūd flowed through the district of Rūdasht, of which the chief town was Fārīfān [2], and there became lost in the great swamp of Gāvkhūnī. The river was also known as the Zāyindah or Zarīn-rūd, and, according to popular belief, after sinking into the Gāvkhūnī swamp, it flowed for sixty leagues underground to Kirmān,

1 The numbers in square brackets refer to the Map.
when it rose again to the surface and thence attained the sea (L. 214r). Besides Isfahān town, the Isfahān district included the two great cities of Fārisān and Fīrūzān. The former still exists as a village (Schindler, op. cit., p. 126) not far from the Gāvkānī swamp. Fīrūzān city has apparently disappeared from the map, but according to our author it stood on the river bank in the Khānlanjān District, and paid revenue to the amount of 164,000 dinārs (about £41,125). Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 52), who visited the town, says it was six farsakhs distant from Isfahān.

The city of Ray (Rhages) was ruined during the Mongol invasion. Mustawfī says that in the time of Ghazan Khān the houses were in part rebuilt, but Varāmīn [3] had already supplanted it and become the chief town of the province. The Shrine of the Imām-Zādah ‘Abd-al-‘Azīm 1 was to be seen near Ray, as mentioned in the Itinerary (Route ix), and the castle which was called Ťabarik lay at the foot of the hill of Kūh Ťabarik to the north, where there are said to have been silver-mines (L. 205r). Of this castle, however, apparently no trace exists, though the Shrine of Shāh ‘Abd-al-‘Azīm is still a famous place of visitation. Mention is made of the river Kardān-rūd, which waters the Ray Districts, thence flowing out to the desert; and some other lesser streams are also named as coming down from the Kharraḵān District; also the Jāj-rūd from Damāvand and the river Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd of Sāuj-Bulāḵ (L. 216r, s, and 217r, v, v, but cf. Jihān Numā, p. 304). The great mountain of Damāvand rose to the north of Ray, visible from a distance 100 leagues away, and of its many marvels

1 Otherwise called Husayn, a son of the eighth Imām, ‘Ali-ar-Riḍā. Ťabarik is also the name of the Castle of Isfahān, which, according to ‘Ali of Yāzūd (Zafar Nāma, i, 431), was occupied by Timur, and of which the ruins still exist. The foundation of Kal'ah Ťabarik of Ray is ascribed by Zāhīr-ad-Dīn (Dorn, Muhammedanische Quellen, i, p. 15 of the Persian text) to Manṣūr ah the Ziyārid, at the beginning of the fifth century (the eleventh A.D.), and he states that Ťabarik means a 'hillock,' being the diminutive form of Tabar, signifying a 'hill or mountain,' in the Ťabaristān dialect. According to Yāḵūt (iii, 597), Ťabarik of Ray was destroyed in 588 (1192 A.D.) by Tughrīl II, the last Saljūk Sūltān of ‘Irāk, and Yāḵūt gives a long account of the siege of the famous castle.
Hamd-Allah gives a full account (L. 203z). Tihran, the
present capital of Persia [4], was already in the time of
Hamd-Allah a fair-sized town, though formerly, he says,
a mere village. Both Ray and Varamin are now only
marked by ruin-heaps lying some distance to the south
of Tihran.

Sultaniyah, founded by Arghun Khan, was completed by
Uljaytu, who made it the capital of Irân; and he was buried
here in a magnificent sepulchre, the ruins of which still
exist. Hamd-Allah has much to say about Kazvin, his
native town, with its dependent villages, among which were
Dahand, Farisgin [5], Sumghun [6], and Sagsahud [7], lying
on the road eastward as named in Routes ix and xxvi.
He also describes its many streams, namely, the Khar-rud,
the Buh-rud, the Turkhan-rud, the Kazvin river, and the
Abi-Kharrakun (L. 217g, q, r, s, t, v, and Jihan Numâ,
p. 305). These streams had their sources for the most part
in the Barchin Kuh and the Râkhid (or Râhand) mountain
(L. 203s and 204n). Abhar [8], on the river of the same
name (L. 217g), had a famous castle called Haydarîyah, after
Haydar its builder, one of the Saljuq princes; and to the
north of Abhar on the Gilan frontier lay the Daylam and
Tâlish districts, among which were the towns of Ashkûr,
Khawkân, and Khasjân (but the reading of these three last
names is very uncertain, and they are not given by other
writers, nor are they to be found on the map). The city of
Avah [9], between Savah [10] and Krum, stood on its river,
the Gavmahâ-rud, which flows down from near Hamadân
in the west to the great dam between Savah and Avah,
where it forms a lake (L. 217a).

The Rûdbar district, in which stood the ruins of the
famous castles of the Assassins, lay along the course of the
river Shâh-rud, the lowest of the many affluents of the
Safid-rud; and the District was at some distance to the
north of Kazvin (L. 215n). The city of Zanjan lay on the
Zanjan river, also called the Maj-rud (L. 217e), which was
another affluent of the Safid-rud; and the town of Zanjan
is said by Mustawfi to have been named Shahin by its first
founder, King Ardashir Bābāgūn. The city of Sāvah [10], chiefly remarkable for its lake, which history reported had miraculously dried up at the birth of the prophet Muḥammad, lay on the Muzdākān river (L. 217n); and a number of villages are named by Mustawfi in the Sāvah District, of which, however, the readings are uncertain, and they are not to be found on the map. Sāūj-Bulāḵ, the name of the district round Sankurūbād [11], meaning ‘the cold spring,’ is given in some MSS. (e.g., British Museum, Add. 23,543, and Cambridge, Add. 2,624), but this paragraph is omitted in the lithographed text. Under the Mongols it was considered as of the Sāvah Province, though it had originally been counted as of Ray; its villages were Kharūv and Najmūbād.

Sujūs and Suhravard [12] were before the Mongol invasion important towns according to Iṣṭakhri (pp. 196, 200) and Yāḳūt (iii, 40, 203); they are now apparently not marked on any modern map, though Sir H. Rawlinson, writing in 1840 (Journ. Roy. Geographical Society, x, 66), speaks of Sujūs as a small village then existing, with Suhravard close to it. According to Ḥamd-Allah, Sujūs was five leagues distant to the south of Sultānīyah (L. 1456), and the surrounding districts were called Jarūd and Anjarūd, apparently identical with Ijarūd and Anguvūn of the present maps. In the hills near Sujūs was the grave of Arghūn Khān, of which a long account is given in the Nushat. The town of Satūrūḵ [13] lay at the western end of the Anjarūd district, and was celebrated for its palace, rebuilt by Abakah Khān, and the lake which was reported to be bottomless. This is the well-known Takht-i-Sulaymān, described by Sir H. Rawlinson (J.R.G.S., x, 65), who would identify this place as the site of the northern Ecbatana. The castle of Sarjahān [14] has disappeared from the map, but it lay five leagues to the east of Sultānīyah on the Tārum mountain, and Yāḳūt (iii, 70), who had visited it, reports that it was one of the strongest castles of the district, and from its towers the city of Zanjān was plainly visible.
Şāin Ḫal'ah [15], which still exists,¹ this being the Mongol name for the Kuhūd village, lay south of the Tārum district, otherwise called the Tārumayn, 'the two Tārums,' Upper and Lower, of which the capital formerly had been Firūzābād. Of Upper Tārum the chief town was Andar, with many dependent villages; in Lower Tārum the most important place was the Castle of Samırān or Shamirān, of which Yaḵūt (iii, 148) gives a long account. The streams of the Tārum districts all flowed into the river Safīd-rūd (L. 217k), and the name of this district (Tārum) is still marked on the map. The Tālikān district, which in the time of Ḩamd-Allah lay to the south-east of Tārum, apparently no longer exists, and the towns of Jarūd, Kūhbānah, and Karaj, which our author mentions, are no longer to be found. Kāghadāh Kunān, 'the Paper Factory,' or Khūnaj [16], was an important place, the position of which is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx) as south of the river Safīd-rūd and fourteen leagues north of Zanjūn, in the district known as the Mughūliyāh. Muzdaḵān [17], which gave its name to the Savah river, as already mentioned, still exists, also Sāmān [18] at the place where the river rises. The three villages of Ţabarik, Marjamnūn, and Andijān lay among the hills to the north of Abhar [8], but have apparently now disappeared, and the Pushkīl Darrah district was that lying to the east of Kazvīn and south of Tālikān.

The holy city of Kam was watered by the Gulpaygān river (L. 216z), and between Kam and Āvah was the salt mountain called Kūh-Namak-Lawn, a solitary hill, the summit of which was said to be unattainable (L. 206x). The neighbouring city of Kāshān (which the older geographers always spelt Kāshān, with the dotted h) had its water from the Kuhrūd hills, the stream flowing to the desert (L. 217m). Ardīstān [19], to the south-east of Kāshān, and the Tafrīsh districts, to the westward of Kam, still exist, and Dalijān [20] lies about half-way between Kāshān and Gulpaygān [21],

¹ Meaning 'the Castle of Šāin,' possibly called after Šāin, otherwise Bātā Khān, grandson of Changhiz Khān.
which latter town of old was called Jurbādaḵān. The hamlet of Zawārah [22] lies on the desert border near Ardistān.

Coming to the western side of Persian Ṭrāḵ, the Farāhān District—of which the chief town was Dih Sārūk [23], visited recently by Mrs. Bishop (Ḵurdīstān, i, 146)—is the region lying eastward of Ḥamudān. The chief town here at the present time is Sultānābād, founded in the reign of Fath-ʿAlī Shāh at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Ḥamd-Allah there was a lake here, which the Mongols called Ḵagāh Nāzūd (but the reading is uncertain), which is doubtless the present Lake of Tualā to the north of Sultānābād. Dowlatābād was of the Farāhān villages, and this is still an important place lying to the east of Nīhāvand. The city of Karaj, called Karaj of Abu Dulfā, has entirely disappeared from the map. Its position is given in the Itinerary (Route vii), and from the fact that the town lay to the south of the Rāṣmand mountains, which are those now known under the name of Rāṣband, it is easy to locate the site. The streams from these hills watered the celebrated pastures called Margḥzār Kitū (or Kīšū) lying round the town; and its castle was named Farzīn (L 204f.). Returning once more to the eastern side of the province, near the desert border was Naṭanţ [24], with the castles called Nīsmūr and Wašāḵ, with the District of Marāwādān, but the reading of those three last names is very uncertain, and with the exception of Wašāḵ, which is mentioned in the Gūṣīdān (see E. G. Browne, J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 25, n. 4), being also copied into the Jīhān Numā (p. 299), these names do not occur elsewhere.

In the south-western corner of the province of Persian Ṭrāḵ was Luristān, divided between the Greater and the Lesser Lur districts. Īdhāj, otherwise known as Māl-Amīr [25], was the capital of Great Lur, the district which lay entirely to the south of the great bend of the Kārūn (between its left bank and the plain-country); and Great Lur for the most part had been counted as of Khūzistān by the Arab geographers. Īdhāj was famous for its bridge, and its
whirlpool, and the city has been described by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 29), who visited this region. The town of ‘Arūj, or ‘Arūḥ, otherwise called Sūsan, or Sūs [26], also lay on the Kārūn river, some four leagues to the north-west of Māl-Amīr, and this place must not be confounded with the other Sūs in Khūzistān to the south of Dīzfūl. Its ruins have been described by Sir H. Rawlinson, and were visited by Sir H. Layard (see the J.R.G.S. for 1839, ix, 83; also 1842, xii, 103). Lurderūgān, or Lurkān [27], is found on the map near the affluent joining the Kārūn at its extreme western point. The district of Lesser Lur was the highland to the north of the great bend of the Kārūn; and in his Gusāīlah Hand-Allah gives the following account of this district, which is worth quoting 1:

"In the province of Lesser Lur are three rivers, namely, the Āb-i-Silākhūr flowing down to Dīzfūl, the Khurramābād river which goes towards Ḥawizah, and the Kazki (?) river which also flows down by Dīzfūl towards Ḥawizah. And there are three towns that are still flourishing places, namely, Burūjird, Khurramābād, and Sāburkhwāst. This lust was of old an immense city, extremely populous, being inhabited by people from all nations, for it was the residence of kings: it is now, however, merely a provincial town. Finally, in Lesser Lur are three ruined cities named Kirisht (?), Būrisht (?), and Şaymarah."

The importance of this passage lies in the proof here given that Sāburkhwāst is not identical with Khurramābād, as has been often supposed, since both towns existed in the time of Mustawfi; and the fact is confirmed by his statement in the Itinerary (Route vii) that, bifurcating at Burūjird from the Karaj high road, "the road to Sāburkhwāst here goes off to the right hand" (L. 195r). The ruins of Sāburkhwāst [28] have not yet been identified, but they must

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1 The paragraph is given at the end of Section xi of Chapter IV, immediately before the Section devoted to the Mongols. It is wanting in many MSS., but occurs in the old MS. of which I made a copy in Shirāz in 1880, and also is found in the British Museum MSS. numbered Add. 7,630, Addl. 22,693, and Egerton, 690.
be sought for some few leagues to the south of Khurramābād [29]. The town of Būrūnjīrd [30] is frequently mentioned by Ī斯塔ḵrī (pp. 258, 262) and Yāḵūt (i, 596); the Arab geographers, however, appear not to have known of Khurramābād in Lesser Lur, and Ḥamd-Allah is probably the earliest authority to mention this important town. He says that dates grew well both here and at Ṣaymarah [31], the old capital of the Mihrajānkadhaḵ District; according to Ibn Rustāḥ (p. 269) and Yāḵūt (iii, 443), already in the fourteenth century A.D. a ruin. Ṣaymarah is marked on the map at some distance from the western bank of the Karkhāh river, but I am unable to identify Samsā (or Samliā) and Diz-i-Siyāh, ‘the Black Castle,’ which stood near it according to our author. Somewhere in Lesser Lur also was the mountain called Huwayn (or Harīn) Kūḥ, where there were celebrated iron-mines (L. 207b). In regard to the three rivers of Lesser Lur mentioned in the Guzādah, these are referred to again in the Nushat (L. 215n, n). Sīlākhūr is the name of the plain in which Būrūnjīrd stands, and its river is the chief source of the Āb-i-Dīz; further the Kazkī is apparently the affluent now known as the Āb-i-Bāznoī. The Khurramābād river drains to the Karkhāh, which Ḥamd-Allah describes as passing through the Ḥawizah country, and this latter river now joins the Kūrūn below Ahwāz, as will be noticed in the chapter on Khuzistān. The Karkhāh and its affluents came down from the Alvand mountain (L. 202p), lying southward of Ḥamadān; its peaks were almost always covered with snow, and forty-two streams take their rise in this region, which, says Mustawfi, measures thirty leagues in circumference.

Ḥamadān city, when Ḥamd-Allah wrote, was for the most part in ruin; it included five townships, Kalʿah Kubrit—‘Sulphur Castle’—Kalʿah Mākīn, Girdlākh, the Kūshlāḵ or ‘Winter Quarters’ of Shujāʿ-ad-Dīn Khūrshīd, and Kūrasht. The surrounding province comprised five other Districts with many villages, namely, Farīvār (or Kāriwār), Aṣmādīn (or Aṣyūrdīn), Sharūhīn (or Sharūmīn), Aʿlam, with Saradrūd and Barbandrūd (or Barhūnaruḵ). None of
these names appear on the present map (those given in parenthesis are from the Turkish text of the Jihān Numā, p. 300); but Farīvār was watered by the upper affluent of the Gāvmāhā or Gāvmāsā river (already mentioned), which rose in the hills of Asadābūd [32] to the north-west of the city (L. 217a).

The places called Māja'lū and Tamsūr appear to be unknown, but the two districts of Kharraḵān (marked Karaghān on our maps) are those lying to the south-west of Kazvīn, towards which and out eastward to Ray the Kharraḵān streams took their course (L. 217v), as already described. The chief town in the Kharraḵān District is Ābūh [33] or Āvah (not to be confounded with Āvah near Sāvāh, already mentioned), and there were besides forty other villages. The Darguzīn District lies between Kharraḵān and Hamadān, Darguzīn [34] being also the name of the chief town of the district, and this formerly had been included in Ālam, one of the five Districts, as already mentioned, of Hamadān, which, says Ḥamd-Allāh, by the Persians was called Alāmar. Rūdarūd or Rūdrāvar [35] was a large town, the ruins of which still exist at Rūdilāvar (Mission Scientifique, De Morgan, ii, 136), near Tuvī and Sarkān. These ruins probably also represent the older town of Karaj of Hamadān, which, according to Yāḳūt (ii, 832; iv, 261), was the capital of this Rūdarūd district, and lay seven leagues distant both from Hamadān and from Nīhāvand. Here were the five Districts named from the rivers Hind-rūd, Sarkān-rūd, Karzān-rūd, Lamī-rūd, and Barazmāhīn respectively.

Sāmān of Kharraḵān, at the headwaters of the Muzdaḵān river, has already been mentioned. Shabdahāhar and Fūlād (the readings are uncertain) are districts no longer shown on our maps, but which probably lay near the city of Nīhāvand; and this last, Mustawfi writes, comprised three Districts, named Malār, Isfīdhūn, and Jahūk, which, however, are likewise not to be found on modern maps. Coming finally to the south-eastern corner of the province of Persian ʿIrāk, Ḥamd-Allāh notices the cities of Yazd, Maybud [36], and Nāyīn [37], which, as he rightly remarks, were formerly
counted as belonging to Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), and hence were of the province of Fārs.

Chapter 3. Adharbayjān.

Contents: Tabrīz, 153p, and its seven districts, viz., Mihrān-rūd, Sard -rūd, Sāvīl -rūd, Arūnak, Rūdkhāb, Khānum -rūd, and Bidūstān, 155v; Avjān, 155v; Taṣūj or Tarūj, 156a; Ardabīl, 156e; Khalkhāl and Firūzābād, 156b; Dārmarz, 156a. The Shāhhrūd district, 156a; the Pishkīn district, 156v; Unār and Arjāk, 157v; Ahar, 157d; Takallafah and Jiyār, 157f; Darāvārd, 157h; Qal'ah Kahrān, 157f; Kalantar, 157k; Kīlān-Faḍlūn, 157m; Murdūn Naʿīm, 157n; Naw-Diz, 157o; Maft, 157s; Khuvi or Khoi, 157t; Salmūs, 157a; Urmiyāh, 158d; Ushnūyah, 158g; Sarūv, 158k; Miyānīj and the Garm -rūd, 158n; Marāghah, 158q; Pasavā, 158x; Dih Khwārān, 158z; Laylān, 159b; Marand, 159e; Dizmār, 159h; Zanjiyān, 159l; Rīwāz, 159m; Karkar, 159n; Nakhehivān, 159o; Akhbān and Urdūbad, 159r.

Hamd-Allāh notes that the capital of Adharbayjān under the earlier Mongols had been Marāghah, but this pre-eminence had in his day been transferred to Tabrīz. A very full account is next given of Tabrīz, beginning with its early history, and how it had recently been rebuilt and enlarged by Ghāzūn Khān. Details follow of the new walls, with the ten city gates, also of the outer suburb and wall, with its six gates. Tabrīz, according to Hamd-Allāh, was the largest city in Persia; it was watered by the river Mihrān-rūd, which rose in the Sahand mountain lying to the south, and round the city lay the seven districts (given above) called for the most part after the various streams which irrigate their lands (the reading of these

1 The Arab geographers generally give Ardabīl as the capital city; and this became also the capital of Persia under the earlier Safavī kings, until Shāh Abbās removed his court to Isfahān.
names, however, is in many cases very uncertain). The Mihrān-rūd, which ran through the suburbs of Tabrīz, and the Sard-rūd to the south-west, which also came down from Mount Sahand, both joined the Sarāv-rūd at a short distance to the north of the city; and this latter river, which rose in the great mountain district called Sablān-kūh to the north-east of Tabrīz, flowed out into the Urmīyah Lake, some forty miles away to the westward of the city. The mountains of Sahand and Sablān, as also these various streams, are all carefully described by Ḥamd-Allah in Appendices II and IV (L. 204r, 205h, 217e, 218e, f).

The Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Ḥamd-Allah under the name of the Lake of Khanjast,¹ but the origin of the name is nowhere explained. He also frequently refers to it as the Salt Lake (Daryā-i-Shūr), or as the Lake of Ṭarūj or Ṭasūj, from the name of the town near its northern shore; and he writes that in an island of the lake the Mongol Princes had their burial-place under a great hill (L. 226f'). The town of Awjān, or Ujān [1], which Ghāzān Khān had rebuilt, lies to the east of Tabrīz, and its river, which rises in Mount Sahand, joins the Sarāv-rūd (L. 218e). Ṭarūj [2] or Ṭasūj,² which sometimes gave its name to the Urmīyah Lake, lay close to its northern shore, and to the west of Tabrīz.

Ardabil lay at the foot of Mount Sablān, on the river Andarāb, also called the Ardabil river; this, after passing the Bridge of ʿAli-Shāh, became an affluent of the Ahar

¹ The MSS. vary greatly as to the spelling of the name; Janjast, Janjash, Khunjani, and Ḥanjast appear with other variants. The medieval Arab geographers knew of the lake also under various names: thus Masʿudī (i, 98) and Ibn Hawqal (p. 247) call it the Lake of Kuhūdhan, Iṣṭakhrī (p. 181) writes of the Bahrayn-ah-Sharāt, and in Muḳaddasi (p. 380) it is called merely the Lake of Urmīyah. Abu-ʾl-Vidā (p. 42) knows it as the Lake of Tīlā; and according to Ḥāfiz Abrū (MSS., folio 27a) the island in the middle of the lake (now the Shāh peninsula, which only becomes an island at flood-water: see R. T. Günther, Geographical Journal for 1899, p. 516) was crowned by the castle known as Kalān Tīlā, said to have been built by Hūdāgā Khān. He had stored his treasures here, and after his death his tomb was made in this castle, which henceforth was called Gūr-Kalān, or ʿTomb-Castle.'

² Both spellings are given in the MSS. and occur on the present maps. In the map to the paper referred to in the previous note, Mr. Günther gives the name as Turseh.
river, which last flowed into the Aras (L. 217v). Above Ardabil, on the slopes of Mount Sablān, stood the Castles of Dīz Bahmān and Dīz Rūyīn (or Rūbīn) with some others (L. 204v). Khalkhāl is still the name of the District at the foot of Mount Sablān; in the time of Mustawfī it was also the name of its chief town [3], but this has apparently disappeared. The town, according to Yākūt (i, 198) and the Itinerary, was two days' march from Ardabil. In former times Fīrūzābād had been the capital of the Khalkhāl District, and Mustawfī mentions a number of the neighbouring villages (Amidah, Khāmidah-Bīl, Sanjad-rūd, and Zanjilābād), but none of these unfortunately are now to be found on the map. Dārmāraz, with the villages of Kūl, Jānkū, and Zāhar, was of this neighbourhood. Shāhrūd was the District on the stream called the Āb-Shāl, an affluent of the Safīd-rūd (L. 218h). Of this district the chief places were Shāl [4] and Kulūr (which still exist), and adjacent lay the Tālab (or Tawālīsh) District of ʿIrāk ʿAjāmī. Pīshkīn (which in the present maps is written Miškīn) is the name of the District of which Ahar [5] was the chief town; the town of Pīshkīn also existed, and formerly was known as Vārāvī, lying one march from Ahar. A number of other places were of this district, among them Takallaflah, Unār, which with Vārāvī is described by Yākūt (i, 367; iv, 918), also Arjāk, Jiyār, and Kalantar, this last being at the foot of the hill called Siyāh Kūh, 'the black mountain' (L. 205h). Most of the other places in Pīshkīn here mentioned must have stood on the southern slopes of the Sablān mountain (L. 204v), though only the last named, Kalantar, now appears on the map, Ibn Pīshkīn being the family name of the Amir of the Province.

The city of Ahar [5] lay on the river of the same name (the Ahar-rūd). This flowed down from the Pass of Armīnān, which the Mongols called Gūchah Nil (Blue Lake), and after taking up the Ardabil river discharged into the Aras (L. 217v; see also Route xxiii). To the north of Ahar was the mountain called Sarahand (L. 205e), and in the neighbourhood at the foot of Mount Sablān stood the
following places, namely, Darāvard, where the Mongols had their winter quarters, the Castle of Kahrān, Kīlan-Faḍlūn, and Māft (some MSS. have Yaft, and Bāft is printed in the Jihān Numa, p. 385). Murdān Naʿīm apparently lay to the northward of Ahar, on the Aras river. The castle of Naw-Diz (surrounded by the towns of Hūl, Būl, Hinduvān, and Bulūk-Injū) stood on the upper waters of the Ahar river and is described by Yākūt (iv, 822). The city of Khuvi [6], or Khoi, stands on an affluent of the Aras which rose in the mountains to the north of Salmūs [7]. This latter city, as well as Urmīyah [8], which now gives its name to the Lake, and Ushnūyah [9], all lie at some distance to the westward from the shore, standing on streams that flow into the Lake. The town of Sarāv [10], otherwise written Sarāt or Sarāb, lies under Sablān Kūh in the midst of four Districts, these are named by Mustawfi Warzand, Darand, Barāghūsh, and Sakhīr; its stream has already been mentioned as the most important of the rivers flowing through Tabrīz.

Miyānāh or Miyānij [11], formerly a large town, but when our author wrote a mere village, stands in the Garm-rūd or ‘Hot River’ district. At some distance above the town the river Garm-rūd, which rises in the mountains south of Sarāv, joins the left bank of the Miyānij river, and this last below the town further receives the water of the Hasht-rūd—‘Eight Streams’—on its right bank, which, before flowing in, passed under a great bridge of thirty-two arches, and had its source in the hills to the eastward of Marāghah (L. 218h, n, q; also Jihān Numa, p. 388). The Miyānij river itself came down from the west, rising in the country south of Ujān; after receiving the streams of its two affluentes, it turned northward at no great distance from the town of Miyānij, and poured its water into the Safīd-rūd, which from this point, and down a considerable length of its lower course, formed the boundary between the provinces of Adharbayjān and Persian ‘Īrāk. The Safīd-rūd—‘White River’—which Mustawfi says the Turks called Hūlān Mūlān (evidently a corruption
of the Mongol words *Ulan Mören*, meaning ‘Red River’, had its head-waters in the Kurdistān province in the Jībūl Panj Angusht, called in Turkish Besh-parmak, both names signifying the ‘Five-finger-mountain.’ Flowing northward, the Safid-rūd first received the Zanjān river (already mentioned in Chapter 2) on its right bank, then the Miyānij rivers on its left bank, and, next turning westward, received also on its left bank the united streams of the Sanjīdān and Gadīv-rūd (given in the Jīhān Numā, p. 388, as Sanjad and Kādpū) coming down from the hills to the south of Ardabil (L. 218f), the position of which river is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx). Below this, and also on the left bank, there flowed in the Shāh river from the Shāhrūd District, already spoke of in a previous paragraph. After passing through the Tālish district, the Safid-rūd was next joined on its left bank by the Tārum river, and then by the river Shāh-rūd of the Country of the Assassins, both of which streams have already been mentioned in Chapter 2, and finally in Kawtam of the Gilān Province the Safid-rūd flowed out to the Caspian (L. 215c).

Marāghah, one of the former capitals of the province of Adharbayjān, stood on the river Šāft-rūd, which, rising in Mount Sahand, flowed out directly, or indirectly by overflowing into the bed of the Jaghtū-rūd, into the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218g). The city of Marāghah was famous for the Observatory built by the order of Hūlāgū Khān for Nāṣir-ad-Dīn of Tūs, the astronomer, but in the time of Ḥamd-Allah this building was already in ruins. The districts of Marāghah are given as Sarājūn, Niyyājūn, Dazakh-rūd, Gāvdūl, Hasht-rūd, Bihistān, Angūrān, and Kūl Uzān

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1 Part of its course is now known as the Kizil Uzen, which in Turkish has the same meaning. For the Mongol words see *Mongolisch-Deutsch Wörterbuch*, by J. J. Schmidt, pp. 52b and 223c. From this and other passages, it is clear that Mustawfi uses *Mughāl* (Mongol) and *Turk* indifferently.

2 This stream is now called the Shāhrūd, like the great right bank affluent from the mountains north of Kazvīn, with which it must not be confounded.

3 These are described by General Schminder in the Berlin Zeitschrift für Erdkunde, 1883, p. 338, and a plan is there given.
but the spellings are uncertain. Basawā [12] or Pasavā will be found on the map to the south-east of Ushnūyah, and Dih Khwārkūn [13], on a stream from Mount Sahand, lies near the eastern shore of Lake Urmīyah. Laylān [14]—the MSS. generally spell the name Nāyīlān—is on the Jaghtū river, which, side by side with the river Taghtū, both rising in the Kurdistan hills, flows into the lake from the south. At periods of high flood the waters of the rivers Sāfī, Taghtū, and Jaghtū all mingle together in the swamp formed at the south-western corner of the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218b, p).

The town of Marand [15] lies to the north of the lake, and its river, which is also called the Zūlū, is a tributary of the Khoi (or Khuvī) river, which flows to the Aras (L. 218b). To the northward of Marand lay the castle of Dīzmūr, on a tributary of the Aras, which Yākūt (ii, 573) has also described. Zanjiyān or Zanjīyān [16] stood near the bridge over the Aras called Pūl-i-Khuda Ḍafārīn, and this was counted as of the Murlān Naftūn district mentioned above. In this neighbourhood also appears to have been the town of Rīvaz—some MSS. give Zathūr and Dīvaz, with Zanūz in the Jihān Nūmā (p. 387). Karkur [17] is mentioned by Yākūt (iv, 262), and is possibly identical with the fortress named Ḥisār Karnī (from a mistake of the copyist) by ‘Alī of Yazd; it stood close to the great bridge over the Aras, built by Dīyā-al-Mulk, son of Malik-Sīhū’s Wazīr, the celebrated Niẓām-al-Mulk. ‘Alī of Yazd describes this bridge at some length (Zafar Nāmah, i, 399), and it crossed the Aras on the direct road from Nakhchivān to Marand.

Nakhchivān [18], which the Arab geographers called Nashawū, lies to the north of the Aras, and four leagues from the city was the snow-clad mountain of Māst-Kūh (L. 206r). The fortress of Alaujīk, according to Saint Martin (Mémoire sur l’Arménie, i, 146), was called Erenjag in Armanian, and lay a short distance to the east of Nakhchivān. Mustawfi also speaks of Shūrmārī, Naghāz, and Faghān as fortresses of the Nakhchivān District; and probably likewise of this.
neighbourhood was Akhūn (or Ajnūn), known as the Kūr-khūnah or 'Workshop,' on account of the works at the neighbouring copper-mine. Urdūbād [19] stands on the Aras, at the junction of a stream from the north, which Mustawfi says rises in Mount Kiyān (or Kibūn), and on this same river higher up lay Azūd, the last town mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter 4. Mūghān and Arrān.

Contents: Bajarvān, 159v; Barzand, 160f; Pilvār, 160v; Maḥmūdābād and Hamshahrāh, 160k; Buylaḵān, 160n; Ganjah, 160p; Bardavāh, 160s; Hirak, 160v.

Mūghān or Mūkān is still the name of the Steppe country lying south of the lower course of the Aras river. Ḥamd-Allah states that this district stretched from the right bank of the river southward to the pass of Sang-bar-Sang—'Stone upon Stone'—in the hills above Pīshkīn, and that from the plain the mountain of Sablān Kūh was everywhere visible. As of this province he also mentions (L. 206k) the region called Gulistān Kūh—'Rose-garden mountain'—noted for its flowers, and here the Mulāḥid sect or Assassins had their famous paradise. Bajarvān had of old been the capital of Mūghān, but in the time of Mustawfi was fallen to ruin and became a mere village. It is no longer found on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary (Routes xx and xxiii) as lying four leagues north of Barzand [1], which still exists, and which was a notable town as early as the days of the Caliph Mu'tašim, son of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. Pilvār [2] or Pilcuvār (not marked on any map) stood on the stream coming from Bajarvān, and was eight leagues distant from the latter town. It is said to have been named after an Amīr of the Buyids. Maḥmūdābād [3] in the plain of Gāvbārī, near the Caspian, according to the Itinerary (Route xxi) was twelve leagues beyond Pilvār. Hamshahrāh lay two leagues distant from the sea-shore; it
was also called Bū-Shahrah or Abar-Shahr, according to the Jihān Numā (p. 393), but it is impossible now to fix exactly the position of any of these places, which appear to have completely disappeared from the modern maps.

The territory of Arrān, which the Arab geographers always spell Al-Rān (pronounced Ar-Rān), as though it were an Arabic name, is the triangle of land included between the rivers Aras and Kur—the Araxes and Cyrus. The Aras is described (L. 213b) as rising in the Kūlikalū mountains near Arzan-ar-Rūm (now Erzorum), whence it flows through Armenia and along the southern border of Arrān to its junction with the Kur, having been previously joined from the south, or right bank, by the Kāra Sū, the name, apparently, of the lower course of united streams which flow down from Ardabil and Ahar described in Chapter 3. The river Kur (L. 215y) also rose in the Kūlikalū mountains, and passing through Gurjistān came to the city of Tiflis. Below this town it formed the northern frontier of Arrān, and Ḥamd-Allah states that here a branch went off to the Lake of Shamkūr, though what sheet of water is thus indicated is not very clear. Thence the main stream of the Kur passed on down to its junction with the Aras, the combined streams flowing out to the Caspian after passing through the Gushtāsfi country.

The capital of Arrān was Baylakān, at the close of the fourteenth century A.D. frequently mentioned by ʿAlī of Yazd in his account of the conquests of Timur. During his siege the city was partially destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1403 A.D. by command of Timur, and a canal dug, six farsakhs long, bringing to it the waters of the Aras river (Zafar Nāmah, ii, 543, 545). Though apparently all traces of the town have disappeared, its approximate position is fixed by the Arab Itineraries of Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 122), Kūdāmah (p. 213), and Ibn Ḥawkāl (p. 251). According to these Baylakān lay fourteen leagues south of Bardbā‘ah, and seven or nine leagues north of the Aras bank, on the road coming up from Barzand. In Armenian it was known as Phaidagaran (Saint Martin, Mémoire sur l’Arménie,
i, 154). Bardhā'ah [4], a town that still exists, the name being more often written Barda’, stood on the river Tartur, a right bank affluent of the Kur; and Gaujah to the north-west is now more generally known as Elizabetpol, its Russian name. Sirak, or Hīrak, was the name of the summer pastures above Barda’, but it is not now found marked on our maps, and in the Jihān Nūmā (p. 392) the name is printed Turk.

Chapter 5. Shīrvān.

Contents: Bākūyāh, 159s and 161a; Shamākhī, 161a; Kabalāh, 161e; Fīrūzābād or Fīrūzḵūbād, 161d; the Gushtāsfi District, 161e.

The province of Shīrvān lay to the north of the Kur river, and extended to the foot of that part of the Caucasus range known to Moslem geographers as Darband-i-Bāb-al-Abwāb—‘the Barrier of the Gate of Gates.’ Bākūyāh, or Bākū, was its port on the Caspian, and Shamākhī inland—now called Shemākhā—was the capital city, famous, as Mustawfī relates, from the legendary Rock of Moses and the Fountain of Life, both of which were said to have existed here. Kabalāh stood near the mountains; its position is unknown, but from its mention by ‘Alī of Yazd (i, 406) when describing the campaigns of Timur in Georgia, it must have stood very near the river Kur, and the Kabalāh mountain is also mentioned by Mustawfī (L.206d). Fīrūzābād, or Fīrūz-kūbād, both names being given by Yūkūt (iii, 928, 929), was a town standing in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, though its position cannot be more exactly fixed. The Gushtāsfi province, said to have been so named after Gushtās, one of the ancient Persian kings, formed part of Shīrvān, and lay along the shore of the Caspian above the mouth of the Aras river.
Chapter 6. Gurjistān and Abkhas.

Contents: Alān, 161k; Ānī, 161m; Tiflis, 161n; Khunān, 161p; Karš, 161p.

In the district of Abkhasia Alān is given by Mustawfī as the name of a town lying under the Alburz Mountains on an affluent of the Kur. Ānī was the ancient capital of Georgia, the ruins of which still remain; but Tiflis had become the chief city of the province already in the time of Ḩamd-Allah. Khunān (reading uncertain, Janān, Khabān, and Hābān, all being given in the MSS.) was the name of a castle on the Arrān frontier. According to Mukaddasī (p. 382) and other Arab geographers this town lay halfway between Shamkūr and Tiflis, being three marches from either place. Karš, to the south-west of Tiflis, was already a town with a strong fortress when Ḩamd-Allah wrote.

Chapter 7. Rūm.

Contents: Sivas, 161y; Abulustān and Ankūrah, 162a; Arzanjuān, 162b; Arzan-ar-Rūm, 162s; Arāk, 162j; Asāk, 162l; Ak Sarāy, 162l; Ak Shahr, 162n; Amāsiyah, 162o; Anṭākiyah and Awnik, 162q; Bāburt, 162s; Zūfarūlī and Zubarkī, 162t; Dūlū, 162u; Kharbīr, 162v; Shahrah, 162w; Samsūn, 162w; Shīmsḥāt, 162x; Amūrīyah, 162s; Kālīkālā, 163b; Karā Ḥisār, 163e; Kustamūniyah, 163g; Kūmanāt, 163h; Kūniyah, 163j; Kayṣarīyah, 163s; Kāt, 163v; Kāmākh, 163w; Gūl, Kūr, and Bakīj, 163x; Lūlūh, 163y; Malātīyah, 163z; Nīdah and Niksār, 164e; Huṣbār, 164d; Yalḳān Bāzār, 164f; Zamandū, 164g; Kirshāhur, 164h; Kadūk and Tamarughāch, 164j; Ziyūrāt Bāzār, 164k; Agrīlūr and Kawāk, 164l; Kūsh Ḥisār and Sivri Ḥisār, 164m; Kulūniyah, Gustaḵī, and Malankūbiyah, 164n.

The kingdom of Rūm, Asia Minor, was at the time when Mustawfī wrote divided among the dynasties of the Ten Amīrs, who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Saljūḳs.
in these parts, and their history has been fully discussed by Professor Lane-Poole in the pages of this Journal (1882, p. 773). Unfortunately, the Arab geographers afford us but little information about Asia Minor, which, during the earlier centuries of the Abbasids, had of course formed part of the Byzantine empire, and which only came within the boundaries of Islām when occupied (470 A.H.) by the Saljūqs of Rūm in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. The next two centuries (the sixth and seventh of the Hijrah) were the period of magnificence for these Saljūqs in Asia Minor, after which their power rapidly waned before the rising glory of the Ottoman Turks, whose Sultan, 'Orkhān, in the early part of the fourteenth century A.D. had established his capital at Brusa, had organized the famous corps of the Janisaries, and, after taking Nicomedia in 1327 and Nicēa in 1330, was threatening the Ηollespont.

This was the state of affairs when Mustawfī wrote, and which is described by his contemporary Ibn Baṭūṭah, who travelled over the length and the breadth of Asia Minor during the year 733 (1333 A.D.). The description of Asia Minor given by Mustawfī, however, evidently dates from an earlier period, and gives an account of the country as it was under the Saljūqs; he knows nothing of the later conquests of the Turks, and the most western town, apparently, that he mentions is Gūl Iḥṣār, 120 miles south-west of Anqākiyah. More than one-half of the places mentioned in this chapter of the Nuzḥal can easily be identified on the modern map; but unfortunately, among some fifty place-names, I am unable to fix either the position or the true reading for nearly a score of towns, and neither Ibn Baṭūṭah nor Ḥājji Khalīfah are of much aid in the matter.

The Jihān Nūmā of the latter author quotes little of the Nuzḥal in the chapters devoted to Asia Minor, and the Jihān Nūmā describes the country as it existed in the days when Ḥājji Khalīfah wrote, namely, at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., when all Asia Minor had for nearly three centuries formed an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Further, the information which Mustawfī gives
about the towns that he names is very meagre, and the alphabetical order, in which for the most part these names are arranged, unfortunately fails to give the clue which we should have were the towns mentioned according to the various districts, or province by province.

The chief city of the Kingdom of Rûm was Sîvâs (Sobasteia), which had been rebuilt by 'Alâ-ad-Dîn Kay-Kubâd the Saljûk. Its wool was famous and was largely exported. Abulustân is now known as Al-Bustân, and is the mediæval Arabissus. Ankûrah (written with the dotted ǧ and short vowel) is Angora; but the name, as Yâkût (i, 390) states, is more generally written Angûriyah (with ǧ or ǧ, and long vowels), under which form it frequently occurs in the Züfar Nâmeh of 'Alî of Yazd (ii, 417 and elsewhere). Arzanjân on the upper Euphrates and Arzan-ar-Rûm (Erzerum) need no comment, being well known. Arûk also lay near the Euphrates, but it is not apparently marked on the map; neither is Aksik to be found, but the readings in both cases are doubtful. Ak Sarây—'White Palace'—is some distance to the south-west of the Tatta Lake; it was built by 'Izz-ad-Dîn Kîlij-Arsîlân the Saljûk in 566 (1171 A.D.).

There were two places called Ak Shahîr—'White Town'—one lying seven leagues north-west of Arzanjân; the other a town three marches to the north-west of Kûniyah, and both are marked on our maps. Amâsiyah (Amaseia on the Halys) and Anţâkiyah (Antiocheia) still exist. Awnîk or Avanîk is given by Yâkût (i, 408), and 'Alî of Yazd (i, 691) mentions it as having been stormed and captured by Timur; it being a castle in the mountains eight leagues distant from Arzan-ar-Rûm. Mustawfî adds that the town at the foot of the castle was called Abashkûr; and according to Saint Martin (Mémoire, i, 109) Avanîk is the place now called in Turkish Jâvân Kal'âh, which lies to the north of the Aras between Hasan Kal'âh on the west and Majînkird on the east. Bâbîr lies to the north of Arzanjân, but I am unable to identify Zûfarlû, Zû barkî, Dhûlû (or Zûlû), and Shahrah, which last is reported to have
stood on the coast of the Black Sea; the spelling, however, of the first three names is very doubtful, and apparently none of them occur in the pages of the Ḵīān Numā, or in any of the earlier geographers. Kharbirt, or Kharpūt, is near the junction of the eastern Euphrates or river Arsanūs, on which stream, but higher up, lay Shimshāṭ (see I.S. 57). Samsūn was already a celebrated port for shipping on the Black Sea; ‘Amūriyah (Amorium) still exists; Mustawfi, apparently by some error, states that the name was then pronounced Ankūriyah, which, as already noted, is Angora). Küliḵalā was a city in the country of this name, near the Armenian frontier (see I.S. 64), which has generally been identified with the Byzantine city of Theodosiopolis on the upper Euphrates, otherwise called Karin.

Ḵarā Ḩiṣār—‘Black Fort’—was the name of diverse castles, four of which were especially celebrated. One (apparently not marked in our maps) was on the mountains near Ḵaysariyah; another was of the district of Küniyah (probably the Ḵarā Ḩiṣār lying south-west of ‘Amūriyah); a third castle of this name stood near Nikdah, while the fourth Ḵarā Ḩiṣār is that lying a short distance north-east of Āḵ Shahr and belonging to the Arzānjan district. Ḵastamuniyah lies some distance west from Samsūn; and Kümanāt is one of the many towns called Comana by the Greeks. Küniyah is the older Iconium; here the castle had been built by Sulṭān Kılıç Arslān of cut stone, and in like material great city walls were erected by ‘Alā’-ad-Dīn Kay-Kubād the Saljūḵ; Küniyah further was celebrated for the tomb of the Šūfi saint and poet Jalā’-ad-Dīn Rūmī.

Ḵaysariyah (Caesarea Mazaka) still exists, but Kāṯ (or Kāb) is apparently not to be found on our maps. Kamāḵ (or Kamkh) on the Euphrates is well known (I.S. 48), and Gül is probably Gül Ḩiṣār to the south-west of Anṭākiyah, which was visited by Ibn Battūṭah (ii, 269), but the double town called Kīr and Bakīj I am unable to identify. Lūlūah is in the Cilician passes north-west of Tarsus, and Nikdah (or Nīgdah) lies to the north of it. Malaṭiyyah is Melitene near
the Euphrates (I.S. 48), and Niksär stands a short distance south-east of Samsün and Amäsiyah.

Hūshyär (which is not mentioned in the Jihān Numā) is said to have been the Castle of Karamān, better known as Larandah, the capital of the Karamān province on the borders of Little Armenia. Yalkān Bāzār (not marked on our maps) was a town between Kūniyah and Ḩāṣ Shahr, celebrated for its hot springs; and Kir-Shahr, frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 418 and elsewhere), stands half-way between Ankūrah and Kaysariyah. Zamandū, Kadūk (or Kadūl), and Tāmar Aghāch (or Tūr Aghach) I am unable to identify, and the names do not occur in the Jihān Numā. Ziyārat Bāzār is possibly the town of Ziyārat to the south of Kharpūt. Agrīdūr is the town at the southern end of the lake of this name; it is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūtah (ii, 266), also by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 485). Kāvak probably is the place of this name lying a short distance to the west of Sīvās. Sivri Hisār is the well-known city, north of 'Amūriyah, to which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 448), Timur marched in six stages from Angora. Neither Kulūniyah (Colonia) nor Kastaki occurs in the Jihān Numā, nor is either apparently to be found on the map, for both are said by Mustawfi to lie on the shore of the Black Sea.1 Kūsh Hisār, however, exists, standing to the south of Kastamūniyah, and Malankūbiyah, which is referred to by Yākūt (iv, 635), lies east of Kūniyah, and is the ancient Malacopia.

1 Kulūniyah of the Arab geographers is generally identified with Colonia, founded by Pompey as described by Procopius, which the Armenians call Aghovendzor, or Goghtoria, and which lies about 60 miles north-west of Kamk. See Saint Martin, Mémoire sur l’Arménie, i, 189.
Chapter 8. Armenia.

Contents: Akhlāṭ, 164; Abūṭ (or Abūulk) and Arjīsh, 164v; Arūṅk, 164x; Alāṭāk, 164y; Būrkīrī, 164z; Bayān, 165; Kharādn, 165c; Khūshāb, Jaramrast, and Lūkiyānāt, 165d; Hangānābād, 165e; Salām and ‘Ayn, 165f; Kabūd and Malā zgīrīd, 165g; Vān and Vasṭān, 165j; Valāśgird, 165m.

The Arab geographers unfortunately afford us but meagre accounts of Armenia, and though ‘Alī of Yazd in his description of the campaigns of Timur enables us to identify some of the outstanding names, Ḥūjji Khalfah in the Jihān Numā proves of little service. Hence, out of the list, as given above, it has been only possible to identify a third of the places named.

Ḥamd-Allah remarks that this country is divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia; but that with Lesser Armenia (otherwise Cilicia), of which the capital was Sis, he does not deal in detail, for this formed no part of Īrān. The great lake which is the central feature of the country, now called Lake Vān, Ḥamd-Allah describes (L. 226j) under the name of the Arjīsh or Akhlāṭ Lake, from what were then the two chief towns on its borders. It was celebrated for the fish called Ṭirrikkīh, with which its waters, that were salt, abounded. Our author also speaks of the modern Gūkchah Lake under the name of Buḥayrah Gūkchah Tangīz, meaning in Turkish ‘the Blue Lake’ (L. 226k). It lay on the Adharbayjān frontier of Armenia, and its waters were sweet and good for drinking; the Gūkchah Tangīz is also frequently mentioned by ‘Alī of Yazd (Zafer Nāmah, i, 414, 415; ii, 378).

The town of Akhlāṭ, at the north-west corner of the Vān Lake, was then the capital of Armenia and produced revenue to the amount of 50,500 dinārs (about £12,500), and above Akhlāṭ to the eastward rose the great mountain of Kūh Sībān, now called Sipān Dāgh (L. 205z). Neither Abūṭ, ‘a fine town,’ nor Arūṅk is apparently marked on the map; but Arjīsh is still found at the north-west end of the lake. Alāṭāk
is described as a good pasture-ground, where Arghun Khan had built himself a Saray or palace for his summer quarters; it is the mountainous region now known as Ala Dagh to the north and north-east of the lake, and is frequently mentioned by Ali of Yazd (i.S. 417, 421, 685); further, Timur kept his standing camp here during the Georgian campaigns. In the neighbourhood is the town of Band-Mahi (Fish Dam), one stage to the eastward of Arjish (see Route xxv) on the Arjish bay of Lake Van. Khushab lies at some distance to the south-east of the Van Lake.

The places named Bayan (or Nabur), Khurudin (Kharavin or Jazavin), Jarvarast (Jarvarib or Harsarbat), Luchiymat (Tumunat), Hangamabad, Salam (Shalam), Ayin, and Kabud, are none of them to be found in Yukut, though many of these names are copied into the Jihan Numâ (p. 418) without comment; they have apparently also disappeared from the map, and the readings are in most cases uncertain. Malazjid lies on the upper course of the western Euphrates, due north of Lake Van: the city of Van itself is near the eastern end of the lake, and Vastan lies on its southern shore. The exact position of Valashgird is doubtful; but Yukut (iv, 939) mentions a town of this name as situated near Akhlat, though none is now shown on the map.

Chapter 9. Jazirah or Upper Mesopotamia.

Contents: Mosul, 165p; Irbil, 165s; Arzan and Amid, 165t; Basaydah and Basurnul, 165v; Bartallah, 165w; Jasur, 165x; Bawazij and Jazirah Ibn ‘Omar, 165y; Hanî and Siwan, 165z; Hurran, 166a; Hisn Kayfa and Khubur, 166b; Ras-al-‘Ayn, 166f; Rakkah, 166g; Ruhah and Sa’ird, 166o; Sannur, 166p; Suk-ath-Thamânîn, 166t; A’kar, 166u; ‘Imadianah, 166w; Karkisya, 166x; Karmalîs and Marûn, 166y; Mûsh, 167c; Mayâfariyâh, 167e; Naşibin, 167f; Ninavi, 167l.

The upper part of Mesopotamia is known either as Jazirah, ‘the Island,’ or else as Diyar-Bakr and Diyar-Rabbah.
meaning the Lands of Bakr and Rabī‘ah, the two Arab tribes which had settled in these parts before the Moslem conquest. Diyar-Rabī‘ah is the south-eastern half of the province, with Mosul for capital; Diyar-Bakr being the north-western part, with Āmid for its chief town. Mosul on the Tigris was the largest city of the Jazīrah province; but Erbil (Arbela), to the eastward, standing half-way between the banks of the two Zābs, was a place of great importance. The Upper or Greater Zāb rose in the mountains of Armenia and flowed down to join the Tigris at Hadithah; while the Lower or Lesser Zāb, called also Majnūn, ‘the mad river,’ because of its swift current, rising also in Armenia joined the Tigris at the hill of Sinn (L. 214f). In many of the MSS.2 Arzan or Arzanah is next described, an important town standing on a left bank affluent of the Tigris, and its ruins still exist.

Āmid is the chief place of Diyar-Bakr (and the town is often called by the name of the province); it stands on the Tigris to the westward and higher up than the inflow of the Arzan river. The towns of Bāṣaydah and Bāṭarnūh I am unable to identify3 (the latter name being variously given in the MSS. as Bāţarnūkh, Bāţahbūj, etc.), but from its position in the alphabetical order, the first syllable is apparently Bā—the Syriac form of Bayt or Beth—so common in the place-names of this region. Barṭallā is mentioned by Yāḵūt (i, 567), and still exists about sixteen miles to the eastward of Mosul, but it is difficult to identify the town called Jār or Jasār, and the reading is probably corrupt. Bawāzīj, though it has disappeared from the map, is mentioned by Yāḵūt (i, 750), and from his account we learn that it stood near the mouth of the Lower

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1 Not to be confounded with Hadithah on the Euphrates, mentioned in Chapter 1.
2 British Museum MSS., Add. 7,708, 16,737, and 23,643. Not to be confounded with Arzan-ar-Rūm, otherwise Erzerum. In the Zafar Nāsrah (i, 665) the name is spelt Arzin.
3 Unless for Bāṣaydah we read BāṢabdah, which might be merely another way of spelling BāṢabdā (as the name is given by Yāḵūt, i, 466), the well-known town on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Jazīrah Ibn ‘Omar, which had been the Roman fortress of Bezabdā.
Zāb, and not far from the hill of Sinn. Jazirah Ibn ‘Omar is a town on an island in the Tigris above Mosul (see I.S. 34), and Ḥāni, to the north of Āmid, according to Yāḵūt (ii, 188), was celebrated for its iron-mine. What place Sitwān or Siwān represents is not clear, but the reading is not improbably corrupt.

Ḥarrān, with its castle of cut stone, founded, it was said, by Arphaxad, son of Shem, lay near the sources of the river Balikh, which joined the Euphrates at Raḵšān (L. 219'). Ḥiṣn Kayfā is an important fortress on the Tigris, lying due south of Arzan (I.S. 264). Khābūr is the name of some town on the Khābūr river, on which stood Rās-al-‘Ayn, and the Khābūr river, after taking up the Hirmās, joined the Euphrates at Ḥarqisiyā, or Circeium. Raḵšah, the ancient Callinicus, stands on the Euphrates, above the junction of the Balikh river (I.S. 50), near the famous battlefield of Sīffin. Ruhā, or Edessa, is described in many of the MSS.,¹ and some details are given of its wonderful churches. Sā’īrd (south of Bitlis) was famous for its manufacture of copper pots and cups. Sinjar stood on the mountain side overlooking the Tharthār river, this last being a branch stream from the Hirmās river, which, flowing eastward, joined the Tigris at Ṭakrīt (L. 219o).

Sūk Thamānīn—'Market of the Eighty'—records the settlement of that number of the companions of Noah when, according to Moslem tradition, the Ark came to rest on Jabal Jūdī. This Sūk Thamānīn is not found on the maps, but Mount Jūdī is known, and in his Itinerary Muḥaddasī (p. 149) reports that this town lay one march distant (west) of Jazirah Ibn ‘Omar, and Abu-l-Fidā (p. 275) says that Thamānīn lay to the north of Ḥamādīyah. 'Ākr, signifying 'a castle,' constantly recurs in place-names; the castle here intended is doubtless 'Ākr-al-Ḥumaydīyāh, mentioned also by Yāḵūt (iii, 696), which is marked on the map some thirty miles to the south-east of Ḥamādīyah. This last, a town of considerable size, is said by Mustawfī to have

¹ Those cited above, and others.
taken its name from ʿImād-ad-Dawlah the Buyid (brother of Muʿizz-ad-Dawlah), who died in 338 (A.D. 949). According to Ibn-al-Athīr (xi, 60), however, ʿImādiyyah had its name from ʿImād-ad-Dīn Zangi, Lord of Mosul, who had founded the town in 537 (A.D. 1142). Not far from ʿImādiyyah is Karmalis, of the Mosul district, also mentioned by Yaḥūt (iv, 267), which will be found to the south of Qartallā. Karkisīyā stands on the Euphrates at the junction of the Khābūr (I.S. 51). Mardin was famous for its castle, and the Sūr river which irrigated its gardens flowed thence northward to join the Tigris (L. 219p). Mūsh stands near the upper waters of the Arsamea or eastern Euphrates, Mayassarikayn lying south-west of it, and on a left bank affluent of the Tigris. Naṣībīn or Nisīb, celebrated for its roses and venomous scorpions, is on the Hirmās river, which forms the chief affluent of the Khābūr (L. 219m); lastly, Nineveh (Ninavī), opposite Mosul on the Tigris, was famous for the shrine shown here of the prophet Yūnūs or Jonah.


Contents: Alānī, 167q; Aḥsītar and Bahār, 167r; Khustīyān, 167s; Darband Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangi, 167t; Darbūl, 167u; Dinavar, 167v; Sulṭānābad Jamjūmāl, 167w; Shahrzūr, 167y; Kirmānshāh, 168a; Kirinda and Khūshān, 168f; Kangīvar, 168h; Mūyidasht, 168k; Harṣūn, 168l; Vasṭām, 168m.

The description of Kurdistān given by Mustawfi (which Hājji Khalfah has copied almost verbatim into his Jihān Numā) presents a number of small problems which I find myself unable satisfactorily to solve. Kurdistān, or the Land of the Kurds, is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, and it appears to have been first erected into a separate government under the Saljūks, who, in the time of Sulaymān Shah, divided it off from the rest of the Jībūl Province, which they called Persian Ṭrāḵ, as explained in Chapter 2. Sulaymān Shāh, under whose rule Kurdistān appears to have flourished greatly, surnamed Abūḥ (or
Ayūb) was the nephew of Sultan Sinjar, who had appointed him governor of this province, and Sulaymān Shāh at a later date—that is, from 554 to 556 (1159 to 1161 A.D.)—became for a short time the Saljūq Sultan of the Two Īrāks, and chief of his house.

Alānī (thus in the Jihān Numā, p. 450, though some MSS. read Alābī) was one of the chief towns of the province of Kurdistān, but no trace of it is to be discovered on the present maps, it is mentioned apparently by no other geographer, and is not marked in the Itinerary. At Alishatar (the next town named by Mustawfī) there was an ancient Fire-temple called Ardahish (or Arakhsh), and Alishatar [1] would appear to have been some town in the well-known plain of this name, still so marked on our maps. This town is possibly that given in Ibn Ḥawkāl (p. 259), and others, as lying ten farsakhs south-west of Nihāvand, being twelve leagues north of Sūbūrkhwāst. The older geographers, however, spell the name Lāshṭar, and the MSS. of the Nuzhat give every variety of reading for this name—such as Alīshṭ, Al-Bashir (so in the Jihān Numā, p. 450), Alīshar and Basht—so that the identification given above is more than doubtful; and in regard to the Fire-temple I am at a loss for any further references.¹

The town of Bahār [2], with its castle, which Ḥamd-Allah reports to have been the capital of Kurdistān in the days of Sulaymān Shāh, lies some eight miles to the north of Hamadān. Khustiyān (given as Khūnī, Ḥūkhan, Juffān, and Khāyūn, with diverse other readings in the MSS., the form Ḥūkshiyān being printed in the Jihān Numā, p. 450) is difficult to identify; it was a fine castle, according to Ḥamd-Allah, that stood on the bank of the Ţāb river (but

¹ On his march from Tustar to Shīrāz, Timur, according to Ḥ. of Yazd (i, 600), after crossing the Ab-Shirīn, camped on the Plain of Lāshtar, and two days later coming to the river of the Sha'b Davvān valley, halted at Basht. Both places will be found on the modern map, and naturally suggest themselves as possible alternatives, one or other, for the town of Kurdistān mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah; but unfortunately both would appear to be out of the question, and too far south (being well within the boundary of Fārs) ever to have been counted as of Kurdistān. The Jihān Numā, as usual, merely copies the Nuzhat without comment.
whether Upper or Lower Zab is not stated), being surrounded by many villages.

The towns of Darband (Pass of) Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, also, are neither of them marked on the map; Darband Tāshī Khātūn, however, is frequently referred to byʿAlī of Yazd (i, 585, 599, 640) in his account of the marches of Timur through Kurdīstān. Dirbil, or Dīzbīl, ‘a medium-sized town,’ likewise is not found either on the map or in the works of the earlier Arab geographers; the spelling, however, is most uncertain, the MSS. giving Dārisīl, Wazpal, etc., with some other variants.

Dinavar, the ruins of which have been described by De Morgan (Mission en Perse, ii, 95, 96), was still, when Mustawfī wrote, a fine town, and produced excellent corn crops. The ruins of Jamjamāl [3] are marked on the maps as lying due east of Kirmānshāh and south of Bisītūn [7], this position (for there are other villages of the same name) being confirmed by the distances given in the Itinerary (Route ii); and our author states that this place, called more especially Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl, was at one time the capital of Kurdīstān, and that it was founded by Sulṭān Uljaytū the Mongol. The city of Shahrazūr [4] is to be identified with the ruins at Yāsīn Tappah, in the present plain of Shahrazūr. The town was known to the Persians as Nīm-Rāh—‘Half-way’—that is, lying half-way between the ancient Fire-temple at Madāin and the Temple on the Adhurbayjān frontier at Satūrīk (already mentioned above in Chapter 2), which Sir II. Rawlinson has identified with Shīz of the Arab geographers (see J.R.G.S., x, 65).

Kirmānshāh, which the Arabs called Kirmīsīn, was celebrated for the sculptures in the neighbouring mountain of Bisītūn. Kirind [5] and Kūshān were two villages at the head of the Hulwān pass; the name of Kūshān has now apparently disappeared from the maps, though Kirind remains; and this lattor in the time of Mustawfī was the less important place of the two. Kangūvr̄, which the Arabs called Kaṣr-al-Luṣūs—‘Robbers’ Castle’—according to our author had been built with stones taken from the ancient
site at Bīsūtūn. Māydasht, or Māhidasht, is still the name of the great plain watered by the Kīrīnd river; and Harsīn [6], the name of a castle and town, lies some miles south-east of Kirmānshāh. Finally, Vastām [7], or Bastām, is apparently the hamlet near the present Tāk-i-Bustān, at the foot of the Bīsūtūn hill, for it is described as a large village lying over against the great Achaemenian sculptures, which represent, according to the Persians, King Khusrū Parvīz and his horse Shabdīz, with Queen Shīrīz, and those Mustawfi carefully describes in his account of the Bīsūtūn mountain (L. 203f‘).

Chapter 11. Khūzistān.

Contents: Tustar, 168p; Ahwāz, 169c; Tarb, 169c; Junday Shāpūr, 169g; Hawīzah, 169j; Dīzfūl, 169f; Daskanzh, 169g; Rāmhadmuza, 169r; Sus, 169t; Turzak, 169w; ‘Askar Mukram, 169x; Masrukān, 170a.

Before noticing the towns in this province it will be well to summarize such information as is given by Ḩamād-Allah about the rivers which flow out to the Persian Gulf by separate mouths or through the tidal estuaries of the Shaṭṭ-al-‘Arab. The chief stream of Khūzistān is the Kārūn, which Mustawfi and the older geographers call the Dujayl (or Little Tigris) of Tustar. This had its source in the Zardah Kūh—‘the Yellow Mountains’—of Great Lur, where also the Zandah-rūd of Isfahān had its head-waters (L. 204f, and see Chapter 2). The Dujayl river, after many windings, flowed down past Tustar to ‘Askar Mukram and Ahwāz, where it was joined by the Dīzfūl river, and their united streams poured into the broad estuary of the Shaṭṭ-al-‘Arab (L. 214c), which went out to the Persian Gulf. The Dīzfūl river, which joined the Kārūn below ‘Askar Mukram, was formed by the united streams of the Kāzki river and the Āb-i-Kaw‘ah (or Kar‘ah), which last, flowing down from
Burūjird (see above, Chapter 2), was also named the Silākhūr (L. 215u). Further to the westward came the Karkhah, also called the river of Sīs; this rose in the Alvand mountains; it was soon joined by the river Kūlkū, also by the stream from Khurramābād, and thence flowing down past Sīs to the Hawīzah country came to the tidal estuary of the Kārūn, by which its waters, uniting with the overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates, finally reached the sea (L. 216w, also Jihān Nūmā, p. 286).

The boundary between Khūzistān and Fārs was formed by the river Tāb, which is the name that Mustawfi and all the Arab geographers give to the river called at present the Jarrāhi; the modern Tāb river (flowing past Hindiyān) being presumably the mediæval Āb-i-Shīrīn, but there is some confusion in the present nomenclature. The Tāb river (of Mustawfi and the Arab geographers) rose in the Saram hills in Luristān, it was soon joined by the waters of the Āb-i-Masin which came down from the Sumayram mountains, and the united streams some distance below the point of junction were crossed by the great bridge of Rakān near Arrajān. After watering the Rīshahr districts the Tāb finally flowed out to the sea (L. 218s, u); and these places will all be more particularly mentioned in Chapter 12 on Fārs.

Khūzistān was coterminous on the north with Kurdistān, these two Provinces coming in between Arabian and Persian Trāk, though Saymarah, counted as of the latter (see Chapter 2), must have been very near the frontier of Trāk 'Arabi. When Mustawfi wrote the capital of the Khūzistān Province was Tustar, already then commonly called Shustar, famous for the great weir across the Kārūn, which at the city gate divided the stream into three parts, called respectively the Canals of Dasht-Ābād, of Dū-Dānik, and of Chahār-Dānik (Two Sixths and Four Sixths). Ahwāz has already been noticed in my paper on Ibn Serapion (p. 311). The town of Turb (or Tāb according to some MSS.), on the sea-shore, I cannot identify, but apparently it occupied more or less the position of Būsiyān, so frequently
mentioned by the earlier geographers. The ruins of Junday Shāpūr [1] exist at the village of Shāhābūd, lying half-way between Dizfūl and Tustar; the town was famous for its sugar-canes, as also was Ḥawīzah [2], lying to the east of the lower Kārūn, which town, Mustāwfi writes, was inhabited mainly by Sābīcans. Dizfūl—‘Bridge of the Dīz river’—was anciently called Andāmish, from the name of the bridge of forty-two arches which here crossed the Dīz river. This Bridge of Andāmish is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawkal (p. 259) and other earlier geographers whom Yākūt (i, 372) has quoted (see also Ibn Serapion, p. 312, and ʿAlī of Yazd, i, 589); its remains still exist (De Bode, Luristān, ii, 163).

Daskarah (or Dastgīr) was on the Trāk border, according to Yākūt (ii, 575), and possessed a strong castle, but its exact position is difficult to fix. Rāmānmūz [3], the name of which, says Mustāwfi, was already corrupted to Rāmīz, lay near the frontier of Fārs; Sūs [4], ‘the most ancient city of Khūzistān,’ was famous for the tomb of the prophet Daniel, and its ruins stand near the Karkhāh river some few miles south-south-west of Dizfūl (De Bode, ii, 186). For Sūs some of the MSS. give the spelling Sūsīn, but probably from the scribe having confused this Sūs with the town of a similar name in Luristān, already mentioned in Chapter 2. Tarāzak (or Tarārak, as given in the Jihān Numa, p. 284) cannot unfortunately be identified; it was famous for its excellent sugar-canes. ‘Askar Mukram [5], the ruins of which are at Band-i-ḡīr (see I.S. 312), Mustāwfi reports was also known by the Persian name of Lashkar or ‘Camp’; and somewhere higher up on the Masrūḵān stream [6] was the town of this same name, the site of which has apparently disappeared from the modern maps.
Chapter 12. Fārs.

Contents: Shīrāz, 170u; Coasts of Abu Zuhayr and of 'Umārah, 171w; Būshkānāt, 171y; Tawwjaj, 171z; Khabr, 172a; Khatūzūn, 172b; Khunayfīghān, 172e; Ramzavān, Dādūn, and Davān, 172f; Sarvistān and Kuβānjān, 172g; Sirūf, Nājīram, and Khūrsīn, 172h; Śimkān and Hīrak, 172k; Fīrūzabād, 172o; Karzūn, Kīr, and Abzar, 172o; Kāriyān and Karān of Ḫrāhistān, 172y; Kavār, 173b; Lāghir and Kāharjān, 173e; Mandastān, 173g; Mīmānd, 173k; Hāmū and Ḥamjān Kabrīn, 173l; Ḥuzū and Tānūh, 173m; Iṣṭakhr and its three Castles, 173o; Abruaj, 174f; Ābarkūh, 174g; Fīrāghah, 174m; Isfandān and Kūmīstān, 174o; Ikhtīd and Užān, 174p; Surmāq, 174q; Bāvūn and Mārūst, 174s; Bayyda, 174t; Ḥārīr, Abādāh, and Sabzvār, 174w; Ḥafraḵ and Kālī, 174x; Khurramah, 174y; Rāmijrūd, 174z; Māyīn, 175a and j; Šāhik and Harāt, 175b; Kuṭruh, Kūmīshah, and the Castle of Kūlmījān, 175e; Kāmīfīrūz, 175e; Kīrbūl, 175f; Kāmūn and Kārīn, 175g; Kālār and Kūrād, 175h; Yazdīkhwāst, Dīh Gūrdū, Shūrīstān, and Abādāh, 175l; Dīh Mūrūd and Rūdīān, 175m; Jahram and Khūrshāh Castle, 175o; Juwām of Abu Aḥmad and Samīrān Castle, 175q; Fāsū, Shāḵ Rūdbār, and Mīshānān, 175s; Nashāvār, 175z; Kāzirūn, 176a; Shāpūr City, 176a; An布rūn and Bāšt Kūtā, 176c; Bilād Shāpūr, 176g; Tīr Mūrduān and Jūbkān, 176r; The Jūlyāh Mountains, 176u; Jīrūrah, 176w; Gumbad Mallaghān and Pūl-Būlū, 176y; Kušht and Kumārīj, 177a; Khūllār, 177b; Khurmāyjān and Dīh 'Allī, 177e; Saḥāt, 177e; Šarām and Bāzrank, 177f; Ghundījān, 177h; Nawbandaṇājan and Kašāh Safīd, 177j; Sha'b Bāvvān, 177n; Kubād Khurrah and Arrajān, 177t; Bustānak, 177y; Rešāhīr, 177s; Hindījān, Khabs, and Fīrūzkū, 178a; Jannābā, 178e; Jallādjan and Hayvūdīn, 178f; Mahrūbān, 178g; Sinīz, 178l. The Sixteen Castles of Fārs, namely: Kašāh Isfandiyār, or Isfīd Dīz, 178p; the Castles of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), 178u; the Castle of Iṣṭakhr Vār, 179a; Abādāh, 179b; Dīz Abraj or Iraj, 179e; Tīz or Tabar, 179f; Tīr-i-Khuddā, 179g; Khūrshāh, 179h; Khurramah, 179l; Khuwādān, 179m; Khuvār and Ramzavān, 179n; Sahārah, 179o; Samīrān, 179p; Kārzīn, 179q; and Gunbad-Mallaghān, 179r. The Pasture-lands called Marghzhār,
namely: Ávar do Ürd, 179u; Dasht Rūn, 179w; Dasht Arzan, 179s; Sīkān, 180b; Bahāz or Bahramān, 180c; Bid Mashkān, 180d; Bāyādī and Shīlān, 180s; Kālī, 180b; Kūlān, 180k; Kāmkīrūz, 180m; Kāmīn, 180v; and Narkis, 180e. The Islands of the Persian Gulf, namely, Kays, 180r; Abrūn, 181d; Aburūmān, 181s; and Khārik, 181f.

In the time of the Īl-Khān dynasty Fārs had come to be a much smaller province than it had been during the Caliphate, and as described by the Arab geographers. In the pages of Ḥamd-Allah Fārs has lost the whole of the Yazd district on the north-east, this under the Mongols being given to Persian Tīrīḵ; while the eastern districts round Dārābīrd, having taken the name of Shābānkārah, had been formed into a separate province, which under this title will be noticed in the following chapter. A long and interesting account is given by Ḥamd-Allah of Shīrūz, the capital of the Fārs province since the Moslem conquest; the nine gates in its walls are enumerated, and its various mosques and shrines are described in some detail. Ḥamd-Allah notes further that the territory immediately adjacent to the city was called its Ḥīmah (often written Ḥīmah or Jawmah), a word that may be translated 'domain.' Two leagues distant from Shīrūz was the mountain called Kūh-i- Dārāk, on which the winter snow was stored in pits for use in the hot weather (L. 203v); while three farsakhs to the south of Shīrūz was a castle known as Kāl'ah-i-Tīz (other readings in the MSS. give Bir, Tabr, Tīr, Tashīr, etc.), which crowned a solitary hill, on the summit of which was a spring of water (L. 179d). Also in the Shīrūz district was the Castle of Khūvīr (L. 179n), and this place is mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 104) as a small town of the Ardashīr Khurrah district. Yāḵūt (i, 190; ii, 480), who copies the account, adds no particulars, and evidently cannot give more exactly the position. Shīrūz has no river, but its waters drain eastward to the salt lake of Māhalīyah (L. 226b), which is some twelve leagues in circuit, and lies in the plain a few miles from the city on the left hand of the road to Sarvīstān.
The shores of the lake were used for salt- pans, and much salt was exported from Shiraz to outlying places.

The sea-coast districts of Fars, known as the A’māl-i-Sīf, were divided between the Sīf—‘Coast’—of the Banī Zuhayr and the Sīf of Umārah. The positions of these districts are given by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 140, 141) and by Yūkūt (iii, 217), the former region lying near Sīrāf and the latter near the Kirmān border, over against the Island of Kays. The Būshkānāt District, according to the Fārs Nāmah (f. 86a), lay twelve leagues from Ghundijān towards Najīram. Tavvaj, often spelt Tawwaz [1], had been a celebrated commercial town in early days, but when Mustawfi wrote it was already in ruins. Apparently no traces of it now exist; it stood, however, near the lower course of the Shāpūr river, called the Tawwaj-Āb, and according to Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 128, 133) lay about half-way between Kāzirūn and Janmābah [40].

Khabr [2], somewhat over fifty miles south-east of Shiraz, exists, and was famous for its castle, called Kāl‘ah Tīr-i-Khudā—‘God’s Arrow’ (L. 179g). The region of Khatīzīn (which some MSS. give as Khayriz or Khatūhar) I am not able to identify; the districts of Ramzavān and Dādhīn lay south of Jirrah. Davān plain, according to the Fārs Nāmah (f. 73b), lay six leagues north of Māyīn [17]. Khunayfghān [3], which was commonly called Khanūfgān, was to the north of Fīrūzābād at the sources of the Burūzah river. Sarvīstān is near the eastern end of the Māhalīyah Lake; but Kūhjān (or Kūbanjān in the Fārs Nāmah) has apparently disappeared from the map. Of Sīrāf, the celebrated port on the Persian Gulf, the ruins still exist, and have been described by Captain Stiffe (J.R.G.S., 1895, p. 166), and according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 34) Najīram lay to the northward of it, Kūhrash (or Kūhradh) being of its dependencies.

Ṣīmkān [4] lies to the east of Fīrūzābād (cf. Stack, Six Months in Persia, ii, 232), and Hirak was a large village near by. Of Fīrūzābād, anciently called Jūr, the chief town of the district of the same name, Ḥamd-Allah gives a long account, mentioning also its castle (L. 179o), called Kāl‘ah Shahārah, which crowned a height four leagues
from the city. The Fīrūzābād river was called the Āb-i-Burāzāh\(^1\) (L. 219\(\text{g}\)), a right bank affluent of the Āb-i-Zakān (L. 214\(\text{z}\)), which last is by far the most important stream in this part of Persia. The Zakān (or Zhamān; the MS. of the Fārs Nāmah always spells the name Thakān) is named by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 120) and other Arab geographers the Nahr Sakkān, and is the present Kārā Aghāch, which rises at some distance to the north-west of Shīrūz. It flows into the sea a little to the south of Najfam, and in its lower course is now known as the Mand river. The town of Kavār [5] is near its left bank (half-way between Shīrūz and Khābr already mentioned), and after passing Simkān, not far from its right bank are the towns of Kīr, Kūrzīn [6], and Abzār. Kāriyān [7] lies at some distance to the eastward of these places, and Lāghir [8] is mentioned by Mr. Stack (ii, 233), also by Mustawfi in his Itineraries (Route xxviii).

Kūrzīn had a celebrated castle (L. 179\(\text{g}\)) on a hill overhanging the river bank. Kaharjān or Makarjān apparently lay near Lāghir, and about half-way between this last and Sirāf, on the coast, was the town of Kūrān [9] in the Irāhistān District, lying adjacent to the Zuhayr coast, mentioned in a previous paragraph and described by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 106, 141, 454). The region of Māndistān was on the coast, and probably the name is connected with the present Mand river, as the lower part of the Kārā Aghāch (Āb-i-Zakān) is called. Mīmand [10] is the chief town of the Nāband district on the coast, to the east of Sirāf, as mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 104), but I am unable to identify Hūmū or Hāmjān Kābrīn; many MSS. give Harmūd and Hamjān Kīrtān, and the readings are more than doubtful. The port of Huzū was opposite the Island of Kays; this is the last stage in the Itinerary (Route xxviii) from Shīrūz to the coast; and Tānah (or Tābah) was a village near.

\(^1\) This is the spelling of the Fārs Nāmah (L. 795), who says it was so named after the great engineer Hākim Burāzāh of the days of King Ardashir. The MSS. generally give the name as Barārah.
The city [11] of Ištakhr (Persepolis) had been the capital of Fārs before the Moslem conquest. It lay on the banks of the Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218r), a left bank affluent of the Kur. In the neighbourhood of Persepolis was a cave in the mountain called Kūh-i-Nīsht (or Na‘īsht), where there were famous sculptures (L. 206v). Ištakhr was celebrated for its three great castles, called the Sih-Gumbadhān—'Three Domes'—which crown the hill-tops to the north of the Marvdasht plain. These were known as the Kal‘ah Ištakhr, the Kal‘ah Shikastah—'the Broken Castle'—and the Kal‘ah Shankuvān (L. 178u). Further, there was the Kal‘ah Ištakhr Yūr, or Bār, probably on the hill above Persepolis (L. 179a), where ruins still exist. The remains of the three castles on the hill-tops to the westward, which were famous for their great cisterns, have some of them been visited and described by Morier (Second Journey in Persia, pp. 83, 86) and De Bode (Luristān, i, 117). Abraj, as the name is spelt in the Fārs Nāmah, often incorrectly written Īraj, appears from Ištakhrī (p. 102) to have been near Māyîn [17], and it stood at the base of a hill, on which was a strong castle called Dīz Abraj or Īraj (L. 179c). Abarkūh1 is the well-known town on the frontier of Fārs [12] towards Yazd; and near it was Farāghah (written Marāghah in some MSS., also in the Jihān Numā, p. 266), which was celebrated for its cypresses. Uzjān, or Ujān, lies north of Māyîn. Not, however, to be found on the map are Isfandān (or Isfīdān) and Kumistān (or Kūhistān), these being all copied into the Jihān Numā (p. 266), and near Kumistān in

1 According to Ḥamd-Allah (L. 174r) Abarkūh was remarkable for the fact that no Jew could survive for more than forty days who settled here. Hence these people were not found among the population of the town. Further in Abarkūh stood the tomb of the celebrated saint surnamed Tāsūs-al-Harāmāyin—‘Peacock of the Two Sanctuaries,’ viz. Mecca and Medina—and it was a known fact that his shrine would never suffer itself to be covered by a roof. However often a roof was erected over the tomb, it was invariably destroyed by a supernatural power, lest the saint’s bones should become the object of an idolatrous worship. The same phenomenon is said by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 113) to be characteristic of the shrine of Ibn Ḥanbal at Baghdad; and Professor Goldziher has some interesting remarks on this subject in his Muhammedanische Studien (i, 267).
the mountain there was a mighty cave. ᾰkliē [13] and Surmaç [14] lie to the south-west of Abarḵūh. Bāvān (with variants Tavān or Tūmān) and Marūst (possibly Marvdasht) were two villages in the great Persepolis plain, which itself bore the latter name; in the upper, western, part of the Marvdasht plain lay the city of Bayḍā [15], celebrated for its pasture-lands.

The town of Abūdah stood on the northern side of Lake Bakhtīgān, and there was a celebrated castle here (L. 1796). This town is frequently mentioned by Ḩafrak is the district near the junction of the Pulvār river with the Kur, and Ḥafrān was near Lake Bakhtīgān. Sabzivār and Kālī (or Fālī) appear to have been famous meadow-lands or Marghzār near the Pulvār river (L. 1804). Kharramah [16], also celebrated for its castle (L. 1796), is a town to the east of Shirūz near the Bakhtīgān Lake at the place where the river Kur flows in. Rāmjīrd is the district higher up the river Kur—above the plain of Marvdasht—and Mūyīn [17] is the capital town of Rāmjīrd.

These districts were all watered by the Kur, of which Mustawfī gives a long account (L. 216a). This river rose above Kallār [22], was joined on its right bank by a stream from Shaʿb Bāvān, and lower down on the left bank near Persepolis by the Āb-i-Pulvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218r). In its lower reaches the Kur river was crossed by a number of weirs, each serving to raise a head of water for irrigation purposes. The first dam or weir was that called the Band-i-Mujarrad, an ancient foundation, which was repaired under the Saljuḵs by their Ḍabāq, or Governor, in Fūrs, the celebrated Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Chāušt (spelt Jauš by Ibn-al-Aṭhir, x, 202), who then gave it the name of Fakhristān. Below this was the ‘Adudī or Band-i-Amir (Bendemir of the poet Moore, in Lalla Rookh), built by ‘Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyād, and marked in the Itineraries (Route xxxii); this served to raise the waters for irrigating the two districts of Upper and Lower Kirbāl. The lowest of the dams was the
Fuller's Weir—Band-i-Ḵaṣṣār—at no great distance above the point where the Kur flowed out to the Lake of Bakhtīgān. This was the largest of the salt lakes of Fārs, and when Mustawfī wrote was surrounded by populous districts and towns, among which occur the names of Ḥurūr, Abūdāh, Khayruh, Nayrīz, and Šāhik (I. 225y). The north-western part of the lake was known as the Bulayrāh Būsaflīyāh (I. 226r), and it was celebrated for its fish. Šāhik (or Ḡāhīk) and Ḥurūt [19] lay at some distance from the eastern borders of the Bakhtīgān Lake, and Kuṭruh [20] is to the south-east.

The most northern town of Fārs towards Isfahān is Šīmishāh, protected by the Castle of Kūlanjān. The district of Kām Fīrūz lay on the banks of the Kur river (south of Rāmjīrīd), being celebrated for its lion-haunted forests; and the two districts of Kīrālī, as already said, were on the lower reaches of the same river near the Fuller's Weir (Band-i-Ḵaṣṣār). Kāmin [21] lies north of Ištākhri, near the Pulvār river, and Kūrīn was a town near it. Kallār and Kūrad [22] were on the upper waters of the Kur river, and their positions are fixed by Muḥaddasī (p. 458) in his Itinerary, being five farsakhs north of Kām-Fīrūz. Yazdikhwāst [23] and Dīh Gīrdū [24] lie on the road to Isfahān, and in this connection Abūdāh [25] (which still exists, and is not to be confounded with the town of the same name on Lake Bakhtīgān) is mentioned, lying to the east of Dīh Gīrdū. Šīrīstān, according to the Fārs Nāmah, lay half-way between this northern Abūdāh and Yazdikhwāst, while Dīh Mūrād—'Myrtle Village'—called by the Arab geographers Kariyat-al-Ās or Būdanjān, stood by the shore of Lake Bakhtīgān, half-way between the southern Abūdāh and Šāhik. Rādēhān, according to Ištākhri (p. 102), lay half-way between Šāhik and Shahr-i-Bībāk.

In the south-eastern part of Fārs, the town of Jāhram [26] is well known, and was famous in the time of Mustawfī for the strong castle, lying five leagues away on a hill-top, called Kal'ah Khūrashah (L. 179h). Juvaym [27] of
Abu Aḥmad\(^1\) lies south-east of Jahram, and its castle too was famous, being known as the Ḫal'ah Samīrān or Shamīrān (L. 179\(p\)). The city of Fāsū lies north of Jahram, on the border of Shabānkūrah; Shaḵk Rūdbār and Mīshānān (or Pīshkūnāt in some MSS.) were of its dependencies, and the castle called Ḫal'ah Khāvālūn (L. 179\(m\)) was a strong place in the neighbouring district.

Kāzirūn lies west of Shīrāz, on the road down to the sea. Mustawfī gives a long account of the place, which had originally consisted of three towns. In the plain to the east of Kāzirūn is the lake which Mustawfī calls the Buḥayrah Mawz, but the reading of the name is doubtful, both in the *Nuzhat MSS.* and in the text of Ibn Ḥawḵal (p. 193), from whom, apparently, he has taken the name of the lake. The ruins of the old city of Shāpūr [28] are to be seen at some distance west of Kāzirūn, and have been described by De Bode (*Luristan*, i, 214) and others. Shāpūr city appears originally to have been known as Bīshāvūr (for Bīh-Sābūr). Mustawfī gives a long account of the place, and further describes the colossal statue of King Shāpūr, which may still be seen in the neighbouring cave. Anbūrūn was a small town near Nawbanjūn [29], and Būsht Kūṭā (some MSS. give Mūsht Fūṯā) a district in the mountains near, the whole of this neighbourhood being known under the name of Bilād Shāpūr, or the Shāpūr Country. Tir Murdān [30] was an important place mentioned by Yaḵūt (i, 905), and it lay, according to ‘Alī of Yazd (i, 607), beyond the Valley of Bavvān and west of Karkān, which is mentioned in the Itinerary (Route xxxiii); the place called Jūbkān (or Khūbigān) and other districts were in its neighbourhood.

The mountain region called Jabal Jīlūyah was on the Luristān border, and the name is probably connected with

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\(^1\) So named to distinguish it from Juvaṃ [35], one stage to the north-west of Shīrāz (see Route xxviii). This last is sometimes (incorrectly) written Juvaṃ; and in this case must not be confounded either with the city of Juvaṃ in Sīstān to the north of Zaranj (see Route xvii), or with the Juvaṃ District of Khurāsān (see Chapter 17) lying between Jājarm and Sabzīvār.
the Kurdish Zamm, or tribe, of Jilüyah mentioned by Iṣṭakhri (pp. 98, 113). Mustawfī elsewhere (L. 2067') speaks of the mountains called Kūh Gilüyah, and apparently a neighbouring range was the Kūh Kūshid lying between Fārs and Trāhk, where of old had lived a dragon slain by King Kay Khosrū, who then built here the Fire-temple afterwards known as Dayr Kūshid (L. 2068). Probably of this district also was the mountain of Kūh Mūrjān (or Mūrkhan), in which was a cave, with dropping water, that was considered a talisman (L. 2067).

The Āb-i-Ratīn, which rose in the district of Khumāyījān, was an upper affluent of the Shānpūr or Bishāvpūr river, the lower part of which was called the Āb-i-Tavvaj, where it passed the city of Tavvaj, or Tawwaz [1], before falling into the Persian Gulf (L. 219a, f). The Shānpūr river, up in the mountains, was joined on its left bank by the Āb-i-Jirrāh, which, flowing down from the Māsaram and Ghundijān districts, passes the city of Jirrāh [31], which is some miles south-east of Kāzirūn. Before its junction with the Shānpūr river, the Jirrāh river received from the south the combined waters of the Āb-i-Jarshīk and the Ikhshīn river, this last being famous for its stone bridge called the Kāntarah Sabūk (L. 219b, d).

Gumbadān Mallagān [32] lay about half-way between Nawbanjān and Arrajān, at the place now called Dü Gumbadān, where there are extensive ruins (De Bode, i, 258). It was famous for its castle, in the district of Pūl Buūl, which "was so strong a Kal'ah that a single man could hold it" (L. 179r). Khīshht [33] and Kūmrūj [34] lie on the road down from Shīrāz to the coast, and not far from the banks of the Shānpūr river. Khullūr [35], celebrated for its mill-stones, lies about half-way between Nawbanjān and Shīrāz; Khumāyījān, with Dīh 'Alī, being a district to the westward of Khullūr. To the north, on the Lur frontier, came the districts of Sisht (or Salha in some MSS.), also Būzrank and Şarām, which last Yākūt (ii, 45) gives as Charām. Ghundijān, generally called Dasht Bārīn, was the region in the neighbourhood of Jirrāh [31], and here stood the
castle called Ḍal'ah Dam Darān, or Ram Varān, for the name is variously given in the manuscripts (L. 179n).

Nawbanjān [29], more commonly called Nawbandagān, had been rebuilt by Atabeg Chāūlī; it was renowned for the great White Castle, and for the neighbouring valley called Sha'b Bāvvān, always counted as one of the four earthly paradises, such was its fertility and beauty. Isfīl Dīz, 'the White Castle,' also called Ḍal'ah Isfandiyār (L. 178r), after one of the heroes of ancient Persia, lies two leagues distant to the north-east of Nawbanjān, and occupies the summit of a table-mountain; it is accessible by one road only, being on all sides protected by precipices (Macdonald Kinnair, Persia Empire, p. 73). At the foot of the mountain fastness was a second smaller castle called Nishmāk (Nishkunān in some MSS.). Half a century after the time of Mustawfi, Ḍal'ah Safīd (as it was more generally called) became famous for the siege and sack which it suffered at the hands of Timur, as recorded by 'Alī of Yazd in the Zafar Nāmah (i, 600).

The Kūrah or district of Kubūd Khurrah was one of the ancient divisions of Fārs, and according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 125) it was that of which Kūrzīn [6] was the capital, already mentioned, near the Zakkān river, on the eastern border. Arrajān was the chief town of Fārs on the western side, towards Khūzistān. It is now a complete ruin, being replaced by Bihbahān, which appears to have been founded in the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D., after the time of Mustawfi, but prior to the date when Timur invaded Persia. In the account of his campaigns given in the Zafar Nāmah (i, 600), the city of Bihbahān only is mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, though its river is called by him the Ab-i-Arghūn, that is to say, the Arrajān river, as confirmed by the statement of both Yākūt (i, 193) and Mustawfi, who write that Arrajān in their day was generally called Arraghūn or Arghūn. Its ruins lie not far from the bank of the (older) Tāb river, now known as the Jarrāhī (see above, Chapter 11), which separates Fārs from Khūzistān. At the crossing of the river was the celebrated bridge called
Pūl-i-Takān, which is described by Ištahkhrī (p. 134). The ruins of this bridge still exist, also those of a second bridge likewise described by the Arab geographers, and fully noticed in the travels of De Bude (Ľuristān, i, 297), who, it may be remarked, was the first to identify Arrajān.

According to Ḥamād-Allah there were various castles of the Isma'ilian sect, known as the Assassins, in the hills above Arrajān. Such were Kūl'ah Tāyṣūr and Dīz Kālāt, this last being one league distant from the town of Rūshahr [36], otherwise called Rūshūr, which lay to the west of Arrajān. Būstānak [37] was the last stage in Fūrs on the Khūzistān frontier, as given in the Itinerary (Route xxxiii). Hindijān exists, Ḥabs (also given as Jīs or Khab) and Fūrzuk were near Arrajān, but the spelling of these names is not sure, and their exact position is uncertain. Jannābā [40], also called Ganbah, was a celebrated port on the Gulf, the ruins of which still exist; it was originally named Gandāb, or 'the back-water,' by the Persians. The river called the Āb-i-Shīrīn, which rose in the hills called Kūh-i-Dīnār, flowed out to the sea near Mahrubān and is the modern Tāb or Zuhrah river. Near Jannābā was the mouth of the Sītādkān or Shādkhān river, which flowed down from the Būzrank hills (this district has been mentioned above) and the region of Kābarkīn (L. 218v, u). According to Mustawfi, Jallādīn and Hayvūdīn (many MSS. give Hūdvīn) were districts near Arrajān; Mahrubān [38] was the port on the Gulf at the frontier of Khūzistān, Sinīz [39] being the next port down the coast, eastward, and on the other side of the bay opposite Mahrubān.

The river Khwāndān, or Khūbdhān (L. 218z), was an affluent of the Nahr Shīrīn, which flows out to the sea near Mahrubān (the modern river Tāb, see above, Chapter 11). It rose in the Khūbdhān or Khwāndān hills near Nawbanjān [29], and in its lower course watered the district of Jallādīn already mentioned. There is, however, much confusion in the nomenclature of all these rivers of western Fūrs; and this goes back to the descriptions of them given by Ištahkhrī and other of the Arab geographers, whose notices do not
tally with the streams as shown on our present maps. This is especially the case with the river called the Āb-i-Darkhīd (or Darkhuvayd), which flowed out of (some MSS. give it as flowing into) the Darkhīd Lake (L. 218γ, 226δ), which lay to the west of Nawbanjān. It was a large river and not easily fordable, but what stream it corresponds to on our modern maps is not very clear, though it may be that now known as the Āb-i-Shūr.

In regard to the celebrated castles of Fārs Ḥamd-Allah states that these had numbered over seventy in ancient times, but that most had gone to ruin with the lapse of time, and sixteen only in his day remained standing. All these have been mentioned in previous pages, when speaking of the various towns or districts to which each belonged, and it is needless to recapitulate them here, the list having been given in the table of contents to this chapter.

Ḥamd-Allah next enumerates the various Marghzhārs, the celebrated pastures or meadow-lands of Fārs. That of Āyard (or Urd) was on the road between Isfahān and Shīrāz, near Kūshk-i-Zard, two stages south of Yazdikhwāst (see Route xxvii); and the Marghzhār of Dasht-i-Rūn (or Ravān) was one stage south of this again, near the Rubāt, or Caravanserai, of Salāh-ad-Dīn, whence it extended to the Shahriyār Bridge over the upper course of the Kur river. The Marghzhār of Dasht Arzin lay near the lake of that name (L. 226α) on the road between Shīrāz and Kāzirūn; it was noted for the lions who haunted its thickets, and the same remark is added to the notice of the Marghzhār of Shīkūn (Uskhūn, Arashkūn are other readings of the name) in the district of Juwaym of Abu Ḩamad; in the neighbourhood of which also was the Marghzhār of Bahmān. The Marghzhār of Bīd and Maszkūn appears to have been near Tustar in Khūzistān; that of Baydā was near the town of that name in the Marvdasht plain. No position is given for the Marghzhār of Shīdān close to which was ‘the Lake of the Marghzhār’ (L. 226ε), but this meadow-land was famous as being one of the four earthly paradieses. The Meadows of Kūlī (or Fūl or Fūl) were on the banks.
of the Pulvär river, where also lay the Marghzär Külän near the grave of the Mother of King Solomon, as the Moslems have named the Tomb of Cyrus; while further down the Pulvär river were the Kamín meadow-lands. The Marghzär of Küm Firüz lay along the Kur river, where its thickets were haunted by lions; and lastly, the Marghzär-i-Narkis—‘the Narcissus-Meadows’—were between Küzirün and Jirrah.

The Persian Gulf and its Islands are described by Mustawfi at the end of his chapter on Fārs, and also at a later page (L. 222z) when describing the Seas; farther, he gives the distances between the chief islands in his Itinerary (Routes iv and xxviii). Some confusion, however, exists in the names given during the middle ages to the various islands. The Island of Khārik still bears this name, and lies some forty miles north-west of the modern Bushire. On the road to India, and eighty leagues further down the Gulf, came the Island of Alān (otherwise Lān or Allār), which by the distances must be the present Island of Shaykh Shu‘ayb. According to Mustawfi and other geographers, between this and Kays came the two islands called Abrūn and Khayn, and the former is probably that now known as the Hindarabi Island.

The great emporium (Dawlat-Khānah) of Kays, as described by Mustawfi, was the most populous island of the Gulf, and lay four leagues from Huzū on the mainland, where the road coming down from Shirūz reached the coast. From Kays the ships sailed for India, and at the narrows of the Gulf came the great island called Abrūkamānān (Abarkumān in some MSS. or Abarkāfān, with many other variants). Yākąt (iv, 342) calls this Lāft, or the Island of the Bani Kawān, and its name was spelt in a variety of different ways: but, undoubtedly, what is now known as the Long Island of Kishm (Jazirah Ṭawilah) is the place indicated. To the east of this came Hurmuz, which will be mentioned in Chapter 14 on Kirmān; and the island of Hurmuz was called Jirūn where the city of New Hurmuz came to be founded. A neighbouring island,
however, appears already from the earliest times to have borne the name of Urmūš or Urmūz, recalling the name of Hurmuz. It is mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah (L. 222a) and many of the earlier Arab geographers, as, for instance, Ibn Khurdābdīh (p. 62), but what island this Urmūš now corresponds to is not very clear. The island of Jāšik may, from what Yāḳūt (i, 503) writes, be another name for the great Island of Kishm, and therefore a duplicate name. Besides Jāšik (or Khāšik) Mustawfi mentions (L. 222a) the islands of Kand, Anāšāk, and Lāhūr (in the MSS. given as Lādur or Lāwur, and possibly identical with Lān or Lār already given), but these I am unable satisfactorily to identify.

Chapter 13. Shabānkārah.

Contents: Avig, 181k; Darkūn, 181m; Iṣṭahbanān, 181n; Burkh, Tūrūn, Khayrah, Nīriz, and Mīshkānāt, 181p; Dārābgird, 181r; Kurm and Rūbanz, 181w; Lār, 181x.

What became the province of Shabānkārah under the Mongols, had formed the eastern part of Fārs in the time of the Caliphate, as already stated in the previous chapter. The name Shabānkārah does not occur in the earlier geographers, but the district came in Mongol days to be called after the people who inhabited it, the Shabānkārah being a powerful family settled in these regions during the period of the Saljūk supremacy. They waged successful war against the Saljūk Atabegs—against the Amīr Chaḥūli, mentioned in the previous chapter, in particular; and finally after the fall of the Saljūks these Shabānkārah were left masters of the whole western part of Fārs.

Nearly all the towns named by Ḥamd-Allah as of Shabānkārah may still be recognized on the present map. The capital of the district was İg, or Avig, a strong fortress, with the town of Darkūn [1], or Zarkūn, situated at no great distance from it, both places still existing, and further,
being mentioned by the earlier authorities. Ištahbūnān [2], which the Arab geographers write variously as Ištahanāt, Išbuhūnat, and Išbahbadhūt, is now called Savānāt, lying a short distance north-west of Īg; Nīrīz [3] lies to the east of it, and Khayrah [4] between Savānāt and the shore of Lake Baktīgān (see Route xxxii), which, in its south-eastern bay, forms the northern frontier of the Shabānūkārāh district, and is often called the Lake of Nīrīz. Burk represents the town the name of which is now generally pronounced Furj, and which the Arab geographers wrote Furj. There is, however, the evidence of Muḥaddasī (p. 428) that of old there were here two neighbouring towns, called Furj and Burk, and the latter site is now probably represented by the Castle of Bahram, described by Mr. Stack (Six Months, i, 156). Tārīm [5] lies on the frontier to the east of Furj; the Mīshkānāt (or Māskīnāt) district being on the road between Khayrah and Nīrīz.

Dārabgīrd had been the chief town of eastern Fārs in earlier days; there was near this in the hills a famous pass, called Tang-i-Zīnah, commanded by a strong castle. The mountains of Dārabgīrd (L. 204f '') were celebrated for the salt, of seven diverse colours, that was dug out of the mines here, and in the southern part of the country was the mountain called Kūh-i-Rastak, “three leagues in height, like a snow-covered dome,” where great serpents abounded (L. 204g). The towns of Kurm [6] and Rūbanz (generally spelt Rūūz, in error, in the MSS.) lay on the road towards Fasū; the first still exists, and Rūbanz or Rūbanj was the chief town of the Khasū district mentioned by Muḥaddasī (p. 423), the town of Khasū, now to be found on the map, being identical in all probability with the older Rūbanj city. Lār, which is not mentioned by the older Arab geographers, appears to have been a foundation of the Shabānūkārāh. Mustawfī speaks of it merely as a district (Vilāyat), but his contemporary, Ibn Baṭīṭūh (ii, 240), speaks of “the great city of Lār,” celebrated for its five markets, and Ḥamḍ-Allāh adds in his account that the people of Lār were mostly merchants who occupied themselves with sea voyages.

Contents: Guwāshīr or Bardasār, 182o; Bam, 182p; Jiruft, 182p; Khabīs, 182p; Rīghān, 182q; Sirjān, 182p; Shahr-i-Bābak, 182q; Narmāshīr, 182r; Old and New Hurmuz, 182q.

The mediæval Guwāshīr or Bardasār, as has been shown in a previous paper (J.R.A.S. for April, 1901, p. 284), represents the present city of Kirmān. Mustawfi quotes (in Arabic) an anecdote having reference to the first Moslem conquest of Kirmān, when its inhospitable climate was reported on to Ḥajjūj, the Viceroy of Trāk, by the Arab commander. The text is, of course, most unintelligibly transcribed in the Bombay lithographed edition and in most of the MSS; it will be found, however, given in full by Mas‘ūdi in his Meadows of Gold (v, 341). Among other matters Mustawfi speaks of the Old Mosque in Guwāshīr, dating from the time of the Omayyad Caliph Omar II; he also refers to the celebrated garden called the Būgh-i-Sirjānī laid out by the Amīr ‘Alī Iliyās, who had removed the capital of the province from Sirjān to Guwāshīr, and who also built the great Castle of the Hill. Further, within the city was also the mosque known as the Jāmi‘-i-Tabrizī, founded by Tūrūn Shah the Saljūk, this being that used for the Friday Prayer when Mustawfi wrote.

The town of Bam is on the eastern borders of Kirmān; Jiruft, of which the ruins exist at the present Shahr-i-Dakīyānus (see J.R.G.S., 1855, p. 47), lying some distance to the south-west of it, being built on the river called the Dīv-rūd—‘Demon-stream’—from its violent course (L. 219c), the stream now known as the Khalīl-rūd. Khabīs lies east of Kirmān city near the desert border, and Rīghān or Rīkān is south-east of Bam. Sirjān, as I have shown in my paper above referred to, must probably be sought for at the ruins near Farīdān. Sirjān had been the older capital of the Kirmān province, but in the time of Mustawfi, though merely a provincial town, Sirjān was still an important place.
with a strong castle, and it only fell to ruin after the days of Timur. Shahr-i-Babak still exists, in the north-western angle of the Kirmān province; while Narmāshir stands on the desert border on the other side, south-east, towards Makrān.¹

On the south coast of Kirmān lay the port of Hurmuz on the mainland (at the site now marked Minao on the map), but this place, as Mustawfi records, had already been abandoned in his day. The King of Hurmuz, Fakhr-ad-Dīn—or Kuṭb-ad-Dīn, as some MSS. give the name, following in this Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (ii, 230)—had migrated with his people on account of the attacks of brigands, and had established his capital for greater safety on the Island of Jirūn, one league distant from the shore (the present Ormuz Island).²

This transfer of the capital would appear to have taken place in the year 715 (A.D. 1315), though nearly a century later, in the time of Timur, Old Hurmuz, according to 'Ali of Yazd (Zafar Nāmah, i, 789, 809), was still an important city. There were mountains in Kirmān (L. 206h) where, says Mustawfi, a stone capable of being burnt for firewood existed (doubtless lignite), and this was used for fuel in those parts. To the north-east of Hurmuz on the Balūch frontier were the mountains called the Kūh-i-Kafṣ, which are frequently mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers; also in Kirmān was the range named Kūh-i-Kārīn, which are the mountains more properly called Jabal Bāriz by the older geographers, but which Yāḵūt (iv, 148) had already misnamed, being doubtless the authority used by Mustawfi (L. 205r, 206e, and cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 163, note d).

¹ The Bombay Lithograph gives Māshīz for Narmāshir, but the latter reading is that of all the best MSS. and agrees with the statement that it was a town founded by Ardashir Bābāgān, for Māshīz is a modern place.

² The history of Hurmuz is obscure; the best account of its rulers that I have met with will be found in the Majmaʿ-āl-Anwāb, an historical work written about the year 743 (A.D. 1343). Of this work our Society possessed a M.S., and another copy (Add. MS. 16,696) will be found in the British Museum Library. Dates are unfortunately very generally omitted in the Majmaʿ-āl-Anwāb, but it gives an account of the Kings of Hurmuz, as also of the Atabeg Chānūkī and others, who ruled in Fars before the advent of the Sunkūrī Atabegs, hence it is a valuable authority. For the present state of Hurmuz see the papers by Captain Stiffe in the Geographical Magazine for 1874, vol. i, p. 12, and the J.R.G.S., 1894, p. 160.
Chapter 15. The Desert.

Contents: Jarmaḵ, 183b; Sanīj and the two cities of Ṭabas, 183c; Kuhbinān, 183d; Nīh, 183e.

The great salt desert of central 伊朗, which is now generally known as the Kāvīr (a name of uncertain etymology), is always referred to by Mustawfī by its Arabic name, Mafūzah, meaning ‘the wilderness.’ He describes it as extending from the village of Sūmghān—which the Mughāls called Āḵ Khwājāh, lying a little south of Қazvīn—right across Persia in a south-easterly direction, and reaching nearly down to the sea of ‘Omān at Ḥurmuz. The south-western limit of the desert was marked by the towns of Sāvah, Kum, Kāshān, Zavārāh, Nāyīn, Yazd, and thence along the Қirmān and Makrān border to the mountains above the coast. The north-easterly limit of the desert went by Ray along the borders of Kūmis and part of Khurāsān, then by Kūhistan and Zāvil down to Sīstān, and thence to the neighbourhood of Ḥurmuz.

In the middle of the Great Desert, half-way across on the road going from Nīshāpūr to Isfahān, lay the three villages of Jarmaḵ in an oasis where there were water springs. This oasis, the position of which is fixed by the Arab Itineraries, was visited in 1875 by Colonel Macgregor (Khurāsān, i, 91); its chief village is now called Khur, and the district is Bīyābānāk—‘Little waterless place’—by which name it was already known in the seventeenth century, being mentioned by Tavernier in his Travels (Voyages, i, 769; La Haye, 1718). The position of Sanīj is also fixed by the Arab Itineraries; it was on the Қirmān frontier, half-way between Narmāshīr and Zaranj. While there is no doubt about the position, there is some about the name, which in many MSS. of the Arab geographers may be read Ṣafīd or ḡīmān in place of Sanīj (cf. ɻaṭṭākhī, p. 228, note r), and the MSS. of the Nuzhat confirm the doubtful reading.
Tabas, on the Sistān border, will be mentioned in the following chapter; Kuhbinān (the Cobinān of Marco Polo) is on the Kirmān side, and has been visited by Mr. Stack (Six Months in Persia, i, 231). Lastly, of the towns mentioned Nih is in Sistān, as marked on the map. On the extreme north-western border of the Great Desert, not far from the high road going down from Ray to Kum, lay the mountains called Kūh-i-Kargas—‘the Vulture Hills’—and according to Mustawfi (L. 206v) their recesses were the chosen home of the Ibex (Wātīl). The Vulture Hills are doubtless the present Siyāh-Kuh—‘the Black Hills’—overlooking the Kavīr, some distance to the east of Kum.

Chapter 16. Sijistān or Nimrūz, and Kūhistān.

Contents: Zaranj, 183y; Turshūz, 183m; Kishmar, 183o; Tūn, 183s; Bajistān and Jīnābād, 183x; Dasht-Biyād and Pāris, 184b; Birjand, 184v; Khūs, 184s; Sūkhi or Shukhīn, 184f; Zīrḵūh, 184y; Tabas Masīnān, 184k; Tabas Kīlakī, 184m; Kāyīn, 184p; Kal‘ah Darah, 184u; Mumānābād, 184v; Zāvīl, 184w; Fīrūzḵūh, 184x; Ghaznayn, 184y; Tarmīshah, 185b; Maymanah, 185s; Karnayn, 185d.

Sistān, by the Arabs written Sijistān, was of old called Nimrūz, meaning ‘Midday,’ a name said to have been given to the province in regard to its position south of Khorūsūn. Kūhistān—‘the Mountain-land’—was the north-western part of this country, and in older times it was more often included in the Khorūsūn government.

Zaranj, the capital, also known as Sistān city, was a great place in the middle ages. It was completely destroyed by Timur half a century after the time of Mustawfi, and the extensive ruins of the old town, the name of Zaranj having long since been forgotten, lie some miles to the north-east of Nasīrābād (or Nasraṭābād), the modern capital of Sistān, near the hamlets of Pīshāvarān and Nād ‘Alī. The city of Zaranj lay along the bank of the Siyāh-ūd —‘the Black Canal’—a branch from the Helmund river. The
Āb-i-Hirmand, as Mustawfi spells the name (L. 216s), rises in the mountains of Ghūr, and after passing the fortress of Bust curves round northward to the city of Zaranj, flowing out finally into the Zirrah Lake from the eastward by many mouths and canals. From the north the Zirrah Lake received the water of the Āb-i-Farah, the river which passed the town of Farah, and which like the Helmund also rose in the mountains of Ghūr, in what is now north-western Afghanistān (L. 216t, 226p).

Turshīz was the chief city of the Kuhistān province, and near it was the village of Kishmar,1 famous for the great cypress-trees planted by Zoroaster, as related by Firdūsī in the Shāh Nāmāh (Turner-Macan, iv, 1067). Near Turshīz were four famous castles called Kaṭ'ah Bandārud, Kaṭ'ah Mīkūl (or Haykūl), Majāhīdābād, and Ātishgāh ('the Fire-temple'). No town called Turshīz exists, but a district now bears this name, and from the Itineraries given by Ištakhrī (p. 284) and others Turshīz, anciently called Turthīth, or Turaythīth, lay one day's march westward of Kundur. Hence the ruins of the city are probably those seen at Firūzābād, near the village of 'Abdulābād; and in any case Turshīz cannot be Sulṭānābād, the modern capital of the Turshīz district, for this lies east of Kundur.

Tūn is still one of the chief towns of Kuhistān, and according to Mustawfi was originally laid out on a Chinese plan, whatever that may signify. Bajistān [1], of which Yāḵūt (i, 497) also speaks, lies due north of Tūn; it is to be noted, however, that in the Jahān Namā (p. 326) and many of the Nushat MSS. this name is given as Tanjah, but probably in error. Junābād [2], generally called Gunābād, and which the Arab geographers write Yunābidh, lies northeast of Tūn; it was famous for its two castles, called Kaṭ'ah Khwāshir and Darjūn (or Darkhān). In the neighbourhood were the mountains called Kūh-i-Gunābād and Kūh-i-Zībad, which are said to be mentioned by Firdūsī (L. 206n). The district of Dasht-i-Biyād lies south of Gunābād and

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1 In Kazvinī (i, 299) printed Khūm by mistake: but right in Yāḵūt (iv, 278).
east of Tūn; its chief town was Fāris [3], now generally called Ḫal‘ah Kuhnah, or ‘the Old Castle.’ Birjand [4] lies at some distance to the south-east of Tūn, and to the west of Birjand is Khūsf [5], a name which the Arab geographers write Khawst; the position of Sūkhis (Shāhīn, Sūhin, and Shakhīn are manuscript variants) appears to be unknown. Zīrkūh—‘the Foot-hills’—is the name of a district marked on the map as lying to the eastward of Kāyīn; Mustawfi states that it had three towns, namely, Isfadan [6], Istind [7], and Shārakhs [8], all of which may still be found on the map.

During the middle ages there were two cities called Ṭabas, namely, Ṭabas Kilakī [9], which in the Arab geographers is given as Ṭabas-at-Tamr—‘Ṭabas of the Date’—and Ṭabas Masīnān [10], formerly known as Ṭabas-al-‘Umnāb—‘Ṭabas of the Jujube-tree.’ From the distances given in the Arab Itineraries it would appear that Ṭabas Kilakī (or Gīlakī) is the place still marked in our maps as Ṭabas, which lies on the desert border, and this agrees with what is said of the limits of the Mafāzah, or Great Desert, in the previous chapter. The position of Ṭabas Masīnān cannot be exactly fixed, but the evidence of Ibn Ḥawkal (p. 335) and the other Itineraries would place it about half-way between Tūn and the other (the present) Ṭabas, which last is often named Ṭabasayn. The city of Kāyīn lies east of Tūn, and was noted as the central point of Kūhistān; the Castle of Darah [11] is south-east of Birjand, and Muminābūd is the name of the mountainous district to the east of Birjand.

In regard to Zāvīl, Mustawfi gives this as the name of a town with its surrounding district, and in the previous chapter he has mentioned Zāvīl as lying on the north-western border of the great desert. The name does not occur in Yāḵūt or any of the earlier Arab geographers, but Monsieur B. de Meynard, in a note to his Dictionnaire de la Perse (p. 35), quoting the author of the Mubārik Shāhī, states that Zāvīl was a district near Asfuzār (Sabzivār of Herat), and that it was watered by eighty streams on which stood water-mills. Firūzkūh—‘Turquoise Mountain’—is
probably the ancient capital of Ghür, which will be noticed in the next chapter, the exact position of which, in what is now north-western Afghanistan, is unknown. Ghaznayn, otherwise Ghaznah, needs no comment, but I am unable to identify the place written Tarmishah (Tārīf, Tārmast, etc., are variants given in the MSS.); possibly it is merely a mistake for, and duplicate of, Turshīz. Maymanah, which the Arab geographers called Yahūdiyyah —‘Jew-town’— lies east of Būlā Murghāb, in the north-west of modern Afghanistan; and the city of Karnayn, celebrated as the birthplace of Layth, the founder of the Ṣaffarids, lies in the desert one march to the north of Khāsh on the river Helmund, according to the distances given by Ibn Ḥawkal (p. 306).

Chapter 17. Khurāsān.

Contents: Nīshāpūr, 185m; Shādīyākh, 186v; Isfārāyin, 186g; Bayhaḵ and Sabzivār, 186l; Biyār, 186m; Juwayn, 186v; Jājarm, 186r; Khabūshān, 186u; Shaḵkūn, 186w; Tūs, 186x; Kalat and Jirm, 187s; Marīmān, 187f; Herūt, 187h; Asfuzār, 187s; Fūshanj, 187t; Mālān and Bākharz, 187x; Bāḏgīs, 187z; Jām, 188s; Chast, 188g; Khūfāf, 188j; Zāwah, 188m; Ghūr, Balkh, Tūkharistān, Bāmiyān, and Panjūr, 188c; Jūzjān, 188t; Khutlān, 188u; Saminjān, 188w; Tāyikān, 188x; Tālīkān, 189a; Fārāb and Kavābīyān, 189b; Kālīf, 189d; Marv Shāhījān, 189f; Shabrūkān, 189g and 190b; Abīvard, 189s; Khavārān, 189c; Khvārdān, 189u; Sarakhe, 189z; Marv-ar-Rūd, 190b; Māraz, 190c; Kalʿah Māy, 190f.

Khurāsān in the middle ages was far more extensive than is the province of this name in modern Persia. Mediēval Khurāsān extended on the north-east to the Oxus, and included all the districts round Herat which now belong to Afghanistan. On the other hand, the small province of Kūnis, on the northern boundary of the Great Desert, which at the present day is included within the limits of Persian Khurāsān, was of old a separate district, and formed in the time of Mustawfi a province apart.

Ḥamd-Allah divides Khurāsān into four quarters (Rūb').
or districts; namely, Nishāpūr, Herāt, Balkh, and Great Marv. Of Nishāpūr city he gives a full account, describing its plan, which had originally been laid out after the fashion of a chess-board, and noting its walls and watercourses. The Arabs had written the name Naysābūr. Mustawfi devotes a paragraph to the great suburb of Shādyākh, which Yākūt (iii, 228) from his personal knowledge has also described. This had been built, or rebuilt, after the great earthquake of the year 605 (A.D. 1208) which had laid Nishāpūr in ruins; but both suburb and city were again destroyed by the earthquake of 679 (A.D. 1280), and a third city of Nishāpūr was the capital of Khurāsān when Mustawfi wrote. In regard to Shādyākh its ruins still exist some three miles to the east of the modern city (Yate, Khurāsān, p. 412).

Nishāpūr had its chief water supply from a stream that flowed down from the mountains to the north-east of the town; and forty water-mills were turned by the stream in the two leagues of its course through the plain after leaving the hills. Five leagues distant from the city, on the watershed of the range dividing Nīshāpūr from the Mashhad valley, was a small lake, about one league round, called Buḥayrah Chashmah Sabz—'the Lake of the Green Spring'—recently visited and described by Colonel Yate (Khurāsān, p. 353), from which Mustawfi reports that water flowed either way, east and west. Here the Amir Chūpān had built a kiosk on the brink of the spring, of which many wonders are told, and spectres were seen rising from the waters at certain seasons; further, the lake was said to be unfathomable (L. 226f). A great number of streams flowed down from this mountain range to the plain of Nishāpūr, chief among these being the Shūrah-rūd or Salt River, into which at flood times most of the lesser streams ultimately drained, coming from the various sides of the plain. Mustawfi (in part copied by the Jihān Nūmā, p. 328) mentions the names of a great number of these, to wit, the Dizbād river, flowing to the village of this name on the Herāt road, the Āb-i-Sāhr (or Sakhtar), the Khayrūd or Āb-i-Kharū, the
Tûsankân or Tûshkân-rûd, the Āb-i-Pusht-i-Farûsh, the Khajûk river, the Āb-i-Farkhak, the Āb-i-Dahr, and the Āb-i-‘Aţshâbâd—‘Thirst River’—coming down by the Maydân-i-Sultân, but of which the water-supply so often failed as fully to deserve its evil name (L. 219q to 220b).

The town of Isfarâyîn [1] in the centre of the plain of this name, at the ruins known as Shahr-i-Bilkis, recently described by Colonel Yate (Khûrûsân, p. 378), was celebrated for its castle called Dîz-Zar, ‘the Golden fort.’ Bayhâk was the capital of the great district of the same name lying south of Isfarâyîn, and its ruins lie close to Sabzivâr [2], which is the present chief town of this district. Biyûr [3] lies on the border of the Great Desert, and is marked as Biyûr-Jumand on our maps. Juwaynî is the name of the plain south and west of Isfarâyîn (see Route x): its chief town is Fariyûmad, and Mustawfi mentions the hamlets of Bahûbâd, Dâv, Kazrî, and Khudâshah [4]. The city of Jâjarm is at the western limit of the Juwaynî plain on the river Jaghûn-rûd (L. 220c); in its neighbourhood is the mountain known as Kûh-i-Shaḵûk (Saḵûn, Sitûn, etc., are other readings of the MSS.), whence a stream flowed forth from a marvellous cave (L. 205m).

Khabûshân, now known as Kuchân, is in the Mashhâd valley to the east of Juwaynî; the city had been rebuilt by Hûlâgû, and the surrounding district was known as that of Ustuwû. The town of Shaḵkân (or Shafân) I am unable to identify. Tûs, one of the ancient capitals of Khûrûsân, is now a complete ruin; it lies four leagues distance to the north-west of the shrines at Mashhad [5], which last is the modern capital of Khûrûsân and means ‘the Place of Martyrdom,’ originally called the village of Sanûbâd. There lie buried at Mashhad the Imâm Rižû and the Caliph Harûn-ar-Rashîd, with many other famous personages, their tombs being surrounded by what in the time of Mustawfi had already come to be a large city. In the mountain called Kûh Gulshân near Tûs was a great cavern with a spring welling from its depths, of which many wonders are related (L. 206m, and see Yate, Khûrûsân, p. 351).
great mountain fastness of Kilāt, with Jirm for its chief city, lies to the north of Mashhad, and is now generally known as Kilāt-i-Nādirī, from the fact of Nādir Shāh having stored his Indian treasure here. This is one of the earliest notices of Kilāt, for it is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, but it became famous in later times, notably after its siege by Timur, as described by ‘Ali of Yazd in his Zafar Nāmah (i, 323). In 1875 it was visited and described by Colonel Macgregor (Khurāsān, ii, 51). The town of Marīnān (the MSS. give Marsān, Hasarmiyan, and many other variants) was within the limits of Kilāt.

Herāt was watered by the canals of the river Hari-rūd. It had a famous castle called Shamāram, built over the ruins of an ancient Fire-temple, on a mountain two leagues distant from the city, and Mustawfī adds a long account of the town, its markets and its shrines, giving the names of the various city canals derived from the Hari-rūd (L. 216p). The river of Herāt rose in the mountains of Ghūr; after passing Herāt it watered the Fūshanj district, and thence flowed north to join the Sarakhs river (the modern Tejend-āb). Asfuzūr, now generally called Sabzivār of Afghanistan, is a town at some distance to the south of Herāt, and is mentioned in the Itineraries (Route xvii, and Ibn Ḥawkal, p. 305). Fūshanj [6], or Būshanj according to the same authorities, must be identical with the present city of Ghūriyān lying west of Herāt near the Hari-rūd; and under the name Fūshanj it sustained a siege by Timur, as described in the Zafar Nāmah (i, 312), but I have been unable to discover when its present name of Ghūriyān first came into use. According to Mustawfī, Kusīy, or Kusrī [7] and

1 Kilāt, which has come to be the name of more than one important fortress-town of western Asia, is a word that apparently came into use at the close of the middle ages, and is presumably a Persianized form of the Arabic Ka'bah (spelt with dotted ă), meaning 'a castle.' It is worth noting that the name Kilāt does not occur in Yāḏū or, I believe, in any of the earlier Arab geographers.

2 The name Fūshanj, or Būshanj, has apparently gone completely out of use; on the other hand, I can find no mention of this Ghūriyān in any Eastern author. Yāḏū (iii, 821, 824) mentions Ghūraj, which he says is commonly pronounced Ghūrah, and is a village near the gate of the city of Herāt; and there was the village of Ghūriyān near Marv. Neither of these, however, can...
Kharkird [8], the former given in the Itinerary of Ibn Rustah (p. 172) and the latter by Ibn Ḥawkāl (p. 334), were the chief towns of its district.

Mālān [9], apparently the town now called Shahr-i-Naw, judging by the distances in the Arab Itineraries, was the chief town of the Bāḵharz district, which lay further to the north along the left bank of the Hari-rūd, and the district of Bāḏghīs lies some distance to the eastward, away from the right bank of the Hari-rūd, being due north of Herāt. Mustawfī mentions Kārīzah, where Ḥakīm Bārḵaʿī had lived who founded the city of Nakhshab in Transoxiana, also as its chief town Gūnābād (or Kīh. Ghanābād) [10]; and he names various other places both here and in the Itinerary (Route xviii) which cannot now be identified (viz., Buzurgtarin, Lab, Jūd, Uḵārūn, Kālūn, and Dīhistān), for the whole region of Bāḏghīs has now relapsed to the desert, though numerous ruined sites are to be met with near the river beds. The town of Jām [11], famous for its shrine, was by the Arab geographers known as Buzjūn, later Pūchkān, and is marked on our maps. Chast (cf. Ibn Baṭūṭah, iii, 457) would appear to have been a town near Herāt, but its exact position is unknown, and the spelling of the name is uncertain. Khwāf [12], with its district, lies to the south of Bāḵharz, and Mustawfī gives its chief towns as Salām [13], Sanjān [14], and Zūzan [15], all of which will be found on the map, in the present Khwāf district. Zāvah is, as we learn from Ibn Baṭūṭah (iii, 79), the town now known as Turbat-i-Ḥaydari, so called from the saint buried there, and Zāvah was the name of the surrounding region, also known as Bīshak.

The great districts lying to the north-east of Khurāsān (in what is now Afghanistān) are only very briefly referred to by Mustawfī. Ghūr, the mountainous country lying between the head-waters of the Herāt river and the Helmund, has already been referred to in the previous chapter when be the modern town of Ghūrīyān, the name of which recalls the province of Ghūr, where the Ghūrid Sultans held sway in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D.
speaking of Firūzkūh.¹ Balkh is mentioned as being in ruins, and Bāmiyān was in a like condition, Chaghāz Khān having ordered its utter destruction to avenge the death of a grandson who was killed during the siege, at the time of the Mongol invasion. Ťukhāristān is the country along the southern bank of the upper waters of the Oxus, and Panjhir is the name of the silver-mine at the eastern source of the Kābul river. Jūzjān is the district westward of Balkh, of which Shābarkūn and Fāryāb were the chief towns. The first-mentioned still exists, and the position of Fāryāb, which is described by Ibn Ḥawkal (p. 321) and Yāḵūt (iii, 840, 888), is fixed by the information given in the Itinerary (Route xii). Khūltān is the country lying north of the upper waters of the Oxus, Samīnjān lay south-east of Balkh, and Tāyikān is the place which still exists of this name in the extreme east of the province of Ťukhāristān, being sometimes, in error, written Tālikān. The name Tālikān, however, is more properly given to the city of the Jūzjān district, the name of which has now disappeared from the map, but which, according to the Itinerary (Routes xii and xiiā), lay three marches distant from Marv-ar-Rūd (Bālā Murghāb) and a little off the high road going from that city to Balkh. This Tālikān is described by Ibn Ḥawkal (p. 321), Yaḵūbī (p. 287), and Yāḵūt (iii, 491); it was an important town, and its ruins are probably to be identified with the mounds of brick near Chachaktu, which have been recently examined by Colonel Yate.²

¹ In this passage, in place of Ghūr, many MSS. of the Nuzhat read Gharj, and some have Gharjistān. The name of this region has nothing to do with Georgia, or Gurjistān, to the north of Armenia, described by Mustawfi in Chapter 6; for Gharjistān took its name from the ancient kings of northern Afghanistan, called by the Arabs Gharj-ash-Shār. According to Yāḵūt (iii, 785, 786, 823) Gharjistān, often confounded with Ghūristān, and spelt indiscriminately Ghurahistān or Gharistān, was the country along the upper waters of the Murghāb, to the eastward of Marv-ar-Rūd. Its limits were Ghūr on the one side and Herāt on the other, with Ghaznah to the south-east. The sites of the many towns in Ghūr and Gharjistān, mentioned by the Arab geographers, are completely unknown.

² See Northern Afghanistan, by C. E. Yate (1888), p. 157. The Chachaktu ruins are forty-five miles as the crow flies from Bālā Murghāb, which last, I consider, undoubtedly represents Marv-ar-Rūd, and this distance may be counted as the equivalent of three days' march in the hill country. Kāl'ah
Kavadiyân still exists to the north-east of Tirmid, which last is on the Oxus, and Kâlid is lower down the great river, also on its right bank. Mustawfi gives a long account of Marv-i-Shâhijân, or Great Marv, on the Murghâb river. This river, as he says (L. 214v), had originally been called the Marv-âb or Marv river, but was in his days generally known as the Āb-i-Râzik. The Jihân Numa (p. 328) has Zarbâk, and the MSS. give Āb-i-Rûbak or Zarîk, as in Yâkût (ii, 777), with other variants. It flowed down to Great Marv from Marv-ar-Rûd, or Little Marv, which is now represented by the place called Bâlû Murghâb, as stated in a previous note. Abîvard [16] still exists, on the desert border north of Kalât-i-Nâdirî. Khavârûn [17], now Khabarân, and Khavârdân, its dependency, lie between Kalât-i-Nâdirû and Sarâkhs, which last stands on the lower reach of the Helât river after it has received on its left bank the stream coming down from Tûs and Mashhad. Lastly, Mâraz (Yûdâz and Yâzar, with other readings, are given in the MSS.) appears to be unknown, and the same remark applies to Kalâh Mây, of which the MSS. also give many diverse readings (Bây, Nâr, etc.).

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the province of Khurûsûn in the middle ages extended as far north and east as the bank of the Oxus, which was held to divide the lands of IRân from Tûrân; and when Mustawfi wrote there appears good evidence for the belief that the Oxus was pouring

Wâlî and Takht-i-Khâûtân, one or other of which is put forward by Colonel Yate (op. cit., pp. 194–5 and 211) as a possible site for Îlîkân, being each of them only some twenty-seven miles distant from Bâlû Murghâb, are both of them too near to suit the case. As regards the site of the city of Fâryûb, this may well have been at the modern Khayrábâd, where there is an ancient fort and mounds with ruins, as described by Colonel Yate (op. cit., Map of the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan, and p. 233), who narrates some local legends of past times that have clustered round this site. The name of this Fâryûb of Yûzjûn is also spelt Fâryûb by Yâkût (iii, 888), and it must not be confounded either with Fârûb, otherwise written Bârûb (now called Oltûr), on the Jâxartes, or with Firsâb, sometimes written Fîrûb, on the Oxus, at the ferry of Chârjûy. It will be noticed also that there were during the Middle Ages three Îlîkûns, viz., Îlîkân, or Tâyiân, the town of Türkâristân which still exists; next, Îlîkân of Yûzjûn aforesaid; Lastly, the Îlîkân district in Persian ‘Irâk, to the south-west of Khazvûn, which has been noticed in Chapter 2.
its waters into the Caspian Sea, and not, except for an
insignificant part, into the Aral, as is now the case.\footnote{Professor de Goeje has written a most learned and interesting work on this subject \textit{(Das alte Bett des Oxus}, Leyden, 1876), in which he seeks to discredit the statements of the Persian geographers, and in conclusion gives it as his opinion that the Oxus during all the middle ages (as at the present time) flowed into the Aral. I shall not presume to enter the lists against Professor de Goeje; I only quote in the following passages the authorities on the other side. But I may mention that Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had studied the question as a practical geographer, and knew as well the writings of the Persian and Arab authors, was always of a contrary opinion, holding that from the earlier years of the thirteenth century A.D. down to about the year 1575 the Oxus had continued to have its chief outflow into the Caspian, not into the Aral.}

In Appendix IV Mustawfi gives a description of the Jayhūn or Amūyah (L. 213\textsuperscript{4}, with which compare the Turkish translation in the \textit{Jihān Namā}, p. 360), as the Arabs and Persians named the Oxus. The river had two sources, one in Tibet, the other in the Badakhshān mountains; and along its upper course five great streams flowed in before it took up the waters of the Wakhshāb (L. 220\textsuperscript{d}) in the district of Šaghāniyan, where stood Tirmid over against Balkh. Flowing on through the desert, the Oxus next came to the Narrows, mentioned also in the Itinerary (Route xix), known as Tang-i-Dahān-i-Shīr—‘the passage of the Lion’s Mouth’—near Bukshāh, of the district of Hazārāsp, where the precipitous banks are hardly a hundred \textit{gez} (yards) across. This is the gorg which is now known as Deveh Boyun—‘the Camel’s Neck’—and according to Mustawfi the stream here passes underground for a couple of leagues completely hidden from sight. From Hazārāsp down to the Aral Sea numerous canals are led off, some ending in the desert, some discharging their water into the Aral; but the main stream, Mustawfi says, after passing Old Urganj, turns down by the \textit{Aḵabah-i-Halam} (or Salam), which in Turki is called Kurlādī (or Kurlāvah), where the rushing of its waters can be heard two leagues away, and, thence flowing on for a distance of six days’ march, ultimately finds its exit in the Caspian Sea (\textit{Bahr Khazar}) at Khalkhāl, a fishing station.

When describing the Caspian (L. 225\textsuperscript{d}), Mustawfi speaks of the Island of Ābaskūn, and he says “this island is now
sunk under the water, because the Oxus, which formerly had flowed into the Eastern Lake (the Aral) lying over against the lands of Gog and Magog, since the time of the Mughāl invasion has changed its course, and now flows out to the Caspian; and hence, this latter sea having no outlet, the dry land (of the Ābaskūn island) has now become submerged by the rising level of the waters." Now, in regard to this alleged change in the Oxus bed at the epoch of the Mongol invasion, we have the contemporary evidence of Ibn-al-Aslār (xii, 257) that Changhūz Khūn in 617 (A.D. 1220) sent his armies against Khwārizm, when, after a siege of five months, Old Urganj was stormed, and the Oxus dykes which protected the city having been cut, the whole country was laid under water. The overflow appears to have drained off to the south-west, following a line of depression to the Caspian; for there is the evidence of Yākūt (iv, 670), a contemporary of these events, who describes Mankīshlāgh as a strongly fortified castle "standing on the shore of the Sea of Ṭabaristan (i.e. the Caspian), into which the Jayhūn now flows."

In the work of Ḥāfiz Abrū, composed in 820 (1417 A.D.) under the patronage of Shāhrūkh, the son and successor of Timur—and Ḥāfiz Abrū must himself have been well acquainted with the geography of these countries from personal knowledge—we find the statement that the Jayhūn, "which of old flowed into the Lake of Khwārizm (the Aral), having made itself a new bed, now flows out to the Bahr-Khazar (the Caspian) at Kurlāvud or Kurlāvū, otherwise called Aḵranchah, by which cause the Aral Sea has come to disappear" (British Museum Manuscript, Or. 1,577, folio 32b). And again, in the paragraph on the Aral Sea in the same MS. (folio 27b), he says that, while formerly the Jayhūn had flowed into the Aral, "now, namely in the year 820, this sea no more exists, for the Jayhūn has made a new bed to itself, and flows out into the Caspian."

Finally, to complete the evidence on the double shifting of the Oxus bed, we have the account by Abu-l-Ghūzī, a native prince of the Urganj region, who states that some
thirty years before A.H. 1014, the date of his birth, which places the change in about A.D. 1575, the Oxus made itself again a new channel, and turning off at Karū-Uighūr-Tūkāy below Kūst-Minārahşī, made its way to Türk Kal'ahşī and thence out directly to the Aral Sea, thus changing the lands between Urganj and the Caspian into a desert for lack of water. And in another passage he describes how in former times, namely, among the events of the years from 1520 to 1530 A.D., all the way from Urganj, by Pīshgāh and Karū Kīchit, to Uighūrchah and Abūlkhān on the Caspian, there were cultivated fields and vineyards along what was still, when he wrote, the but half dessicated bed of the Oxus. (French translation by Baron Desmoulin of the History of the Mongols and the Tartars by Abu-l-Ghāzi Khān, vol. i, pp. 221 and 312, and Text in vol. ii, pp. 207 and 291, St. Petersburg, 1871.)

In regard to Khwārizm, now generally called Khīvah, which is the Delta land of the Oxus, it will be found that among the Itineraries Mustawfi gives two (Routes xiv and xix) leading across the desert to Urganj, one from Farāvah (Kīzil Arvāt), the other from Great Marv. Khwārizm was at no time counted as of Irān, but, as noticed in the Table of Contents of the Nuzhat, a short section is devoted to this Province in Part IV of the Third Book, treating of Foreign Lands, which may be summarized in the following concluding paragraph. Unfortunately, the names of towns as given in the MSS. and in the Lithographed text (L. 234q) are extremely corrupt, and, indeed, do not serve to clear up the many queries in regard to the names of stages in the two Routes which lead to Urganj.

Hamd-Allah begins by stating that at the time when he wrote the capital city of the country was Urganj, which, however, was then more generally known as Khwārizm (properly the name of the whole province). Formerly, he adds, the capital city was Fil, but the government was shifted first to Maṣūrah and then to Urganj. The city of Kūth had in former times (he says) been known as Jurjānīyah (this, however, is undoubtedly a mistake), and
he then names a number of the more important towns, among which are Hazārasp, Darghān, and Madmīnīyah, with many others whose names it is impossible to identify, finally Khīvah, a small provincial town (or Kaşbah) which had recently been the abode of the Shaykh Najm-ad-Dīn Kubrī. We thus learn that already in the fourteenth century A.D. Khīvah was rising to importance; it is merely mentioned in the list of towns by the earlier Arab geographers, but Yāḵūt, writing a century before the time of Ḥamd-Allah, has devoted a short article to it (ii, 512), spelling the name Khīvāḵ, adding that the common people of Khwārizm then already called it Khīvah. Under the spelling Khīvāḵ the town and its governor are mentioned by ‘Alī of Yazd, and this was the scene of one of the early adventures in the life of Timur, who at a later period caused its walls to be carefully rebuilt (Ẓafar Nāmah, i, 62, 449).

Chapter 18. Māzandarān.

Contents: Jurjān city, 190h; Astarābād, 190p; Āmul, 190q; Dīhistant, 190t; Rustamdār, 190u; Rūghad, 190v; Sārī, 190x; Kabūd Jāmāh, 190y; Nīm-Murdān, 190z.

The mountainous region lying along the south coast of the Caspian, towards the east, was called Taḵaristān in the early middle ages, Taḵar having the signification of ‘mountain’ in the local dialect, whence Taḵaristān would have had the meaning of ‘the Mountain Country.’ This name, however, about the time of the Mongol conquest, gave place to that of Māzandarān; the new province being taken to include Jurjān on the east, which formerly had been reckoned as a separate district and not included in the older Taḵaristān. Māzandarān is divided by Mustawfī into seven districts, namely, Jurjān, Mūrūstāḵ (with variants Murdistān, etc.; the Jīhān Nūmā, p. 339, has Bard-Mūrūstāḵ), Astarābād, Āmul with Rustamdār, Dīhistant, Rūghad, and Siyāh Rastān (other variants of this last in the MSS. being Wastān, Sitān,
Sāristān, and in the Jīhān Numā, Sāstān). Of these seven, the positions of three, namely, of Mūrūstāţ, of Rūghad, and of Siyāh Rastān, are entirely unknown, and these names are not apparently mentioned by any other geographer.

In his Appendix on the Rivers Mustawfi notes that the district of Jūrjān was watered by two rivers, namely, by the lower part of the Āb-i-Atrak (L. 212a), which had its springs near Khabūshān and in the famous plain of Nisā (now Darrūsh-Gaz) of Khurūsān; and next by the Jūrjān river (L. 213u), on which stood the city of Jūrjān; both the Jūrjān river and the Atrak flowing out to the Caspian within the Jūrjān territory. Jūrjān City in the time of Mustawfi was a ruin, Astarābād being the capital of the district. Dīhistān lay on the northern frontier; the ruins of it are probably those now known as Mashhad-i-Mīṣriyān, and it was the outpost against the Turks and Kurds on the road to Khwarizm.

Āmul has always been the capital of Ėbaristān, and Rustamdar is the district already noticed in Chapter 2 as lying along the bank of the Shāhrūd which as Rūdbār was counted as of Persian Trūk. According to the Nushat Rūghad (Rū’ad in the Jīhān Numā, p. 341) was a medium-sized town, being also the name of the surrounding district; the site is unknown, but it lay presumably in Ėbaristān, among the mountains overlooking the Caspian. The city of Sūrī is still a flourishing place, and its district was that which Mustawfi names Kabūd Jāmah, while Nīm-Murdān (neither name being mentioned by the Arab geographers, though both are copied into the Jīhān Numā, p. 341) was a populous island or peninsula, with Shabrābād for chief town, at the south-easterly angle of the Caspian, presumably now represented by the tongue of land forming the northern limit of Astarābād Bay. As of Ėbaristān, Mustawfi mentions the mountains called Kūh Tārīk and Kūh Haram, or Hajam (L. 205r, 207a), where marvellous caves and wondrous sights were to be seen, but the position of neither mountain is given, and these names do not appear on our present maps.

Contents: Khuvār, 191d; Dāmghān, 191e; Samnān, 191h; Buštām and Āhūvān, 191j; Girdkūh, 191l; Fīrūzkūh, 191m; Damāvand, 191n; Firrim, 191p; Khurkān, 191r.

Kūmis was the name of the province lying along the desert border south of the great mountains of Tabaristan; most of the towns mentioned by Mustawfi still are found, but now included in Khurāsān, for as a separate province Kūmis no longer exists, and the name even is gone out of use. In the vicinity of Dāmghān was a mountain called Kūh-i-Zar—‘Gold Mountain’—where mines of the precious metal were worked (L. 204γ), and Dāmghān itself is still an important city. Khuvār [1] is the town now called Aradūn, but the district round is known under the old name, and Khuvār or Aradūn, called Khuvār of Ray or Mahallāh-i-Bāgh, is on the great eastern high road from Ray into Khurāsān (see Route ix). Samnān [2] stands half-way between Khuvār and Dāmghān, Buštām (Bistām or Basṭām) lying further to the eastward of this last, while Āhūvān [3] is a Rubāt or Guardhouse between Dāmghān and Samnān.

The fortress of Girdkūh [4], called also Dīz-i-Gumbadhān—‘the Domed Fort’—lay in the mountains three leagues distant from Dāmghān, and Manšūrābād was in its vicinity. The celebrated stronghold of Fīrūzkūh [5] stands at the head-waters of the stream flowing down to Khuvār; due west of it lies the town of Damāvand [6], which Mustawfi says was originally called Pashyān, the town lying a considerable distance to the south of the famous Damāvand mountain of Tabaristan. The position of Firrim, mentioned also by Yaḵūt (iii, 890) and other Arab geographers, has not been identified. Khurkān was a town of the district of Buštām, lying four leagues distant therefrom, on the road towards Astarābād, as is mentioned by Yaḵūt (ii, 424) and Kāzvīnī (ii, 243).
Chapter 20. Gilân.

Contents: Išfahbad, 191v; Tūlim, 191x; Tāmījân, 191y; Rasht, 191x; Shaft, 192a; Fūmin, 192b; Kūjasfahân, 192c; Kāwtam, 192d; Kārjuyân, 192e; Lāhibân, 192f; Ta’sar, 192h.

Gilân, or the Jilânût Province, was backed by the mountains of Daylam, and lay on the shore of the Caspian at the mouth of the river Safid-rûd. Išfahbad, or Ispahbid, as is well known, was the name given to the semi-independent governors of this province under the Sassanian kings, and the Ispahbids continued to rule as princes under the early Caliphs; the city of Ispahbudân is mentioned by Yākût (i, 298) as lying two miles from the sea-shore, but apparently no trace of it now remains. In the time of Mustawfi, however, Išfahbad was a medium-sized town surrounded by a district with nearly a hundred villages, and its revenues amounted to 29,000 dinârs, or about £7,000. Tūlim is now the name of a district lying west of Rasht, the town of Tūlim [1] having presumably gone to ruin, both this and the town of Tāmījân (or Taymjân) having disappeared from the map. Mustawfi is one of the first authorities to mention Rasht,¹ now the chief town of Gilân, and it was already in his day famous for its silk stuffs.

The town of Shaft [2] no longer exists, but the district of this name lies south of Rasht, and to the westward of it is the Fūmin [3] district, with the town of Fūmin as its chief place. Of Kūjasfahân (Kujastân is the spelling given in the Jihân Numa, p. 344, with Kujkân, Küjfahân, and other

¹ In the Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum (vols. iii, 52, 53, and ix, 282), a series of copper coins is described, bearing the numbers 107, 107a, 107b, 108, which are dated 586 A.H. and 598 A.H., and attributed to the mint-city of Rasht. These coins bear the name and titles of Sulaymân II, the Saljûk Sulṭân of Rûm, and if the reading Rasht be accepted, would go to prove that the Saljûks of Rûm exercised sovereign rights in Gilân, and that Rasht was already an important city at the close of the sixth century A.H. The reading, however, does not appear, on examination of the coins, to be tenable; and the facts as known to us from history are decidedly against Rasht having ever belonged to Sulaymân II of Rûm.
readings in the MSS.), originally built by Ardashîr Bûbgân and named Sahmish, nothing is now known; and the same has to be said of the town of Karjuyân, given also as Kirjân or Ka'hyân in the MSS., but not named elsewhere. Kawtâm [4], on the sea-shore, a good port near the mouth of the Safid-rûd, though mentioned by Yûkût (iv, 316), is apparently now lost, being represented by the modern Kûhdam district lying eastward of Shaft. Lâhijân [5] still exists, and by Mustawfi is held to be the capital of Gilân, being famous for its fruit gardens; but for Ta'sar, the last place mentioned in the list (with variants in the Jâhân Numâ, p. 344, of Bishîshâh, also Nîsâr, Nîr, and Tastar in the MSS.), I am unable to offer any identification.
APPENDIX I. THE ITINERARIES.

For convenience of reference the Itineraries given consecutively by Mustawfi are in the following pages divided up into thirty-three Routes. Many of these are identical with the routes given by Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmah in their Road-Books, and are found in other of the medieval Arab geographers. Some of the routes not given by the Arabs are found copied from Mustawfi into the pages of the Jihân Numâ of Hajjî Khalfah. The distances are given in Farsaks, each equivalent to a league, or one hour's march.

*Route I.*—Sultânîyah to Hamadân and Kanguvâr (L. 192w).—Sultânîyah 5 farsaks to Bajshîr village, thence 4 to the Ribât of Atâbeg Muḥammad ibn Ildagiz, thence 4 to Karkahar village in the Hamadân province, thence 6 to Šâji village of Hamadân, thence 5 to Walaj village, thence 6 to the city of Hamadân, thence by the pass over mount Arvand (Elvend) in 7 farsaks to Asadâbâd, and thence 6 to Kanguvâr, the first village in Kurdistân.

As far as Hamadân these stages are not given in any of the Arab Itineraries.—Sultânîyah, as already said, only having been built and made the capital of the Īlkhânís in the reign of Uljaytû—and most of the names of places mentioned in the list are uncertain.¹ Thus, Dîh Bajshîr is given in the various MSS. as Lajshîr, Valûshjîrd, and Dîh Bakshîh (Dîh being the Persian for 'village,' omitted or added, indifferently), and this may be Bijtayn, a village at the right distance south of Sultânîyah; the various readings given above would then be due merely to confusion in the placing of diacritical points. For Dîh Karkahar some MSS. have Karkaharand, possibly for the present Kabatrung.

¹ Much of this country is described in Notes of a Journey from Kazvën to Hamadân, by J. D. Rees (Madras, 1885), but the names given by Mustawfi do not occur.
Variants of Şajī are Şahibī, Masāh-jīn, and Şajū. Muḥammad ibn Ildagiz, the founder of the Ribāṭ mentioned above, was Atabeg of Adharbayjān and virtual ruler of ʿIrāq from 568 to 581 (1172 to 1185). The word Ribāṭ (pronounced also Rubāṭ and Rabāṭ), which occurs frequently in the names of post-stations, means literally ‘a tying-up place’ and came to signify a hospice, or guardhouse, notably on the frontier.

Route II.—Kanguvār to Ḥulwān (L. 192a).—Kanguvār in 5 farsakhs to Sīhnah village, thence 4 to Jamjāmāl City, thence in 6 farsakhs—the statue of the horse Shabāīz lying to the right of the road, with the portraits of King Khusraw and Queen Shīrīn at a place where two springs gush out that turn two mills—to Kirmānshāhān, thence 6 to Khushkārīsh, thence 5 to Jākūvān, thence 6 to the villages of Kirind and Khūshān, thence by the Pass of Tāk-i-Kīzā in 8 farsakhs to Ḥulwān city, the first place in Arabian ʿIrāq; but by the Gīl wa Gīlān road this last stage is easier, though one farsakh longer.

The stages from Hamadān going south-west, but given the reverse way, are part of the great eastern high road leading from Baghdād to Marv, found in all the Arab Itineraries. Khushkārīsh is the reading in Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 19); the Nuzhat MSS. give various readings, as Ḥakārmish, Chakhārīsh, etc., and no place of this name now exists. The next place, Jākūvān, is not identical with any stage mentioned by the Arab Itineraries, and many variants are given, e.g., Dīh Ḥisōkāvān, Ḥafārkān, Ḥafākādān, Janākān, and Khīyārkāvān. No village of Khūshān (or Ḥarshān as a variant) is to be found on the map anywhere near Kirind; but the road down by Gīl wa Gīlān, and the Tāk-i-Kīzā pass, are mentioned (L. 216a) as the place where one of the affluents of the Nahrawān takes its rise (see above, Chapter 1).

Route III.—Ḥulwān to Baghdād and Najaf (L. 193c).—Ḥulwān in 5 farsakhs to Kašr Shīrīn, thence 5 to Khāniḵīn city, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Jalūlā built by Malik-Shāh the Saljūk, thence 5
to Ḥārūnīyah, thence—with Shahrabūn lying 2 farsakhs distant to the right of the road—in 7 farsakhs to Ba'ḵūbā city, and thence 8 to Baghūdād. From Baghūdād it is 2 farsakhs to Șaṣṣar village, thence 7 to Farāshah, thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Bābil lying on the Euphrates half a league away on the right hand—to the Nīl Canal, then 2 farsakhs to the city of Șīlīlah, thence—passing the place where Nimrod threw Abraham into the Fire at Kūthā Rabbā, lying one league to the left of the road—after 7 farsakhs comes the city of Kūfah, thence 2 farsakhs distant lies the Masjīhad (Place of Martyrdom) of ‘Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, at Najaf on the desert border.

Most of the places mentioned in this and the next two Routes are given on my Map for Ibn Serapion. The Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) of Jalūlā, a place famous in Abbasid history, is probably the present Caravanserai of Ḫızīl Rubāṭ. Dih Farāshah, nine leagues south of Baghūdād, is not given by any other authority; other variants in the MSS. are Karūjāh, Khawāshah, and Bādiyāh-Farrash—‘the Carpet-spreader’s plain’—but the readings are most uncertain. The text of the Ṣaṣḥat after this gives the Routes beyond Najaf for the pilgrims crossing Arabia to Mecca and Medina, but these are here omitted, as belonging to countries outside the limits of Iran, with which alone the present paper deals.

**Route IV.**—Baghūdād to Başrah, and thence by sea to the Island of Ṫāys (L. 1959).—Baghūdād 5 farsakhs to Mūdāin, thence 10 to Dayr-al-‘Āḵūl, thence 7 to Jabbūl, thence 10 to Fāmā-ṣ-Silḥ, thence 9 to Wāṣīt, thence 10 to Nahrahān, thence 8 to Fārūth, thence 5 to Dayr-al-‘Ummāl, thence 7 to Hawānīt; thence passing by the canal called the Shaṭṭ-al-Mā to the Swamps, and on through the Nahr-al-Asad, after 30 farsakhs is the beginning of the Blind Tigris estuary, by which and the Nahr Maḵīl after 10 farsakhs is Başrah. From Başrah it is 12 farsakhs to ‘Abbādān, whence 2 by fresh water to the open sea, thence 50 leagues to Khārik Island, thence 80 leagues to Al-Ān Island, thence 7 to Abruṅ Island, thence 8 to the island of Chīn or Khāyn, which is uninhabited, and thence 8 to the emporium of Ṭāys Island.
The towns on this and the next two Routes will be found on the Ibn Serapion Map. For the islands in the Persian Gulf, see above, Chapter 12; a part of this Route is given in the Jihān Numā, p. 456.

*Route V.*—Baghdād to Rahbāh (L. 195v).—Baghdād 3 farsakhs to Tall-‘Aḵarkūf, which is a hillock so high that it can be seen from the desert eleven leagues away; thence 8 farsakhs to the city of Anbār; thence by the way across the Samawāt desert you may reach Damascus direct in ten days, it being 100 leagues distant; or from Anbār you go to Rahbāh (on the Euphrates), which last is 70 leagues from Baghdad.

*Route VI.*—Baghdād to Mosul (L. 195x).—Baghdād 4 farsakhs to Baradān, thence 5 to ‘Ukbārah, thence 3 to Bābāshāh, thence 7 to Kādisiyah, thence 3 to Sāmarrah, thence 2 to Karkh, thence 7 to Jābultā; thence 5 to Sudaḵānīyah, thence 7 to Bārīmmā, thence 5 to the Bridge over the Lesser Zāb, a tributary of the Tigris, thence 12 to Hādīthah, thence 7 to Bānī Ṭāmān, and finally 14 farsakhs to Mawṣīl (Mosul).

The name of the place called Bābāshāh or Bājamašāh by Ibn Khurdaḏbih (p. 93), a dozen leagues north of Baghdad, is uncertain; the Nuzhat MSS. give the name variously as Jamiʿā, Ḥamsūsah, and Ḥamyū, with other variations. Bānī Ṭāmān, the last stage before Mosul, is also uncertain; variants are Bānī Ṭahān in the MSS., and in Ibn Khurdaḏbih (p. 93) Ṭāmyān, Ṭahmān, etc., are given.

*Route VII.*—Kanguvār to Isfahān (L. 195g).—Kanguvār 5 farsakhs to Bībāstān, thence 3 to Nihāvand city, thence 4 to Farāmurz village, thence 4 to the city of Burūjīrd. Beyond Burūjīrd the road to Sābūrkhwāst turns off to the right hand, while going left from Burūjīrd it is 4 farsakhs to Ḥasanābād, thence 8 to Miyān-Rūdān, thence 3 to Minār, thence 5 to the city of Karaj. From Karaj it is 4 farsakhs to Dūnsūn, thence 5 to Āsān: here the more direct road to Isfahān turns off to the right, while going left from Āsān it is 6 farsakhs to Sangān, thence 6 to Jūy-Murgh-Kuhtār, thence 7 to Ashkūrān, thence 7 to Tirān, thence 6 to Jūy-i-Kushk, and finally 4 leagues to Isfahān.
The road going eastward from Kanguvār to Isfahān, in the Arab Itineraries, follows a different route to the one given by Mustawfī, though both pass by Karaj of Abu Dulaf, the position of which has been noticed in Chapter 2. The MSS. give a few variants; the name of the village of Farāmurz beyond Nihāvand is written Karūkīrık in some copies, and Ḥasanābād appears as Junābād. Miyūn-Rūdān—‘Between Streams’—is on the upper waters of the eastern tributary of the Burūjird river, south-east of this town and south-west of Karaj of Abu Dulaf. From Karaj to Isfahān many of the places named on the map are not found, and the variants in the MSS. are Āsan or Māsan; for Sangān, Sitkān or Sakwīn. Ashkhūrūn or Ashghūrūn is marked on the map and given by Yūkūt (i, 281) as Ashkhūrūn; he also mentions (i, 446) Bāb Kushīk as one of the great quarters at the gate of Isfahān, and though this name has now disappeared, Tirūn is a village marked on the map.

**Route VIII.**—Sultāniyāh to Sūmghān (L. 1962).—Sultāniyāh in 5 farsaks to the village of Kuhūd, which the Mughāls call Sāīn Kal‘ah, thence 4 to the city of Ablur, thence 4 to Fārisjīn, thence—with the city of Kazvīn lying 4 leagues distant on the left hand—in 6 farsaks to Sūmghān, which the Mughāls call Aq Khwājah. Beyond this place the way divides; to the right one road turns off, going to Sagzābād in 5 farsaks (see Route XXVI), while the main road towards Khurāsān continues onward, as given in the next Route.

The name Kuhūd is now not known, Sāīn Kal‘ah having taken its place; the three next places will all be found on the map. Sūmghān, however, is wanting, and apparently is not mentioned by any other geographer; also the reading of the name is uncertain. Ḥamād-Allah, as will have been seen in Chapter 15, gives it as the uppermost limit of the Great Desert, and in the various MSS. the name appears as Sumkān, Suwīkān, Sūskān or Sūbīkān, Sūbīkān, Siyūtī‘ān, and Sūs‘ān. It evidently was a place of some importance, and its position is fixed by the distances given between it, Fārisjīn, Kazvīn, and Sagzābād or Sagzīābād.
Route IX.—Sümghân to Busṭām (L. 196a).—Sümghân in 5 farsakhs to the village of Māmarah, thence 8 to Dihand, thence 5 to Sunḵurābād, thence 5 to Dih Khāṭūn, thence 5 to the Place of Martyrdom (Mashhad) of the Imām-zādaḥ ʿAbd-al-ʿAẓīm, thence 3 to the city of Ray, thence 6 to Varāmīn, thence 6 to the Rubāṭ of Khumārtakīn, thence 6 to Khuvār of Ray, which is called Maḥallah-i-Bāgh (the Garden-Place), thence 6 to Dih Namak (Salt Village), thence 6 to Rūs-al-Kalb (Dog’s Head), thence 6 to Dih Surkh (Red Village), thence 4 to Summān, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Āhuvān, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Hurmuz, also known as Jarm-Jūy (Hot-stream), thence 6 to Dāmghān, thence 6 to Ḥaddālāh, otherwise known as Mīhmān-dūst (Guest-friend). From this place one road branches to the right, going direct to Nīshāpūr by Sabzivār; to the left is the high road which passes through Jājarm, and from Ḥaddālāh by this it is 7 farsakhs to the city of Busṭām.

The name Māmarah, one stage out from Sümghân, is uncertain; the MSS. give various readings, as Yāharah, Mābīn, Hāmrīn, and Hāmarah. Also the next stage is variously given as Dihand, Dih Pahand, or Sahand, and this name occurs again as one among the villages of Kāzvin mentioned in Chapter 2 (L. 1467). The remaining stations are for the most part those of the Arab itineraries, and will be found on the map; Rūs-al-Kalb (Dog’s Head), which Yāḵūt (ii, 733) refers to as a Kal’ah or Castle, is possibly identical with the present Lasjird, as already stated in the Introduction. Places named in the next two Routes have already been noticed in Chapters 17 and 19, or else will be found on our present maps; these being also for the most part identical with the stages given in the Arab itineraries.

Route X.—Busṭām to Nīshāpūr (L. 196a).—From the city of Busṭām it is 7 farsakhs to Maghaz, thence 7 to Sultānīyah village (or Dih-i-Sultān), thence 3 to Rubāṭ Savanj, and thence 6 to Jājarm. From Jājarm it is 8 farsakhs to the village of Azadvār, the birthplace of Khwājah Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Sāhib Dīvān, thence 4 to Khūdāshāh, thence 3 to Bahšabād village, the abode of Shaykh Saʿd-ad-Dīn of Ḥamāh, thence 5 to Barzamābād, thence 4 to Tūdah (or Nūdah), thence
8 to Taḵān-kūh, thence 6 to Rubāʿī Būzināgān at the village of Aḥmadābād, and thence 4 farsaks to Nišāpūr.

**Route XI.**—Nišāpūr to Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rūd (L. 196u).—Nišāpūr 7 farsaks to Diḥ Bād, whence the road to Herāt branches to the right hand (Route XV); and from Diḥ Bād, turning left, it is 5 leagues to Khākistar village, thence 3 to Rubāʿī Sangbast, thence 6 to Rubāʿī Māhī, thence 7 to Rubāʿī Tūrān (or Nuṣār); thence in 7 farsaks, across two passes each of half a league, you go to Rubāʿī Ābgaṇah, thence 6 to Sarakhs, thence 9 to Rubāʿī Jaʿfārī, thence 7 to Mīl Ommārī, thence 7 to Rubāʿī Āb Nuṣārī, thence 5 farsaks across the desert sands with no water to Āb-Shūr, thence 2 to Diz Hind, and thence 5 to the city of Marv-ar-Rūd.

**Route XII.**—Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh and the Oxus (L. 197a).—Marv-ar-Rūd 7 farsaks to Rubāʿī-i-Sulṭān, thence 5 to the village of Karajābād (or Kuchābad), thence in 7 farsaks—the city of Taḵīkan lying 6 leagues distant on the right hand of the road—to Āb-i-Garm (Hot-Spring), thence 5 to Khabar-khānah; thence 7 to Masjīd Rāzān; thence in 7 farsaks—the city of Fāryāb lying two leagues distant on the right of the road—to Astānāh, thence 6 to Rubāʿī Ḫāb, thence 9 farsaks across a waterless plain to the city of Shaburḵān. Thence it is 2 farsaks to the village of Sulbarān, thence 9 to Rubāʿī ‘Alawī (the Alīd Guardhouse), thence 1 to Dastagird, thence 5 to the village of Pānah at the Bridge of Jamūkhiyān, and thence 2 to Balkh. From the city of Balkh it is 6 farsaks to Siyāh-kūh (the Black Hills), and thence in 6 farsaks you come to the Oxus river over against Tirmidj.

**Route XIIa.**—In the British Museum MS. (Add. 16,736) is the following duplication, in part, of the preceding route:—Marv-ar-Rūd 5 farsaks to Aruskan, thence 7 to Asrāb, thence 6 to Ganjābad, thence 6 to Taḵīkan, thence 5 to Kashān, thence 5 to Arghūn in the district of Jūzjān, thence 5 to Kaṣr Hūt; thence 5 to Fāryāb, thence 9 to Kār, thence 9 to Shaburḵān, thence 6 to Sidrah, thence 5 to Dastagird, thence 4 to ‘Awd, and thence it is 3 farsaks to Balkh.

The first of these two routes is given, in part, in the Jihān Numā (p. 329), and between them they fix within narrow limits the positions of Taḵīkan and Fāryāb, two
important towns of the Jūzǰān District, the names of which have apparently entirely disappeared from the map. Their probable sites have been discussed in Chapter 17.

**Route XIII.**—Busṭām to Farāvah (L. 197j).—From Busṭām by the pass called Naḍībān-Parāy it is 7 farsaksā to Dih Gānj, thence 6 to the village of Mīlābūd, thence 5 to Mūsā-ābūd village, thence 5 to the city of Jurjān. From Jurjān there are two roads to the northern frontier—one direct by the waterless desert, the other by Dihistān. By this last from Jurjān it is 9 farsaksā to Bīstān, thence 7 to the village of Muḥammadābād, thence 7 to Dihistān; from here it is 7 farsaksā to Rubūt Kūsī (or Gəzənī), thence 9 to Rubūt Abu-l-ʿAbbās, thence 7 to Rubūt Ibn Ṭāhir, and thence 7 farsaksā to the city of Farāvah.

The MSS. give many variants both in this and the next route for the intermediate stages, which in the desert were mostly Rubūts or Guardhouses. For the part north of Jurjān city Sir H. C. Rawlinson may be consulted in the *Proceedings of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1879 (i, 170), and for Bīstān, which the MSS. give variously as Būraz, Sūrar, Sūr-rūd, and Sard-rūd, he adopts the reading Sinābar-rūd, "a name restored to agree with the modern Sunābar." Farāvah, a place frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably to be identified with the modern Kızıl Arvāt, this last being a corruption for Kızıl-Rubūt, 'the Red Guardhouse.'

**Route XIV.**—Farāvah to Urganj (L. 197l).—From the city of Farāvah it is 8 farsaksā to Rubūt Khisht-Pukhtah, thence 8 to Khūshāb, thence 7 to Rubūt Taqāmāj, thence 7 to Karvān-gāh, thence 9 to Rubūt Sarhāng, thence 7 to Minārāh-gāh, thence 8 to Šail-Bālī, thence 7 to Mushk Mābnā, thence 9 to Rubūt Maryam, thence 8 to the town of New Khwārizm, thence 6 to New Ḥulām (or Khulm), and thence 4 farsaksā to Urganj, the capital of Khwārizm.

The stages of this desert road to Urganj, the city which the Arabs knew as Jurjānīyah, are given with a variety of readings in the MSS. The variants, however, are of no
great importance, since the stages merely represent halting-places, not towns or villages. Khwārizm-i-Naw — New Khwārizm—must be the capital of the province built to replace the town destroyed by the Mongols, and the ruins of New Khwārizm are now known as Old Urganj—Kuhnäh Urganj; but what the place which Mustawfi calls Ḥalam or Khulm-i-Naw may represent—lying between the newer and the old capital of his time—it is difficult to determine. For Khwārizm in general see the concluding paragraphs of Chapter 17; also below, Route XIX.

Route XV.—Nīshāpur to Herāt (L. 197r).—Nīshāpur in 7 farsakhs to Dīh-Būd, where the road to Sarakhs already given (Route XI) goes off to the left, thence 7 to Rubāṭ-Badi‘ī, thence 7 to Farhādān village, thence 7 to Sa‘īdābād village, thence 5 to Dīh Khusrū, thence 7 to the city of Būjkān (or Būzjān), thence 6 to Gulābād, thence 10 to Kūshk Maḥṣūr, thence 6 to the city of Fūshanj (or Būshanj), and thence 8 farsakhs to Herāt.

Dīh-Būd—‘the windy village’—is the place named in the Arab itineraries Kaṣr-ar-Rīh, which has a similar signification; it is now called Dizbūd-Pāyin. As noticed in Chapter 17, the city of Būjkān, or Būzjān, also written in two words Pūch-Kūn, is by the Arab geographers called Zūn or Jām, and is now known as Turbat-i-Shaykh-Jām, from the tomb of the Saint buried here. Fūshanj or Būshanj (see also Chapter 17) is the modern Ghūriyān, but when the town took this last name appears to be unknown.

Route XVI.—Nīshāpur to Turshīz (L. 197x).—From Nīshāpur going through a populous, well-watered country where are 80 villages, it is 5 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Sīh Dīh (Guardhouse of the Three Villages), thence 4 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Nūr-Khān, thence 3 to Chāh Siyāḥ (Black Pit), thence 5 to the village of Dāyah, thence 4 to Dīh Murd, and thence 7 farsakhs to Turshīz. From Turshīz it is 25 farsakhs to Tūn, and 36 to Kāyīn, and likewise 36 to Būjkān.

Of the route here given none of the villages appear now to exist; their names are not found in the Arab itineraries;
village of Māliš (Bālish, or Tālish), thence 6 to the city of Ardabil, thence 8 to Rubāṣ Arshād, thence 8 to the village of Varanḵ, to the east of which, one farsakh distant, lies Burzand, formerly a city, now a mere village, and thence 4 farsakhs to Bājarvān, formerly a city, now only a village.

This route, which is found in the Jihān Numā (p. 380), gives the position of Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj, already mentioned in Chapter 2, which was a mint city. The name of the pass near the Safīd-rūd is doubtful; it is variously given in the MSS. as Girvāh-i-Pardahlīs, Buzurgtar, or Barūlah, and the Sanjidah is also a river mentioned among the affluents flowing into the Safīd-rūd. North of Ardabil the ruins of Burzand exist, and this fixes the position of Bājarvān; for Arshād some MSS. give Arand; and for Varanḵ the variants are Varlək, Dhark, Dartək, with other readings.

Many of the places on this route, with those to be mentioned in Route xxi, have been already referred to in the notes to Chapter 4 on Mūghān.

Route XXI.—Bājarvān to Maḥmūdābād (L. 198a).—Bājarvān in 8 farsakhs to Pilsuvār, thence 6 to Jūy-i-naw (New Canal), and thence 6 to Maḥmūdābād Ġāvbārī.

Route XXII.—Bājarvān to Tiflis (L. 198a).—Bājarvān in 7 farsakhs to the village of ‘Ali Beg, thence 6 to the village of Bakrābād, thence 2 to the bank of the river Aras, which is the frontier of Karābāgh, thence 3 to the village of Har, thence 5 to Ghark, thence 4 to the village of Labandān, thence 3 to Bāzarchūk, thence 4 to the city of Barlū, thence 1 to the city of Jūzūk, thence 4 to Dih Isfahānī, thence 5 to Khānkāh Shutur, thence 5 to Ganjah city, thence 2 to the city of Shamkūr, now in ruins, thence 3 to Yūrt-Shādāḵ-Bān, thence 6 to the Aḵtavān river, thence 5 to Yām, and thence 4 farsakhs to the city of Tiflis.

On this road to Tiflis, Bardā‘ and Ganjah exist, also Shamkūr, but for the intermediate stages the MSS. give a variety of readings. Ghark is given as Fark, Kūrā‘, Kīrk, or Tūrāk. Labandān appears as Dih Shuturān, or Katrān;
and the next stage may be read Darhūk. For Jūzbīk we
get Jūzināk, Khūranḵ, or Ḥūrish; and the name Shādūk is
given as Sadmiyān or Sāriḵiyān; finally, Yām may be read
Bām or Māndām.

Route XXIII.—Bājarvān to Tabrīz (L. 199b).—Bājarvān in 4
farsakhs to Barzand (as aforesaid), thence 6 to Rubāt-i-
Ayvān, built by the Vazir Khwājā Tāj-ad-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh
Tabrīzī, thence 8 to the village of Bahlatān (Baylaḵān, Dīn
Sultān, or Sahlaḵān) known as the village of the Sāhib
Dīvān, thence in 8 farsakhs passing the Rubāt (Guardhouse)
built by the Vazir ‘Alī Shāh aforesaid standing in the valley
called Darrah Farūjāy to the city of Ahar, thence in 6
farsakhs by the Pass of Gülchah-Nīl (the Blue Lake), in which
stand two Guardhouses—one the Rubāt built by Khwājā
Sa’d-ad-Dīn, the other by Amir Niẓām-ad-Dīn Yahyā of
Sāvah—to the village of Arminān (or Arminiyān), thence
passing another Rubāt built by the Vazir ‘Alī Shāh aforesaid
at the stage of Yaldūk (or Baldūk) it is 8 farsakhs to Tabrīz.

The name of the valley called Farūjāy is in some MSS.
given as Kirdjāy or Kārūjāy; Gülchah Nīl appears as
Kūkjāy or Kavīlah Nīl, while Arminān or Arminiyān has
the variants Aranmiyān or Larān. Apparently none of
these places are marked on our maps, but this route is
copied into the Jiān Nūma (p. 389), and in Appendix III,
already quoted in the remarks on Chapter 3, Mustawfi
(L. 217y) mentions many of these places when describing
the course of the Ahar river.

The next four Routes, giving the Itineraries from Sul-
tāniyāh westward to Śivās, and from Sūmghān (already
mentioned in Route viii) southward viā Isfahān to Shīrāz,
need no comment, for the places mentioned will for the
most part be found on the map, and have already been
dealt with in Chapters 2, 3, 7, and 12.

Route XXIV.—Sultāniyāh to Tabrīz (L. 199h).—Sultāniyāh in
5 farsakhs to Zanjān, thence 6 to Rubāt Nikbāy built by the
Vazir Khwājā Chiyāth-ad-Dīn Amir Muḥammad Rashōdī,
and another Rubāt has been built here by his brother Khwājā
Jalāl-ad-Dīn, thence in 7 farsakhs to Sarcham, thence by a pass in 6 farsakhs to Miýānīf, thence 6 to the village of Turkmān Kandī called Dayr Kharrān, which formerly was a city, thence 4 to the village of Shankalābād, thence 4 to the city of Awjān, thence 4 by a pass to Saʿīdābād (or Saʿīdābād), and thence in 4 farsakhs to the city of Tabrīz.

**Route XXV.**—Tabrīz to Sīvās (L. 199n).—Tabrīz 11 farsakhs to Marand, thence 12 to Khvī (Khoi), thence 6 to Shākmābād, thence 5 to Shahr-i-Naw, thence 3 to Band-Māḥī, thence 8 to Arjīsh, thence 8 to Malāṣjūd, thence 10 to Kūnūs, thence 5 to the Pass of Aḵ Aftān, thence 5 to Bāsīn, thence 6 to Arzan-ar-Rūm, thence 10 to Asjāh of the district of Vasīrjān, thence 10 to Khumān Kūbūh at the foot of the pass, thence 4 to Arzanjān, thence 5 to the village of Khvājāh Aḩmad, thence 7 to Arzanjarjān, thence 8 to Aḵ-Shahhr, thence 5 to Akarsūk, thence 8 to Zārah, thence 10 to Rūbāṭ Khwājāh Aḩmad, and thence it is 4 farsakhs to Sīvās.

**Route XXVI.**—Būmghān called Aḵ-Khwājāh to Isfahān (L. 199n).—From Būmghān it is 5 farsakhs to Sagzābād—this last being 24 farsakhs or 5 stages distant from Sulṭānīyah (see Route VIII)—and from Sagzābād it is 6 farsakhs to Rūbāṭ Ḥājīb, thence 7 to Rūbāṭ Dawānīk, thence 5 to the city of Šāvāh, thence 4 to Āvah, thence 6 to Kūm, thence 12 to Kāshān, thence 8 to the village of Kūhrūd, thence 6 to the village of Wāsiṭāh, thence it is 6 farsakhs to the Rūbāṭ Murchah Khūrūd, and 6 on to the village of Sīn—or else from Wāsiṭāh it is 12 farsakhs direct to Sīn by the Mīyānī Road, but on this way are no habitations—and from the village of Sīn it is 4 farsakhs to Isfahān.

**Route XXVII.**—Isfahān to Shībāz (L. 200c).—Isfahān in 3 farsakhs to the village of Isfahānak, thence 5 to the village of Miḥyrūr on the frontier of Fārs, thence 6 to Kūmishākh, thence 5 to the village of Rūdkān, thence 7 to Yazdākhwāst, from here the winter road down to Band-i-ʿAqūdū turns off to the left, while the (shorter, western, or) summer road is to the right, by Kūshk-i-Zard, namely, from Yazdākhwāst in 8 farsakhs to Dīh Girdū, thence 7 to Kūshk-i-Zard aforesaid, thence 8 by the Girīvah-i-Māḏar wa Dukhtar (Mother and Daughter Pass) to the Rūbāṭ of Salūḥ-ad-Dīn in the plain called Dusht Rūn, thence 3 to the Guardhouse at
the Bridge called Pūl-i-Shabriyār, thence 7 farsakhs through the very stony Pass of Māyān to the town of Māyān, thence in 4 farsakhs—passing by the Castles of İṣṭakhr and Shikastah which overhang the road on the left hand—to Pūl-i-Naw (New Bridge), thence 5 to Dīh Gurg (Wolf village), and thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Shīrāz.

**Route XXVIII.**—Shīrāz to the Island of .unknown letter 1 and by sea to India (L. 2007).—Shīrāz 5 farsakhs to Shahrāk village, thence 5 to the city of Kavār, thence by the Girīvah-i-Zanjirān (Pass of Chains), leaving Fīrūzābād 7 farsakhs distant away to the right hand, in 5 farsakhs to Rabāş Chamaukān, thence 5 to Maymanah, thence 6 to the beginning of the Simkān District, thence 6 to the end of this District, thence in 7 farsakhs to Kārzm by the Pass of Sang-i-Saftū (the White Stone), which is one farsakh short of Kārzm, thence it is 5 farsakhs to Lāghir, thence 6 to the Fārūb District, thence 6 to the city of Sāj, thence 5 to Āb-Anbār-i-Knār, thence 5 to Haram, thence in 6 farsakhs by many steep passes to the village of Dārūk, thence 6 to Māhān, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Lardak to Huzū on the sea-shore. From here you cross the water in 4 leagues to the city of 未知 letter 2 (on the island of that name). From this island it is 18 farsakhs to the Island of Abarkāfān, thence 7 to the Island of Urmūs, thence in 70 leagues you come to the Island of Bār on the frontier of Sind, and thence it is 80 to Daybul, which lies 2 leagues from the mouth of the Mihrān (Indus), which is the great river of Sind.

From Shīrāz to Kārzm and Lāghir this road may be followed on the map, and the ‘Pass of Chains’ north of Fīrūzābād is still so named; but south of this, to Huzū on the coast (given by the Arab geographers as the port for 未知 letter 3 Island and city) the route is found in no other authority, and has not, I believe, been followed by any traveller in modern times. Variants are numerous in the MSS. The name of the city called Sāj may be 未知 letter 4, 未知 letter 5, or 未知 letter 6, with many other combinations of the diacritical points as Khabakh and Ḥanaj, etc. Haram appears as Sīrām or Marmaz. Dārūk may be Dārzak, Ğrak, or Dāvra stands; finally, Māhān is given as Ḥāmān or Māyān. From 未知 letter 7.
Island the sea road to India is that in continuation of Route IV already given, and in regard to the names of the islands in the Persian Gulf these have all been discussed in Chapter 12.

Route XXIX.—Shirāz to Kāzirūn (L. 200a).—Shirāz in 5 farsakhs to the Wall of Ḥājjī Kawwām, thence 8 to Dasht Arzīn, thence 6 to the Rubāt (Guardhouse) at the head of the Mālān Pass, which is very steep, thence by the Hūshang Pass, also very steep, in 3 farsakhs to Kāzirūn.

The two passes named before Kūzirūn are those now known as the Kūtal-i-Pīr-i-Zan and the Kūtal-i-Dukhtar—the Passes of the Old Woman and of the Maiden: for the other places see Chapter 12.

Route XXX.—Shirāz to Hurmūz (L. 200a).—Shirāz in 12 farsakhs to Sarvistān, thence 8 to the city of Fassā, thence 6 to Timaristān village, thence 8 to Dārkān (or Zārkān), from which, turning to the left in 4 farsakhs, you reach the city of Ig, the capital of Shabānḵārah. To the right from Dārkān it is 10 farsakhs to Dārāh-gird, thence 3 to the village of Khayr, thence 6 to Shabānḵān, thence 3 to Rūstāḵ, and thence 3 farsakhs to Burk (Forg); from here it is 6 farsakhs to Tāshkū, thence 6 to Tārum, thence to the frontier of the Lār Province at Janād (or Chinār) it is 4 farsakhs, thence 8 to Chāh Chil, thence 8 to Tūsār on the sea-coast, whence by water it is 4 leagues to the Island of Hurmūz.

The places along the route have been for the most part noticed in Chapters 12 and 13. Tāshkū beyond Forg is mentioned by Dupré (Voyages en Perse, ii, 489); the MSS. give Tashlū, Dāshlū, Shalū, with many other readings; but Tāshkū is doubtless the true version. Tūsār, the port on the Persian Gulf, whence the crossing is made to Hurmūz Island, is given as Dūsār, Lawhar, and Luvillir in the various MSS. It must occupy, more or less, the position of the harbour named Shahrū by Iṣṭakhri (p. 170) and Sūrū or Sūrū by Ibn Ḥawkal (p. 226), being identical with the later Gombroon, which is written Gumrū by Ḥājjī Khalfah (Jīhān Numā, p. 260); and this last is generally held to have been
a corruption of Gumruck, the Turkish name for 'Custom-house' (from the Greek κουμπερκη), which came into common use all over the East.

Route XXXI.—Shiraz to Kirmān (L. 201/).—Shiraz in 8 farsakhs to Dāriyān, thence 8 to Kharramiah, thence 4 to Khūlanjān, thence 6 to Kand (or Kind), thence 6 to Khayrah, thence 5 to Chāh ‘Ukbah, thence 8 to Bulangān, thence 8 to Chāhik, thence 8 to Chāhik City, thence 8 to Sarūshak, thence 8 to Shahr-i-Bābak, thence 8 to Kūshik Nu‘mān, thence 4 to Abān, thence 10 to the city of Sirjān, from which it is 20 farsakhs to Kirmān (city).

This is the road by the southern side of Bakhtiārī Lake to the towns of Little and Great Şāhik (or Chāhik) given by the Arab itineraries. The present ruins at Dih Chāh and Chāh Khushk probably represent these places. Great Şāhik was a city of some importance in the middle ages, where the road from Persepolis to Kirmān — along the northern shore of Lake Bakhtiārī by Abādah City — joined the route here given coming from Shiraz. For the reading Shahr Chāhik (Great Şāhik of the Arabs) nearly all of the MSS. give Shahr Atābeg, which possibly may have been the name of this place in the fourteenth century, though apparently not so given by any other authority.

The next route needs no commentary; it follows the nomenclature of the Arab geographers, and most of the places named will be found on the map, and have been noticed in Chapter 12.

Route XXXII.—Shiraz to Yazd (L. 201k).—Shiraz in 5 farsakhs to the village of Zargarān, thence 3 to the dam called Band-i-Amir on the Kur river, thence 3 to the village of Kinnārāh in the districts of Haftrak and Marv Dasht, thence 3 to Fārūk, thence 3 to Kamīn, thence 4 to Mashhad-i-Mādar-i-Sulaymān — 'Shrine of the Mother of Solomon,' namely, the Tomb of Cyrus — thence 6 to Rūbāt Mashk, thence 12 to the city of Abarḵūh, thence 13 to Dih Shīr (Lion village), thence 6 to Dih Jawz (Nut village), thence 4 to Kal'at-i-Majūs (Magiau's Castle), thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Kathah or Yazd, standing in its Jūmah (District, otherwise Ḥūmah).
Route XXXIII.—Shirāz to Arrajān and Bustānāk (L. 201p).—
Shirāz in 5 farsakhs to Juvaym, thence 5 to Khallār, thence 5 to Kharrārah, thence 4 to Kuvār, which is of the district of Tir Murdān, thence 3 to Karkān, thence 3 to Nawbanjān, thence 4 to Khābadān, thence 6 to Kishish, thence 5 to Gumbadh Mallaghān, thence 4 to Chawwhah, thence 4 to Jish, thence 6 to Furzuk, thence 4 to Arrajān, and 4 farsakhs on to Bustānāk, which is the frontier of Fārs and Khuzistān.

These stages for the most part are given, in the Arab itineraries, and in the reverse order this is the route followed by Timur when on his march from Shustar to Kal'ah Safīd and Shirāz, as given in the Zafar Nāmah (i, 600). Juvaym (marked Goyun on the map) and Khullār exist, also the ruins of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān, which last name the MSS. more often give as Būhanjān or Lāhijān, and in a variety of other mistaken readings. This Nawbanjān, a celebrated city throughout the middle ages, lies some twenty-five miles due north of the ruins of Shāpūr, and was close to the famous valley of Sha'b Bavvān. Our maps now show another Nawbanjān, a village about twenty-five miles distant due west of Shāpūr; this place is not mentioned by the mediæval geographers, and the city of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān must not be confounded with this modern village. Khabūdhān, or Khwāndān, was on the river of that name already mentioned in Chapter 12, and Gumbadh Mallaghān is doubtless the modern Du Gumbādān (Two Domes), near which are some extensive ruins. The remaining stages to Arrajān are difficult to identify, and the MSS. give a variety of readings. Kishish appears as Kish or Mālish, Chawwhah as Şāfah or Şā‘īghah, Jazrak as Khawrak or Marzak; but the same uncertainty is found in the corresponding Arab itineraries of Ibn Ḥawkal and Muḥaddasi, and as none of these names are now found on the map it is impossible to get to any certainty in the matter.

In conclusion, I have two corrections of some importance to add, which have come to hand since the earlier portions of this paper were published. In the April number (p. 249) it
is stated that "the Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Ḥamd-Allah under the name of Khanjast," and it is added that the spelling of this name is uncertain. Professor P. Horn, of Strassburg, has since written to me that the true reading is Chīchast (differing from Khanjast only by a variation of the diacritical points), this being a modification of the name given to the Urmīyah Lake in the Avesta where the ancient spelling is Chaēchasta. Hence in the Ṣḥāḥ Nāmah (Turner-Macan, p. 1860, l. 4, and p. 1927, l. 6 from below) Chīchast should be read for 'Khanjast.'

The second correction is for the July number (p. 530), in the matter of the true site of Sirjān, the earlier of the two capitals of the Kirmān province. In his recent work Ten Thousand Miles in Persia, which is reviewed on another page, Major P. Molesworth Sykes describes (p. 431) the ruins of a fortress and town called Kal‘ah-i-Sang, covering a hill-top, which is some 5 miles to the eastward of Sa‘īdābād on the road to Bāft. These ruins are also known as Kal‘ah-i-Bayzā, 'the White Castle,' and appear beyond reasonable doubt to be those of Sirjān, the fortress of which was destroyed by the orders of Timūr (see J.R.A.S., April, 1901, p. 284). The position of Kal‘ah-i-Sang is, it is true, rather more to the westward and further from Kirmān city than the distances given in the Arab geographers would seem to warrant, but this is probably explicable by the very varying estimate given to the Marḥalāh, or Day's March, on which we have to rely when, unfortunately, the stages in farsakhs are not given.
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