THE LANDS OF THE
EASTERN CALIPHATE
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Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia
from the Moslem conquest to the time of Timur

by

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Palestine under the Moslems etc.

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PREFACE.

In the following pages an attempt is made to gather within a convenient compass the information scattered through the works of the medieval Arab, Persian, and Turkish geographers, who have described Mesopotamia and Persia, with the nearer parts of Central Asia. The authorities quoted begin with the earlier Moslem writers, and conclude with those who described the settlement of these lands which followed after the death of Timur,—the last great Central Asian wars of conquest,—for with the fifteenth century the medieval period in Asia may be said to come to an end.

The present work is also the complement of Baghad under the Abbasid Caliphate published in 1900, and carries forward the geographical record which I began in Palestine under the Moslems, a work that appeared in 1890.

To keep the volume within moderate compass, the geography of Arabia, with the description of the two Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, though these for the most part were under the dominion of the Abbasids, has been omitted. Perhaps some other scholar may take up the subject, with fuller knowledge than I have, and write the historical geography of Arabia with Egypt across the Red Sea under the Fatimid Caliphs; completing the circuit of Moslem lands by describing the various provinces of North Africa, with the outlying and shortlived, though most splendid, western Caliphate of Spain.
If Moslem history is ever to be made interesting, and indeed to be rightly understood, the historical geography of the nearer East during the middle-ages must be thoroughly worked out. I have made a first attempt, but how much more needs to be done, and better done than in the present volume, I am the first to recognise. The ground, however, for future work is now cleared; the authorities for each statement are given in the footnotes; some mistakes are corrected of previous writers, and a beginning made of a complete survey for this period of the provinces of the Abbasid Caliphate. But my book is only a summary, and does not pretend to be exhaustive; also to keep down the size, I have been obliged to omit translating in full the Itineraries, which our Moslem authorities give us. In this matter a new edition, duly corrected from recently published texts, is indeed much needed of Sprenger's Post und Reise Routen des Orients, though the translation of the Itineraries which Professor De Goeje has appended to his edition of Ibn Khurdádbih and Kudámah, goes far to supply the lack.

With each province I have given such information as our authorities afford of the trade and manufactures; the record, however, is very fragmentary, and for a general survey of the products of the Moslem east, during the middle-ages, the chapter on the subject (Handel und Gewerbe) in A. von Kremer's Culturgeschichte des Orients is still the best that I know.

A chronological list of the Moslem geographers referred to in the notes by initial letters is given at the end of the Table of Contents. The fuller titles of other works quoted in the notes are given on the first reference to each author, and the names of their works will easily be recovered, for subsequent references, by consulting the index for the first mention made of the book.

In the introductory chapter a summary description will be found of the works of the Arab geographers;
but this matter has already been more fully discussed in *Palestine under the Moslems*.

The dates are given according to the years of the Hijrah, with the corresponding year A.D. (in brackets). The method of transcription adopted needs no comment, being that commonly in use; it may be noted that the Arab $w$ is usually pronounced $v$ in Persian; and that besides the emphatic $z$ the Arab $dh$ and $d$ are both indifferently pronounced $s$ in modern Persian, while the $th$ has the sound of $s$.

In a work like the present, almost entirely composed from eastern sources, many errors will doubtless be found; also, with the great number of references, mistakes are unavoidable, and I shall feel most grateful for any corrections, or notice of omissions.

My hope is that others may be induced to set to work in this field of historical geography, and if this essay be soon superseded by a more complete survey of the ground, it will have served its purpose in having prepared the way for better things.

G. LE STRANGE.

3, Via San Francesco Poverino, Florence, Italy.

*May*, 1905.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
<th>A. H.</th>
<th>A. D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. K.</td>
<td>Ibn Khurdâdbih</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>(864)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kud.</td>
<td>Kudâmah</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>(880)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ykb.</td>
<td>Ya'kûbi</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>(891)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. S.</td>
<td>Ibn Serapion</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>(903)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. R.</td>
<td>Ibn Rustah</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>(903)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. F.</td>
<td>Ibn Fa'âfi</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>(903)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas.</td>
<td>Mas'ûdî</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>(943)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ist.</td>
<td>Ištakhîr</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>(951)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. H.</td>
<td>Ibn Hawkâl</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>(978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muk.</td>
<td>Mu'kaddasî</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>(985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. K.</td>
<td>Nâşîr-i-Khusraw</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>(1047)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. N.</td>
<td>Farrâ Nâmah</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>(1107)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idr.</td>
<td>Idrîsl</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>(1154)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. J.</td>
<td>Ibn Jubayr</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>(1184)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yak.</td>
<td>Yâkût</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>(1225)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaz.</td>
<td>Kazvinî</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>(1275)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>Marâsîd</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>(1300)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. F.</td>
<td>Abu-l-Fidî</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>(1321)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mst.</td>
<td>Mustawfî</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>(1340)</td>
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<tr>
<td>I. B.</td>
<td>Ibn Ba'tûthâ</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>(1355)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hfz.</td>
<td>Hâfiç Abrû</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>(1417)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Y.</td>
<td>'Alî of Yazd</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>(1425)</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. N.</td>
<td>Jahân Numâ</td>
<td>1010</td>
<td>(1600)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. G.</td>
<td>Abu-l-Ghâzl</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>(1604)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EMENDATIONS (1930)

p. 63, line 2
The naphtha spring of Khânikîn is at the modern Naft Khânah. (R. Levy.)

line 11 from bottom
Bandanîijn is the modern Mendellj or Mendell; and Bâdarâyâ is modern Badràï. Both these names are found on the Survey of India Map, 1914. (R. Levy.)

p. 65, line 23
Shafâthâ is an oasis lying 40 miles west of Karbalâ: 'Ayn-at-Tamr has not been identified.

p. 74, line 13
The site of Pombedita is probably to be sought for at Kiff on the Shatt-al-Hindiyah where the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel is shown.

p. 86, line 7
The settlement of the tribes of Rabi'ah and Bakr in Upper Mesopotamia, according to Balâdhurî (p. 178), took place after Sassanian days at the time of the Moslem Conquest. (A. A. Bevan.)

p. 111, line 24
For "Maypharkath" read "Mayperkat." See W. Wright, Catalogue of Syriac MSS, p. 1304. (A. A. Bevan.)

p. 141, line 4 from bottom
Read "drowned in the river Calycadnus near Salûktyah (Seleucia of Cilicia)," and omit next three lines to foot of page.

p. 144, line 8 from bottom
For "Bythia" read "Bithynia."

p. 155, line 5
After "Agiou Theologou" add as a note: "Hence not Loukas as often stated wrongly."

p. 167, line 6
Delete "cochineal" and insert "see below p. 184."

p. 168, line 17
The mountain called Sarâhand lay on the Kiblah (south-west) side of Abhar: see below p. 222. Also p. 169, line 3, for "north" read "south."
For "east" read "west" coast of Caspian.

Erivan (at present the chief town of the province) was founded as a frontier fortress by Rivan (or Erivan) Khân in the days of Shâh Isma'il I (1502 to 1534). See Hammer Purgstall, Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, iv, 85.

The Kirmiz insect (Kermes ilicis of Linnæus) feeds on the leaves of the oak, and is allied to the American cochineal insect which lives on the cactus.

For "Here" read "Three leagues from here."

For "Juhaustah" read "Jûhastah," and line 21, for "Zablyah" read "Zabyah."

After "Abhar river" add "(which took its rise in the Sarâhand mountain to the south-west)."

"Mukrán" is the more exact spelling.

The ruins of Shahr-i-Bilâkhs have been described and planned by Sir Percy Sykes: see 'A sixth Journey in Persia' in the Geographical Journal, 1911, p. 6. Clavijo visited them in 1404, and writes the name of the town Zabrain.

"328" for "327."

Insert "Mûkân, 175."
CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Mesopotamia and Persia, their provinces under the Abbasid Caliphs. The outlying provinces to the north-west and the north-east. The high roads from Baghdad to the Moslem frontier. The Moslem geographers, and their works. Other authorities. Place-names in the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian provinces.

Mesopotamia and Persia had formed the kingdom of the Sassanian Chosroes, which the Arabs utterly overthrew when, after the death of Muhammad, they set forth to convert the world to Islam. Against the Byzantines, the other great power which the Moslems attacked, they achieved only a partial victory, taking possession, here and there, of rich provinces, notably of the coast lands to the south and east of the Mediterranean; but elsewhere the Emperors successfully withstood the Caliphs, and for many centuries continued to do so, the Roman empire in the end surviving the Caliphate by over two hundred years.

The kingdom of the Sassanians, on the other hand, the Arabs completely overran and conquered; Yazdajird, the last of the Chosroes, was hunted down and slain, and the whole land of Iran passed under the rule of Islam. Then further, and to no inconsiderable extent, the empire of the Caliphs, which had taken over bodily the administration of the older Persian kingdom, came itself to be modelled on the pattern in government which the Chosroes had established; this more especially under the Abbasids, who, rather more than a century after the death of the Prophet, overthrew their rivals the Omayyads, and changing the seat of the Caliphate from Syria to Mesopotamia, founded Baghdad on the Tigris, a few miles above Ctesiphon, the older winter capital of the Sassanians.
Baghdâd forthwith became, for the East, the centre of the Moslem empire, but from the time of the first Abbasid Caliph this empire no longer remained, even nominally, undivided. Spain fell off, and before long an Omayyad Caliph at Cordova was the rival of the Abbasid Caliph at Baghdad. In rather more than a century after their establishment in power, the Abbasids also lost Egypt, which, at about the date when the Omayyad prince at Cordova had recently proclaimed himself Commander of the Faithful, passed into the power of the Fatimids, who likewise took the style of Caliph, and renounced allegiance to Baghdad. Syria had for the most part followed the fortunes of Egypt; Arabia was the debateable land between the two; in the Further East many provinces became independent of the Abbasid Caliph, but there no permanent rival Caliphate was established; so that in general terms all those broad provinces, which had formed the Sassanian kingdom before the days of Islam, remained to the last nominally, if not really, subject to the Abbasids. This vast stretch of country, bounded to the eastward by the deserts of Central Asia, with the mountains of Afghanistan, and westward by the Byzantine empire, was divided among the many provinces which will be described in detail in the succeeding chapters of the present work. The names of the provinces, and their boundaries, for the most part (and as far as is known), were under the Arabs identical with those that had existed under the Chosroes; indeed the East alters so little that in the majority of cases both names and boundaries have remained almost unchanged to the present day, though, as was to be foreseen, the political state, and especially the economical or material conditions of the country, have varied considerably during the last thirteen hundred years.

It will be convenient, before proceeding further, to give a brief summary of these various provinces, taking them in the order in which they are described in the succeeding chapters.

The great lowland province, which the Greeks called Mesopotamia, is the gift of its two rivers the Euphrates and the Tigris; and the latter in its lower course (as will be more fully explained in Chapter II) did not, in Abbasid times, run in the channel which its waters follow at the present day. A glance at the map shows that the sterile Arabian desert comes close up to the
western border of the Euphrates, and this river, therefore, has no right bank affluents. With the Tigris, on the other hand, it is different; the highlands of Persia follow a line standing back at a considerable distance from the eastern side of this river, and many streams flow down from the Persian mountains, these forming numerous left bank affluents of the Tigris. The Moslems inherited from the Sassanians a system of irrigation for Mesopotamia which made this province one of the richest in the known world. The system will be more fully explained later; but briefly it may be said that the Arabs effectually watered the country lying between the two rivers by draining the surplus of the Euphrates through a number of transverse canals flowing to the Tigris; while the districts to the eastward of the Tigris, extending up to the foot-hills of the Persian highlands, were watered in part by the streams which flowed down from these mountains, in part by a series of loop canals, taken from the left bank of the Tigris, and returning to it again, which in turn absorbed the flood-waters of the many small rivers rising in the eastern hills.

The Arabs divided Mesopotamia into two provinces, Lower and Upper, of which the Lower comprised the rich alluvial lands known anciently as Babylonia. Lower Mesopotamia was called Al-‘Irāk, and its northern limit (which, however, varied at different times) was a line going east and west, from points on the Euphrates and Tigris, respectively, where these two rivers first began to flow near each other through the Mesopotamian plain. The largest city of ‘Irāk, under the Abbasids, was of course Baghdaḏ; but already a century before that dynasty had come to power, the first Moslems, on conquering this part of Mesopotamia, had founded three great towns, Wāsīt, Kūfah, and Baṣraḥ, which continued to flourish for many centuries; and these, with Anbār (already a city in Sassanian days) lying on the Euphrates in the latitude of Baghdaḏ, were the great centres of population in the ‘Irāk province under the Abbasid Caliphs.

North of the limit of the alluvial lands stretched the hard and somewhat stony plains of Upper Mesopotamia, where had been the kingdom of Nineveh in ancient times. Upper Mesopotamia the Arabs called Al-Jazīrah, ‘the island,’ or rather ‘the peninsula,’
or partial island, for these great plains were almost enclosed by a ring of waters, formed by the upper courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, and by streams or canals joining the two to the southward of the stony plains. The province of Jazîrah extended north to the mountains in which the two great rivers had their sources; it was divided into three districts, named after the Arab tribes which had settled here in the times of the Chosroes, and its chief towns were Mosul near the ruins of Nineveh, Âmid on the Upper Tigris, and Rakšah at the great bend of the Euphrates, near the desert border on the further side of which is Damascus.

The chapter following deals with the mountainous countries in which the twin rivers, which are the head streams of the Euphrates, take their rise. This country formed the debatedable land between the Caliphate and the empire. Time and again its towns and fortresses were taken and retaken, by Moslems and Christians, as the tide of war ebbed and flowed. The country was never permanently settled by the Arabs, and detailed description of it is for the most part lacking in our earlier authorities. The same remark, and in a higher degree, applies to the province called Rûm (the Roman Territory) which, till the latter part of the 5th (11th) century, remained an integral part of the Byzantine empire; for between this province and the Caliphate the great rampart of the Taurus chain formed the line of demarcation. Almost yearly the Moslems made incursions through the Taurus passes into Anatolia; more than once they laid ineffectual siege to Constantinople; and at times they garrisoned and occupied divers fortress towns up on the great plateau of Asia Minor. But beyond such temporary occupation the Abbasid Caliphs did not succeed in conquering the upland country; they made many raids through Asia Minor, but they held no land, and Moslem rule was not established there, until in the decline of the Caliphate, the Saljûk Turks settled in these highlands which they wrested from the Byzantines, and then finally Asia Minor, or Rûm, came to be counted as Moslem land, in which condition it still remains.

To the east of Jazîrah, or Upper Mesopotamia, came the province of Adharbâyjân, the ancient Atropatene, bounded above and below, respectively, by the Araxes and the White River, the Safid-
Rûd, both of which streams flowed into the Caspian. The most notable natural feature of this province was the great salt lake, now known as the lake of Urmiyah, near which stood Tabriz and Marâghah, the provincial capitals, while Ardabil, another great town, lay to the eastward nearer the shore of the Caspian. The chapter following describes a number of smaller provinces of the north-western border. First Gilân, or Jîlân, on the Caspian, where the Safid-Rûd, breaking through the Alburz range, the mountain barrier of the Persian highlands, flows through an alluvial plain of its own making, pushing out a small delta into the Caspian. Next, the province of Mûghân at the mouth of the combined Araxes and Cyrus rivers; then Arrân lying to the westward between the courses of these two rivers; with Shirvân to the north of the Cyrus, and Gurjistân (Georgia) at its head waters. Lastly we have Moslem Armenia lying at the head waters of the Araxes, which is the mountainous province surrounding the lake of Vân.

South-east of Adharbâyjân spreads the rich province of Media, which the Arabs very appropriately called Al-Jibâl, ‘the mountains,’ for its mountains overhang the lowlands of Lower Mesopotamia, and, range behind range, stretch across eastward to the border of the Great Desert of Central Persia. The western part of the Jîbâl province, in later times, when the Kurds attained fame and power, came to be known as Kurdîstân; and in the later middle-ages, but by a misnomer, as will be explained in due course, the province of Al-Jibâl was often called ‘Irâk ‘Ajami, or Persian ‘Irâk, in contrast to Arabian ‘Irâk, which was Lower Mesopotamia. The Jîbâl province included many great cities; in the west Kirmânsâh and Hamadân (the latter the ancient Ecbatana); in the north-east Ray (Rhages), and to the south-east Ispâhân. At a later period the Mongols of Persia founded Sultanîyâh in its northern plains, which for a time taking the place of Baghdad, became the capital of this portion of their empire, which included both Mesopotamia and Persia under the rule of the Êl-Khân. In the mountains of the Jîbâl province many rivers take their rise, among the rest the Kârûn, which the Arabs called Dujayl or Little Tigris, and which after a long and tortuous course flows out at the head of the Persian Gulf, a little
to the east of the combined mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris.

The province of Khūzistān, lying south of Media and east of Lower Mesopotamia, occupies the lower course of the Kārūn river, or Duijayl, with its numerous affluents. This country was extremely rich; Tustar and Ahwāz were its chief towns; and its lands being plentifully irrigated were most productive. East of Khūzistān, and bordering the Gulf, lay the great province of Fârs, the ancient Persis and the cradle of the Persian monarchy. Under the Abbasids it still kept the division into the five Kûrâhs, or districts, which had been organized under the Sassanians, and Fârs was closely studded with towns, great and small, the most important of which were Shîrāz the capital, Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), Yazd, Arrajân, and Dârâbjird. The islands of the Gulf were counted as of Fârs, and Kâys island was an important commercial centre before the rise of Hurmuz. The chief physical feature of Fârs was the great salt lake of Bakhtigân, which with other smaller sheets of water stood in the broad highland valleys, whose mountains were offsets of the ranges in the Jibâl province, already referred to. In Fârs, the Dârâbjird district under the Mongols came to be counted as a separate province, and was in the 7th (13th) century called Shabânkârah; the Yazd district also, in the later middle-ages, was given to the Jibâl province.

To the east of Fârs lay the province of Kirmân, far less fertile, almost lacking in rivers, and bordering on the Great Desert. Of this province there were two capitals in Abbasid times, Sirjân and Kirmân city; and the two other most important towns of the province were Hurmuz, on the coast; and Jîrûft, inland, a centre of much commerce. The Great Desert of Central Persia is the most remarkable physical feature of the high tableland of Ïrán. This immense salt waste stretches south-east diagonally across Persia, from Ray, at the base of the mountains which on their northern side overlook the Caspian, spreading in a broad band—or rather, in a dumb-bell-shaped depression—the lower end of which merges into the hills of Makrân, the province bordering on the Indian Ocean. In the Great Desert there are few oases; a salt efflorescence covers much of the barren levels, but the desert in winter time is not difficult to pass, and many well
marked tracks connect the towns on either side. But on the other hand the Great Desert is a real barrier to any continuous intercourse between the provinces of Fârs and Kirmân, which lie on its south-western side, and the eastern provinces which are beyond its other limit, namely Khurâsân with Sistân to the south-east, and this desert barrier has played an important part all through the history of Persia. After describing what the Moslem geographers have to say of the Great Desert, the same chapter deals with the Makrân province, which on the east touched India, running up to the highlands overlooking the Indus valley, part of which is now known as Balûchistân. On these regions, however, our authorities are not very fully informed.

North of Makrân, and across the narrow part of the desert opposite Kirmân, lay the province of Sijistân or Sistân, to the east of the extensive, but very shallow lake of Zarah. Into this lake drained the waters of the Helmund, and numerous other rivers flowing south-west from the high mountains of Afghanistân lying above Kâbul and Ghaznah. Here Kandahâr stood in a plain between two of the affluents of the Helmund, and where this great river flowed into the Zarah lake lay Zaranj, the capital of Sijistân. North-west of the Zarah lake, and on the border of the Great Desert, was the very hilly province aptly called Kûhistân (Land of Mountains), the chief towns of which were Tûn and Kàyin, well known as the Tunocain of Marco Polo; Sijistân and Kûhistân thus forming the southern border of Khurâsân, the great eastern province of Persia.

Before describing this last, however, the three small provinces of Kûmis, Ťabarîstân and Jurjân, which form the subject of the succeeding chapter, require notice. Kûmis, of which the capital was Dâmghân, lay in length along the north border of the Great Desert eastward of Ray, comprising the southern foot-hills of the mountain chain of Alburz which shuts off the high plateau of Persia from the Caspian Sea. These mountains, and more particularly their northern flank descending to the Caspian, formed the province of Ťabarîstân, otherwise called Mâzandarân, which extended from Gîlân and the delta of the White River (Saftid-Rûd), on the west, to the south-eastern corner of the Caspian. Here Ťabarîstân joined Jurjân, or Gurgân, the ancient
Hircania, which included the valleys watered by the rivers Atrak and Jurján, on which last stood Jurján city. The Jurján province extended eastward from the Caspian Sea to the desert which separated Khurásán from the cultivated lands of the Oxus delta, namely the province of Khwârizm.

The modern province of Khurásán is but a moiety of the great tract of country which, from Abbasid times down to the later middle-ages, was known under this name; for Khurásán of those days included what is now become the north-western part of Afghanistan. On the east, medieval Khurásán bordered on Badakhshân, its northern frontier was the Oxus and the desert of Khwârizm. The Moslem geographers divided Khurásán into four quarters, named after its four capital cities; viz. Nishâpur, Marv, Herat, and Balkh. From a physical point of view the remarkable feature of Khurásán consisted in the two great rivers of Herat and of Marv, which rising in the mountains of what is now Afghanistan, turned north and flowed out to waste in the sands of the desert towards Khwârizm, reaching no sea or lake.

The chapter following deals with the upper waters of the Oxus, and a number of small provinces, stretching from Badakhshân westwards, which lie to the north, on the right bank affluents of the great river. Its delta, forming the province of Khwârizm to the south of the Aral Sea, is next described, of which Urganj was the older capital, and in this chapter some pages are devoted to clearing up the much debated subject of the older course of the Oxus to the Caspian. Beyond the great river, and between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, lay the province of Sughd, the ancient Sogdiana, with its two noble cities, Samarkand and Bukhârâ, both on the Sughd river. This is the penultimate chapter of the present work; and the last chapter deals with the provinces along the Jaxartes, from Farghânah near the borders of the Chinese deserts, of which the capital was Akhsîkath, to Shâsh, modern Tâshkand, with the Isbîjâb province to the north-west, beyond which the Jaxartes flowed out, through the bleak wilderness, into the upper part of the Aral Sea. Of these northern countries of the Further East, however, lying beyond Central Asia, the earlier Arab geographers give but a succinct account. They were the Turk lands, and it was only after the Mongol invasion that they
rose to importance; of this period unfortunately there is a lack of precise information, the Arab geographers failing us for the most part, and their place being but ill-supplied by the later Persian and Turkish authorities.

The Moslems, by the injunction of their Prophet, were bound each, once in a lifetime, to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Under the Abbasids, when the Moslem empire reached its fullest extent, the pilgrimage was facilitated by the elaborate system of high roads, all made to radiate from Baghdād, where the Tigris was crossed by those coming from the further east and bound for the Ḥijāz. Of this road system (which the Arabs had inherited from the earlier Persian kingdom) we possess detailed contemporary descriptions; and the chief lines, running through the provinces named in the foregoing paragraphs, may here be summarily described.

The most famous of the trunk roads was the great Khurāsān road, which, going east, united the capital with the frontier towns of the Jaxartes on the borders of China. This, too, is perhaps that which of all the roads is best described. Leaving East Baghdād by the Khurāsān gate, it went across the plain, passing over numerous streams by well-built bridges, to Ḥulwān at the foot of the pass leading up to the highlands of Persia. Here it entered the Jibāl province and after a steep ascent reached Kirmānshāh, the capital of Kurdistān. Crossing the Jibāl province diagonally, northeast, the road passed through Hamadān to Ray. From Ray onwards it went almost due east through Kūmis, having the Šabāristān mountains on the left, and the Great Desert on the south, till it entered the province of Khurāsān near the town of Bistām. Continuing onwards it came to Nishāpūr, then to Tūs, and on to Marv, beyond which it crossed the desert to the Oxus bank at Āmul, thence reaching successively Buhkārā and Samarkand in the province of Sughd. At Zāmīn a short distance east of Samarkand, the road bifurcated: on the left hand one road proceeded to Shāsh (Tāshkand) and ultimately to the ford at Utrār on the lower course of the Jaxartes; the other road, leaving Zāmīn, turned off to the right, towards Farghānāh and the Upper Jaxartes, coming to Akhsīkat the capital, and finally to Uzkand on the borders of the Chinese desert.
This in its full extent was the great Khurāsān road; and to the present day the post-roads crossing Persia, but centring in Tīhrān, near the older Ray, follow the same long track which the earlier Arab geographers have described. After the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, the road system was in part altered by the building of Sultāniyyah, which became the capital of the Mongols. But all that this entailed was a branch road north from Hamadān direct to Sultāniyyah, which, for a time, took the place of Ray as the centre point of the roads in this quarter.

In earlier days, under the Abbasids, cross-roads had branched off, right and left, to various parts of Persia from the chief towns along the Khurāsān high road. Thus from near Kirmānshāh a road went north to Tabrīz and other towns on the Urmiyyah lake, with prolongations to Ardabil and to places on the Araxes. From Hamadān, going south-east, there was a high road to Isfahān; and from Ray, going north-west, the distances to Zanjān are given, whence a highway led up to Ardabil. Nishāpūr in Khurāsān was a centre for many branch roads; southwards one went to Tabas on the borders of the Great Desert in Kūhistān; another road went to Kāyīn; while south-east was the highway to Herat, whence Zaranj in Sijistān was reached. From Marv a high road followed up the Marv river to Lesser Marv (Marvar-Rūd), where, joining a road coming from Herat, it went on to Balkh and the eastern frontier lands beyond the Oxus. Finally from Bukhārā there was direct communication, north-west, with Urganj in Khwārizm; and, south-west, with Tirmid on the Oxus opposite Balkh.

This completes the system of the Khurāsān road; and now returning to Baghdad, the central point, the highways going in other directions must be sketched. Down the Tigris, the distances and stations being given both by land and by water, was the highway through Wāsīṭ to Baṣrāh, the great port for the trade of the Persian Gulf. From both Wāsīṭ and Baṣrāh, Ahwāz in Khūzistān was reached, and thence the high road went due east to Shirāz in Fārs. This was a centre of many roads. North was the road to Isfahān and on to Ray; north-east, through Yazd and across the Great Desert Tabas was reached, which communicated with Nishāpūr; eastward by more than one route Sirjān and
Kirmân were in communication, and thence eastward across the Great Desert was the way to Zaranj in Sijistân; while south-east and south from Shîrâz two roads branched towards the Persian Gulf ports, one passing through Dârabjîrd to Sûrû near Hurmuz, the other to Sirâf, at one time the chief harbour of Fârs.

Returning once again to Baghdâd, the central point, we find that the great Pilgrim road to Mecca and Medina left West Baghdâd, going south to Kûfah on the border of the Arabian desert, which it crossed almost in a direct line to the Hijâz. A second Pilgrim road started from Basra, running at first nearly parallel with the other, which it finally joined two stages north of Mecca. Then from Baghdâd, north-west, a road went to the Euphrates at Anbâr, and thence up that river to Rakkhah, a centre point for roads across the Syrian desert to Damascus, and for many other highways going north to the Greek frontier towns. Finally from Baghdâd, north, there were high roads up both banks of the Tigris to Mosul, whence Âmid was reached on the one hand, and Kirkisîyâ on the Euphrates to the south-west. From Âmid there were roads communicating with most of the frontier fortresses towards the Greek country.

This in brief was the road system under the Abbasids, which, centring in Baghdâd, connected the capital by a system of post-stages with the outlying provinces of the empire. The system is very carefully described by the Arab geographers, and for purposes of reference it may be well now to give in chronological order a short account of our contemporary authorities, on whose works we rely for the facts set down in the following chapters.

The earlier of our authorities date from the middle of the 3rd (9th) century, and the first geographical treatises of the Arabs take the form of Road Books. These set forth in detail the various itineraries, are interspersed with short accounts of the towns passed through, and give the revenues and products, in turn, of each province. Of these Road Books we possess four, in particular, which are of primary importance, and they complement

1 For further particulars of the Arab geographers see Palestine under the Moslems (London, 1890), the Introductory chapter; also for more detail, the Introduction to the French translation of Abu-l-Fidâ, by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1848).
each other, for their texts have in many passages come down to us in a mutilated condition. The authors of these Road Books of the 3rd (9th) century are Ibn Khurdâdbih, Kûdâmah, Ya'kûbî and Ibn Rustah.

The first two are almost identical in substance. Ibn Khurdâdbih was post-master of the Jibâl province, Kûdâmah was a revenue accountant; their itineraries give stage by stage the distances along the great Khurâsân road and the other trunk roads, as sketched in the preceding paragraphs, which radiated from Baghâdâd. The work of Ya'kûbî has unfortunately not reached us in its entirety; to it we owe the account of Baghâdâd which, with the description written by Ibn Serapion, has made it possible to work out in detail the topography of the Abbasid capital. Ya'kûbî gives further a number of valuable notes on many other cities, and the details of the high roads traversing the 'Irâk province are found fully set forth only in his work. Of Ibn Serapion, his contemporary, only a fragment has reached us; but this, in addition to the account given of Baghâdâd, is of capital importance for the river and canal system of Mesopotamia; he gives also shorter descriptions of the rivers in other provinces. Ibn Rustah has written a similar work to Ya'kûbî, adding many notices of towns; but above all he has given us a most minute account of the great Khurâsân road as far as Tûs, near Mashhad, with some of its branch roads, notably those going to Isfâhân, and to Herat; also the road from Baghâdâd south to Kûfah, and to Baṣrah, with the continuation eastward to Shirâz. On all these trunk lines, not only are the distances and stages given, but an exact description is added of the nature of the country passed through; whether the way be hilly, ascending or descending, or whether the road lies in the plain; and this description of Ibn Rustah is naturally of first-rate importance for the exact identification of the line traversed, and for fixing the position of many lost sites. Another authority is Ibn-al-Fâkîh, a contemporary of Ibn Rustah, who wrote a very curious geographical miscellany, of which unfortunately only an abridgment has come down to us. Some of his notices of places, however, are of use in completing or correcting the earlier accounts.¹

¹ The texts of Ibn Khurdâdbih, Kûdâmah, Ya'kûbî, Ibn Rustah and
The systematic geographers begin with the 4th (10th) century. They describe fully and in turn each province of the Moslem empire, only incidentally giving the high roads, and generally piecemeal for each province. Their works are of course a great advance on the Road Books; to them we owe such fulness of geographical detail as will be found in the following chapters, and the three first names on the list, Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawḳal, and Muḳaddasi, are those to whose labours we are most materially indebted. The work of Ibn Ḥawḳal is but a new edition, partly enlarged and emended, of Iṣṭakhri; on the other hand Iṣṭakhri, a native of Persepolis, gives the description of his native province, Fārs, in far greater detail than is to be found in Ibn Ḥawḳal, who reduced his chapter on Fārs to the due proportion of the remainder of the book. Muḳaddasi, their contemporary, wrote his geography entirely on independent lines, and chiefly from his personal observations of the divers provinces. His work is probably the greatest, it is certainly the most original, of all those which the Arab geographers composed; his descriptions of places, of manners and customs, of products and manufactures, and his careful summaries of the characteristics of each province in turn, are indeed some of the best written pages to be found in all the range of medieval Arab literature.

It is further to be remarked that to these last three systematic geographers we owe the exact identification of most of the names displayed on the accompanying maps. At the close of each chapter they give a table of 'the distances,' namely the stages or sections of the great high roads, already described, which crossed the province in question, and in addition to the high roads an immense number of cross-distances are added, going between

Ibn-al-Fāḳīh are edited by Professor De Goeje in volumes v, vi, and vii of his series Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum (Leyden, 1885—1892); further in vol. vi he has added a French translation, with many important notes, of the first two authorities. Of Ibn Serapion the text, describing Mesopotamia, will be found in the Jour. R. Asiat. Soc. for 1895, p. 9; and the ms. referred to is that in the British Museum, numbered Add. 23,379. Ya'ḳūbī, in addition to his work on geography, also wrote a history, the text of which has been edited by Professor M. T. Houtsma (Ibn-Widhikh, qui dicitur Al-Jaʾqūbī, Historiae, Leyden, 1883), and this often contains valuable information in matters of geography.
neighbouring towns. These distances, plotted out and starting from known points, enable us to cover the map with a system of triangulation, by means of which the positions of some towns, long ruined, and the very vestiges of which have in many cases disappeared, can be approximately laid down; as, for instance, in the case of Tawwaj in Fârs, the ruins of which have not yet been identified, though their situation can now be fixed within narrow limits. Another writer of the 4th (10th) century is Mas'ūdī, who has left two works; the first for the most part historical, and well known under the title of The Golden Meadows; the second, a sort of commonplace book, full of curious details and notes, which is called At-Tanbih, 'The Admonishment'.

Coming to the 5th and 6th (11th and 12th) centuries, we have the works of two famous travellers, pilgrims, whose descriptions of the places they passed through are of considerable importance. Nāṣir, son of Khusraw, the Persian, in the middle of the 5th (11th) century went from Khurāsān to Mecca and back, visiting Egypt and Syria on his way out, and crossing Arabia on the homeward journey, and his diary, written in Persian, is one of the earliest works we possess in that language. Ibn Jubayr, the Spanish Arab, a century later made the pilgrimage starting from Granada; and his account of Mesopotamia, particularly of Baghdad, is one of the most interesting that has come down to us. Dating from the beginning of the 6th (12th) century is another Persian work, called the Fârs Nāmah (Book of Fârs), describing most minutely that province, and invaluable as far as it goes. Also dating from the middle of this century we have the systematic geography of Idrisi, who lived at the court of the Norman king, Roger II of Sicily. He wrote in Arabic, and very inconveniently has composed

1 The texts of Ištakhri, Ibn Ḥawkal, and Muḥaddasi form volumes i, ii, and iii, respectively, of the already-mentioned series of the Bibl. Geogr. Arab. (Leyden, 1870—1877). Of Mas'ūdī the text of the Tanbih has been edited by Professor De Goeje in vol. viii of the same series (Leyden, 1894); and a translation in French of this has been published (Paris, 1896) by Baron Carra de Vaux under the title of Le Livre de l'Avertissement. The history, called The Golden Meadows (Murūj-adh-Dhahab), was published (Paris, 1861), the Arabic text being given with a French translation, by Messrs Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille; the two last works under the auspices of the French Société Asiatique.
his description of the known world in 'Climates,' that is according to zones of latitude, whereby the various provinces are often divided up arbitrarily, Mesopotamia, for instance, being partly described in the 3rd Climate, partly in the 4th. He had, unfortunately for our purpose, no personal knowledge of Persia or the regions east of the Mediterranean, but had visited Asia Minor, then still a province of the Roman empire, and his description of this region would be invaluable, but for the fact that the place-names (by reason of incorrect mss.) are in many cases illegible, or so corrupt as to be at present mostly beyond recognition.

Coming to the 7th (13th) century, the period of the Mongol invasion and the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, we have the voluminous Geographical Dictionary of Yâkût, a compilation it is true from earlier writers, but illustrated by the author's own far extended travels, which, when it is used with due criticism, is perfectly invaluable. The articles are arranged in alphabetical order, and Yâkût quotes freely from almost all his predecessors in Arab geographical literature, some of whose works, as for instance those of the traveller Ibn-al-Muhalhal, who wrote in 330 (942), are only known to us by his excerpts. This great dictionary was epitomised, three-quarters of a century after its appearance, in a work called Al-Marâşid, 'the Observatories,' and the author of this epitome, a native of Mesopotamia, often gives valuable corrections, of first-hand authority, for places in the regions round Baghdad. Of about the same date is Kazvini, who wrote a work in two parts on cosmography, which gives interesting notes on the products and the commerce of divers towns and provinces; and in the earlier part of the 8th (14th) century we have the systematic geography of Abu-l-Fidâ, a Syrian prince, who, though he compiled largely from the works of his predecessors, in addition gives

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1 The Persian text of Nasir-i-Khusraw, with an annotated French translation, has been brought out by C. Schéfer, in the series of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes (Paris, 1881). The Arabic text of Ibn Jubayr was well edited by W. Wright (Leyden, 1853). The Fârs Nâmeh exists only in manuscript; that quoted is in the British Museum, numbered Or. 5983. Idrisi has been translated into French (indifferently well) by A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836); passages quoted I have verified with the Arabic text, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits Arabes, Nos. 2221 and 2222.
facts from his own observation of the countries which he had visited.

Of the same date, namely the first half of the 8th (14th) century, are the travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah the Berber, who rivalled the Venetian Marco Polo in the extent of his voyages. His book is written in Arabic; his contemporary, Mustawfī, wrote in Persian a description of the Mongol kingdom of Īrān (Mesopotamia with Persia), which shows the condition of the country after the Mongol settlement, when this region was governed by the Īl-Khāns. Mustawfī also wrote an historical work called the Tūrikh-i-Guzidah, 'the Select History,' which, besides being of considerable value for Mongol times, often contains geographical notes of great importance.

For the time of Timūr we have primarily the notices in the historical work of ‘Ali of Yazd, then the Geography written by Ḥāfīz Abrū; both are in Persian, and date from the first half of the 9th (15th) century. Lastly for the settlement after the conquests of Timūr, the works of two Turkish authors, one writing in Eastern Turkish, the other in ‘Othmanī, have to be mentioned, both being of the earlier half of the 11th (17th) century. These are the History of the Turks and Mongols by the Khwārizm prince Abūl-Ghāzi, and the Universal Geography called the Jahān Numā

1 The Mu’jam-al-Buldān, the great dictionary of Yāḵūt, has been edited in Arabic by F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866—1873); the articles relating to places in Persia will be found translated into French, with additions from Mustawfī and later authorities, in the Dictionnaire de la Perse (Paris, 1861) of M. Barbier de Meynard. The Marāṣid-al-İṭtīḥād, which is the epitome of Yāḵūt, has been edited by Juynboll (Leyden, 1852). The two volumes of the Cosmography of Kazvīnī have been edited by Wüstenfeld (Gottingen, 1848). The text of the Geography of Abu-l-Fīdā was edited by Reinaud and De Slane (Paris, 1840), and Reinaud also began (Paris, 1848) a translation of this work in French, prefixing to it a valuable Introduction on the Arab Geographers, which translation S. Guyard afterwards (Paris, 1883) completed.

2 The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, the Arabic text with a French translation, have been published (Paris, 1874—1879) by Defrémerie and Sanguinetti. The Persian Geography of Ḥamād Allah Mustawfī (the text of the Nushat-al-Ḳulūb) was lithographed at Bombay in 1311 (1894), and the Guzidah is quoted from the British Museum MS. numbered Add. 22,693, MSS. Add. 7630 and Egerton 690 having been collated. Part of the Guzidah has now been printed, with a French translation, by M. J. Gantin (Paris, 1903).
(World Display) by the celebrated bibliographer Ḥājj Khalfah.

For elucidating points of detail the works of many of the Arab historians are of primary importance. By earlier writers history and geography were often treated of in one and the same work. An instance of this is the Book of the Conquests, written by Balâdhurî, and dating from the middle of the 3rd (9th) century. It describes in turn, east and west, all the conquests of the Moslems, and is of great interest as showing the state of the country when Islam first became the dominant creed. Of the chronicles, besides the History written by Ya'kûbî, already mentioned, there is, dating from the 3rd (9th) century, the work of Ibn Mashkuwayh, of which the Sixth Section only has been printed. The annals of Ḥamzah of Isfahân, written in the middle of the 4th (10th) century, likewise give useful information, and though of course composed in Arabic, the work was evidently based on many Persian books, now lost, and it relates facts of which we should otherwise be ignorant.

The most complete, however, of the Arabic chronicles, down to the beginning of the 4th (10th) century, at which date he flourished, is that of Ṭabarî, and his work is for geography a primary authority. For later Abbasid history Ibn-al-Athîr has to be relied upon; also the entertaining summary of Moslem history generally known by the name of Fakhri. The Universal History of Ibn Khaldûn is often of use to supplement the meagre chronicle of Ibn-al-Athîr; and the great Biographical Dictionary of Ibn Khallikân occasionally adds details. These authors all wrote in Arabic. In Persian the two histories called the Rawdat-as-Ṣafâ and the Ḥabîb-as-Siyâr, respectively by Mîrkhwând and by Khwândamîr

1 The Persian text of the history of Timûr by ʿAll of Yazd, known as the Ṣafar Nâmâh, is published in the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1887). A French translation called Histoire de Timour Bec was published (Paris, 1722), by Petis de la Croix. Ḥâfiz Abrû exists only in manuscript; the one quoted is that of the British Museum, numbered Or. 1577. The Turkish text of the Jahân Numâ was printed in Constantinople in 1145 (1732) by İbrahim Efendi, and a Latin translation of part of this work was published by M. Norberg (Lund, 1818). The Turkî text, with a French translation, of the History of the Mongols, by Abu-l-Ghâzlî, has been published by Baron Desmaisons (St Petersburg, 1871).
his grandson, must be mentioned, for especially in the Persian provinces both these works give valuable geographical information. Two other Persian chronicles, relating to the Saljuq dynasties in Asia Minor and in Kirmân, are likewise of importance, and are more than once quoted in the following pages, being referred to under the names of the chroniclers Ibn Bibi, and Ibn Ibrâhim.

To complete our survey, a few pages in conclusion of this preliminary chapter may be devoted to some general remarks on the place-names which occur in the following chapters, and are set down on the maps. In the two provinces of Mesopotamia the great majority of the place-names are notably either Arabic or Aramaic, this last having been the common language of the people here, prior to the Moslem conquest. The Arabic names of towns generally have, or had, a meaning, as for instance Al-Kufah, Al-Asrah, and Wasi. The Aramaic names, as a rule, are easily recognisable by their form, and by the termination in long â, for example Jabultâ; and the meaning of these too is generally not far to seek: e.g. ’Abartâ, 'the passage, or crossing place,' marking a bridge of boats; and Bajisra, which is equivalent

1 The text of Baladhuri has been edited by Professor De Goeje (Leyden, 1866). He has also given us Ibn Mashkuwayh, forming the latter part of his Fragmenta Historiorum Arabiorum (Leyden, 1871). The History by Hamzah of Isfahân has been edited (with a Latin translation) by I. M. E. Gottwaldt (Leipzig, 1844). The numerous volumes of the great Chronicle of Tabari have been published, in three series, under the editorship of Professor De Goeje (Leyden, 1879—1901). The Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athir is edited by Tornberg (Leyden, 1867—1876). Fakhri, more correctly named Ibn-at-Tiktaâ, has been edited by Ahlwardt (Gotha, 1860). Of Ibn Khaldûn, the text quoted is that printed at Bulâk in 1284 (1867): the text of Ibn Khallikân has been edited by Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1837), and an English translation was made by De Slane, for the Oriental Translation Fund (London, 1843). The references to the Persian texts of the histories by Mirkhwând (or Mirkhwand) and by Khwândamîr are to the lithographed editions, published in Bombay, of the Rawdat-as-Safâ in 1366 (1850), and of the Habib-as-Siyâr in 1373 (1857). The two Saljuq chronicles are edited by Professor Houtsma in vols. i and iv of his Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seljoucides (Leyden, 1886—1902). The first of these is by Ibn Ibrâhîm (otherwise called Muhammad Ibrâhîm, or Muhammed ibn Ibrâhîm), who flourished about the year 1025 (1616); and the second chronicle is by Ibn Bibi, who wrote about 686 (1281). See also an article by Professor Houtsma in the Zeit. Deutsch. Morgen. Gesell. 1885, p. 362.
to the Arabic Bayt-al-Jisr, meaning 'bridge-house.' Older Persian names like Baghdâd, 'the god-given place,' are rare; and here and there a Greek name survives, as for instance Al-Ubullah, representing Apologos.

The Greek province of Asia Minor, as already said, only became Moslem land after the Saljûk conquest, in the latter half of the 5th (11th) century; and hence the Greek names are often known to us in two forms, an earlier (Arabic) and a later (Turkish); as, for example, Seleucia given first as Salûkîyah, later as Selefkeh; and Heraclia which we find at first as Hirâkîlah, and in more modern times as Arâkîliyah. After the Saljûk occupation of the country and the subsequent Ottoman supremacy, Turkish names naturally come to supplant the earlier Greek nomenclature; but in the matter of orthography it must be remembered that the Arabic alphabet is quite as foreign to Turkish as it is to Greek, hence Turkish words (as every Turkish dictionary shows) often have alternative spellings, and the place-names are in like case. Thus we find both Karâ Hisâr and Karah Hisâr; Karah-sî and Karâsi; Karamân and Karâmân, with many other examples.

Looking over the maps of the Persian provinces, it is striking how few names there are of Arabic origin. With the exception of Marâghah in Adharbâyjân, and the hamlet of Bayzâ (Al-Baydâ, 'the white town') in Fârs, there is hardly an Arabic town name to be met with. The Moslems indeed changed little or nothing when they took over the Sassanian kingdom. Very often villages and post-stations had names taken from some natural and notable object; as for example Myrtle village, Camel village, and Salt village; which in Persian were called Dih Murd, Dih Ushturân, and Dih Namak. These names the Arab geographers constantly

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1 It has been remarked that in all Moslem Spain, where rich cities abounded, there is only one that bears an Arabic name, to wit the port of Almería, for Al-Marîyah, 'the Watch Tower.' A place-name like Calatayud, which might be taken for another instance, is not primarily the name given to the town, but was only the fortress—Kalât Ayyûb, Job's Castle—below which a town afterwards sprang up. In many cases the original Iberian, Roman, or Visigothic name is for lack of documents unknown; as for instance in the case of Granada. Mutatis mutandis, the same remarks apply to Persia.
translate, and in their pages we find the above, for instance, given as Čaryat-al-Ás, Čaryat-al-Jamáł, and Čaryat-al-Milh, but there is every reason to believe that in Persia, at all times, the Persian name was in use; in other words it is here, as with us, when we speak of the Black Forest (Schwarz-Wald) or the Cape of Good Hope, such names likewise commonly varying on the maps, and in books, according to the language of the speaker.

It will be observed that we have sometimes in the Arabic lists the name of a post-stage, in Arabic, of which the Persian equivalent has not come down to us; e.g. in the case of Rás-al-Kalb, 'Dog's Head,' possibly the place later called Samnán. Also occasionally the Arabs gave a nickname to a Persian town, and both names continued simultaneously in use; as for instance Kanguvár, which from the stealing of their mules here the early Moslems had called Kašr-al-Lušūs, 'Robber Castle'; but Persian Kanguvár has in the end survived the Arab nickname. Even when the Moslem conquerors founded a new provincial capital, as was the case with Shíráz, which soon came to eclipse the older Ištakhr (Persepolis), they seem to have taken and perpetuated in the new town the name of the original Persian village. The origin and etymology of the name Shíráz, like many others, appears to be unattainable, for unfortunately the geography of the old Sassanian kingdom is almost entirely unknown to us.

The pronunciation of names, as is natural, varied with the lapse of time; Tūraythith becomes Turshíz: Hamadhán is in later books spelt Hamadān; further there was evidently an Arabic and a Persian pronunciation (or spelling) of the same name contemporaneously current, thus Arabic Kašhán is written Kāshān in Persian, Šāhik appears later as Châhik, and Šaghāniyán is Chaghāniyán. Then again, as the Arabic grammar demanded tri-consonantal roots, the Persian Bám had to be written in Arabic Bamm, and Kūm Kum; but this was merely to suit the rules of Arabic orthography, and the doubled final

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1 It is to be remarked that the dh, which the modern Persians pronounce z (e.g. Azarbâyjân, written Adharbâyjân), was apparently sometimes not given the z sound; thus Hamadhán is now called Hamadán, and never pronounced Hamazán. In Persian the Arabic w is generally, but not always, pronounced v, e.g. Kāzvín or Kazvín.
consonant was never in use in the Persian. In some cases a name would fall into disuse for some unknown reason, to be replaced by another name, but Persian like the first; an instance occurs in Kirmāšīn or Kirmīšūn, later known as Kirmānshāhān, shortened to Kirmānshāh at the present day. But we are alike ignorant of the true import of these names, and the cause of the change.

In the matter of the prefixing of the Arabic article *A'* to place-names, the usage appears to be extremely arbitrary. The strict grammatical rule appears to be that the article is only prefixed to Arabic, not to foreign names. This rule, however, never was kept; for instance in Mesopotamia, where most of the names were of course of Semitic origin, the Tigris is always named Dīlah (without the article), but the Euphrates is Al-Furāt, though this last is like the first a foreign word. In the Persian provinces, the tendency was, with the lapse of time, to drop the Arabic article, e.g. (Arabic) As-Sirājān becomes (Persian) Sirjān. The usage however is quite arbitrary, for no explanation can be given why the ancient Rhages should be invariably called by the Arabs Ar-Ray, while Jay, the old name for one part of Isfahān, is always given without the article.

The Arabs were somewhat poverty-stricken in the matter of their nomenclature, and the lack is cause of much confusion. With them the capital of a province, as a rule, may be called by the name of the province, even when it has a name of its own; thus Damascus still is commonly known as Ash-Shām, *'(the capital of) Syria'*; and Zaranj, the chief town of Sijistān, was

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1 Thus we have Al-Ubullah (an original Greek name) with the article, and a number of other instances occur. Purely Arab towns sometimes took the article; sometimes not; e.g. Al-Kūfah, said to mean 'the (city of the) Reed-huts'; but on the other hand, Wāsīt, 'the Middle-town,' is always written without the article, though here too it would have seemed equally appropriate.

2 How little any rule holds is shown by the case of Jiddah, the port of Mecca, given both as Juddah, and as Al-Juddah by all the earlier writers. In the following pages where a place-name commonly occurs in the Arabic authors preceded by the article, this is, on first mention, so given. Subsequently, however, when the name is repeated, for the sake of brevity, and in the maps for distinctness, the article as a general rule is omitted. The use or disuse of the article varies with the different Arab geographers, and like their spelling of foreign names is the reverse of consistent.
more often known simply as Sijistân, for Madînat-Sijistân, 'the City' of that province. From this usage much confusion naturally arises when the province had two capitals. This for example is the case with the Kirmân province, where the name Kirmân (scilicet city) in the earlier books stands for the first capital Sirjân, and in later times for the present city of Kirmân, a totally different town, which only became the capital when Sirjân had gone to ruin. Also, on comparing together the maps, as deduced from the statements of the medieval geographers, with the map of the present day, it will often be found that the name of a lost city has been preserved in the modern district; thus of the lost Sirjân city, for example, the name is still met with in the modern Sirjân district; the same is the case with both Bardasîr and Jîruft, formerly each the name of an important town, now only preserved in the district. In short the district and its chief city being always, possibly, known by the same name, either one or the other with the lapse of time might become obsolete. Hence, and conversely to the foregoing examples, the name of the older Aradûn district is now given to the little town known as Aradûn, which of old was called Khuvâr (of Ray).

In physical geography the Arab nomenclature was not rich. Single and notable mountain peaks generally had proper names (e.g. Damâvand, Alvand), but as a rule no chain of mountains had any particular designation. The great Taurus range shutting off the Byzantine lands was often (and incorrectly) referred to as the Jabal Lukkâm, but this is properly only one mountain group of the Anti-Taurus; and the very notable range of the Alburz, dividing off the high Persian plateau from the Caspian, has, with the Arab geographers, no common term for its long chain of peaks. The great lakes generally had each its special name (e.g. Mâhâlû, Zarah, and Chîchast), but more commonly the lake was known by the name of the principal town on its shores; as for example the Urmiyah lake, and the lake of Vân also called after Arjîsh. Seas were even less distinctively named, being referred to by a variety of appellations, taken from the provinces or chief towns on their coasts. Thus the Caspian was indifferently termed the Sea of Tâbaristân, or of Gilân, or of Jurjân, also of Bâkû, and it was latterly known as the Khazar
Sea, from the kingdom of the Khazars which in the earlier middle-ages lay to the northward of it. In a similar way the Aral was known as the Sea of Khwârizm, and the Persian Gulf as the Sea of Fârs.

In conclusion it is to be understood that only a selection from our authorities is given in the following chapters; the number of towns and villages, the names of which are reported as being situated in this or that province, is very great, certainly more than double the sum catalogued in the index of the present work. But where the site could not even approximately be fixed, the mere name, one in a list, has been omitted. In regard to the maps, these, it will be noted, are simply diagrams to illustrate the text, and they do not show the country as it was at any one particular epoch. Thus towns, which in fact succeeded one another, are often marked as though existing at one and the same time, but the text will duly explain whether this was, or was not the case.

Perhaps some apology is due for the inordinate number of references which crowd the footnotes of the following pages; though doubtless by the student, wishing to verify a fact, this will not be counted as a fault. All, or none, seemed the only course. The Moslem writers, Arabs, Persians and Turks, as is well known, are the greatest plagiarists in all literature, and seldom acknowledge their indebtedness. On the other hand, each geographer or historian generally adds something of his own to what he copies (unacknowledged) from a predecessor, and often by combining many authorities sufficient scraps of information are obtained definitely to substantiate a fact or fix a position. As an instance I may quote the case of the not very important town of Khurkân, in the Kûmis province. Nothing much is known of it, but it seemed not unimportant to mark that this Khurkân of Kûmis, though now disappeared from the map, was to be kept separate from the like-written name (in Arabic) of Kharraḵân in the Jibâl province. All that is known of the Kûmis town is its position; but to fix this, (r) Ḍazvînî has to be cited, who says the town stood four leagues from Bîstân; to which information (2) Yâḵût adds the fact that it stood on the road going to Astarâbâd; while (3) Mustawfî further tells us that in his day Khurkân was an important village with a saint's tomb, and plentiful water supply, hence it was not a mere post-station. Yet to record all this, which amounts to so little, three authors have to be quoted, with references to their works, in the footnote.
CHAPTER II.

'Irák.

The division of Mesopotamia, Northern and Southern. 'Irák or Babylonia. Change in the courses of the Euphrates and Tigris. The great irrigation canals. Bagh dád. Madáín and the cities on the Tigris thence down to Fám-aṣ-Silh.

The great plain of Mesopotamia, through which the Euphrates and the Tigris take their course, is divided by nature into two parts. The northern half (the ancient kingdom of Assyria) consists mostly of pasture lands covering a stony plain; the southern half (the ancient Babylonia) is a rich alluvial country, where the date palm flourishes and the land is watered artificially by irrigation channels, and this for its exceeding fertility was accounted, throughout the East, as one of the four earthly paradises. The Arabs called the northern half of Mesopotamia Al-Jazírah, 'the Island,' the southern half was known as Al-'Irák, meaning 'the Cliff' or 'Shore,' but it is doubtful how this term came originally to be applied; possibly it represents an older name, now lost, or it was used originally in a different sense. The alluvial plain was also commonly known to the Arabs under the name of As-Sawád, 'the Black Ground,' and by extension As-Sawád is frequently used as synonymous with Al-'Irák, thus coming to mean the whole province of Babylonia.¹

The frontier between 'Irák and Jazírah varied at different epochs. By the earlier Arab geographers the limit generally

¹ In its secondary sense Sawád means 'the District' round a city, hence we have the Sawád of Bagh dád, of Kufsah, and of Baṣrah frequently employed to designate respectively the environs of these cities.
coincided with a line going north from Anbâr on the Euphrates to Takrit on the Tigris, both cities being reckoned as of ‘Irâk. Later authorities make the line go almost due west from Takrit, so as to include in ‘Irâk many of the towns on the Euphrates to the north of Anbâr; this, physically, is the more natural division between the two provinces, and it crosses the Euphrates below ‘Anah, where the river makes a great bend to the southward. The Euphrates was known to the Arabs as Al-Furât; the Tigris they called Dijlah (without the article), a name which occurs in the Targums as Diglath, corresponding to the latter part of Hiddekel, the form under which the Tigris is mentioned in the book of Genesis. When the Moslems conquered ‘Irâk in the middle of the 1st (7th) century Ctesiphon, which they called Madâin, on the Tigris, was the chief city of the province, and the winter capital of the Sassanian kings. The Arabs, however, required cities for their own people, also to serve as standing camps, and three were before long founded, namely, Kûfah, Baṣrah, and Wâsît, which rapidly grew to be the chief towns of the new Moslem province, Kûfah and Baṣrah more particularly being the twin capitals of ‘Irâk during the Omayyad Caliphate.

With the change of dynasty from the Omayyads to the Abbasids a new capital of the empire was required, and the second Abbasid Caliph founded Baghdad on the Tigris some miles above Ctesiphon (Madâin). Baghdad soon eclipsed all the recent glories of Damascus under the Omayyads, becoming the metropolis of the Abbasid Caliphate, and naturally also the capital city of ‘Irâk, which province now rose to be the heart and centre of the Moslem empire in the east.

During the middle-ages the physical conditions in ‘Irâk were entirely different from what they are now, by reason of the great changes which have come to pass in the courses of the

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1 As such Kûfah and Baṣrah were known as Al-‘Irâkân (vulgarily Al-‘Irâḵayn), meaning the two capitals of Al-‘Irâk. At a later date, however, when Kûfah and Baṣrah had lost their pre-eminence, the name Al-‘Irâḵayn or the two ‘Irâks’ came to be used incorrectly, as though meaning the two provinces of ‘Irâk, namely Arabian and Persian ‘Irâk, the latter standing for the province of Al-Jîbâl, but this will be more particularly explained in Chapter XIII.
Euphrates and Tigris, and the consequent ruin of the numerous irrigation canals which, under the earlier Caliphs, made 'Irâk a very Garden of Eden for fertility. At the present day, the Tigris, following a winding course in a direction mainly south-east, is joined at a point about 250 miles (as the crow flies) below Baghdâd by the waters of the Euphrates at Kûrnah. The combined rivers, now known as the Shaṭṭ-al-‘Arab (the Arab Stream), thence flow out to the Persian Gulf by a broad channel or tidal estuary measuring in length about a hundred miles in a direct line. This is what the modern map shows; but in early Moslem times, and, as will be demonstrated, in all probability as late as the middle of the 10th (16th) century, the Tigris, when it came about a hundred miles below Baghdâd, turned off south, from what is its present bed, flowing down by the channel now known as the Shaṭṭ-al-Hayy (the Snake Stream) to Wâsiṭ. This city occupied both banks of the river, and the Tigris some 60 miles below Wâsiṭ, after expending most of its waters by irrigation channels, finally spread out and became lost in the Great Swamp.

Throughout the middle-ages the Great Swamp, which covered an area 50 miles across, and very nearly 200 miles in length, came down to the immediate neighbourhood of Başrah. At its north-western end the swamp received the waters of the Euphrates a few miles to the south of Kûfah; for the main channel of the Euphrates was in those days the Kûfah arm of the river, that which flows by Hillah (now the main stream) being then only a great irrigation canal, called the Naḥr Sûrâ. Along the northern edge of the lower part of the Great Swamp a line of lagoons, connected by open channels, made navigation possible; boats passing where the Tigris entered the swamp at Al-Ḳaṭr, to where (near modern Kûrnah) the swamp surcharged by the waters of both Euphrates and Tigris drained out by the Abu-l-Asad canal into the head of the estuary of the Shaṭṭ-al-‘Arab. By this waterway cargo-boats went down without difficulty from Baghdâd to Başrah, which last, the seaport of Baghdâd, lay at the end of a short canal, leading west out of the tidal estuary—the Blind Tigris as the Shaṭṭ-al-‘Arab was then more commonly called.

The present course of the Tigris, as shown on the modern map, keeps to the eastward of the Shaṭṭ-al-Hayy channel, turning
off at the village now known as Kūṭ-al-'Amārah, which stands for the medieval Mādharāyā; and this, the present channel down to Kurnah, was also apparently that occupied by the river during the period of the Sassanian monarchy, when the Great Swamp, described by the Arab geographers, did not as yet exist. The historian Balādhurī dates the origin of the swamp as far back as the reign of Kubād I, the Sassanian king who reigned near the end of the 5th century A.D. In his day the dykes existing along the Tigris channel, as it then ran, having been for many years neglected, the waters suddenly rose, and pouring through a number of breaches, flooded all the low-lying lands to the south and south-west. During the reign of Anūshirwān the Just, son and successor of Kubād, the dykes were partially repaired and the lands brought back under cultivation; but under Khusraw Parwīz, the contemporary of the prophet Muḥammad, and in about the year 7 or 8 after the Flight (A.D. 629) the Euphrates and the Tigris again rose, and in such flood as had never before been seen. Both rivers burst their dykes in innumerable places, and finally laid all the surrounding country under water. According to Balādhurī King Parwīz himself, when too late, superintended the re-setting of the dykes, sparing neither treasure nor men's lives, 'indeed he crucified in one day forty dyke-men, at a certain breach (Balādhurī reports), and yet was unable to master the flood.' The waters could in no wise be got back, and the swamps thus formed became permanent; for during the succeeding years of anarchy and when the Moslem armies began to overrun Mesopotamia and the Sassanian monarchy perished, the dykes, such as still existed, naturally remained uncared for, 'and breaches came in all the embankments, for none gave heed, and the Diḥkāns (namely the Persian nobles, who were the landlords) were powerless to repair the dykes, so that the swamps every way lengthened and widened.'

The above well accounts for the formation of the Great Swamp, and Ibn Rustah refers to this epoch, under the last Sassanians, the first great shifting of the Tigris from the eastern channel, beyond Mādharāyā, to the western channel (the Shaṭṭ-al-Hayy) which passed down through the site sub-
sequently occupied by the Moslem city of Wâsiṭ. This change, says Ibn Rustah, had turned all the country bordering the older eastern course into a desert, and so it remained in the 3rd (9th) century when he wrote. He then describes the back-water, six leagues long (above Kurnah), which ran up north to 'Abdasi and Madhâr, where the channel was stopped by a dam; this being evidently the last reach of the former, and present, eastern course of the Tigris. Ibn Rustah states that the dam, which in his time stopped all navigation above this point, had not existed in Sassanian days, when the channel was still open north of 'Abdasi and Madhâr right up to where this rejoined the Tigris course (of his day) in the district north of Wâsiṭ (at Madharâyâ), whence up stream the river was clear to Madâin. He continues:—‘and of old, sea-going ships sailing in from India came up the Tigris (estuary, of the later) Baṣrah, and thence could attain to Madâin (Ctesiphon), for sailing on they came out above (the present) Fâm-âs-Sîlḥ into the Tigris reach of (the river below where, in later times, was) Baghdad.’

The lower Tigris at the present day, therefore, flows in the bed which, in the main, it had followed during Sassanian times. But during all the centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate it poured into the swamps down the western channel past Wâsiṭ, and the question arises—when did the change back to the present eastern channel take place? The answer is that doubtless the change was brought about gradually, and from the silting up of the western arm; in any case, all our Moslem authorities, down to the age of Timûr and the beginning of the 9th (15th) century, describe the lower Tigris as still passing through Wâsiṭ, this fact being confirmed by Ḥâfiẓ Abrû writing in 820 (1417). One of the first travellers to speak of the eastern arm as the navigable channel, was John Newberie, who in 1581, after visiting Baghdad, went down by boat in six days to Baṣrah, passing on the fifth day Kurnah, ‘a castle which standeth upon the point where the river Furro (Euphrates) and the river of Bagdet (the Tigris) doe meet.’ In the following century the Frenchman Tavernier made the same journey down the Tigris. He left Baghdad in February 1652, and he states that at some considerable distance below this city the Tigris divided into two branches. The western channel (that
by Wāsit) was in his time no more navigable, but it ran—as he expresses it—‘vers la pointe de la Mésopotamie.’ The French traveller followed in his boat the present eastern channel, which took its course ‘le long de l’ancienne Chaldee,’ after leaving (Kūt-al-)Amārah; and just before coming to Baṣrah he passed Kurnah where, he says, the Tigris and Euphrates joined their streams.  

The existence of the Great Swamp, and the consequent change in the courses of both Euphrates and Tigris, is the chief matter of note in the physical condition of Lower Mesopotamia during the Caliphate; but of almost equal importance was the system of canalisation inherited by the Arabs when, after the conquest, they took over the country from the Persians. Briefly, as already stated, we find that all ‘Irāḵ north of the swamp, and between the two rivers, was then traversed, like the bars of a gridiron, by a succession of canals which drained eastward into the Tigris; while east of the Tigris a canal, 200 miles in length, called the Nahrawān, starting from below Takrit and re-entering the river fifty miles north of Wāsit, effected the irrigation of the lands on the further or Persian side of the Tigris. The details of this great system of waterways will be explained more fully in due course, but a glance at the accompanying map, drawn

1 Baladhuri, 292. I. R. 94. Yak. i. 669. In 1583 John Eldred went down from Baghdad to Baṣrah, and also describes how one day’s journey before the latter place ‘the two rivers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a castle called Curna’: see his voyage in Hakluyt, Principal Navigations (Glasgow, 1904), vi. 6; also v. 371, for in 1563 Cesar Frederick had made the same journey and speaks of ‘the castle of Corna’ in similar terms. For the voyage of John Newberie, see Purchas, His Pilgrimes (folio, 1625—26), v. 1411, 1412; Six Voyages en Turquie de J. B. Tavernier (Utrecht, 1712), i. 240. Other travellers do not afford any detailed information. The earliest mention of the western (present) Tigris arm as navigable appears to be the anonymous Portuguese traveller, a copy of whose manuscript is in the possession of Major M. Hume (see The Athenaum for March 23rd, 1901, p. 373), who speaks of the castle (of Kurnah) six leagues above Baṣrah where the Euphrates and Tigris flowed together. His voyage from internal evidence must have been made in about the year 1555. The conclusion therefore appears to be that, from the time of Muḥammad, and during the nine following centuries, the Tigris took the western arm down to the swamps; afterwards, in the early part of the 16th century A.D., changing back into the eastern channel, which it had followed in Sasanian times before the rise of Islam, and which its main stream now follows at the present day.
up from the accounts of contemporary authorities, shows how the marvellous fertility of ‘Irāḵ during Abbasid times was due to a strict economy of the water supply; and that while nearly all the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris was irrigated by the waters of the Euphrates led off through canals flowing eastward, the lands along the left bank of the Tigris, and towards the foot-hills of the Persian highlands, were made fertile by the canals of the Nahrawān, which economically distributed the surplus waters of the Tigris to the eastward, and caught the flood of the numerous streams flowing down from the mountains of Kurdistān.

The topography of Baghdād has been dealt with in a previous volume\(^1\), and all that is necessary in this place is to summarise the most important facts, in order to make clear the position of the Abbasid capital among the other cities of ‘Irāḵ, and explain the details of the road system (already referred to in Chapter I) of which Baghdād was the central point.

The first of the great canals which ran from the Euphrates to the Tigris was the Nahr ‘Īsā\(^2\), and just above where its waters flowed out into the latter river, the Caliph Manṣūr about the year 145 (762) built the Round city, which became the nucleus of Baghdād. The Round city had four equidistant gates lying one Arab mile apart each from the other, and from every gate went a high road. Great suburbs were in time built on these four roads, and these before long came to be incorporated in the circuit of the great metropolis. The four gates of the Round city were (1) the Baṣrah Gate to the S.E. opening on the suburbs along the Tigris bank where the various branches of the ‘Īsā canal flowed out; (2) the Kūfah Gate to the S.W. opening on the high road

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\(^1\) *Baghdād during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1900). It is to be noted that the number of districts, towns, and villages in ‘Irāḵ of which information has come down is very great, and a volume would be needed to report all that is known of this, the capital province of the Abbasids. The map constructed for the paper on Ibn Serapion (*Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1895, p. 32) gives all the places lying on the rivers and canals, but this does not exhaust the list, and the reader may be referred to the work of Professor M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babyloniens* (Leyden, 1901), for fuller details, which it is impossible to find place for in the present chapter.

\(^2\) *Nahr* means both ‘canal’ and ‘river’ in Arabic; ‘Īsā was the name of the Abbasid prince who dug the canal.
going south, which was the Pilgrim road to Mecca; (3) the Syrian Gate to the N.W. where the high road branched left to Anbâr on the Euphrates, and right to the towns on the western Tigris bank north of Baghdâd; and (4) the Khurâsân Gate leading to the main bridge of boats for crossing the river. By this bridge East Baghdâd was reached, at first known as the Camp of Mahdî, son and successor of the Caliph Mansûr, and Mahdî built his palace here, also founding the great Friday Mosque of East Baghdâd. The settlement on the east side was divided into three quarters, that near the bridge head was known as the Ruşâfah quarter, the Shammâsiyâh quarter lay above it along the river bank, and the Mukharrim quarter below it. These three quarters of East Baghdâd were surrounded by a semicircular wall, going from the river bank above the Shammâsiyâh to the river again below the Mukharrim; and across the middle and narrow part of East Baghdâd went the beginning of the great Khurâsân road, starting from the Khurâsân Gate of the Round city, and crossing the main bridge to the (second) Khurâsân Gate of East Baghdâd, whence, as explained in the previous chapter, the trunk road went east to the limits of the Moslem empire.

From the Kûfah Gate of the Round city, as already stated, led the Kûfah or Pilgrim road, going south, and the great suburb which here stretched to a point nearly a league distant from the walls of the Round city was known as Karkh. The suburb of the Muḥawwal Gate lay to the westward of the Round city, being reached from both the Kûfah Gate and the Syrian Gate, where the roads converging fell into the great western high road going through the town of Muḥawwal to Anbâr. North of the Syrian Gate was the Ḥarbîyâh quarter (balancing Karkh on the south of the Round city), and beyond the Ḥarbîyâh and surrounded on two sides by a bend in the river were the northern cemeteries of West Baghdâd, at a later time famous as the Kâzîmâyn, and so named from the tombs of two of the Shi'ah Imâms.

The city of Baghdâd occupied the central point of four districts, two being on either bank of the Tigris. On the western side the Kaṭrabbûl district was north of the 'Īsâ canal, and Bâdûrayâ lay to the south of the same; while on the eastern bank the Nahr Bûk district was to the north of the line of the Khurâsân
road, and Kalwâdhâ district to the southward; the town of Kalwâdhâ standing on the river bank a short distance below the southernmost gate of East Baghûtâ. From Baghûtâ, as the central point of the road system of the empire, two roads (as already said), going south and west, bifurcated at the Kûfah Gate of the Round city; and two, going north and east, passed through East Baghûtâ, having their starting-point at the further end of the main bridge of boats. The southern road, to Kûfah (and Mecca), after leaving the suburb of Karkh, came before long to the town of Šaršar, on the Nahr Šaršar, the second of the great canals from the Euphrates to the Tigris, which flowed parallel with the Nahr ʻÎsâ on the south. The western or Anbâr road turning off at the Kûfah Gate, and passing through the suburb of Barâthâ, came after about a league to the town of Muḥawwal which stood on the ʻÎsâ canal. The eastern or Khurâsân road left East Baghûtâ (as already said) at the Khurâsân Gate, north of the Mukharrim quarter, and the first town reached was Nahrawân Bridge at the crossing of the great canal of this name. Finally, the northern road passed through the Shammâsiyah quarter to the Baradân Gate of East Baghûtâ, and shortly came to the town of Baradân lying on the east bank of the Tigris; whence, keeping along the left bank of the river, the high road reached Sâmarrâ and the towns of northern Mesopotamia.

During the five centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate the plan of Baghûtâ with its suburbs changed considerably as the city grew and in parts fell to ruin. What has been sketched in the foregoing paragraphs was the city as it existed in the time of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd. The civil war which broke out after his death brought about the ruin of the Round city. In 221 (836) the seat of the Caliphate was removed to Sâmarrâ, and during the reigns of seven Caliphs Baghûtâ was reduced to the condition of a provincial town. When finally in 279 (892) Sâmarrâ was abandoned and the Caliph re-established his court in the old capital, it was East Baghûtâ, where many new palaces came to be built, which succeeded to the glories of the Round city, now falling more and more to ruin; and for the next four centuries, down to the invasion of the Mongols, the Caliphs permanently established their residence on the east bank.
These palaces of the later Caliphs were built on the land to the south of Mukharrim, the lowest of the three quarters included within the wall of East Baghdad as it had existed in the time of Harun-ar-Rashid. These three quarters, at the date in question, had fallen to ruin, but the new palaces quickly came to be surrounded by new suburbs, which in their turn were before long enclosed by a great semicircular wall. The new wall of East Baghdad, including in its circuit a part of the older Mukharrim, went from the river bank above the palaces to the river bank below (adjacent to Kalwadha), and it was built by the Caliph Mustazhir in 488 (1095). This was the wall, more than once repaired, which finally in 656 (1258) proved impotent to withstand the Mongol attack, and the Abbasid Caliphate fell. At the present day this ruined wall remains, enclosing within its wide circuit the few relics that time has left of the city of the Caliphs, and still protecting modern Baghdad, which is as heretofore the capital of Iraq, and the residence of its Turkish Governor.

Seven leagues below Baghdad, and occupying both banks of the Tigris, lay Al-Madain, 'the Cities,' as the Arabs called the ruins of the twin capitals, Ctesiphon and Seleucia, which had been founded under the earlier Seleucids three centuries before Christ. Seleucia of the west bank had received its name from Seleucus Nicator. The name of Ctesiphon, which the Arabs give under the shortened form of Taysafun, is of uncertain etymology; though in appearance it is Greek, it probably is a corruption of the old Persian name of the city, for it is not known to us how the Sassanians called this capital of their empire. In 540 A.D. Anushirwan the Just had taken Antioch of Syria, with Seleucia on the Orontes, and after the fashion of Persian monarchs had transported the inhabitants of this Seleucia to his capital at Ctesiphon. Here he settled them in a new suburb on the east side of the Tigris, opposite therefore to the site of Seleucia of

1 It has been plausibly suggested that Ctesiphon is to be identified with Casipia of the book of Ezra (viii. 17), which lay between Babylon and Jerusalem, and which in the Septuagint version is named 'the Silver City.' Madain is merely the Arabic plural of Madtnah, 'a city'; and Casippia would be the Chaldee form of the Persian name, now lost, of the capital of the Chosroes.
Mesopotamia; and this suburb existed when the Arabs conquered the country in the following century, being still known as Rûmiyah, the Roman (or Greek) town, which some report to have been built on the plan of Antioch.

Al-Madâin, according to the Moslem authors, consisted of seven cities, whose names, with divers readings, are duly chronicled; but five cities only appear to have been in existence and inhabited when Yaḵūbī wrote in the 3rd (9th) century. These were, on the east bank, Al-Madinah-al-‘Atiḵah, ‘the Old Town,’ corresponding with Ctesiphon, and one mile south of it Asbânbur, adjacent to which lay Rûmiyah. On the opposite bank of the Tigris was Bahurasîr, a corruption of Bih-Ardashîr—‘the good town of King Ardashîr’—and one league below it was Sâbât, which according to Yâḵût was called by the Persians Balâsâbâd.

The great Sassanian palace, of which the ruins still exist, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, was known to the Arabs under the name of the Aywân-Kisrâ, ‘the Hall of the Chosroes,’ and this, according to Yaḵūbī, stood in Asbânbur; while another great building known as Al-Ḵâšr-al-Abîyâd, ‘the White Palace,’ was to be seen in the Old Town a mile distant to the north. This last, however, must have disappeared by the beginning of the 4th (10th) century, for all later authorities give the names of ‘the White Palace,’ and ‘the Hall of the Chosroes’ indifferently to the great arched building which to the present day exists here as the sole relic of the Sassanian kings. This building had a narrow escape from complete destruction in the middle of the 2nd (8th) century, when Manṣûr was founding Baghâdî; for the Caliph expressed his intention of demolishing the Sassanian palace, and using the materials for his new city. His Persian Wazîr, Khâlid the Barmecide, in vain attempted to dissuade him from this act of barbarity, but the Caliph was obstinate; the Wazîr, however, gained his point for, when the order came to be carried into effect the demolition was found to be more costly than the materials were worth for the new buildings, and the Arch of the Chosroes, as Yâḵût calls it, was left to stand. At a later period much of its stone work was carried off for the battlements of the new palace of the Tâj in East Baghâdî, which the Caliph ‘Alî Muktafl finished building in the year 290 (903).
In the 4th (10th) century Madain, which is at the present day a complete ruin, was a small and populous town, with a fine Friday Mosque dating from the days of the Moslem conquest; near which stood the tomb of Salmân the Persian, one of the best known Companions of the prophet Muhammed. The markets of Madain were built of burnt brick and were well provided. In the neighbouring Rumiyyah, the Caliph Mansur had for a time held his court, while at Sabat on the opposite bank Mamun had also resided. The grandeur of the ancient palace of the Chosroes is a theme on which the Arab geographers relate many details. Ya'kubi says that the summit of the great arch is 80 ells in height; Yakut refers to the magnificent kiln-burnt bricks, each near an ell in length by somewhat less than a span in width. Mustawfi, who gives the legendary account of Madain and its palace, reports that in the 8th (14th) century both Madain and Rumiyyah had come to be uninhabited ruins, though the villages opposite, on the western bank, still retained their inhabitants. Of these, he adds, the most important was Bahurasir, already mentioned, which Yakut, who had been there, calls Ar-Rumaikan. To the south of it lay Zariran, a stage on the Pilgrim road, and to the west Sarasar, already mentioned, on the Sarasar canal, which last fell into the Tigris a short distance above Madain. The district round Madain, which stretched eastward from the Tigris to the Nahrawan canal, was known as Radvan (Upper and Lower), of which Yakut names numerous villages, and Mustawfi praises the magnificent crops harvested here.

Dayr-al-'Aqul, 'the Convent of the (river) Loop,' is still marked on the map, situate on the east bank 10 leagues below Madain, and the name is descriptive of the Tigris course at this point. It was a Christian monastery, surrounded by a town of considerable size, the latter being counted as the chief city of the district of Middle Nahrawan. In the town was a Friday Mosque, standing

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1 Ykb. 320, 321. I. S. 9. I. H. 167. Muk. 122. Yak. i. 425, 426, 768, 809; ii. 739, 929; iii. 3. Mst. 139, 140.

2 This convenient, but of course incorrect term translates the Arabic Masjid-al-Jami', otherwise rendered a Great Mosque. The Moslems have two categories of mosques. Small mosques (Masjid) where any one could pray at any time, often equivalent to a Makhâm or Mashhad, the 'shrine' or 'place of
at some distance from the market place. Ibn Rustah at the close of the 3rd (9th) century describes the toll-barrier which was set across the Tigris here, and kept closed by the officer of the customs. He writes:—‘the toll-bar (Al-Maasir) is the name given to the places on the Tigris where two boats have been moored on the one bank of the river, opposite two other boats on the further bank, which two likewise are firmly moored. Then across the stream they have carried cables, the ends being fastened on either bank to these boats, and thus ships are prevented from passing at night without paying toll.’ Mu’addasī in the 4th (10th) century refers to Dayr-al-‘Ākūl as one of the finest cities of this region of the river bank, but afterwards the bed of the Tigris changed and Yākūt in the 7th (13th) century says that the great convent then lay a mile distant from the Tigris, standing solitary in the midst of the plain. Mustawfī, however, in the following century still counts Dayr-al-‘Ākūl as a large town, having, he adds, a damp climate on account of its surrounding palm-groves.

Also on the east bank, but lying three leagues above Dayr-al-‘Ākūl, was the small town of As-Sib, for distinction called Sib of the Banī Kūmā, which was noted for its olive-groves, and famous in history for the battle which took place here in 262 (876), when Ya’kūb the Saffarid was defeated by the troops of the Caliph Mu’tamīd. A short distance below Dayr-al-‘Ākūl stood the monastery of Marmārī, surnamed the Disciple, otherwise called Dayr Kūnā (or Kunnah), which lay a mile to the east of the Tigris, and 16 leagues from Baghdād. The historian Shābusti in

martyrdom of a saint. The Muṣallā or ‘praying-place’ was more especially that used at the services of the great festivals. The Great Mosque, on the other hand, was where weekly the Friday prayers were said, and the sermon (Khutbah) preached; and it was called Masjid-al-‘Jāmi’, ‘the Mosque of the Congregation’—terms often translated by ‘the Cathedral,’ or ‘Congregational Mosque.’ The possession of a Jāmi or Mimbar (pulpit, for the Friday Sermon) generally is a criterion of the size of a town, or village; and the fact is often mentioned as such by the Arab geographers; Iṣṭākhri for instance gives a long list of places in Fārs which had, or had not a Mimbar; and this comes to much the same as if it were said that in such and such a village, in a Christian land, stood the parish church. At a later date the term Masjid-al-‘Jāmi’ became changed to Masjid-al-Jum’ah, meaning ‘the Friday Mosque,’ but this is not the classical usage.
the 4th (10th) century (quoted by Yākūt) describes it as a great monastery surrounded by so high and strong a wall as to be like a fortress and impregnable. Within the wall were a hundred cells for the monks, and the right to a cell was only to be bought for a price ranging from two hundred to a thousand dinārs (£100 to £500). Each cell stood in its own garden, watered by a small canal and planted with fruit trees which produced a crop that yearly might be sold for from 50 to 200 dinārs (£25 to £100).

Over against Dayr Kūnnā, but on the Tigris bank, was the small town of As-Ṣafīlyah, which Yākūt writes was in his day already a ruin; and opposite this on the western side lay Humāniyyah (or Humayniyyah) which is still found on the map, two leagues S.E. of Dayr-al-‘Aḵūl. In the beginning of the 3rd (9th) century Humāniyyah was a place of some importance, for after the death of the Caliph Amin, his two sons and his mother, Zubaydah, widow of Hārūn-ar-Rashid, were for a time sent to be kept in prison here by Mamūn; and Yākūt in the 7th (13th) century describes Humāniyyah as a large village surrounded by well cultivated lands.

Jarjarāyā, or Jarjarāy, which still exists, lay four leagues S.E. of Dayr-al-‘Aḵūl. It is described by Muḵaddasī in the 4th (10th) century as having been a large town, and its Friday Mosque stood close to the Tigris, which surrounded the town on two sides. Yaḵūbi writing in the previous century states that its population chiefly consisted of Persian nobles, and it was the capital of the district of Lower Nahrawān. In the 7th (13th) century, according to Yākūt, it was, like most of the towns of the Nahrawān districts, in a state of complete ruin. On the western bank of the Tigris, four leagues below Jarjarāyā, at the ruins now called Tall-Nuʿmān stood the town of An-Nuʿmāniyyah, which Yākūt counts as the half-way stage between Baghdād and Wāṣīt. An-Nuʿmāniyyah was the capital of the Upper Zāb district, its Friday Mosque standing in the market place, and Yaḵūbi adds that near by stood the monastery called Dayr Hizkīl, where mad people were looked after by the monks. Nuʿmāniyyah was celebrated according to Ibn Rustah for its looms, where carpets like those of Ḥīrah were

manufactured. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi still speaks of Nu‘māniyah as a flourishing town surrounded by date-groves. The small town of Jabbul lay on the eastern bank, nine leagues below Jarjarāyā, where Ibn Rustah in the 3rd (9th) century says that there were government bake-houses. It was then a large hamlet, having a Friday Mosque standing in the market place, and Muqaddasi describes it as of the size of Dayr-al-‘Ākāl; but when Yākūt wrote, Jabbul had sunk to the size of a big village. The town of Mādharāyā occupied the position where at the present day Kūt-al-‘Amārah stands, namely at the bifurcation of the Shaṭṭ-al-Ḥayy from the eastern, and modern bed of the Tigris, which now goes thence south-eastward down to Kurnah. Mādharāyā was on the east bank, and in the 3rd (9th) century it was inhabited by Persian nobles. Here the great Nahrawān canal flowed back into the Tigris; and immediately below Mādharāyā came Al-Mubārak, a town which lay opposite Nahr Sābus on the western bank of the Tigris. The town of Nahr Sābus was at the mouth of the canal of this name, which will be spoken of later, and this was the chief town of the Lower Zāb district; it was counted as five leagues distant from Jabbul. On the opposite bank, and five leagues down stream, was the Šīlţ canal with the town called Fam-aš-Šilţ at its ‘mouth’ (Fam), or point of origin, which latter lay seven leagues above Wāsiţ. Fam-aš-Šilţ town stood on the Tigris bank, it had fine markets and a Friday Mosque, according to Ibn Rustah. This place was famous in Moslem history for the magnificent palace built here by Ḥasan ibn Sahl, the Wazīr of Mamūn, in which he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Būrān with the Caliph, spending fabulous sums in banquets and gifts, as will be found chronicled in the pages of Mas‘ūdī. Fam-aš-Šilţ afterwards fell to ruin, and Yākūt who visited it in the 7th (13th) century, found the town and neighbouring villages along the canal for the most part uninhabited. From the town of Fam-aš-Šilţ the buildings of the Great Mosque in Wāsiţ were visible on the southern horizon.

CHAPTER III.

‘IRÂK (continued).


Wâsiṭ, the ‘middle city,’ was so called because it lay equi-distant (about 50 leagues) from Kûfah, Baṣrah, and Aḥwâz. It was the chief town of the Kaskar district, and before the foundation of Baghdād, as already said, was one of the three chief Moslem cities of ‘Irâk.

Wâsiṭ was founded about the year 84 (703) by Ḥajjâj, the famous viceroy of Mesopotamia in the reign of the Omayyad Caliph ‘Abd-al-Malik. The city occupied both banks of the Tigris, the two halves being connected by a bridge of boats, and there were two Friday Mosques, one for each half of the city. Ya‘ḳûbî states that eastern Wâsiṭ had been a town before the days of Ḥajjâj, and here in the 3rd (9th) century the population was still for the most part Persian. In the western half of the city stood the Green Palace, built by Ḥajjâj, and called Al-Ḳubbat Al-Khaḍrâ, celebrated for its great dome, from the summit of which Fam-as-Ṣîlî seven leagues distant to the north could be seen. The lands round Wâsiṭ were extremely fertile, and their crops provisioned Baghdâd in time of scarcity; also paying yearly into the treasury a million of dirhams (£40,000) from taxes, as reported by Ibn Ḥawkal, who was at Wâsiṭ in 358 (969). Muḳaddasi states that the mosque in the eastern half of Wâsiṭ likewise was built by Ḥajjâj. The town markets were magnificent
and well stocked, also at either end of the bridge of boats were two small harbours where boats moored for convenience of discharging cargo.

During the whole period of the Caliphate Wâsiţ continued to be one of the most important cities of 'Irâk, and apparently the eastern quarter was the first to fall to ruin, for Kazwini, who was Judge at Wâsiţ in the latter half of the 7th (13th) century, speaks of the town as lying solely on the western Tigris bank. Ibn Batûtah, who was here in the early part of the following century, praises the fine buildings of the city, especially a great Madrasah, or college, with 300 rooms for students, and Mustawfi his contemporary speaks of the immense palm-groves lying round the town which made its climate very damp. At the close of the 8th (14th) century Wâsiţ is frequently mentioned as a place of importance during the various campaigns of Timur, who kept a strong garrison here; but about a century after this, as already described in the beginning of the last chapter, the Tigris ceased to flow past Wâsiţ, taking the eastern course down by Kurnah, and the city fell to complete ruin. Hâjjî Khalfah, writing in the beginning of the 11th (17th) century, speaks of it as then standing in the desert, but the canal was famous for its reeds from which pens were made.

Below Wâsiţ, according to Yâkût, the Tigris flowed out into the Great Swamp by five navigable waterways, the names of which he gives, and this statement is corroborated by the accounts of earlier writers. Ibn Serapion mentions a number of towns lying on the main arm of the river below Wâsiţ, and above Al-Katr, where in the 4th (10th) century the swamp began. The first of these towns was Ar-Ruṣafah, 'the Causeway,' lying on the left bank, ten leagues from Wâsiţ, and near it flowing eastward into the swamp was the canal called Nahr Bàn, with the town of the same name,

1 Ykb. 322. I. R. 187. Ist. 82. I. H. 162. Muk. 118. Kaz. ii. 320. I. B. ii. 2. Mst. 141. A. Y. i. 640, 657; ii. 517. J. N. 463. The ruins of Wâsiţ do not appear to have been examined by any recent explorer. Their position on the Shaṭ_al-Hayy is fixed within narrow limits by the Arab itineraries. Chesney (Report of the Euphrates and Tigris Expedition, i. 37) states that these ruins were visited by Ormsby and Elliott in 1831—2, but he does not mark their position.
also spelt Nahr Abân, at its exit. Below this came Al-Fârûth and then Dayr-al-‘Ummâl, ‘the Convent of the Governors.’ These were on the eastern bank, opposite to which and flowing west into the swamp were three canals, first the Nahr Kuraysh with a great village on it of the same name; then Nahr-as-Sib, on which stood the towns of Al-Jawâmid, ‘the Dried-lands,’ and Al-‘Ukr; finally, the Nahr Bardûdâ on which lay the town of Ash-Shadâdiyyah. All these were important towns lying in the swamp, round and about Al-Jâmîdah, otherwise called (in the plural) Al-Jawâmid; further, Muğaddasî describes a large town in this region called Aṣ-Ṣâlik, standing on an open lagoon which was surrounded by farmsteads and well cultivated lands. Over against these places and on the eastern bank of the main arm of the Tigris was Al-Ḥawânit, ‘the Taverns,’ where there was a toll-bar moored across the river, like the one already described at Dayr-al-‘Âkûl (p. 36), and this was close to Al-Ḳâṭîr, 12 leagues below Ruṣâfah, where, according to Ibn Rustah, the Tigris in the 3rd (9th) century dividing into three arms finally entered the swamp.

The Swamps were called Al-Bâṭâîh (the plural form of Al-Bâṭîhah, signifying a ‘lagoon’) and their history has been already described (p. 26). The whole area covered by them was dotted with towns and villages, each standing on its canal, and though the climate was very feverish the soil, when drained, was most fertile. Ibn Rustah writing at the close of the 3rd (9th) century describes the Great Swamp as everywhere covered by reed-beds, intersected by water channels, where immense quantities of fish were caught, which, after being salted, were despatched to all the neighbouring provinces. In regard to the Tigris waters, it appears that from Kaṭîr eastward—and probably following, approximately, the line of the present channel of the Euphrates—the waterway led through a succession of open lagoons to the Abu-l-Asad canal, by which the waters of the swamp drained out to the Baṣrâh estuary. These lagoons of open water, clear of reeds, were called Hawr or Hatîl by the Arabs, and the lagoons were connected by channels navigable for small boats. The great river barges,

according to Ibn Rustah, did not pass below Катр, but here transferred their cargoes to wherries, so light of draught as to pass through the channels threading the lagoons. All along these channels, stations on platforms had been made, where in huts built of reeds, and thus raised above the plague of gnats, guards were posted to keep the course clear and to protect wayfarers, for the recesses of the Great Swamp were the natural hiding-place of outlaws.

Ibn Serapion gives the names of four of the great lagoons (Hawr, or Hawl) through which the waterway went towards Баршах. The first was called Бахасса, the second was the Бакамши lagoon, then the Бараятха, and the fourth was the Hawr-al-Muhammadiyah, the largest of all, on which stood the tower called Минара Hassân, after Hassân the Nabathæan who had been employed by the Omayyad viceroy Hajjâj to drain and reclaim lands in the Great Swamp. Beyond this last lagoon came the channel passing the villages of Al-Hâlah and Al-Kawânîn, and ending in the canal of Abu-l-Asad, which finally carried the waters of the swamp to the head of the Tigris estuary. This Abu-l-Asad, whose canal roughly corresponds with the last reach of the present course of the Euphrates above Курнах, had been a freedman of the Caliph Manṣûr, and when in command of troops at Баршах he dug, or more probably widened, the boat channel which, as Yakût remarks, had doubtless existed here from Sassanian times. Курнах, at the present point of junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, is not mentioned by any of the Arab geographers, and the first notice of this castle appears in the Turkish JOHAN NUMA at the beginning of the 11th (17th) century.

The last reach of the eastern course of the Tigris—that of Sassanian times, as also of the present day—existed, as already said, in the middle-ages as a back-water, stopped at its northern end by a dam. This back-water, called the Nahr-al-Madhâr, was six leagues in length, and led to the two cities of ‘Abdâsî (or ‘Abdâsî) and Al-Madhâr; the exact sites of which are unknown. The surrounding district—along the then desiccated eastern bed of the Tigris—was called Jâkha, and it stretched north-westward to Kaskar, the district of Wâsiṭ. Madhâr had been a city of much importance at the time of the Moslem conquest, and was then
the capital of the district of Maysân, otherwise called Dastis-Maysân. Madhâr is described as lying four days' journey from Bašrah, and was celebrated for its beautiful mosque and the much venerated tomb of 'Abd-Allah, son of the Caliph 'Ali. The neighbouring town of 'Abdâsi, according to Yâkût, was of Persian origin, that name being the Arabic form of the older Afadâsi, which had been a hamlet of the Kaskar district before the conquest. Kaskar and Maysân were the two districts of the eastern part of the Great Swamp, and Kaskar, according to Kazwînî, produced much excellent rice which was exported. On its pastures buffaloes, oxen, and goats were fattened; the reed-beds sheltered ducks and water-fowl that were snared and sent in to the markets of the surrounding towns, while in its canals the shad-fish (called Shabbût) was caught in great numbers, salted and exported. Further, in Maysân might be seen the tomb of the prophet 'Uzayr, otherwise Ezra, which Kazwînî says was at a place settled entirely by Jews, who served the shrine. This was renowned throughout the countryside as a spot where prayers were answered, and in consequence the shrine was made rich by votive offerings.

The broad estuary formed by the combined Tigris and Euphrates waters, nearly a hundred miles in length, began at the exit of the Abu-l-Asad canal, and flowed out to the Persian Gulf at 'Abbâdân. This estuary was variously known as the Blind Tigris (Dijlah-al-‘Awrâ), or the Fayd (the estuary) of Bašrah, and the Persians named it Bahmanshir; at the present day it is generally known as the Shaṭṭ-al-‘Arab, ‘the Arab River.’ The tide from the Persian Gulf came up it, reaching as far north as the head of the channel at Madhâr and 'Abdâsi, also filling and emptying the numerous canals of Bašrah, and those irrigating the lands east and west of the estuary. Bašrah, the great commercial port of 'Irâk, lay close to the border of the desert, at some distance to the west of the estuary, with which it was in water communication by means of two canals. Both north and south of Bašrah numerous canals drained the lower waters of the Great Swamp

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into the Blind Tigris, and on the east side of the estuary several other canals came in, while a broad artificial channel called the Nahr Bayân, at a point about 30 miles above 'Abbâdân, joined the estuary of the Tigris with that of the Dujayl (the Kârûn river), which flows down from the Khûzistân province into the Persian Gulf at Sulaymânân'.

Al-Başrah—the name is said to mean 'the Black Pebbles'—was founded in the reign of ‘Omar in the year 17 (638), and its lands were divided among the Arab tribes who were then in garrison here after the conquest of the Sassanian empire. The city grew quickly to be, with Kûfah, one of the new capitals of 'Irâk; and in the year 36 (656) near Başrah 'Ali gained the barren victory, the famous Battle of the Camel, over those who were responsible for the death of the Caliph 'Othmân; in which battle Talḥah and Zubayr, two well-known Companions of the Prophet, were slain. Başrah lay about 12 miles in a direct line from the Tigris estuary, being reached by two great canals, the Nahr Ma'kil from the N.E. down which ships came from Baghdâd, and the Nahral-Ubullah by which the traffic passed from Başrah going S.E. to the Persian Gulf at 'Abbâdân. These two canals, with the waters of the estuary to the east for the third side, formed the Great Island as it was called; and the city of Ubullah stood at its S.E. angle, above where the Ubullah canal joined the estuary.

Başrah city had its greatest length along the junction canal, of the two arms just named, and its houses extending westward in a semicircle reached the border of the desert, where a single gate called Bâb-al-Ḍâdiyah (the Desert Gate) gave egress. The width of the city, from the canal bank to this gate, was in the 4th (10th) century three miles, but its length greatly exceeded this measurement. The houses of the town were for the most part of kiln-burnt bricks, the walls were surrounded by rich pasture lands,

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1 I. S. 28. The word 'Awrâ, meaning 'blind of an eye,' is applied to rivers that have silted up, and to roads along which there is no thoroughfare. At first the name of the Blind Tigris appears to have been given to the 'Abdasi channel; and only at a later date to the lower estuary. Mas. Tanbih 52. Yak. i. 770. J. N. 434. This last gives the Tigris estuary under the name of the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab.
watered by numerous minor canals, and beyond these lay extensive palm-groves. Muğaddasi states that Baṣrah had three Friday Mosques, one at the western gate, close on the desert, and this was the oldest; a second mosque, the finest, built with beautiful columns, stood in the chief market place, and it was 'unequalled among the mosques of all 'Irāk'; the third was situated among the houses of the town. There were also three great market streets, full of shops and warehouses, and these equalled the Baghdād markets in extent. The Mirbad (the Kneeling-place for Camels) was the famous quarter at the western gate, where the desert caravans halted, and this was one of the busiest parts of the city. Near here were the shrines at the tombs of Ṭalḥah and Zubayr, but even when Muğaddasi wrote many quarters of the city had already gone to ruin¹. Among other institutions, Muğaddasi mentioned a public library, which existed in Baṣrah during the 4th (10th) century, having been founded and endowed by a certain Ibn Sawwâr, who had also provided the town of Râmhurmuz in Khûzistân with a similar institution. In both a stipend provided for the entertainment of students, and for the copying of books; and the number of these stored in the Baṣrah library was considerable.

During the many wars and insurrections recorded in the history of the Abbasids Baṣrah suffered much. In 257 (871) when the great rebellion of the Zanj was at its height, their leader—who gave himself out as a descendant of the Caliph 'Alî—stormed Baṣrah, burnt the greater part of the town including the Great Mosque, and for three days his troops plundered the city. Then in 311 (923) Baṣrah was again sacked, and this time during 17 days, by the chief of the Carmathians. But the place in time partly regained its former opulence. In 443 (1052) it was visited by the Persian traveller Nâṣîr-i-Khusraw, who describes it as most populous, the city wall being in good repair though many quarters of the town were still in ruin. The palace of the Caliph 'Alî near the Great Mosque still existed, and there were thirteen shrines recalling divers events of the days when 'Alî was in

¹ The tomb of Zubayr is still marked by the ruins of that name which stand on the site of medieval Baṣrah. Modern Baṣrah, lying on the Tigris estuary, occupies the position of Ubullah at the exit of the canal.
residence here. Nāṣir also carefully enumerates the twenty districts surrounding the city.

In 517 (1123) the city wall, running half a league within the old line, was rebuilt by the Kādī 'Abd-as-Salam, and in the 8th (14th) century, after the Mongol invasion, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭah was here, Baṣrah was still a very populous city. He speaks of the mosque of 'Ali, a fine tall edifice with seven minarets, which however was only opened for the Friday prayers and already stood two miles distant from the inhabited quarters of the town, being surrounded by ruins. The older city wall, lying two miles beyond this mosque, could still be traced, near which were the shrines of Ṭalḥah and Zubayr; but the town proper then consisted of only three inhabited quarters. Mustawfi, writing in the same century, gives a long account of Baṣrah. Its mosque, which he reports had only been rebuilt by the Caliph 'Ali, was the largest in Islam—and any mosque planned larger it was impossible ever to complete—and of this mosque 'Ali had set the Kiblah (or Mecca point) quite exactly in its right direction. Here, too, there was a minaret which shook or remained still according as an oath sworn to before it was true or false: a perpetual miracle established by the Caliph 'Ali who had built it. Mustawfi gives some further account of the Baṣrah shrines, and then speaks in high praise of the beautiful gardens and palm-groves surrounding the city, ‘so thickly planted that you cannot see a hundred paces distant,’ and the dates of so fine a quality that they were profitably exported to India and to China.

Baṣrah had at all times been famous for its canals, which according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, in the 4th (10th) century, exceeded 100,000 in number, and of these 20,000 were navigable for boats. The Nahr Ma’kil, already mentioned as the main channel from the direction of Baghdād, had been dug during the reign of ‘Omar by Ma’kil ibn Yasar, a Companion of the Prophet. This and the Ubullah canal, going from Baṣrah towards the south-east, were each four leagues in length, and the gardens of the Ubullah canal along the south side of the Great Island were held to be one of the four earthly paradises1.

1 As generally reported (but different authorities give different lists) the other three were, the Ghawṭah, or Garden Lands, of Damascus; the Sha'b
Al-Ubullah, the Arab form of the Greek Apologos, dated from Sassanian or even earlier times, but it lay on the estuary and was feverish, and the Moslems when they founded their new city, Baṣrah, built this further inland near the desert border. Ubullah, as already said, was to the north at the mouth of its canal, and on the Great Island. Opposite, on the south side of the canal, was the town called Shiḵk ʿOthmān, 'Othman's breach' in the dyke (he is said to have been a grandson of his namesake the third Caliph); and over against the canal mouth, but on the east side of the estuary, was the station whence those who had crossed the Tigris took the road for Khūzistān. This was called 'Askar Abu Jaʿfar—' the Camp of Abu Jaʿfar,' in other words, of the Caliph Mansūr. Ubullah was in the 4th (10th) century a town of considerable size, having its own Friday Mosque, and the like was the case with Shiḵk ʿOthmān, both according to Muḥaddasi being fine buildings. Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, who was here half a century later, speaks of the palaces, markets, and mosques of both towns as then in excellent state, but the Mongol inroad a couple of centuries later affected all this countryside, and Ḵazwini writing in the 7th (13th) century describes these places as gone to ruin, though Shiḵk ʿOthmān was held famous for its great Sidr or lotus trees. In the next century Ibn Baṭūṭah describes Ubullah as a mere village, from which condition it has arisen in modern times by the building, on the older site, of New Baṣrah.

Where the Nahr-al-Ubullah flowed into the Tigris estuary there had been a dangerous whirlpool, ships being often wrecked here in earlier times. According to Ibn Ḥawkal this peril to all mariners was done away with by a certain Abbasid princess—some say Zubaydah—who, loading many ships with stones, sunk them at this spot; and thus blocked the whirlpool. Ibn Serapion carefully enumerates the nine canals which came into the Tigris estuary on the western side; namely, three above the Nahr Maʿkil, and four south of Baṣrah, between the Ubullah canal and the

Bavvān, or Vale of Bavvān, in Fārs, which will be described in Chapter XVIII; and lastly the Wādī-āṣ-Ṣughd, or Valley of Soghdiana, lying between Samarḵand and Bukhārā, which will be mentioned in Chapter XXXIII. Ist. 80. I. H. 159, 160, note c. Muk. 117, 130, 413. N. K. 85—89. Yak. i. 636; iv. 845. I. B. ii. 8, 13, 14. Mst. 137.
mouth of the estuary. The only one of these canals which is of importance is the Nahr Abu'l-Khašib—so called after a certain freedman of the Caliph Maňšür—on which in the middle years of the 3rd (9th) century the great stronghold of the Zanj rebels was built. This city, which they named Al-Mukhtârah, was so strongly fortified as to resist for a considerable time the armies sent against it by the Abbasid Caliph, and it was only after fifteen years of continuous warfare that the rebellion of the Zanj was finally crushed.  

The chief canals on the eastern side of the Tigris estuary, according to Ibn Serapion, were the following. First the Rayyân, on or near which lay the two towns of Al-Maftâh and Ad-Daskarah (the Flat-land); the exact position of these is unknown, though the first-named town was of sufficient importance for the estuary to be often named the Tigris of Al-Maftâh. Below this was the Nahr Bayân, with the town of Bayân lying at its mouth five leagues distant from Ubullah on the opposite side of the estuary. The port of Muňammaarah on the Ḥaffâr channel occupies its site at the present day, this channel connecting the upper reach of the Tigris estuary with that of the Dujayl (Kârûn). Muňaddasi, writing three-quarters of a century later than Ibn Serapion, says that this channel, four leagues in length, was widened and dug out by the order of 'Aḫud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. Already in the previous century it is spoken of by Kudâmah under the name of the New Canal (An-Nahr-al-Jadîd), and it was navigable for cargo-boats coming to Bašrah from Ahwâz, which before the widening of the 'Aḫudi channel (as Muňaddasi calls it) had had to pass down the Dujayl estuary, out to sea, and then up the Tigris estuary past Bayân to Ubullah.  

The great island between the two estuaries which Yaḵūt names (in Persian) Miyân Rûdân (Betwixt the Rivers) is described by Muňaddasi as a Sabkha or salt-marsh, with the town of 'Abbâdān on the seaboard at one angle, and Sulaymânân at the other angle on the Dujayl estuary. 'Abbâdān still exists, but now lies up the

estuary more than twenty miles from the present coast-line of the Persian Gulf, for the sea has been pushed back thus far by the delta of the great river. Muḥaddasi in the 4th (10th) century, however, describes ‘Abbādān as having only the open sea beyond it. It was inhabited by mat-weavers, who used the Ḥalfâ grass of the island for their trade; and there were great guard-houses round the town for the protection of the mouth of the estuary. Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, who was here in 438 (1047), says that in his day the low tide left a couple of leagues dry between ‘Abbādān and the sea, and to serve as a lighthouse to warn mariners they had built a scaffolding with great beams of teak-wood, very broad below and narrowing above, 40 yards in height, which was known as the Khashāb (Wood-works). On its summit was the watchman’s cabin, and the platform being stone-flagged and supported on arches was used at night for a brasier where a beacon-fire was lighted. ‘Abbādān was still a flourishing town in the 7th (13th) century with many mosques and Rubâṭs (guard-houses), but in the next century when Ibn Baṭūṭah passed through, it had sunk to the size of a village and already was three miles distant from the coast-line. Mustawfi, however, the contemporary of Ibn Baṭūṭah, speaks of ‘Abbādān as a considerable port, and states that its revenues, which amounted to 441,000 dinārs in the currency of his day, were paid in to the Baṣrah treasury. The harbour of Sulaymānān, a few leagues east of ‘Abbādān, was often counted as of the Khūzistān province, and all that is recorded of it appears to be the fact that it was founded by a certain Sulaymān ibn Jābir, surnamed ‘the Ascetic’.

Returning to the latitude of Baghdaḏ the towns lying along the Tigris to the north of the capital as far as the limits of ‘Irāk have now to be described, with those which stood near the bank of the great Nahrawān canal. As already said (see p. 32) the

1 Baladhuri, 364. Ist. 90. I. H. 173. Muk. 118. Kaz. ii. 280. N. K. 89, 90. Yak. iv. 708. I. B. ii. 18. Mas. i. 137. Mas. i. 230. Yākūt (i. 645) notes that the people of Baṣrah had the habit of turning proper-names into place-names by the terminal syllable ãn: e.g. Ṭalḥatân, ‘the Ṭalḥah canal.’ This explains the forms Sulaymānān and ‘Abbādān, the latter being called after a certain ‘Abbâd. The shore line at the mouth of the Tigris estuary advances at the rate of about 72 feet in the year, or a mile and a half in the century; hence the present inland position of ‘Abbādān.
chief high road from Baghdad to Mosul and the northern towns went along the left or eastern bank of the Tigris. It left East Baghdad by the Baradan Gate of the Shammasiyah quarter, and in about four leagues reached the small town of Al-Baradan, which still exists under the slightly altered form of Badran. Close to Baradan were two other important villages, Bazugha and Al-Mazrafa, the latter lying three leagues above Baghdad. At Ar-Rashidiyah near Baradan the Khalis canal joined the Tigris, as will be explained presently; and immediately above this, at the present day, ends a great bend of the Tigris to the eastward, which bend begins at Kadisiyah 60 miles north of Baghdad. The river bed, however, during the middle-ages took an almost straight line from Kadisiyah to Baradan, and the ruins still exist on the eastern side of the dry channel, the names being marked on the map, of towns mentioned by Ibn Serapion and other early authorities.

The bed of the Tigris would indeed appear to have changed here more than once. What is the present (eastern) channel of the river the author of the Marasid, writing about the year 700 (1300), speaks of as the Shutaytah or ‘Lesser Stream’; and one of the great alterations must have taken place during the reign of the Caliph Mustansir, namely between the years 623 and 640 (1226 to 1242), for it is chronicled that he dug many canals to irrigate the lands left dry by the shifting of the main stream. As early as the 4th (10th) century also, Masudi speaks of law-suits, to which this changing of the Tigris bed had given rise, between the landowners on the eastern and western banks above Baghdad. Of these towns then lying on the east bank of the Tigris (their ruins being now found on the dry channel far to the westward of the present river) one of the best known was ‘Ukbarah, close to which lay Awana, and then Busra further down stream, the three places standing some 10 leagues from Baghdad. They lay surrounded by gardens, to which pleasure-seekers from the capital resorted, and Muchaddasi especially praises the grapes of ‘Ukbarah, which he says was a large and populous town. A short distance above ‘Ukbarah was ‘Alth or Al-Alth, which is still marked on our maps, but now of the western bank, and Muchaddasi describes this as a large and very populous city, lying on a branch canal from the Tigris.
North-west of 'Alth, where the river at the present day turns off eastward for the great bend, stands Kādisīyah of the Tigris—not to be confused with the place of the same name to the west of the Euphrates. It was famous for its glass-works, and opposite to it the Dujayl canal branched from the Tigris going south.

The Dujayl canal (this also not to be confounded with the Dujayl river, the Kārūn), as will be explained in the next chapter, had originally been a channel from the Euphrates to the Tigris, but by the beginning of the 4th (10th) century its western part had become silted up, and its eastern and lower course was then kept clear by a new channel, taken from the Tigris immediately below Kādisīyah. The Dujayl—meaning 'the Little Tigris'—watered all the rich district of Maskin lying to the north of West Baghdād beyond Kāṭrabbul. The later Dujayl was therefore a loop-canal of the Tigris, which it rejoined opposite 'Ukbarā after throwing off a number of branches, some of which ran so far south as to bring water to the Ḥarbīyah, the great northern suburb of West Baghdād (see above, p. 31). The district of the Dujayl, otherwise called Maskin, included a great number of villages and towns, lying westward of 'Ukbarā and the Tigris channel, the chief of which was Ḥarbā, which was visited by Ibn Jubayr in 580 (1184) and still exists. Here may be seen at the present day the ruins of a great stone bridge across the canal which, as the historian Fakhrl records and the extant inscription still testifies, was built by the Caliph Mustanṣir in 629 (1232). Near Ḥarbā was Al-Haẓīrah (the Enclosure), where the cotton stuffs called Kirbās were manufactured, being largely exported. Yāḳūt further names a considerable number of villages—there were over a hundred in all—which were of this district, and many of these, as for example Al-Balad (the Hamlet) near Haẓīrah, are still to be found on the map. As late as the 8th (14th) century the Dujayl district, with Ḥarbā for its chief town, is described by Mustawfī as of amazing fertility, and its pomegranates were the best to be found in the markets of Baghdād.

1 Kud. 214. Muk. 122, 123. Mas. i. 223. Yak. i. 395, 552, 606, 654; iii. 705; iv. 9, 520. Mar. ii. 270, 429.
Many other towns were of this district. About ten miles above Ḫâdisīyah is Sāmarrā, which will be described in the next chapter, and Maṭīrah lay half-way between the two, immediately above where three small canals branched from the left (east) bank of the Tigris. Midway between Maṭīrah and Ḫâdisīyah, below the exit of these canals, stood Barkuwârâ, otherwise Balkuwârâ, or Bazkuwâr. The village of Al-Maṭīrah, according to Yâḵūt, had derived its name from a certain Maṭar of the Shaybân tribe, who was a notable man of the Khârijite sect, and it had been originally called Al-Maṭârîyah, this in time becoming corrupted to Al-Maṭīrah. Ten miles north again of Sāmarrâ was Karkh Fîrûz, also called Karkh of Sāmarrâ, to distinguish it from Karkh the southern quarter of West Baghdad, and further to the north lay Dûr, where the great Nahrawân canal branched from the left bank of the Tigris. At this point, but from the right or western bank of the Tigris, began the Ishâḵî canal which making a short loop rejoined the river again opposite Maṭīrah. The positions of all these places are fixed by the canals, some of them, in ruin, also still exist, but nothing is known of them beyond their names.

CHAPTER IV.

'IRĀK (continued).


Sāmarrā, which for more than half a century and during the reigns of seven Caliphs, from 221 to 279 (836 to 892), became the Abbasid capital, had existed as a town before the Arab conquest, and long after it had fallen from its temporary pre-eminence continued to be an important city. The name in Aramaean is written Sāmarrā, which the Caliph Mu'taṣīm when he took up his residence here changed, officially, to Surra-man-raqā, 'for good augury,' these words in Arabic signifying 'Who sees it, rejoices.' Under this form it is a mint city on Abbasid coins; but the name was pronounced in many different ways, six forms are cited by Ibn Khallikān, Sāmarrā being that most commonly used, and the one selected by Yāḵūt as the heading to his article on this city.

Yaḵūbī writing at the close of the 3rd (9th) century has left us a long and detailed account of Sāmarrā and its palaces, for the seven Caliphs who lived here, mostly as the prisoners of their Turk bodyguard, occupied their enforced leisure in building, and in laying out pleasure-grounds. The city proper stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris and extended with its palaces for a distance of seven leagues along the river. On the western bank also many palaces were built, each Caliph in succession spending fabulous sums on new pleasure-grounds. The land where the
Caliph Mu'taṣim (a younger son of Hārūn-ar-Rashid) built his first palace when he came to settle at Sāmarrā in 221 (836) belonged to a Christian monastery (Dayr) which was bought for 4000 dinārs (L2000) and it was known as At-Ṭīrān. His Turk body-guard were granted fiefs at Karkh, and further up stream to Dūr, some also lay south of Sāmarrā towards Maṭīrah; and the Caliph proceeded to build the first Friday Mosque near the east bank of the Tigris, and lay the foundations of his palace. Artificers were brought together from all parts of the empire, and immense quantities of teak-wood (Sāj) were imported, also palm beams from Başrah and divers marbles from Antioch and Laodicea. A thoroughfare called the Great Road (Ash-Shāri‘-al-A‘ẓam) was laid out along the Tigris bank, being bordered by the new palaces and the fiefs, and this road went from Maṭīrah right up to Karkh, many by-roads and market streets branching from it. The new Treasury and Government Offices also were built, and the Great Hall called Dār-al-‘Āmmah (the Public Audience Chamber) where the Caliph sat in state on Mondays and Thursdays.

Besides his palace in Sāmarrā, Mu'taṣim laid out a pleasance on the west side of the Tigris opposite the new capital, with which it was connected by a bridge of boats, and the gardens were planted with palms brought up from Başrah, and with exotics sent for from provinces as far distant as Syria and Khurāsān. These lands on the western side were irrigated by branch canals from the Nahr-al-Iṣḥāqī, already mentioned, which was dug by Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, Chief of Police to Mu’taṣim, and this was more especially the district called Ṭīrān, which Ya‘kūbī speaks of as 'the plain' of Sāmarrā. When the Caliph Mu'taṣim died in 227 (842) Sāmarrā was in a fair way to rival Baghdād in the grandeur of its palaces and public buildings. His two sons Wāṭhiḳ and Mutawakkil, who became Caliphs in turn, completed the work of their father. Hārūn-al-Wāṭhiḳ built the palace, called after his name the Kaṣr-al-Hārūnī, on the Tigris bank, and at either end of this, east and west, was a great platform. Wāṭhiḳ also dug a harbour from the river, where cargo-boats coming up from Baghdād might conveniently unload. He was succeeded by his brother Ja‘far-al-Mutawakkil in 232 (847) who at first lived in the Hārūnī palace, but in 245 (859) he began to build himself a
new palace three leagues north of Karkh, to which he extended the Great Road, and this with the new town which sprang up round it was called Al-Mutawakkillyah or the Kaṣr-al-Jaʿfari. The ruins of the Jaʿfari palace still exist in the angle formed by the branching of the Nahrawān canal, and the older town of Al-Mahūzah came to be incorporated with it.

Mutawakkil also built a new and more magnificent Friday Mosque to replace that of his father, which had become too small for the population of the new capital, for the houses now extended in a continuous line with palaces and gardens from Maṭirah to Dūr. In his palace of the Mutawakkillyah, otherwise called the Jaʿfariyah, Mutawakkil was murdered by his son Muntaṣir in 247 (861), and, during the troubled times that followed, the four next Caliphs had their abode at the Kaṣr-al-Jawṣaḵ (the Palace of the Kiosque) on the western side of the Tigris opposite Sāmarra, this being one of those built by Muʾtaṣim. Muʿtamid, son of Mutawakkil, and the last of the Caliphs to reside at Sāmarra, lived first at the Jawṣaḵ, but afterwards built himself a new palace on the eastern bank, known as Kaṣr-al-Maʿshūḵ (the Palace of the Beloved), from whence he finally removed the seat of Government to Baghdaḏ a short time before his death in 279 (892). The names of many other palaces are given by our authorities. Ibn Serapion for instance mentions the celebrated Kaṣr-al-Jiṣṣ (the Gypsum Palace) built by Muʾtaṣim on the Ishāḵī canal; and Yāḵūt, who names a great number of palaces, adds a long account of the almost fabulous prices which each had cost its builder, and the total he makes to be 204 million dirhams, equivalent to about eight million sterling.

The glory of Sāmarra, however, naturally came to an end with the return of the Caliphs to Baghdaḏ, and its many palaces rapidly fell to ruin. In the 4th (10th) century Ibn Ḥawkal praises its magnificent gardens, especially those on the western side of the Tigris, but Muḥaddasi says that Karkh on the north was, in his day, become the more populous quarter of the town. The great Friday Mosque of Sāmarra, however, still remained, which Muḥaddasi says was the equal of that of Damascus in magnificence. Its walls were covered with enamelled tiles (mīnā), it was paved with marble, and its roof was supported on
marble columns. The minaret was remarkable for its great height, and, Yākūt asserts, it had been the minaret of the first mosque, having been built by Mu'tāsim, who wished the Call to Prayer to be audible over all the city. It was visible from a league distance all round. It is apparently this ancient minaret which still exists as the well-known Malwiyah tower, having a spiral outside stairway going to the top, which stands about half a mile to the north of modern Sāmarrā; such was in any case the belief of Mustawfī who, in the early part of the 8th (14th) century, says that the minaret then existing of the Friday Mosque was 170 ells (Gez) in height, ‘with the gangway going up outside, the like of which was to be seen nowhere else,’ and he adds that the Caliph Mu'tāsim had been its builder.

Later authorities add little to our knowledge of Sāmarrā, and in after years it came chiefly to be inhabited by Shi'ahs; for here were the tombs of the tenth and eleventh Imāms, 'All-al-'Askarī and his son Al-Ḥasan, and here above all, said they, was the mosque with the underground chamber where the twelfth Imām had disappeared in 264 (878), he being Al-Kā'im, the promised Mahdi, who was to reappear in the fulness of time. The shrines where these Alids were buried stood in that part of Sāmarrā called 'Askar Mu'tāsim, 'the Camp of Mu'tāsim,' and it is from this that the tenth Imām had his title of Al-'Askarī.

Writing in the early part of the 8th (14th) century Mustawfī, the Shi'ah, especially mentions these shrines, and adds that the Friday Mosque near by these tombs, besides its great minaret already referred to, was possessed of a famous stone basin called Kās-i-Fir'awn (Pharaoh's Cup) measuring 23 paces in circumference by 7 ells high, and half an ell in thickness, which stood in the mosque court for the Ablution, and which the Caliph Mu'tāsim had caused to be made. Mustawfī, however, adds that, in his day, Sāmarrā was for the most part a ruin, only in part inhabited, and this statement is confirmed by the description left us by his contemporary Ibn Baṭūṭah, who was here in the year 730 (1330)."
Takrit, lying thirty miles north of Sāmarrā on the west bank of the Tigris, was commonly counted as the last town of 'Irāk, and was famous for its strong castle which overlooked the river. Ibn Hawqāl in the 4th (10th) century states that the majority of its population were Christians, and that they possessed a great monastery here. Muḥaddasī says the wool-workers of this town were famous, and in its neighbourhood much sesame was grown; Mustawfī adds, also water melons, of which three crops a year were produced in spite of the somewhat raw climate of Takrit. Ibn Jubayr states that the city wall was 6000 paces in circuit, with towers in good repair, when he passed through Takrit in 580 (1184), and Ibn Bāṭūṭah gives praise to both its markets and its numerous mosques.

The great Nahrawân canal left the Tigris a short distance below Dūr, as already said, and in its upper course was known as Al-Ḳāṭūl-al-Kisrawī, 'the Cut of the Chosroes,' for it owed its origin to the Sassanian kings. It served to irrigate all the lands along the east bank of the Tigris from above Sāmarrā to about a hundred miles south of Baghdād, and Ibn Serapion mentions a great number of towns along its banks with bridges and weirs, but most of these have now disappeared, though the line of the canal is still marked on the map. Leaving Dūr, which, for distinction among the many towns of this name, was called Dūr-al-ʿArabāyâ or of Al-Hārith, the canal passed to the back of the Mutawakkillyah and other outlying quarters north of Sāmarrâ, and here it was crossed by a stone bridge. It next came to Ītākhlyah, a village and fief called after Ītākh the Turk, sometime captain of the guard to the Caliph Muʿtaṣim; this had originally been a monastery called Dayr Abu-Ṣufrah, and here stood the bridge of the Chosroes (Kanṭarâh Kisrawîyah). The monastery took its name from Abu Ṣufrah the Khârijite. Next the Nahrawân came to Al-Muḥammadiyah, a small town, where it was crossed by a bridge of skiffs (Jîsr Zawârîk), and according to

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2 Dūr means the 'Houses' or 'Habitations,' and is a common place-name, being the plural form of Dārah, 'a homestead.'
3 It is to be noted that in the classical usage jîsr stands for 'a bridge of boats,' while Kanṭarah is 'a masonry bridge of arches.' Shādkurwân, trans-
Yâkût this Muḥammadīyah was but a later name of İtākhīyah, the change having been effected by Mutawakkil in honour of his son Muḥammad-al-Muntaṣir, who afterwards became Caliph by the murder of his father. At some distance below these places the Nahrawān was joined successively by the three lesser Kâtûls, namely the Yahûdi, the Mamûni, and the canal of Abu-l-Jund, which were all three taken from the left bank of the Tigris near Maṭîrah below Sâmarra, and which irrigated the fertile districts south of that city. Above their inflow, the Nahrawān was dammed back by the first of its many weirs (Ash-Shâdhurwān), and where the first canal came in stood the large village of Al-Mamûniyah. This, the Yahûdi (or Jews’) canal, was crossed between Maṭîrah and Mamûniyah by a stone bridge called Kanṭarah Waṣîf, after Waṣîf, one of the captains of the Turk bodyguard, in the reign of Mu’taṣim. The second canal, called Al-Mamûni, fell into the Nahrawān below the village of Al-Ḵanāṯir, ‘the Bridges.’ The third canal was called Abu-l-Jund—‘Father, or Supplier, of the Army’—from the fact that the crops raised on the lands watered by it were used as rations for the troops. It was the largest canal of the three, and had been dug by Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, who built a palace there while superintending its construction. On its banks stood the town of Ṭaffir, and here it was crossed by a bridge of boats. Yâkût, who had himself visited Ṭaffir, describes it as occupying in the 7th (13th) century a waterless and pastureless plain, where wild animals dwelt, lying between Baḵūbâ and Daḵûkâ. He passed through this going from Baghdâd to Irbil; no habitations were to be met with, and Yâkût says that his guide, when the caravan travelled by night over this plain, ‘was wont to take his direction by the Pole-star, until, with the day, the plain had been crossed.’

lated by ‘weir,’ more properly designates a portion of a canal, or river bed, that has been paved and embanked to confine the stream. It should, however, be added that Jîsr undoubtedly sometimes also designated a stone bridge of arches, as in the celebrated Jîsr-al-Walîd, the name given to the bridge over the river Sarus, between Adana and Mopsuestia, which was built by Justinian. The word Kanṭarah also designates any arched structure, as a viaduct or aqueduct, being borrowed from the Byzantines, who used the word κέντρον (the Latin centrum) to denote the central arch of a bridge, and by extension applied it to mean the whole structure.
Four leagues below where the last of these three canals joined the Nahrawân lay the town of Ṣūlā or Ṣalwa, otherwise called Bāb Ṣalwâ or Bāṣalwâ. Below this again was the town of Baʿkūbâ, some ten leagues north of Baghdâd, and the capital of the Upper Nahrawân district. At Baʿkūbâ the Great Kâţul canal changed its name, and became the Tâmarra, under which name it passed on to Bâjîsrâ and thence to the city called Jîsr Nahrawân, beyond which the main waterway was more especially known as the Nahrawân canal. Near Bâjîsrâ (the Aramaic form of Bayt-al-Jîsr, ‘the bridge-house’) which stood in a well cultivated district, surrounded by palm-trees, the Tâmarra sent off a branch from its right bank known as the Nahr-al-Khalîṣ, which flowed out into the Tigris at Baradân to the north of Baghdâd, and from the Khalîṣ many of the canals of East Baghdâd derived their water.

Jîsr Nahrawân, the Bridge-town, where the Khurâsân road from Baghdâd crossed, will be described presently; and here a canal called the Nahr Bin branched from the right bank of the Nahrawân, flowing ultimately into the Tigris at Kalwâdhâ. From this the water channels of the lower quarters of East Baghdâd derived their supply. One mile below Jîsr Nahrawân the Diyâlâ canal branched south from the main stream, and after irrigating the outer gardens of East Baghdâd, reached the Tigris three miles below the capital.

South of Jîsr Nahrawân the great canal took the name of the Nahrawân exclusively, and after passing the Upper Weir (Shâdhurwân) it came to Jîsr Bûrân, the bridge named after the wife of the Caliph Mamûn. Below this stood Yarzâṭiyah (or possibly Barzâṭiyâ), and then the town of ‘Abartâ, which Yâkût describes as of Persian origin, having important markets. Beyond ‘Abartâ lay the Lower Weir and next Iskâf (or Uskâf) of the Bānî Junayd, a city lying on both banks of the canal, and the Bānî Junayd, Yâkût reports, had been chiefs of this district and famous for their hospitality. Yâkût adds that by the 7th (13th) century, when he wrote, the lands round here had entirely gone out of cultivation, for the Nahrawân had gradually silted up during the previous two centuries, the Saljûk Sultans having ever
been too much occupied with their wars to attend to the needful dredging, and the mending of dykes: 'further,' he adds, 'their armies had made a roadway of this same canal, whereby both district and canal have now gone to ruin.'

Beyond Uskâf the Nahrawân flowed on for nearly 60 miles, between a continuous line of villages and farmsteads, down to Mâdharâyâ where its waters finally rejoined the Tigris. Mâdharâyâ, as already said, stood to the south of Jabbul and above Al-Mubârak, which lay opposite the town of Nahr Sâbus. When Yâḳût wrote it was in ruin, and its name is now no longer marked on the map, but it must have stood just below the present Kût-al-'Amârah where, as already explained, the Tigris now divides off from the Shatt-al-Hayy channel 1.

This triple division of the Nahrawân canal (namely the Kâtûl, the Tâmarrâ, and the Nahrawân proper), with the three branch canals (the Khâliṣ, the Nahr Bin, and the Diyâlâ) which flowed back to the Tigris after watering the East Baghdât region, is the explanation which Ibn Serapion has given of a very complicated skein of waterways. In later times the names were not always applied as he gives them. A glance at the present map shows that the Nahrawân, two hundred miles in length, must have taken up all the streams from the Persian highlands which, had it not been dug, would have flowed (at flood time) down to the left bank of the Tigris. The Tâmarrâ section was originally one of these streams, and Yâḳût describes how its bed had been artificially paved for a length of seven leagues to prevent the sands absorbing its waters, which were divided up to irrigate the several districts of East Bagdad. The Khâliṣ and the Diyâlâ were according to his account branches of the Tâmarrâ (in any case the Khâliṣ of the Arab geographers cannot be the river known by this name at the present day, for this now flows at some distance to the north-west of Ba'kûbâ), and Khâliṣ in the time of Yâḳût was the name of the district, to the north of the Khurasân road, which on one side came right up to the walls

of East Baghdâd. In the 3rd (9th) century Ibn Rustah and Ibn Khurdâdbih give Nahrawân as the name of the mountain stream, which came into the Great Kâtûl at Šalwâ; in the 8th (14th) century Mustawfî writes that the Nahrawân was the name of the Diyâlâ river, which rose in the mountains of Kurdistân, and which was formed by the junction of two streams, one the Shirwân river which lower down was called the Taymarrâ, the other the Hulwân river, which flowed down past Kasr Shîrîn and Khânîkân; and these two streams united above Baʾkûbâ where they flowed into the Nahrawân canal.

In regard to Nahrawân town, otherwise called Jîsr Nahrawân (Nahrawân Bridge), this was the first stage out of Baghdâd along the great Khurasân road, and it was of old a place of much importance, though now represented by the insignificant hamlet of Sîswah. Ibn Rustah in the 3rd (9th) century describes Nahrawân town as lying on both banks of the canal; in the western half were the chief markets, a Friday Mosque, and many waterwheels for irrigation purposes; while on the eastern side there was a second Friday Mosque, and other markets, with many hostelries round the mosque where the Mecca pilgrims and travellers were wont to put up. Ibn Hâwkâl in the following century speaks of the fertile lands lying round the town, and Muḥaddadî adds that the eastern part in his day was the most populous, its Friday Mosque being then the only one in use. In the 8th (14th) century, when Mustawfî wrote, Nahrawân town was in ruin, for the Khurasân road no longer passed through it, but went north by Baʾkûbâ. The fertile district about here was still called the Târîḵ-i-Khurasân (the District of the Khurasân road) of which Baʾkûbâ, Mustawfî states, was the chief town, and it was formed by a continuous line of gardens and palm-groves from which magnificent crops of oranges and shaddocks were harvested.

The town of Barâz-ar-Rûz (the Rice Field), now known as Bilâd-ar-Rûz, lay north-east of Nahrawân town, and is frequently mentioned by Yâkût. The Caliph Muʿtaḏîd had built a palace here; it was counted as of the Tâmarrâ district, and lay eastward.

1 I. R. 90, 163. I. K. 175. Ist. 86. I. H. 167. Muk. 121. Yak. i. 811; ii. 390, 638. Mst. 139, 141, 216.
off the Khurásân high road, being also noticed by Mustawfi. Leaving Nahrawân town the next stage of the Khurásân road was Daskarah-al-Malik, ‘of the King,’ which Ibn Rustah describes as a considerable city, possessing a great walled castle of Sassanian times, to which a single gateway on the west side gave access. From its position this ‘Daskarah of the King’ appears to be identical with the celebrated Dastagird, where Khusraw Parwiz had his great palace, which history relates was plundered and burnt to the ground by Heraclius in 628 A.D. This palace, the ruins of which it would seem were in the 4th (10th) century still known as Dastagird Kisrawiyah (of the Chosroes), was seen by the traveller Ibn Muhalhal (quoted by Yâkût) who says that it then consisted of a wonderful edifice containing many halls and domes, so finely built as to appear carved, each wall in a single block of stone. In regard to the Arab town, Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes Daskarah as possessing a strong castle, doubtless of Moslem foundation, and Muḥaddasî speaks of the place as a small market town, with a Friday Mosque that had a finely vaulted roof. Not far distant from Daskarah was the village of Shahrâbân, mentioned by both Yâkût and Mustawfi, the latter adding that eighty villages belonged to this town, which had been founded by Princess Gulban, a daughter of one of the Chosroes.

The town of Jalûlâ was the next stage on the Khurásân road, surrounded by many trees but unfortified. Not far from the town, standing in the village of Ḥârûnîyah, was an ancient bridge of stone wrought with leadén joints, which had been built by one of the Chosroes, and this crossed the river by which, according to Yâkût, boats went down to Ba'kûbâ and Bâjisra. In history Jalûlâ was famous for the great victory gained over the Persians by the Moslems here in the year 16 (637), which resulted in the final overthrow and flight of King Yazdajird. At a later date Mustawfî names the place Rubât Jalûlâ, from the guard-house which had been built here by Malik Shâh the Saljûk; and the position of Jalûlâ corresponds with the modern station of Kızîl Rubât, ‘the Red Guard-house.’ East of Jalûlâ was the town of Khâniḳîn, which is noticed by Muḥaddasî as a city on the road to Hulwân. Here Ibn Rustah says there
was a great bridge of many arches over the river, built of well-mortared kiln-bricks. Near Khâniḵîn was a naphtha spring that produced a large revenue, and Yâḵût describes the bridge aforesaid as having 24 arches in his day, the 7th (13th) century, across which passed the Khurâsân road. When Mustawfî wrote in the next century Khâniḵîn had fallen to ruin, and was merely a large village, but its district was still extremely productive.

Six leagues beyond Khâniḵîn, and half-way to Ἢulwân the first town of the Jibâl province, lay Ḷaṣr Shîrîn, 'the Palace of Shîrîn,' the mistress of King Khusrâw Parvîz. There was a large walled village here, and the ruins of the Sassanian palace, which Ibn Rustâh describes as consisting in the 3rd (9th) century of a mighty arched hall, built of burnt brick, rising in the midst of chambers, the walls of which were of solid masonry. Further there was a great platform before the arched hall, paved with marble slabs. Yâḵût and Mustawfî give long descriptions of Ḷaṣr Shîrîn, the ruins of which still exist; and it is to be noted that the legends of Farhâd the lover of Queen Shîrîn, and of Pahlâbâdî the musician, and of Shabdîz the famous horse of King Parvîz, are found localised in many places of the surrounding district. Over-hanging Ḷaṣr Shîrîn is the great mountain wall forming the outpost of the Persian plateau, and Ἢulwân, the next stage on the Khurâsân road, though often counted as of 'Irâḵ, being in the mountain pass, will be described in a later chapter.

South of the line of the Khurâsân road, and on the Khûzistân frontier, two important towns remain to be noticed—Bandanîjîn and Bayât. Bandanîjîn, a name no longer found on the map, was the chief town of the districts of Bâtûrâbâ and Bâkusâyû, and the village of Bâkusâyû still exists near which the town of Bandanîjîn must have been situated. The two districts lay beyond and north-east of the Nahrawân canal, and comprised a great number of fertile villages. Bandanîjîn the capital, according to Yâḵût, was called in Persian Wandanîgân, and Mustawfî says in his day the name was pronounced Bandanîgân, being of the Liḥf district, the 'Foot-hills' of the Kurdîstân mountains, and its river came down from Ariwajîn. According to Ibn

Khurđādbih Bandanījīn was counted as of the same district as Barāz-ār-Rūz. Bayât, the ruins of which still exist, is mentioned by Mustawfī; he adds that its river, which rose in the Kurdistān mountains, became lost in the plains before reaching the Tigris, and though its water was brackish, many fertile districts were irrigated by it. Bayât appears to be practically the same place as the town of Āt-Ṭīb, mentioned by Ibn Ḥawkāl, where excellent belts, like the Armenian belts, were made. It was a city of some importance under the Abbasids, and its ruins lie close to those of the later town of Bayât. Yāḵūt says that in his day the inhabitants of Ṭīb were Nabathēans, and still spoke their Aramaic dialect, tracing their descent direct from Seth, son of Adam.

The cities of ‘Irāḵ which lay on the Euphrates, and between the two rivers along the transverse canals, must now be described. As already said, a line carried west from the Tigris at Takrīt to the Euphrates would cross that river a little below ‘Ānāh, where its course makes a great bend south, and this is the natural frontier between Jazīrah and ‘Irāḵ, as marked by Mustawfī. To the south of this line begins the Sawād, or alluvial land, of Babylonia; to the north lie the more stony plains of Upper Mesopotamia. The city of Al-Ḥadīthah on the Euphrates, about 35 miles below ‘Ānāh, is the northernmost town on this side. The name signifies ‘the New Town,’ and to distinguish it from Al-Ḥadīthah on the Tigris, it was called Ḥadīthah-an-Nūrah, ‘of the Chalk’ pit. Yāḵūt describes it as possessing a strong castle surrounded by the waters of the Euphrates, and it was founded during the Caliphate of ‘Omar, not long after the Moslem conquest. Mustawfī describes it as in every way the opposite of Takrīt, both in situation and climate. Between Ḥadīthah and Hit, down stream, came the two towns of Alūsah and An-Nawūsah, lying on the Euphrates seven leagues distant one from the other, and Alūsah, which Yāḵūt refers to as a small town, still exists. Both are frequently mentioned in the records of the Moslem conquest;

1 I. K. 6. Ist. 94. I. H. 176. Yak. i. 230, 459, 477, 745; iii. 566; iv. 353. Mst. 137, 138, 220. The Bādārā'yā district of Bandanījīn must not be confused with Bādūrayā, the name of the southern district of West Baghdād.
further, An-Nawúsah was counted as a village of Hit, which last was a walled town with a strong castle, celebrated for its palm-groves and lying on the western side of the Euphrates. Ibn Hawkal speaks of Hit as very populous, and Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century describes more than 30 villages, among the rest Jibbah, as of its dependencies. Immense quantities of fruit, both of the cold and the hot regions, were grown here; nuts, dates, oranges and egg-plants all ripening freely, but the town was unpleasant to live in on account of the overpowering stench of the neighbouring bitumen springs.

At the time of the Moslem conquest the famous Trench of King Sapor II (Khandak Sàbûr) still existed. This had been dug by Sàbûr Dhl-l-Aktáf, as the Arabs called him, in the fourth century A.D. It began at Hit and ran down to Ubullah (near the later Basrah) where it reached the Gulf. Originally it carried water, being intended as a line of defence for the rich lands of Lower Mesopotamia against the desert tribes; and its dry bed may still, in part, be traced. 'Ayn-at-Tamr, 'the Spring of the Date Palm,' due south of Hit in the desert, is described by Muqaddasi as a small fortress, and a stream running from here entered the Euphrates below Hit. Dates and sugar-cane were exported from its district, the latter more especially from a neighbouring town called Shafáthá; but the exact site of these two places is unknown¹.

Twelve leagues below Hit was the village of Ar-Rabb, where previous to the 4th (10th) century the (earlier) Dujayl canal left the Euphrates; and taking its course due east, after watering the Maskin and Kaṭrabbul districts, reached the northern suburbs of West Baghdad. As already mentioned, this western portion of the Dujayl soon became silted up; and by the time Iṣṭakhri wrote in 340 (951) the Dujayl already took its waters from the Tigris opposite Kádisiyah, as described in the paragraphs on the Maskin district. Al-Anbár, 'the Granaries,' standing on the left bank of the Euphrates, was one of the great cities of 'Irák in Abbasid times. It dated from before the Moslem conquest, and by the Persians was called Firúz Sàbûr (or Fayrûz Sàbûr, in


Le S.
Greek Perisabor) from its founder King Shāpur\(^1\); and under the Arabs Firuz Sābūr became the name of the surrounding district. It is said that the town was called 'the Granaries' because of old the Persian kings had stored the wheat, barley, and straw for the rations of their troops in this city. The first Abbasid Caliph, Saffāh, had for a time made Anbār his residence, and he died in the palace which he had built here. His brother Mansūr also for a time lived at Anbār, and from here went to Baghdad, where the new Abbasid capital had begun to be built. Mustawfi gives the tradition that the Jews whom Nebuchadnezzar brought from Jerusalem to Babylonia were interned at Anbār. In the 8th (14th) century the town walls, he says, were 5000 paces in circuit.

The importance of Anbār lay in its position at the head of the first great navigable canal which flowed from the Euphrates to the Tigris, which it entered at the harbour (Al-Farđah) to the south of the Round City of West Baghdād. This canal, the Nahr ʿĪsā, took its name from an Abbasid prince ʿĪsā who was either ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā, nephew of Mansūr, or ʿĪsā ibn ʿAli (the more usual ascription), the uncle of that Caliph. In either case Prince ʿĪsā gave the canal its name, he having re-dug it, making thus a navigable channel from the Euphrates into Baghdād. Where the canal left the Euphrates, a little below Anbār, it was crossed by a magnificent bridge, called ʿAṣṣārah Dimimmā, from the village of Dimimmā which was on the Euphrates bank close to the hamlet of Al-Fallūjah. The Nahr ʿĪsā, passing by many villages and farms of the Firūz Sābūr district, at length came to the town of Al-Muḥawwal, one league distant from the suburbs of West Baghdād. Just before reaching this town the Șarāt canal branched from the left bank of the Nahr ʿĪsā, and this canal formed the dividing line between the ʿAṣṣārabul district to the north and Bādūrayā to the south of West Baghdād. The Șarāt canal, following an almost parallel curve to the Nahr ʿĪsā, poured its waters into the Tigris immediately below the Baṣrah Gate of the Round City, and from these two streams all the watercourses

\(^1\) Sābūr is the Arab form of the Persian Shāpur or Shāh-pūr, which the Greeks wrote Sapor.
of West Baghdád were derived, with the exception of the few coming from the Dujayl canal.

Al-Muḥawwal means 'the place of unloading,' and the town took its name from the fact that the river barges going from the Euphrates towns to Baghdád, had here to unload into small boats that could pass under the numerous bridges which below Muḥawwal spanned the ʻĪsá canal where this traversed the suburb of Karkh. Muḥawwal was a fine town, famous for its markets and its gardens, and as late as the 8th (14th) century possessed some magnificent buildings, among which Mustawfi counts a palace built by the Caliph Mu'tašim which stood on the summit of a mound, and which, by the spell of a powerful incantation, had been freed from the plague of mosquitoes. The exact site of Muḥawwal is not now known, but it must lie to the north-east of the ancient Babylonian mound called the Hill of ʻAḵarkūf, which is frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, and which Mustawfi connects with the legends of the tyrant Nimrod who threw Abraham into the fiery furnace.

Three leagues below the village of Dimimmá the second of the great transverse canals, the Nahr Šaršar, flowed off towards the Tigris, which it entered four leagues above Madāín. This canal, in its lower reaches, traversed the Bādūrayā district, which lay south of West Baghdád, and Ibn Serapion describes how along its banks numerous waterwheels (dâliyah) and levers (shadûf) were set up for irrigating the fields. Some way above where, near Zarirrān, the canal flowed into the Tigris, and almost in sight of the White Palace of the Chosroes at Madāín, was the flourishing town of Šaršar, where a great bridge of boats carrying the Kûfah road crossed the canal. Šaršar town lay a couple of leagues only from Karkh, the great southern suburb of West Baghdád; the Šaršar canal, Ibn Ḥawkal writes, was navigable for boats, and Šaršar

1 I. S. 10, 14. I. K. 7, 72, 74. Kud. 217. Ist. 77. I. H. 155, 166. Muk. 133, 134. Yak. i. 367 ; ii. 600 ; iii. 697 ; iv. 432. Mst. 136, 138, 140, 144. The lower courses of the Nahr ʻĪsá and of the Šarât canal belong to the topography of Baghdád, and have been fully described in a former work. The site of Anbâr appears to be that marked by the ruins at Sufayrah, or possibly those to the north of this village of which Mr J. P. Peters has given a plan in Nippur, i. 177.
town stood in a forest of date-palms. Muḥaddaṣi likens it to the towns of Palestine for the manner of its building; and Şarşar continued to be a place of importance down to the close of the 8th (14th) century when Timūr took possession of Baghdad and garrisoned the surrounding districts.

The third transverse canal was the Nahr-al-Malik, which began at the village of Al-Fallūjah five leagues below the head of the Nahr Şaršar, and flowed into the Tigris three leagues below Madain. This, ‘the King’s Canal,’ dated from ancient times, and is mentioned by the Greeks as the Nahar Malcha. Yāḵūt reports that tradition gave it as having been dug either by King Solomon or by Alexander the Great. On its banks was the town called Nahr-al-Malik, with a bridge of boats on the Kūfah road, this lying seven miles south of Şaršar. According to Ibn Ḥawkāl Nahr-al-Malik town was larger by a half than the latter town, being likewise famous for its corn lands and palm-groves; Mustawfī adding that over 300 villages were of its district.

The fourth transverse canal was the Nahr Kūthā, its point of origin on the Euphrates being three leagues below that of the Nahr-al-Malik, and its outflow 10 leagues below Madain. The Kūthā canal watered the district of this name, which was also known as the Ardashir Bâbgân district (after the first Sassanian king), though part of it was counted as the Nahr Jawbar district on a branch canal. The city of Kūthā Rabbâ, with its bridge of boats, stood on the banks of the main channel, and is said to be identical with the Biblical Cuthah, mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 24, an important town of the neighbourhood of Babylon. According to Moslem tradition Kūthā was the place where Abraham was thrown into the fire by the tyrant Nimrod, and the town took its name from Kūthā, the grandfather of Abraham, according to the Moslem tradition. In the 4th (10th) century Ibn Ḥawkāl describes the place as a double city, Kūthā-at-Ṭariḳ, ‘of the Road,’ and Kūthā Rabbâ, which last was a city larger than Bâbil (Babylon), and near here, he says, were great mounds of

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1 This is the Feluchia (Feluge or Felugia) of Cæsar Frederick, and other Elizabethan merchants, where coming down the Euphrates they left their boats and went by land across to Baghdad: as narrated in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (Glasgow, 1904), v. 367, 455, 466; vi. 4.
ashes said to mark the place of Nimrod's fiery furnace; Mu'addasī adding that near the high road might be seen an ancient tower, about which many legends were told. The Itineraries state that Kūthā town, the site of which appears to be that marked on the map as Tall Ibrāhīm, 'the Hill of Abraham,' was four miles south of Nahr Malik town.

Some few miles to the north of the Kūthā canal stood the large village of Al-Farāshah, the half-way stage between Baghdađ and Hillah, on the high road followed at the close of the 6th (12th) century by the Mecca pilgrims going down to Kūfsah. Ibn Jubayr, who was here in 580 (1184), describes it as a populous well-watered village, where there was a great caravanserai for travellers, defended by battlemented walls; and Mustawfī also gives Farāshah in his itinerary, placing it seven leagues south of Şarşar.

1 I. S. 15. I. R. 182. Ist. 85, 86. I. H. 166, 168. Muk. 121. I. J. 217. Yak. i. 768; iv. 317, 846. Mar. ii. 363. A. Y. i. 633. Mst. 141, 193. The course of the Nahr 'İsā is more or less that of the modern Saklawiyah canal: the Şarşar appears to have followed the line of the Abu Ghurayb canal; the Nahr-al-Malik is the Radhwâniyah, and the Nahr Kūthā is the Habl Ibrāhīm, 'Abraham's rope,' of the modern maps. These identifications, however, are only approximate, for naturally in over a thousand years the face of the alluvial Sawâd is entirely changed from what it was in Abbasid times.
CHAPTER V.

‘IRĀḲ (continued).


The river Euphrates in the 4th (10th) century bifurcated at a point some six leagues below where the Kûthâ canal was led off. The western branch, to the right, which was then considered the main stream of the Euphrates, passed down by Kûfah and thence to the Great Swamp; while the eastern branch, to the left, which now is the main stream of the river, is by Ibn Serapion and the other Arab geographers called the Nahr Sûrâ, or As-Sûrân; and this by many channels likewise poured its waters finally into the swamp. Taking the Sûrâ branch first (the present Euphrates channel) we find that Ibn Serapion admits this was greater even in his day than the Kûfah branch and more broad. Where the bifurcation took place, the Upper Sûrâ canal watered the three sub-districts of Sûrâ, Barbîsamâ, and Bârûsmâ, which formed part of the middle Bih Ḫubâdh district; then bearing south the channel passed a couple of miles to the westward of the city called Kaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, and here it was crossed by the great bridge of boats known as the Jîsr Sûrâ (or Sûrân) by which the Pilgrim road went down from Kaṣr Ibn Hubayrah to Kûfah.

The town of Al-Kaṣr, as it was called for short, the Castle or Palace of Ibn Hubayrah, took the name from its founder, who had been governor of ‘Irâḳ under Marwân II, the last Omayyad
Caliph. Ibn Hubayrah had not lived to complete his work, but after the fall of the Omayyads, the first Abbasid Caliph, Saffāh, took up his residence here, finished the palace, and called it Hāshimiyah in honour of his own ancestor Hāshim. The town which rapidly sprung up round the palace of the Caliph none the less continued to be called after the Omayyad governor, and even though Mansūr made Hāshimiyah for a time his residence, before the foundation of Baghdaḏ, Kašr Ibn Hubayrah, or Madīnah (the City of) Ibn Hubayrah, was always the name of the place in common use. In the 4th (10th) century Kašr Ibn Hubayrah was the largest town between Baghdaḏ and Kuṯah, and it stood on a loop canal from the Sūrā, called the Nahr Abu Raḥā, ‘the Canal of the Mill.’ The city was extremely populous, it had fine markets, many Jews residing here, as Muḥaddāsī writes, and the Friday Mosque was in the market place. By the early part of the 6th (12th) century, however, it appears to have fallen to decay, being eclipsed by the rising importance of Hillah; and at the present day even the site of it is unknown, though it is doubtless marked by one of the numerous ruins which lie a few miles north of the great mounds of ancient Babylon, or Bābil as the Arabs name these.

The city of Hillah, lying a few miles below the Bābil ruins, on the Euphrates, otherwise the Sūrā canal as it was called in the 4th (10th) century, was at this date known as Al-Jāmi‘ān, ‘the Two Mosques,’ and the town at first stood mostly on the eastern bank. It was a populous place, and its lands were extremely fertile. Then Al-Hillah, ‘the Settlement,’ was built on the opposite right bank, by Sayf-ad-Dawlah, chief of the Banī Mazyad, in about the year 495 (1002); and this quickly grew to importance, for its bridge of boats became the new Euphrates crossing for the Pilgrim road from Baghdaḏ to Kuṯah, the high road no longer passing down by Kašr Ibn Hubayrah (then a ruin) and the Sūrā bridge. By the 6th (12th) century, also, the Sūrā arm comes to be considered the main stream of the Euphrates, as at the present day, and the name Nahr Sūrā gradually goes out of use. In 580 (1184) Ibn Jubayr crossed the Euphrates by ‘a great bridge of boats, bound by iron chains,’ at Hillah, then already a large town stretching along the western side of the Euphrates. Ibn Baţūtah,
who followed in his footsteps in the early part of the 8th (14th)
century, gives a long account of this famous bridge of boats at
Hillah, the double iron chains of which were secured at either end
to immense wooden piles. He praises the town markets, and his
account is fully borne out by Mustawfi, his contemporary, who
speaks of Hillah as beginning to occupy the east as well as the
west bank of the Euphrates. It was surrounded by date-groves
and hence had a damp climate. Mustawfi adds that the popula-
tion of Hillah were all bigoted Shi‘ahs, and they possessed a
shrine (Ma‘ām) here, where they believed that, in the fulness of
time, the promised Mahdi, who had disappeared at Sāmarrā in
264 (878), would reappear and convert all mankind to their faith
(see above, p. 56)\(^1\).

Returning once more to the account given by Ibn Serapion
in the 4th (10th) century of the Sūrā canal, this, as already
said, passed to the west of the great ruins of Babylon, or
Bābil. These ruins Mu‘addasi describes as then occupied by
the site of a village near a bridge of boats, and Mustawfi gives
a long account of the great magicians who had lived in Bābil, and
of the well at the summit of the hill in which the fallen angels
Hārūt and Mārūt were imprisoned until the day of judgment.

Above Bābil, the last of the many canals flowing from the
Euphrates to the Tigris branched from the Sūrā. This waterway,
now known as the Shaṭṭ-an-Nil—'the Nile Stream'—Ibn Ser-
pion calls the Great Šarāt, the name is the same as that of the
more famous canal of West Baghdād (see p. 66) in the upper
reach lying to the west of the city of Nil. From its point of origin
the Great Šarāt flowed eastward past many rich villages, throwing
off numerous water channels, and shortly before reaching the city
of Nil a loop canal, the Šarāt Jāmasp, branched left and rejoined
the main stream below the city. This loop canal had been re-dug
by Ḥajjāj, the famous governor of ‘Irāk under the Omayyad
Caliphs, but took its name, as was reported, from Jāmasp, the
chief Mobed, or Fire-priest, who in ancient days had aided King
Gushtāsp to establish the religion of Zoroaster in Persia. The

\(^1\) I. S. 10, 16. Ykb. 309. Ist. 85, 86. I. H. 166, 168. Muk. 121.
city of An-Nil likewise was founded by Ḥajjāj; it became the chief town of all this district, its ruins being still marked on the map under the name of Nil fiyah; and the Nil canal was reported to have taken its name from the Nile of Egypt which it was said to recall. The main canal here, opposite Nil city, was spanned by a great masonry bridge named the Ḩanṭarah al-Māsī. In the time of Abu-l-Fidā that portion of the canal which lay west of the town, namely the Great Sarāt of Ibn Serapion, was also known as the Nahr-an-Nil, but Ibn Serapion gives this name exclusively to the reach beyond, east of Nil city.

This reach, therefore, passing on, watered the surrounding districts till it came to a place called Al-Hawl—'the Lagoon'—near the Tigris, and opposite Nu'māniyah (see p. 37), whence a branch, called the Upper Zāb canal, communicated directly with the river. The main channel of the Nil, here turning off south, flowed for some distance parallel to the Tigris, down to a point one league below the town of Nahr Sābus which lay one day's march above Wāsīt, where the canal finally discharged its waters into the Tigris, probably in part by the Lower Zāb canal. It is to be added that this last reach of the Nil, below the Lagoon, was known as the Nahr Sābus, 'the Canal of Sābus,' and this gave its name to the town on the right bank of the Tigris, already mentioned (see p. 38). The nomenclature of these channels changed at different epochs; in the 7th (13th) century Yāḳūt says that all the reach from Nil city to Nu'māniyah was called the Upper Zāb canal, while his Lower Zāb canal is apparently identical with the Nahr Sābus of Ibn Serapion; both canals in the 7th (13th) century had, however, gone much to ruin, though still bordered by fertile lands.

Returning now to the ruins of Babylon on the Euphrates, the Sūrā below here was crossed by a masonry bridge called the Ḩanṭarah-al-Kāmighān, 'through which its waters pour with a mighty rush' as Ibn Serapion reports. Six leagues below this bridge, and near Jāmīān, the later Hillah, the Sūrā canal bifurcated, the right arm going south past that city, and the left arm, called the Nahr-an-Nars, turning off to the south-east, and after watering Ḥammām 'Omar with other villages reached the town of Nīfār. This canal took its name from Nars (or Narses), the
Sassanian king who came to the throne in 292 A.D.; he having caused it to be dug. After running south for some distance both the Nahr Nars and the Sûrâ channel poured their waters finally into the Badât canal, which traversed the northern limit of the Great Swamp; and this Nahr-al-Badât (or Budât) was a long drainage channel taken from the left bank of the Kûfah arm of the Euphrates, at a point a day’s journey to the north of Kûfah city, probably near the town of Ḳanṭarah-al-Kûfah, otherwise called Al-Ḳanāṭīr, ‘the Bridges,’ which doubtless carried the high road across the Badât. This city of ‘the Bridges’ lay 27 miles south of the great Sûrâ bridge of boats, and 28 miles north of Kûfah; and it probably lay adjacent to, or possibly was identical with, the Hebrew Pombedita (Arabic Fam-al-Badât, ‘mouth of the Badât canal’), mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela in the 6th (12th) century as a great centre of Jewish learning in Babylonia. The Badât canal after a course of over 50 miles, and after receiving on its left bank the drainage of the Lower Sûrâ and Nars canals, discharged itself finally into the Great Swamp near the town of Nissâr.¹

The districts lying between the bifurcation of the Lower Euphrates, having the Sûrâ canal to the east and the main stream to the west, were known as the Upper and Lower Al-Fallûjah. Below these the main stream passed down by the town of Al-Ḳanṭarah and the outflow of the Badât canal to the city of Kûfah, which lay on the western bank of the Euphrates over against the bridge of boats, and south of this its waters were discharged by various channels into the Great Swamp. This older arm of the river is named by Ḳudâmah and Mas‘ûdî the channel of Al-‘Alḵamî, and it appears to be identical with the modern Nahr Hindîyah which branches from the present Euphrates stream below Musayyib and, flowing past the ruins of Kûfah, rejoins the present main stream of the Euphrates by a winding course through marshes that are a part of the Great Swamp of Abbasid times.

The city of Al-Kûfah was founded immediately after the

Moslem conquest of Mesopotamia, at the same time as Baṣrah was being built, namely, about the year 17 (638), in the Caliphate of ‘Omar. It was intended to serve as a permanent camp on the Arab, or desert, side of the Euphrates, and occupied an extensive plain lying above the river bank, being close to the older Persian city of Al-Hīrah. Kūfah rapidly increased in population, and when in the year 36 (657) ‘Alī came to reside here the city during four years was the capital of that half of Islam which recognised ‘Alī as Caliph. In the mosque at Kūfah ‘Alī was assassinated in the year 40 (661). Iṣṭakhrī describes Kūfah as the equal in size of Baṣrah in the 4th (10th) century, but the former had the better climate, and its buildings were more spacious; also its markets were excellent, though in this point it stood second to Baṣrah. The Great Mosque, where ‘Alī received his death-wound, was on the eastern side of the city, and had tall columns brought from the neighbouring town of Ḥīrah, which fell to ruin as Kūfah became more populous. One of the chief quarters of Kūfah was Al-Kunāsah—‘the place of the Sweepings’—which lay on the desert side of the town, and all round stood palm-groves which produced excellent dates. When Ibn Jubayr passed through Kūfah in 580 (1184) it was an unwalled town mostly in ruins, but its Friday Mosque still existed, and Ibn Baṭṭah, in the 8th (14th) century, describes its roof as supported by pillars, formed of stone drums joined with lead. A Mihrāb or niche marked the place where ‘Alī had been assassinated. Mustawfī, who gives a long account of Kūfah, says that its walls, 18,000 paces in circuit, had been built by the Caliph Manṣūr. The sugar-cane grew here better than anywhere else in ‘Irāk, and cotton crops yielded abundantly. In the mosque, on a column, was the mark of ‘Alī’s hand; and they also preserved here the oven (tannūr) from the mouth of which the waters had poured forth at the time of the Deluge of Noah.

Less than a league south of Kūfah are the ruins of Ḥīrah, which had been a great city under the Sassanians. Near by stood the famous palaces of As-Sadīr and Al-Khawarnaḵ, the latter built, according to tradition, by Nu‘mān, prince of Ḥīrah, for King Bahrām Gūr, the great hunter. The palace of Khawarnaḵ with its magnificent halls had mightily astonished the early Moslems when they first took possession of Ḥīrah on the conquest of
Mesopotamia. In later times Khawarnaḵ was sometimes used as a hunting lodge by the Caliphs, and apparently, though nothing now remains of it, some walls and domes were still standing, though in ruin, when Ibn Baṭūṭah passed by here in the beginning of the 8th (14th) century.

On the actual desert border, five leagues west of Kūfah, and the first stage on the road to Mecca, was the large hamlet of Al-Kādisiyah surrounded by palm-groves, near which, in the year 14 (635), the Moslems had won their first great battle against the Persians, which led almost immediately to the subjugation of Mesopotamia. Mużaddasī describes Kādisiyah—called Kādisiyah of Kūfah to distinguish it from the city of the same name on the Tigris (see p. 51)—as a town much frequented during the season of the Pilgrimage. It was defended by a small fort, and had two gates. Its lands were watered by a canal from the Euphrates which entered the town at the Baghdād Gate; and at the Desert Gate (Bāb-al-Bādiyyah) was the Friday Mosque, before which, when the Pilgrims came, a great market was held. In the 8th (14th) century when Ibn Baṭūṭah travelled through Kādisiyah it had sunk to the size of a large village, and Mustawfī describes it as for the most part in ruin.

Najaf, where the tomb of ‘Ali (Mashhad ‘Ali?) is to the Shi‘ahs a most venerated shrine, lies about four miles to the westward of the ruins of Kūfah, and is a populous town to the present day. The Shi‘ah tradition, as given by Mustawfī, is that on receiving the fatal stab in the Kūfah mosque, ‘Ali, knowing his death to be imminent, had immediately given orders that when the breath was out of his body, it was to be put on a camel and the beast turned loose; where the camel knelt, there his corpse was to be buried. All this was forthwith done, but during the time of the Omayyads no

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2 Mashhad means ‘the place of Martyrdom,’ hence equivalent to Shrine; Al-Mašām, ‘the Place,’ is used in the same sense.
tomb was erected at Mashhad 'Ali, for the place was kept hidden for security. Subsequently, however, in the year 175 (791), the holy site was discovered by the Abbasid Caliph Hârûn-ar-Rashîd. For, when hunting one day near Kûfah, he chased his quarry into a thicket, but on attempting to follow the Caliph discovered that no force could prevail on his horse to enter the place. On enquiring of the peasants they informed him that this spot was known as the burial-place of the Caliph 'Ali, an inviolate sanctuary, where even wild beasts were safe from harm. Orders were given by Hârûn to dig, and the body of 'Ali being discovered, a Mashhad or shrine was, according to Mustawfi, forthwith built over the spot, which soon became a holy place of visitation. The early history of the shrine is obscure, the foregoing is the usual Shi'ah account, but though Hârûn-ar-Rashîd at one period of his reign favoured the Alids, the Arab chronicles certainly do not relate that he invented the tomb of 'Ali.

The earliest notice in detail of Mashhad 'Ali is of the middle of the 4th (10th) century by Ibn Hawkal. He says that the Hamdânîd prince Abu-l-Hayjah—who was governor of Mosul in 292 (904) and died in 317 (929)—had built a dome on four columns over the tomb at Mashhad 'Ali, which shrine he ornamented with rich carpets and hangings; also he surrounded the adjacent town with a wall. Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Hawkal, however, add that in their day the burial-place of 'Ali was shown in the corner of the Great Mosque at Kûfah, and this was credited by many persons of note, as is affirmed by other authorities. Mustawfi says, further, that in the year 366 (977) 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid erected the mausoleum which in his (Mustawfi's) day still existed, and the place then became a little town, 2500 paces in circuit. In the chronicle of Ibn-al-Athir it is recorded that 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, at his own wish, was buried here, likewise his sons Sharâf and Bahâ-ad-Dawlah; and in subsequent times various other notable persons followed the example. In the year 443 (1051) the shrine was burnt to the ground by the Baghdaḍ populace, who were zealous in persecuting the Shi'âhs. It must however have been quickly rebuilt, for Malik Shâh and his Wazir, the Nizâm-al-Mulk, made their visitation here in 479 (1086).

Writing in the early part of the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi
adds that Ghāzān, the Īl-Khān of his day, had recently erected at Mashhad ‘Ali a home for Sayyids (descendants of the Prophet) called the Dār-as-Siyādah, also a Khānḵāh or Darvish monastery. Yāḵūt in the previous century describes the dyke at Najaf which kept back the waters of the Euphrates from overflowing the town, but he gives no account of the shrine. The traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭah was here in the year 726 (1326) and speaks of Mashhad ‘Ali as a fine city, which he entered by the Bāb-al-Ḥaḍrat—‘the Gate of the Presence’—leading direct to the shrine. He gives a long description of its great markets and colleges, also of the mosque where ‘Ali’s tomb was shown, the walls of which were covered with enamelled tiles of Kāshānī work. He reports that at the tomb cripples were frequently healed of their infirmities, and he gives a long account of the many gold and silver lamps hung up as offerings, as well as the magnificent carpets, and describes the actual tomb as enclosed in a railing of chiselled gold plates, secured by silver nails. Four gates gave access to the shrine, each curtained, and having a silver doorstep, the walls also being hung with silk embroideries; and his account closes with the enumeration of the miracles vouchsafed here to all true believers.

Karbalā, or Mashhad Ḥusayn, lies eight leagues to the north-west of Kūfah, and marks the site of the battlefield where in the year 61 (680) Ḥusayn, son of ‘Ali, and grandson of the Prophet, was slain, with nearly all his family. The place of martyrdom of Ḥusayn is to Shi‘ahs of the present day a more venerated place than Mashhad ‘Ali. By whom the shrine was first built is not mentioned, but in the 3rd (9th) century some monument must have existed here, for in the year 236 (850) the Caliph Mutawakkil earned the lasting hatred of all good Shi‘ahs by ordering the shrine of Ḥusayn to be destroyed by flooding the place with water, also he forbade the visitation of the sacred spot under heavy penalties. Mustawfi adds, when describing the palaces at Sāmarrā, that this iniquity on the part of Mutawakkil was requited to him, in that none of the buildings he began at Sāmarrā could ever be completed, but soon fell to the same state of ruin in which

the wicked Caliph had left the tomb of Ḫusayn. How long the place remained a ruin is not stated, but ʿAḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid in 368 (979) built a magnificent shrine here, doubtless an enlargement of the building noticed incidentally by the geographers Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal who wrote a little before this date.

In 407 (1016) the dome at Mashhad Ḫusayn was burnt down, but must have been shortly afterwards restored, for the place was visited by Malik Shāh in 479 (1086), when he went hunting in these districts. Yāḵūt unfortunately gives no description of the shrines at Karbalā, merely mentioning incidentally that the name Al-Ḥāir, meaning 'a garden pool,' was commonly given to the enclosure round the tomb of Ḫusayn. Mustawfī in the 8th (14th) century speaks of the little town that had grown up round the shrine as being some 2400 paces in circuit, and his contemporary Ibn Baṭṭūṭah describes the fine college (Madrasah) which he visited here. The Holy Theshold of the actual tomb, which the pilgrims kissed on entry, was he says of solid silver; the shrine was lighted by numerous gold and silver lamps, and the doorways were closed by silken curtains. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah adds that the little town was then mostly a ruin, from the ceaseless fighting of rival factions among its inhabitants, but it stood among many groves of date palms, well watered by canals coming from the Euphrates¹.

When describing ʿIrāk in the 3rd (9th) century, Ibn Khurdābdīb and Kudāmah state that the province was then divided into twelve districts called Astān, each containing a varying number of sub-districts, called Ṭassūj, and of these latter the total number was sixty. This division, which probably in its origin was made for fiscal purposes, is repeated in part by Muḥaddasi in the following century, and it will be worth while to enumerate the twelve Astāns, giving at the same time the best known of their sub-districts or Ṭassūj. The list is divided into three groups according to the irrigation channels, and whence the water was taken.

The first group of four districts consists of those lying on the east side of the Tigris, and watered from that river and from the Tāmarrā. These were (1) the Astān of Shād Firūz or Hulwān

(otherwise Shâdh Fayrûz) comprising the sub-districts of Tâmarra, and Khâniñâ, with three others; five in all: (2) the Shâdh Hurmuz district, round Baghdâd, with the sub-districts of Nahr Bûk, of Kalwâdâhâ and Nahr Bin, of Al-Madînah-al-ʿAtîkah (otherwise Madâin), of Upper and of Lower Râdhân, with two others; seven in all: (3) the Shâdh Kubâdîh district, with the sub-districts of Jalûlû, of Bandanijûj, of Barâz-ar-Rûz, and of Daskarah, with four others, making a total of eight. Of these two last districts this is the nomenclature given by Ibn Khurdâdbih; Kudâmâh on the contrary transposes the names, making the Astân of Shâdh Kubâdîh the Baghdâd district, and giving Khusraw Shâdh Hurmuz as the name of the Jalûlû Tassûj with its seven neighbours. The last Astân to the east of the Tigris was (4) the district of Bâzîjân Khusraw, otherwise of Nahrawân, which Kudâmâh names Arandîn Kird, and this comprised five sub-districts, to wit: Upper, Middle, and Lower Nahrawân (with Iskâf of the Bani Junayd and Jarjarâyâ), next the Bâdarâyâ Tassûj, and lastly Bâkusâyâ.

The next group of two districts was of those watered partly from the Tigris, partly from the Euphrates; it consisted of (5) the Astân of Kaskar, otherwise called Shâdh Sâbûr, with four sub-districts lying round Wâsîît; and (6) the Astân of Shâdh Bahman, or the Kûrah Dijlah, on the Lower Tigris, with four sub-districts, Maysân and Dasti-Maysân being two of them, the latter lying round Ubulluh.

The remaining six districts all lay to the west of the Tigris, and were watered by the old Dujayl canal previously mentioned and by the great canals flowing eastward from the Euphrates to the Tigris. The first of these was: (7) Astân-al-Aʿlâ, 'the Upper District,' with the four sub-districts lying along the Nahr ʿÎsâ, namely Firûz Sâbûr or Al-Anbâr, Maskin, ʂṭraṁbul, and Bâdûrayâ. Next below came: (8) the Astân of Ardashîr Bâbgân, lying along the Kûthâ canal and the Nil, with the sub-districts of Bahurasîr and Rûmaḵân opposite Madâin, of Kûthâ, and of the two canals called Nahr Jawbar and Nahr Durḵît. To the east of this was: (9) the district of the Zîb canals, called the Astân of Bih Dhîvmâsufân, comprising the sub-districts of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Zîb canals.
The last three districts were those respectively of Upper, Middle, and Lower Bih Ḳubād̲h̲, and of these the first (10) Upper Bih Ḳubād̲h̲ comprised six sub-districts, namely, Bābil (the ruins round Babylon), Upper and Lower Al-Fallūjah, with two others, and the Ṭassūj of ‘Ayn-at-Tamr some distance to the west of the Euphrates. The Astān (11) of Middle Bih Ḳubād̲h̲ included four sub-districts, to wit, those of the Badāt canal, of Sūr̲a with Barbīsamā, of Bārūsamā, and of Nahr-al-Malik. Finally (12) Lower Bih Ḳubād̲h̲ comprised five sub-districts, all of which apparently lay adjacent to the lower course of the Euphrates where it entered the Great Swamp. The names in these lists show clearly that we have here the division of the country which the Arabs took over from the Sassanians; Ardashīr Bābgān was the founder of the dynasty: Shād Firūz or Shādh Fayrūz means ‘glorious fortune’ in Persian. Bih Ḳubād̲h̲ is ‘the Goodness, or good land, of King Ḳubād̲h̲,’ and the ‘Glory’ (Shādh) of Hurmuz, of Ḳubād̲h̲, of Shāpfūr, and of Bahman recall the names of four of the most famous kings of Persia.

The trade of ‘Irāk consisted of imports rather than of exports, the capital province consuming the products of the outlying regions. Mukaddasī, however, gives a list of commodities and manufactures for which several cities were famous, and this though not very full is worth examining.

The markets of Baghdād were noted for all kinds of curious wares brought together here from foreign lands. Its manufactures were coloured silks—the famous ‘Attābī or ‘Tabby’ silk in particular, named after one of its quarters—fine strong cloth, curtains and veils, stuffs for turbans, napkins of all sorts, and mats woven of reeds. In Baṣrah many stuffs were manufactured of raw silk and its markets were famous for the jewellers, who sold all manner of curiosities; further Baṣrah was the chief emporium for various ores and minerals, antimony, cinnabar, Mars-saffron, litharge and many others being mentioned. There were also exported dates, ḥenna-dye and raw silk, as well as rose-water and essence of violets: while at Ubul lāh excellent linen was woven. Ḳūfah was famous for its dates, for its essence of violets, and for raw-silk stuffs of which turbans were made; Wāṣīt exported lupins and

dried fish called *Shim*; finally Nu‘mânîyâh manufactured much cloth, and was famous for all sorts of woollen stuffs
d.

As explained in the introductory chapter, the central point of the system of high roads during the Abbasid Caliphate naturally was Baghdâd; whence five main roads—to Baṣrah, Kûfah, Anbâr, Takrît and Hûlwân—set forth, communicating ultimately with the outposts of the empire.

The easiest route to Baṣrah from Baghdâd was naturally by boat down the Tigris, and this, noting all the towns passed to right and left on the river bank, is given in much detail by both Ibn Rustah and Ya‘qûbî. Down as far as Al-Ḳâtr the Tigris main channel was followed, then came the Great Swamp through which boats passed threading the lagoons (Hawl, see above, p. 42). The Abu-l-Asad canal led out to the head of the Tigris estuary, and from this Baṣrah was reached by the Nahr Ma‘kil. The Ubullah canal led back to the estuary, and was followed by those bound for ‘Abbâdân and the Persian Gulf. The way by land from Baghdâd to Wâsiṭ, which went down the eastern side of the Tigris through Madâin, is also given by Ibn Rustah, and this enables the towns on the river bank to be set down on the map, for the distances are stated in farsakhs (leagues); Kûdâmah also gives this route in detail, and in one or two cases where lacunae occur they can generally be filled up from Abu-l-Fidâ. The road from Wâsiṭ to Baṣrah by land, along the northern edge of the Great Swamp, is given by Kûdâmah, and this too is the way by which Ibn Baṭû‘ah travelled in the 8th (14th) century. Ibn Rustah and Kûdâmah likewise give the road from Wâsiṭ, eastward, to Ahwâz the capital of Khûzistân; and from the stage at Bâdhbin, one march east of Wâsiṭ on this road, a bifurcation went north-east to Tib, from which Sûs (Susa) in Khûzistân was reached.

The Pilgrim road, going south from Baghdâd to Kûfah, left the Round City by the Kûfah Gate and passed through the Karkh quarter to Şarşar, and thence on to Kaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. Beyond this it crossed the eastern arm of the Euphrates (the present main

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1 Muk. 128.

channel) called in the 4th (10th) century the Nahr Sūrā, at the Sūrā bridge of boats, and thence came down to Kūfah, opposite to which the western arm of the Euphrates was crossed by the bridge of boats which led to the eastern suburbs of the city. From Kūfah the Pilgrim road went south-west to Kādisiyah, where it entered the Arabian desert. This road is given by all the earlier geographers, and in much detail by Ibn Rustah, who for some parts of the way from Baghdād to Kūfah gives alternative routes, with the distances in miles and in leagues. After the beginning of the 6th (12th) century Ḍaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, the half-way stage between Baghdād and Kūfah, fell to ruin; Hillah taking its place (see p. 71) to which the high road went down from Ṣarṣar by Farāshah. At Hillah the eastern arm of the Euphrates was crossed by a great bridge of boats similar to that which had formerly existed at Sūrā. This is the route followed by Ibn Jubayr and all later travellers. From Kūfah to Baṣrah along the southern border of the Great Swamp was reckoned as 80 or 85 leagues, and this road, which branches to the left at the second desert stage south of Kādisiyah, is described by Ibn Rustah and Ibn Khurdādbih¹.

As already said, two Pilgrim roads crossed the deserts of Arabia going from Mesopotamia to the Hijāz, one starting from Kūfah, the other from Baṣrah, and they came together at the stage of Dhāt ‘Irāk, which was two days march north-east of Mecca. These two famous Pilgrim ways are described stage by stage, and the half-stage is also given, where the caravan halted for supper (Al-Muta‘ashshā), with the number of miles between each halt carefully noted, in the Road Books of the 3rd (9th) century and by Muḥaddasi. The road from Kūfah passed through Fayd,

¹ I. R. 174, 175, 180, 182. Ykb. 308. I. K. 125, 145. Kud. 185. A. F. 303. I. J. 214—219. Mst. 193. Muḥaddasi (p. 252) estimates the distance from Baṣrah to Kūfah along the edge of the desert at ten long marches (Marḥalāh), and at the shortest reckoning it is over 250 miles. It is famous in history for having been traversed in a night and a day by a certain Bilāl ibn Abi Burdah, riding swift dromedaries (Jamāḏāzah), he having an urgent affair with Khālid-al-Ḳasrī at Kūfah, in the year 120 (738), during the reign of the Omayyad Caliph Hishām. Tabari, ii. 1627. (It will be remembered how Dick Turpin rode from London to York, 200 odd miles, in 18 hours: the rate is about the same.)
which lay a short distance south of Ḥāyil, the present chief town of Jabal Shammār. The Baṣrah road went by Ḍarīyah, the older capital of what later became the Wahhābī kingdom, the ruins of which town still exist a few miles to the west of Ar-Riyāḍ, the present chief town of Najd. From both the Kūfah and the Baṣrah Pilgrim ways there were branch roads, bifurcating to the right, leading direct to Medina.

From Bagdād at the Kūfah Gate of the Round City a second high road branched westward, and going first to Muḥawwal kept along the bank of the ‘Īsā canal to Anbār on the Euphrates, whence following up stream it passed Ḥadithah, the last town in ‘Irāk, and reached ‘Ānāh in Jazīrah. This is the first part of one of the roads (namely, by the Euphrates) going from Bagdād to Syria, and it is given by Ibn Khurdādbih and Kudāmah. The other road to Syria goes north along the Tigris by Mosul, and as far as Takrit lies in the ‘Irāk province. This, which was the post-road, left the Baradān Gate of East Bagdād and keeping up the left bank of the river through ‘Ukbarā and Sāmarrā came to Takrit. It was here joined by the caravan road which, leaving the

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\[1\] The Kūfah road to Mecca and Medina is given in L. K. 145. Kud. 185. I. R. 175. Ykb. 311. Muk. 107, 251. The Baṣrah road is given in L. K. 146. Kud. 190. I. R. 180, 182. Muk. 109, 251. It is worth noting that the older chief town of Najd is invariably written Ḍarīyah (with initial Ḍād) by the Arab geographers. Ḥājjī Khalfah is the first (J. N. 527) to give the modern pronunciation and spelling Daraʿiyah (with initial Dāl and an ʿAyn) though once or twice and in the Itinerary (J. N. 527, 543) he writes Ḩariyah or Ḥiṣn Ḍarīyah. The geography of the Hijāz, and of Arabia in general lying north of the Dahān or Great Desert, has been fully worked out (from Arabic sources) by Professor F. Wüstenfeld, in a series of articles published in the Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen. These papers are provided with maps by Kiepert, and are well indexed; they include the following, of which I give the names in full, as they do not appear to be well known to English geographers. Die von Medina auslaufenden Hauptstrassen (vol. xi, 1862): Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der Arabischen Stämme (vol. xiv, 1869): Die Straße von Basra nach Mekka mit der Landschaft Dharīja (vol. xvi, 1871): Das Gebiet von Medina (vol. xviii, 1873), which gives the Kūfah-Mecca Pilgrim road: Bahrein und Jemāmā (vol. xix, 1874): lastly, Geschichte der Stadt Medina (vol. ix, 1860, and published separately), also vol. iv of Chroniken der Stadt Mekka (Leipzig, 1861) which contains a summary (in German) of the history of Mecca, with topographical notes.
Harblyah quarter in West Baghdâd, went up the Dujayl canal to Harbâ, and thence by the palace grounds opposite Sâmarrâ passed along the Ishâki canal to Takrit. This last is the road followed by Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baţūţah.¹

Finally from the Khurâsân Gate of East Baghdâd started the great Khurâsân road which, crossing Persia, went, as already said, through Transoxiana, ultimately reaching the borders of China. This road is described in great detail, stage by stage, by Ibn Rustah; and almost all the other geographers give the distances along the various portions of this great highway, which is thus one of the best known to us of all the trunk roads.²

CHAPTER VI.

JAZİRAH.


As already explained the Arabs named Upper Mesopotamia Al-Jazīrah, ‘the Island’ or ‘Peninsula,’ for its plains lay encompassed by the upper courses of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. The province was generally divided into three districts called Diyār Rabī‘ah, Diyār Muḍar, and Diyār Bakr, after the Arab tribes of Rabī‘ah, Muḍar, and Bakr respectively, who, in pre-Islamic days, had settled here under Sassanian rule, each receiving its appointed Dār (plural Diyar) or ‘Habitation’ to which the tribe had subsequently given its name. Of Diyār Rabī‘ah, Mosul on the Tigris was the chief town; of the district Diyār Muḍar, Raḵkah on the Euphrates was the capital; while Ḍīmīd on the upper course of the Tigris was the chief city of Diyār Bakr, the northernmost of the three districts. Muḵaddasī, on the other hand, describes the Jazīrah province under the name of Iklīm Aḵūr, ‘the Aḵūr Region’; the origin of the name is not clear, but Aḵūr would appear to have been the proper name at one time of the great plain of northern Mesopotamia.

A reference to the map shows that in Upper Mesopotamia the rivers Tigris and Euphrates receive their affluents almost exclusively on their left bank, that is flowing from the northeast or north. During the period of the middle-ages an exception
occurs to this rule, namely in the drainage of the affluent of the (greater) Khâbûr, the Hirmâs river from Naṣîbîn. Just above its point of junction, the Hirmâs was dammed back at Sukayr-al-ʿAbbâs, and while a moiety passed on to join the Khâbûr which went to the Euphrates at ʿAarkîsiyâ, the main stream of the Hirmâs flowed into the Tigris on its right bank at Takrît by the channel called the Nahr-ath-Tharthâr. Further, it will be seen that the limits of the three districts are determined by the water parting. Diyâr Bakr was the country watered by the Tigris from its source to the great bend south made by the river below Tall (the Hill of) Fâsân, with the land to the northward traversed by the numerous affluents of the Tigris which join its left bank west of Tall Fâsân. To the south-west, Diyâr Muḍâr comprised all the lands along the Euphrates from Sumaysât, where it left the mountain gorges, down to ʿAnah, with the plains watered by its affluent the river Balîkh, coming from Harrân. Lastly Diyâr Rabîʿah was the district east of Muḍâr; namely, of the (greater) Khâbûr coming from Râs-al-ʿAyn, with the Hirmâs which, as we have seen, flowed eastward by the Tharthâr to the Tigris, also the lands on both banks of the Tigris from Tall Fâsân down to Takrît, namely those westward to Naṣîbîn, and those eastward which included the plains watered by the Lower and Upper Zâb and the Lesser Khâbûr river.

Mosul (Al-Mawṣîl), the chief city of Diyâr Rabîʿah, stands on the western bank of the Tigris at the point where a series of loops in the river coalesce to form a single main stream, and Al-Mawṣîl, meaning 'the confluence,' is said to take its name from this fact. In Sassanian times the city which existed here was called Bûdâ Ardashîr. Under the Omayyads Mosul rose to importance, a bridge of boats was set across the Tigris, connecting the city on the western side with the ruins of Nineveh on the east bank, and Mosul became the capital of the Jazîrah province under Marwân II, the last of the Omayyad Caliphs, who also built here what afterwards came to be known as the Old Mosque¹.

Ibn Ḥawḵal who was at Mosul in 358 (969) describes it as a

¹ Muk. 136—138. I. K. 17. Yak. iv. 682—684. Mar. i. 84. Yâkût gives the old Persian name of Mosul as Bawardâshîr or Nawardâshîr, but the latter form is undoubtedly a clerical error.
fine town with excellent markets, surrounded by fertile districts of which the most celebrated was that round Ninaway (Nineveh) where the prophet Yûnis (Jonah) was buried. In the 4th (10th) century the population consisted chiefly of Kurds, and the numerous districts round Mosul, occupying all Diyâr Rabî‘ah, are carefully enumerated by Ibn Ḥawkal. Muḥaddasî praises the numerous excellent hostelries of Mosul, and the town, he says, was extraordinarily well built, being in plan a semicircle, and about a third the size of Baṣra. Its castle was named Al-Murabba‘ah (the Square) and it stood on the affluent called the Nahr Zubaydah; within its precincts was held the Wednesday Market (Ṣūk-al-Arba‘â) by which name also the castle was sometimes known. The Friday Mosque (that of Marwân II) stood a bow-shot from the Tigris, on a height to which steps led up. The roof of this building was vaulted in stone, and it had no doors to close the doorways going from the main building of the mosque into its court. The market streets of Mosul were for the most part roofed over, eight of the chief thoroughfares are named by Muḥaddasî, and the houses of the town stretched for a considerable distance along the Tigris bank. Muḥaddasî adds that formerly Mosul had borne the name of Khawlân: and that the Ǧaṣr-al-Khalîfah, 'the Palace of the Caliph,' stood on the opposite bank of the river, half a league from the town, overlooking Nineveh. This palace had of old been protected by strong ramparts, which the winds had overthrown, and the ruins, through which flowed the stream called the Nahr-al-Khawṣar, were when Muḥaddasî wrote occupied by fields.

In the year 580 (1184) Mosul was visited and described by Ibn Jubayr. Shortly before this date the famous Nūr-ad-Dīn, under whose banner Saladin began his career, had built the new Friday Mosque in the market place, but the old mosque of Marwân II still stood on the river bank, with its beautifully ornamented oratory and iron window-gratings. In the upper town was the great fortress, and the town walls with towers at intervals extended down to and along the river bank, a broad street connecting upper with lower Mosul. Beyond the walls were extensive suburbs with many small mosques, hostelries, and bath houses. The Māristân (or hospital) was famous, also the great
market buildings called the Ḫayṣarīyah\(^1\), and there were also numerous colleges here. Ḫazwīnī gives a list of the various Dayrs or Christian convents which were found in the vicinity of Mosul, and he notes especially the deep ditch and high walls of the Mosul fortress. All round the town were numerous gardens irrigated, he says, by waterwheels.

In regard to the Nineveh mounds, these were known from the time of Muḥammadī as the Tall-at-Tawbah, ‘the Hill of Repentance,’ where the prophet Yūnis, Jonah, had sought to convert the people of Nineveh. The spot was marked by a mosque, round which, Muḥammadī adds, were houses for pilgrims, built by Ṣāḥib-ad-Dawlah the Ḥamdânīd prince, and half a league distant was a celebrated healing spring called ‘Ayn Yūnis after the prophet Jonah, with a mosque adjacent, and here might be seen the Shajarah-al-Yaḥṭīn, namely ‘the Tree of the Gourd’ planted by the prophet himself. Yāḵūt adds that most of the houses of Mosul were built of limestone or marble, with vaulted roofs, and that in the city might be seen the tomb of the prophet Jurja, or St George. In the 8th (14th) century Ibn Baṭūṭah passed through Mosul, which he describes as protected by a double wall and many high towers, ‘like those of Dehli.’ The fortress was then known as Al-Ḥadba, ‘the Hump-backed,’ and in the new Friday Mosque (that of Nūr-ad-Dīn) was an octagonal marble basin with a fountain in its midst throwing up a jet of water a fathom high. A third Friday Mosque had recently been built overlooking the Tigris, and this is probably the building praised by Mustawfī, who says that the stone sculptured ornamentation of its oratory was so intricate that it might stand for wood-carving. In his day the circuit of Mosul measured a thousand paces, and he refers to the famous shrine of Jonah (Mashhad Yūnis) on the opposite bank of the Tigris, lying among the ruins of Nineveh\(^2\).

\(^1\) The Arabs, more especially those of the west, called the great buildings of a market, often used as a hostelry or caravansarai, Al-Ḵayṣarīyah, or Ḫayṣārīyah, a term which they must have derived from the Greeks, though Ḫosapēia does not occur, apparently, in the Byzantine historians, as applied to the Cæsarian, or royal market of a town. In any case the word seems hardly likely to have been taken by the Moslems from the name of the Cæsarian, the famous quarter of Alexandria; though this explanation is the one often given.

A few miles to the east of Mosul lie the two small towns of Barţallá and Karmálís, which are mentioned by Yākūṭ and Mustawfī, and Bā‘ashīkā is somewhat to the north of these, all three being of the dependencies of Mosul. Muḳaddasī mentions Bā‘ashīkā as noted for yielding a plant that cured scrofula and haemorrhoids. It was a small town, Yākūṭ adds, with a stream that worked many mills and irrigated its orchards, where olives, dates, and oranges grew abundantly. There was a large market here or Ḫayṣarīyah, with excellent bath houses. The Friday Mosque had a fine minaret, though in the 7th (13th) century most of the population were Christians. Barţallá lying a few miles south of Bā‘ashīkā was likewise counted as of the Nineveh district. It was, Yākūṭ says, a place of great trade, mostly inhabited by Christians, though there was a fine mosque here, and many Moslems made the town their abode. The lettuces and greens of Barţallá were proverbial for their excellence, and Mustawfī praises its cotton crops. Karmálís, some miles further to the south again, had also a fine market according to Yākūṭ, being a large village almost the size of a town, and much frequented by merchants. Mār Juhaynah, or Marj (the meadow of) Juhaynah, was also near these places, but on the Tigris bank, being the first stage on the road from Mosul south to Baghdad. Muḳaddasī describes it as having many pigeon towers. Its castle was strongly built of mortared stone, and a Friday Mosque stood in the midst of the town.

Between Mosul and Takrit the Tigris received, on its eastern bank, the waters of the two Zābs, the one flowing in about a hundred miles above the other; and Ibn Ḥawkal praises the magnificent fields occupying the broad lands lying between the two rivers. The upper or Greater Zāb rose in the mountains between Armenia and Adharbāyjān, and joined the Tigris at Ḥadithah. The lower or Lesser Zāb, called also Majnūn, ‘the Mad River,’ from its impetuous current, flowed down from the Shahrazūr country, and came into the Tigris at Sinn. The country from which the Great Zāb flows is that known as Mush-takahar and Bābghish according to Yākūṭ, and its waters at first were red in colour, but afterwards ran clear. Al-Ḥadithah, ‘the New Town,’ which stood a league above its junction with the Tigris (called Ḥadithah of Mosul, to distinguish it from Ḥadithah
on the Euphrates already mentioned, p. 64), had been rebuilt by
the last Omayyad Caliph, Marwân II, on a height overlooking
the swampy plain; it was surrounded by famous hunting grounds,
and had many gardens. The town was built in a semicircle,
steps led up to it from the Tigris, and the Friday Mosque
which was constructed of stone overlooked the river. Under the
Sassanians the town was known as Nawkird, meaning in Persian
likewise 'new town,' and before the rise of Mosul this had been
the capital of the province.

The town of As-Sinn (the Tooth) lying one mile below the
junction of the Lower Zâb according to Mas‘ûdî, but above it
with the Lesser Zâb flowing to the east according to Muţaddasî,
was in the middle-ages chiefly inhabited by Christians, and Yâkût
says there were many churches here. It was known as Sinn of
Bârimmâ, to distinguish it from other towns of this name, the
Bârimmâ chain of hills being cut through by the Tigris near this
point. Sinn had in its market place a Friday Mosque, built of
stone, and was surrounded by a wall. To the east of it, four
leagues higher up the bank of the Lesser Zâb, stood the town
of Bawâzîj (Madînat-al-Bawâzîj as Ibn Ḥawkal gives the name)
which however appears at the present day to have left no trace on
the map. This also is the case with both Sinn and Ḥadîthah,
and may be explained by the lower courses of both the Zâbs
having much changed since the 4th (10th) century. Yâkût refers
to the town as Bawâzîj-al-Malik, 'of the King,' and in the 8th
(14th) century it still existed, for Mustawfî describes it as paying
14,000 dinârs to the treasury of the Īl-Khâns.

South of Sinn the post-road to Sâmârrâ and Baghdad kept
along the left bank of the Tigris, passing first Bârimmâ, a hamlet
lying under the hills of this name otherwise known as the Jabal
Humrîn, then coming to As-Sûdaḵâniyah, and finally reaching
Jabîtâ (or Jabultâ) which appears to have been a mint city in
304 (916) lying on the east bank of the Tigris a little to the
northward of Takrit. None of these small towns now appear
on the map, but their positions are given very exactly in the
Itineraries.

1 Ist. 75. I. H. 147, 155. Muk. 139, 146. Yak. i. 446, 472, 567; ii. 168,
222, 552, 902; iv. 267. Mst. 165, 166, 214.
Rather more than a hundred miles due east of Sinn lies the town of Daḵūḵa or Daḵūḵ— the name is generally written 'l'āḵ or Tawūḵ in 'Alī of Yazd, as at the present day—which is frequently mentioned by Yāḵūt and the later geographers. Mustawfi speaks of the river of Daḵūḵ (as he spells the name) which, rising in the Kūrdistān mountains near Darband-i-Khalisah (the Caliph's Pass), flowed out below the town of Daḵūḵ into the sandy plain, where, according to Mustawfi, there were most dangerous quicksands which swallowed up those who attempted to cross over. In flood time, he says, the Daḵūḵ river reached the Tigris, and its lower course is the stream now known as the Nahr-al-ʿAʿzam (the Great River); but in early times when the Nahrawān canal existed in its entirety, the spring floods of the Daḵūḵ river must have flowed into this. Mustawfi describes the town of Daḵūḵ as of medium size; it had a more healthy climate than that of Baghdād, and near it were found naphtha springs. It is to be remarked that the place is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers.¹

Irbil, the ancient Arbela, lay in the plain between the Greater and Lesser Zāb, and is described by Yāḵūt as a town much frequented by merchants. The castle, which crowned a hill, had a deep ditch and was in part enclosed by the town wall. A great market was held here, and the mosque, called Masjid-al-Kaff, 'of the Hand,' was celebrated for the mark of a man's palm on one of its stones. In the 7th (13th) century the market buildings had recently been restored, and great suburbs stretched beyond the city wall. Mustawfi praises the excellent crops, especially of cotton, that were produced by its lands. To the north of Mosul the city of ʿImādlyah, near the head waters of the Upper Zāb, according to Mustawfi derived its name from its founder the Daylamite prince ʿImād-ad-Dawlah who died in 338 (949). Other

¹ Ist. 75. I. H. 153. Mas. Tarbih 52. Kud. 214. Muk. 123. Yak. i. 464, 750; ii. 581; iii. 169. Mst. 139, 165, 220. A. Y. i. 660. Karkūk, not given by Yāḵūt or the earlier geographers, is mentioned by ʿAlī of Yazd (i. 661) as near Tāḵūḵ. In regard to Jabiltā, or Jabulta, on the Tigris opposite Takrit, it is to be remarked that this name has often been misread Ḥabitā (e.g. Muk. 135: the letters Ḩ and J being identical in Arabic script except for a diacritical point). The initial letter however is certainly J, for in Syriac the name frequently occurs under the form Gebhiltā, and in this script G and Ḩ do not resemble one another.
authorities, however, ascribe 'Imādiyyah, or at any rate the restoration of that town in 537 (1142), to 'Imād-ad-Dīn Zangi, father of that famous prince of Upper Mesopotamia, Nūr-ad-Dīn, under whom Saladin began his career. Yākūt reports that of old a castle had existed here held by the Kurds, and known under the name of Āshib. Mustawfī in the 8th (14th) century describes 'Imādiyyah as a town of considerable size.

In the neighbouring mountains were the head waters of the river Khābūr-al-Ḥasanīyah, which flowed into the Tigris just north of the town of Faysābūr, about 150 miles above Mosul. This river (not to be confounded with the Khābūr of Rās-al-ʿAyn) rose according to Yākūt in the district of Az-Zawzān, and at the town of Al-Ḥasanīyah it was spanned by a magnificent stone bridge, the remains of which still exist near the hamlet of Ḥasan Aghā, which probably represents the older town. Ḥasanīyah, where there was a Friday Mosque, is described by Muḥaddasī as a place of some importance, and one stage to the south of it on the road to Mosul was the small town of Ma'ālahāyā, where there was a Friday Mosque on a hill, the place being completely surrounded by gardens.¹

To the north of Faysābūr is the important town of the Jāzīrah (the Island), called Jāzīrah Ibn 'Omar for distinction, after a certain Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Omar of the tribe of Ṭaghlīb, its founder; and the Tigris, as Yākūt explains, went half round the city in a semicircle, while a ditch filled with water on the land side made it an island. Ibn Ḥawkāl in the 4th (10th) century describes Jāzīrah as a walled town, whither the products of Armenia were brought for sale: its cheese and honey were famous. Its houses were of stone, and Muḥaddasī adds that the mud at Jāzīrah in winter time was phenomenal. Ibn Baṭительно who was here in the 8th (14th) century found it much ruined. The old mosque, however, stood in the market place, and the town wall, built of stone, still existed. Mustawfī adds that over a hundred villages were of its dependencies. Opposite Jāzīrah Ibn 'Omar, on the west bank of the Tigris, was Bāzabdā of the Bākirdā district, this representing the well-known

¹ Muk. 139. Kaz. ii. 192. Yak. i. 186; ii. 384; iii. 717, 931. Mst. 165, 166.
Roman fortress of Bezabda, but no description is given of the place.

From Jazīrah Ibn ‘Omar Jabal Jūdī was visible to the eastward, with the Mosque of Noah on its summit, and Kariyat-ath-Thamānīn (the Village of the Eighty) at the foot of the mountain. The Qurān (ch. xi. v. 46) states that ‘the Ark rested upon Al-Jūdī,’ which Moslem tradition identifies with this mountain in Upper Mesopotamia, and eighty of the companions of Noah are said to have built the village of Thamānīn named after their number. Muḥādashī describes Thamānīn in the 4th (10th) century as a fair-sized city, and it lay one march to the north of Al-Hasanīyah; Mustawfī who calls it Sūk-Thamānīn — ‘the Market of the Eighty’— says that in his day it had fallen to ruin. Various affluents entered the Tigris on its left bank near Jazīrah Ibn ‘Omar, and these are enumerated by Yākūt, namely, the Yarnā (or Yarnī) and the Bā‘aynāthū (or Bāsānī as Ibn Serapion calls it), with a large village of the same name, above Jazīrah. Below this town, but to the north of the Khābūr-al-Hasanīyah, and flowing down from the country of Az-Zawzān were the Al-Būyār and Dūshā rivers.

On the western side of the Tigris, in the latitude of Jazīrah Ibn ‘Omar, is the hilly district of Tūr ‘Abdīn, ‘the Mountain of (God’s) Servants,’ peopled by the Jacobites, in which the rivers Hirmās and the Khābūr of Naṣībīn have their source.

Naṣībīn, the Roman Nisibis, which Yākūt describes as celebrated for its white roses and its forty thousand gardens, stood on the upper waters of the Hirmās river, called by the Greek geographers the Saocoros or Mygdonius, and it is still one of the most important towns of Upper Mesopotamia. Ibn Ḥawkāl who was there in 358 (969) describes Naṣībīn as the finest town of the Jazīrah province, and its neighbourhood produced the best barley and wheat crops. The hill above, from which its water came, was called the Jabal Bālūsā, the town was most pleasant to live in, and the only drawback was the fear of scorpions. It was more spacious than Mūsul, and Muḥādashī praises both its fine baths, and the private houses. The market extended right across from gate to gate, a Friday Mosque stood in its midst, and a strong

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fortress built of mortared stone protected the town. Naṣībīn was visited by Ibn Jubayr in 580 (1184), who praises its gardens; in its Friday Mosque were two tanks, and a bridge crossed the river Hirmâs where it flowed by the town; also there was the hospital (Mâristân) and several colleges among other notable buildings. Ibn Batūtah who was here in the 8th (14th) century describes Naṣībīn as then for the most part in ruins, but its Friday Mosque was still standing with the two great tanks, and the gardens round the city produced the rose-water for which it was so celebrated. Mustawfi, who gives the circuit of the walls as 6500 paces, praises the grapes and other fruits grown here, and its wine, but the dampness of the climate, he says, made Naṣībīn an unhealthy place. He, too, speaks of the excellence of its roses, also the abomination of the scorpions, which were equalled in virulence by the plague of gnats.

Rās-al-ʿAyn, 'the Spring-head,' near the sources of the Khâbûr (the Roman Resaina, on the river Chaboras), was famous for its numerous springs, said to number 360 in all, and their waters made the surrounding country a great garden. Of these springs the ʿAyn-az-Zāhiriyah was supposed to be fathomless, and the stream flowing from this ran into the Khâbûr, by which pleasure-boats are described as travelling down from garden to garden from Rās-al-ʿAyn to ʿArḫîsiyā on the Euphrates. Rās-al-ʿAyn is described by Ibn Haẉḳal as a walled town, having gardens and many mills within its circuit; and the arable fields stretched for 20 leagues beyond the houses. Muṣkaddaṣi describes a small lake at the chief spring, two fathoms deep, but the water so clear that a silver piece could clearly be seen at the bottom. The buildings of Rās-al-ʿAyn were of stone, well mortared, and Ibn Jubayr who passed through the town in 580 (1184) mentions its two Friday Mosques and the fine colleges and bath houses which stood along the banks of the Khâbûr. In his time the city apparently had no wall, though in the 8th (14th) century this must have been rebuilt, for Mustawfi describes it as 5000 paces in circuit. He adds that cotton, corn, and grapes were grown here abundantly.

About half-way between Rás-al-‘Ayn and Naṣībīn, but more to the north, stood the great rock fortress of Mârdîn, overlooking the city of Dunaysîr in the plain below, some three leagues to the south. In the 4th (10th) century the castle of Mârdîn, called Al-Bâz (the Falcon), was the stronghold of the Ḥamdânîd princes. The fortress crowned the hill-top, and on the southern side a suburb was built which by the 6th (12th) century had become very populous. Here there were many markets, some hostelries, and a few colleges, but all the buildings rose one above the other in steps, and the roads were stairs, each house having its cistern for storing rain water. Ibn Baṭūṭah, who visited Mârdîn in the 8th (14th) century, describes it as a fine town where much woollen stuff was woven. At that time the great fortress was known as Ḋal'at-ash-Shabhâ, ‘the Grey Castle,’ or Ḋal'at-i-Kûh, ‘the Castle of the Hill.’ Mustawfi describes Mârdîn as amply irrigated by the waters of the Ṣawr river, which flowed down from a hill of the same name in Tûr ‘Abdîn, and this river ultimately joined the Khâbûr; he adds that corn, cotton, and abundant fruit was grown in all the neighbourhood.

Dunaysîr, a few leagues distant (variously given as from 2 to 4, but its actual site appears to be unknown), was in the 7th (13th) century a great market town, and it was also known as Kûch Hisâr. Yâḳût writes that when he was a boy, that is to say at the close of the 6th (12th) century, Dunaysîr had been merely a large village, but in 623 (1225) it was become a great city, with extensive markets. Ibn Jubayr who had passed through it in 580 (1184) describes it as unwalled, but it was then a meeting place for caravans, and a college had recently been built with numerous bath houses. Dârâ, lying a few miles to the eastward, which had been a great fortress in Roman days, is mentioned as a small town by Ibn Hawḵal, and Muḵaddasî describes how each house was supplied with water by an underground channel, these channels ultimately flowing into the tank of the Friday Mosque. The houses were all built, he says, of black stone, and well mortared. The town stood on a hill side, and Yâḳût states that it was famous for its Maḥlab or cherry-stone preserve, the gardens being most fruitful. When Ibn Baṭūṭah passed Dârâ in the 8th (14th) century, however, its fortress had already become an
uninhabited ruin. Kafartuthâ, to the S.W. of Mâardin and on its own small river, is described by Ibn Ḥawkal as already a town of some importance in the 4th (10th) century, being at the junction of the high road coming down from Âmid. It was at that time a larger place than Dârâ, but in the 7th (13th) century Yâkût refers to it as merely a large village.

The Greater Khâbûr from Râs-al-‘Ayn received on its left bank the waters of the Mâardin river, and below this again was joined by the Hirmâs coming from Naṣîbîn; but the major part of this latter stream, as already said, was diverted at the dam of Sukayr-al-‘Abbâs, a short distance above the junction with the Khâbûr, into the Tharthâr channel. The Khâbûr now bearing the waters of three considerable streams, and—Mustawfî adds—further swelled by the confluence of 300 rivulets, flowed down south to Kârîşiyâ on the Euphrates, which is the chief town of the Diyâr Muḍār district and will be described presently. Before coming to this the river ran by the towns of ‘Arâbân and Mâkisîn, which were of the Khâbûr lands and counted of Diyâr Rabî’ah province. ‘Arbân or ‘Arâbân, the ruins of which still exist, was in the 4th (10th) century a walled town where cotton stuffs were largely manufactured, cotton being grown in the surrounding country along the banks of the Khâbûr. Muḥaddasî speaks of ‘Arâbân as standing on a high hill and surrounded by gardens. To the south of it, half-way to Kârîşiyâ, was the town of Mâkisîn (or Maykasîn) where a bridge of boats crossed the Khâbûr. Much cotton also was grown here, and near it lay the small lake of deep blue water called Al-Munkharik, about a third of an acre in extent and said to be unfathomable.

The source of the Hirmâs river is described as at a spring six leagues north of Naṣîbîn, where the water was dammed back by a masonry wall, clamped and with leaden joints. This, it was said, the Greeks had built, to preserve Naṣîbîn from being flooded, and the Caliph Mutawakkil at one time had commanded that it should be demolished, but finding the water beginning to overflow the city had promptly ordered the restoration of the wall. A hundred

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miles or more south of Naṣībīn was the dam or weir called Sukayr-al-ʿAbbās, where in the 4th (10th) century there was a considerable town with a Friday Mosque and markets. This was at the head of the Tharthār river, which, as already stated, flowed to the Tigris. At the present day its stream is so shrunken in volume that it no longer forms a waterway, and this shrinkage had already begun in the 7th (13th) century when Yāḵūt wrote, for he reports that though when the rains were plentiful the flood still passed down its channel, in summer the bed was only marked by pools of water and brackish springs. Yāḵūt had himself travelled along its course, and adds it was reported that in old times boats used to pass down this stream from the Khābūr to the Tigris; and in those days a succession of villages lined its banks, where, when he wrote, there was only a desert to be seen.

In the plain of Sinjār the river Tharthār cut through the line of hills called the Jabal Humrīn, otherwise the Jabal Bārimmā, and received from the north a small stream which flowed down from the city of Sinjār. This in the 4th (10th) century was a walled town, surrounded by a most fertile district. Muḵaddasī describes it as famous for its carpenters; oranges, lemons, and the date palm flourished abundantly here, and a large Friday Mosque stood in the midst of the town. Moslem tradition stated that the Ark first rested on the hill above Sinjār during the Flood; but afterwards, continuing on its course, came finally to rest on Jabal Jūdī on the east side of the Tigris. Further, Yāḵūt adds that Sinjār was also famous as the birthplace of Sultan Sinjār or Sanjar, the last of the great Saljūḵs, son of Malik Shāh. According to Ḥazwīnī Sinjār in the 7th (13th) century was remarkable for its bath houses, which had beautiful mosaic floors, and Ibn Baṭūṭah who passed through the place in the 8th (14th) century refers to its fine mosque. The town wall, 3200 paces in circuit, was built according to Mustawfī of mortared stone; most of the houses went step-fashion up the hill slope, and its gardens produced great quantities of grapes, olives, and sumach. Al-Ḥaḍr, the Roman Hatra, mentioned by Ibn Serapion, stood lower down the Tharthār, about half-way between Sinjār and where that river joined the Tigris near Takrit. At Ḥaḍr are still to be seen the remains of a great Parthian
palace which Yâkût reports to have been built by a certain As-Sâtîrûn of squared stones, and there were many of its chambers whose ceilings and doors were likewise of stone slabs. Originally, he says, there had been sixty great towers, with nine turrets between each tower and its neighbour, while a palace stood over against each tower outside the walls.

The high road from Mosul to Naṣībîn went up the right bank of the Tigris, and at Balad (corresponding with the place now known as Eski, or Old, Mosul), seven leagues from Mosul, the road bifurcated, the branch to the left hand going to Sinjâr by way of Tall Aʿfar. Yâkût writes that Balad, where there was an Alid shrine, occupied the site of the old Persian town of Shahrâbâdh, and that the name of Balad was often written Balat. Ibn Hawkâl in the 4th (10th) century refers to Balad as a considerable city, and Muḵaddasi tells us of its houses built of stone, well mortared, its good markets, and its Friday Mosque standing in the centre of the town. The neighbourhood produced sugar-cane and was very fertile. On the solitary hill of Tall Aʿfar, one stage to the west, stood a castle, dominating a large suburb through which ran a stream. The castle was strongly fortified, Yâkût says, and the date palm grew in the surrounding district, which was known under the name of Al-Maḥlabiyyah, from the Maḥlab perfume, or preserve, of cherry-stones chiefly made here.

The right-hand road at the bifurcation beyond Balad led to the town of Bāʿaynâthâ which Muḵaddasi describes as lying in the midst of twenty-five fertile districts, the richest and pleasantest of all Mesopotamia, as he adds; and this Bāʿaynâthâ must not be confounded with ‘the great village like a city’ of the same name on the river which joins the Tigris to the north of Jazîrah Ibn ‘Omar as mentioned on p. 94. Beyond Bāʿaynâthâ on the road to Naṣībin came Barḵaʿîd, a place evilly proverbial for the thieving ways of its people, practised against all strangers and their caravans. In the 3rd (9th) century it was a town of considerable size, with three gates, more than two hundred shops, and many

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1 The name of the town is written Sinjâr, with the last a long; the name of the Sultan is generally written Sanjar, with both vowels short. I. S. 12, 18. Ist. 73, 74. I. H. 139, 148, 150. Muk. 140, 141. Yak. i. 464, 921; ii. 281; iii. 109, 158; iv. 962. Mst. 166, 219. I. B. ii. 141. Kaz. ii. 263.
springs of excellent water. By the 7th (13th) century, however, though some traffic still passed through it, the evil reputation of its people had caused the place to be avoided by respectable travellers and it had fallen to the size of a village.

Adhramah, rather less than half-way between Barka'id and Nasibin, was a place of about the same size as Barka'id; and its district was called Bayn-an-Nahrayn, 'Betwixt the Streams.' In the 3rd (9th) century it is stated that there had been a fine palace here, and a stone arched bridge crossed its stream. The little town then had double walls, surrounded by a deep ditch. Such at any rate is the description of the place left by the physician of the Caliph Mu'ta'idid, who passed through it, when in attendance on the latter. In the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasi describes Adhramah as a small place standing in the desert near some wells, and there were vaulted buildings round about these.

1 Kud. 214. Ist. 73. I. H. 148, 149. Muk. 139, 140. Yak. i. 177, 472, 571, 715, 863 v. 428. Kaz. ii. 204.
CHAPTER VII.

JAZİRAH (continued).


The district of Diyâr Mu'dar, as already explained, lay along the banks of the Euphrates, and the chief town was Ar-Raḵḵah situated just above where the river Balîkh, coming down from the north, flows into the Euphrates. The site is that of the old Greek city of Callinicus or Nicephorium, for the Arab name Ar-Raḵḵah is merely descriptive; Raḵḵah being the term for the swampy land beside a river subject to periodical inundation, and as such Ar-Raḵḵah, 'the Morass,' is found elsewhere as a place-name, this particular Raḵḵah receiving the surname of As-Sawdâ, 'the Black,' for distinction.

In the 2nd (8th) century when the Abbasids had succeeded to the Caliphate, Raḵḵah, one of the chief cities of Upper Mesopotamia commanding the Syrian frontier, had to be secured, and for this purpose the Caliph Manṣûr in 155 (772) proceeded to build some 300 ells distant from Raḵḵah the town of Ar-Râfiḵah (the Companion or Fellow), which was garrisoned by Khurâsân troops entirely devoted to the new dynasty. Râfiḵah is said to have been laid out on the plan of Baghdâd, and was a round city. Ḥârûn-ar-Rashîd added to the town and built himself a palace here called the Kaṣr-as-Salâm (the Palace of Peace), for he at times resided in Raḵḵah, or Râfiḵah, when the climate of
Baghdād was too hot. Soon the older town of Raḵkāh fell to ruin, new buildings covered all the intervening space, enclosing ‘the Morass,’ now a shallow lake, lying between Raḵkāh and Rāfikāh, and the name of Raḵkāh passed to Rāfikāh, which last, once the suburb, took the place of the older city, and lost its name in the process. Ibn Ḥawkāl in the 4th (10th) century, however, speaks of the twin cities of Raḵkāh and Rāfikāh, each with its own Friday Mosque, and he especially mentions the magnificent trees which surrounded the towns. Muḵaddasi describes only one town, namely Raḵkāh, as strongly fortified and having two gates; its markets were excellent and well supplied from the neighbouring villages; much traffic also centred here, and from the olive oil produced in the neighbourhood soap was manufactured. The Friday Mosque was, he says, a fine building standing in the Clothiers’ market, and each of the great houses at Raḵkāh had its terraced roof. There were also excellent baths. Near by were the ruins of the old town, then known as Ar-Raḵkāh-al-Muḥtariḵāh, ‘Burnt Raḵkāh.’ Mustawfi on the other hand speaks of Rāfikāh as still the name of a suburb, with its Friday Mosque standing in the Goldsmiths’ market. Round this suburb grew mulberry and jujube trees, and a mosque stood near, overhanging the Euphrates bank.

On the right bank of the Euphrates opposite and above Raḵkāh was the celebrated plain of Şīfīn, which had been the battlefield between the partisans of the two Caliphs Muʿāwiyyah and ‘Ali. ‘The Martyrs,’ as the Shiʿahs called those who had fallen in the cause of ‘Ali, had their shrines here, and Ibn Ḥawkāl, whose narrative is extended by Mustawfi, relates how miraculously, from afar off, each buried martyr was quite visible lying in his shroud underground, though, on coming up to the actual spot, no body could be perceived. Opposite the battlefield of Şīfīn on the north (left) bank of the Euphrates stands the fortress known as Қalʿat Jaʿbar, after its early possessor, an Arab of the Bānī Numayr. Originally this castle had been called Dawsar. It is frequently mentioned in the later history of the Caliphate, and in the year 497 (1104) was taken possession of by the Franks from Edessa, during the time of the first Crusade. On its left bank below Raḵkāh the Euphrates receives the river Al-Balikh,
which the Greeks knew as the Bilecha. Its source was at a spring called the 'Ayn-adh-Dhabbânîyah lying to the north of Harrân. The name of this spring is given variously by our authorities as Ad-Dahmânâh or Adh-Dhabbânâh, and Mustawfi (in Persian) writes of the Chashmah Dahânâh¹.

The Balikh took its course south and joined the Euphrates below Raḫqah, passing by a number of important towns which were irrigated from it or from its tributaries. Harrân (the ancient Carrhœa) near its source was famous as the home of the Sàbiân (not identical with the Sabæans, but often confounded with them) who professed to hold the religion of Abraham, and tradition stated that Harrân was the first city to be built after the Flood. Mukaddasi describes Harrân as a pleasant town protected by a fortress, built of stones so finely set as to recall the masonry of the walls of Jerusalem. It possessed a Friday Mosque. According to Ibn Jubayr, who passed through Harrân in 580 (1184), the city itself was also surrounded by a stone wall, and he describes the mosque as having a large court with nineteen doors, while its cupola was supported on marble columns. The markets were roofed over with beams of wood, and the city possessed both a hospital and a college. Mustawfi adds that the circuit of the castle wall was 1350 paces. Three leagues to the south was to be seen the shrine (Mashhad) of Abraham, and the surrounding territory was fully irrigated by innumerable small canals.

Edessa, which the Arabs call Ar-Ruhâ (a corruption of the Greek name Callirrhoe), lay on the head-waters of one of the tributaries of the Balikh. The city is not held of much account by the Moslem geographers, for the majority of its population continued to be Christians, and the town was chiefly remarkable for its numerous churches, which Ibn Ḥawkal estimates at more than 300 in number. Here originally had been preserved the famous relic known as 'the napkin of Jesus,' which had been given up by Moslem authorities to the Byzantines in 332 (944), in order to save Ruhâ from being stormed and plundered. Mukaddasi in the latter part of the 4th (10th) century, after speaking of the

Friday Mosque, describes the magnificent cathedral of Edessa, celebrated as one of the four wonders of the world, whose vaulted ceiling was covered with mosaics. The Great Mosque of Al-Akṣā at Jerusalem had been built, he says, on its plan. Muḥaddasi adds that the city was well fortified. Notwithstanding its Arab garrison at the time of the first Crusade in 492 (1098), Edessa was taken by Baldwin, and during half-a-century remained a Latin principality. In 540 (1145), however, Zangi retook the city from Jocelin II, and after that date Ruhā was in the hands of the Moslems. The ruins of its many handsome buildings might still be seen in the 8th (14th) century, and Mustawfī describes a great cupola of finely worked stone, rising beyond a court that was over 100 yards square. Ruhā is more than once mentioned by 'All of Yazd in his account of the campaigns of Timūr, and it kept this name down to the beginning of the 9th (15th) century. After it passed into the possession of the Ottoman Turks, its name was commonly pronounced Urfah, said to be a corruption of the Arabic Ar-Ruhā, and as Urfah Edessa is known at the present day.¹

To the south of Ḥarrān, and lying some distance to the east

¹ Ist. 76. I. H. 154. Muk. 141, 147. I. J. 246. Yak. ii. 231, 591. A. Y. i. 662. Mst. 166. J. N. 443. In the matter of the famous napkin (Mandil) of Christ once preserved at Edessa, this is one of the many Veronicas, but competent authorities are not agreed as to whether the Edessa Veronica is that now preserved in Rome, or the one shown at Genoa, and there are others. Our earliest Moslem authority, Mas'ūdī, who wrote in the very year when this famous relic had been delivered up to the Greek Emperor, calls it 'the napkin of Jesus of Nazareth, wherewith He had dried Himself after His baptism,' and Mas'ūdī mentions the year 332 (944) as that when the Byzantines got possession of it, to their great joy. Ibn Hawkal, writing in the same century, merely calls it 'the napkin of 'Īsā, son of Mariyam, on whom be peace.' Ibn-al-Athir in his chronicle under the year 331 (943) describes it as 'the napkin with which it was said the Messiah had wiped His face, whereby the likeness of His face was come thereon,' and he proceeds to relate how the Caliph Muttaḳī had been induced to give up this napkin to the Emperor of the Greeks in return for the release of many Moslem captives, and to save Ar-Ruhā from assault and pillage. The Christian legend concerning the Edessa napkin, as given by Moses of Chorene, is that this relic was a portrait of Christ, wonderfully impressed on a cloth, which He had sent to Abgarus, King of Edessa. Mas. ii. 331. Ibn-al-Athir, viii. 302.
of the Balikh river, was the small town of Bājaddā on the road to Rās-al-‘Ayn. Its gardens were famous, and it was a dependency of Ḫiṣn Maslamah, which lay nearer to the Balikh river. This great castle took its name from Maslamah, son of the Omayyad Caliph ‘Abd-al-Malik, and it stood nine leagues south of Harrān, lying about a mile and a half back from the actual river bank. From this point a canal brought water to the fortress to fill a cistern which Maslamah had caused to be dug here, 200 ells square by 20 deep, and lined throughout with stone. The cistern needed only to be filled once a year, and the canal served for irrigating the lands round Ḫiṣn Maslamah. The fortress buildings covered an area of a Jarīb (equivalent to a third of an acre), and its walls were fifty ells in height. To the south of Ḫiṣn Maslamah on the road to Rakḥah, from which it was three leagues distant, stood Bājarwān, which Ibn Ḥawḵal describes as having been a fine town, though in the 4th (10th) century already falling to ruin. Yāḵūt, whose description of Ḫiṣn Maslamah has been given above, merely mentions Bājarwān as a village of the Diyār Muṭṭlar district.

Some two hundred miles below Rakḥah stands Ḫarkīsīyā, the ancient Circlesium, on the left bank of the Tigris where, as already explained (p. 97), the moiety of the Khābūr river flows in. Ibn Ḥawḵal describes it as a fine town surrounded by gardens; but Yāḵūt and Mustawfī both refer to it as a smaller place than the neighbouring Raḥbah, which lay six leagues distant, standing back from the western side of the Euphrates. This Raḥbah—the name means the Square or Plain—was called for distinction Raḥbah-ash-Shām, ‘of Syria,’ or Raḥbah Malik ibn Ṭawḵ after its founder, who had flourished during the reign of the Caliph Mamūn. Near it stood the small town of Ad-Dāliyah (the Waterwheel) and both places lay near the bank of a great loop canal, called the Nahr Saʿīd, which branched from the right bank of the Euphrates some distance above Ḫarkīsīyā and flowed back to it again above Dāliyah, which, like Raḥbah, was also known for distinction as Dāliyah of Malik ibn Ṭawḵ. The canal had been dug by Prince Saʿīd, son of the Omayyad Caliph ‘Abd-al-Malik; he was a man of great piety, being known as Saʿīd-al-Khayr, ‘the Good,’ and was

1 I. H. 156. Kud. 215. Yak. i. 453, 454, 734; ii. 278.
for some time Governor of Mosul. Raḥbah is described by Muḳaddasī as one of the largest towns on the Euphrates in Upper Mesopotamia. Its houses spread out in a great semicircle standing back to the desert border, it was well fortified, and had a large suburb. Dāliyāh was much smaller, but still an important place, standing on an elevation and overlooking the west bank of the Euphrates.

In the desert between Raḥbah and Raḳḳah—and the ruins still exist four leagues south of the latter town—was Ruṣāfah (the Causeway), called Ruṣāfah-ash-Shām—of Syria—or Ruṣāfah Hishām, after its founder. The Caliph Hishām, one of the many sons of 'Abd-al-Malik, built himself this palace in the desert as a place of safety to reside in at a time when the plague was raging throughout Syria. The spot had already been occupied by the Ghassanid princes before Islam, and there were ancient wells here, Yāḳūt says, 120 ells deep. The physician Ibn Buṭlān, who wrote in 443 (1051), describes Ruṣāfah as possessing a church, said to have been built by the Emperor Constantine, the exterior of which was ornamented in gold mosaic work, and underneath was a crypt, as large as the church, with its roof supported on marble pillars. In the 5th (11th) century most of the inhabitants were still Christian, and they profitably combined brigandage with the convoying of caravans across the desert to Aleppo. On the eastern side of the Euphrates between Raḳḳah and Ḳarḳṣisīyā, two days' march above the latter town, was Al-Khānūḳah, a city of some size according to Ibn Hawḳal, and Yāḳūt adds that in its vicinity was the territory of Al-Maḳlīḳ.

Below Ḳarḳṣisīyā the only town of importance within the limits of the Jazīrah province was 'Ānah, the ancient Anatho, still found on the map, and mentioned by Ibn Serapion as on an island surrounded by the Euphrates. Ibn Hawḳal, however, describes this as formed by a creek branching off from the stream. Yāḳūt adds that 'Ānah possessed a strong castle which overlooked the river, and here the Caliph Kā'im found shelter in 450 (1058), when Basāsīrī the Daylamite, after taking possession of Baghdād, had caused the public prayers to be read there in the name of the heterodox Fatimid Caliph of Cairo. Mustawfī says that in the 8th (14th) century 'Ānah was still a fine town, and
famous for its palm-groves. The harbour of Al-Furđah, called Furđah Nu‘m for distinction, lay due west of ‘Ānah on the Euphrates, half-way to Kaṛkṣiyyā, and probably marked the eastern bend of the Euphrates, but it is now no longer to be found on the map. This was an important station where the highway bifurcated, to the left-hand one road going direct across the desert by way of Ruṣāfah to Raḵkāh, while the right-hand road kept up stream along the river bank.

Above Raḵkāh there were three towns on the Euphrates, namely Bālis, Jisr Manbij, and Sumaysat, which were often counted as of Syria because they lay on the right or western bank of that river, though most authorities count them as belonging to Jazīrah. Bālis lies due west of Raḵkāh, at the limit of the plain of Ṣiffin, where the Euphrates after running south turns east. It was the Roman Barbalissus, the great river-port for Syria on the Euphrates, and hence the centre point of many caravan routes. Ibn Ḥawkal describes Bālis as having strong walls, with gardens lying between these and the Euphrates; of its lands the chief crops were wheat and barley. Though somewhat fallen to ruin, Muḵaddasi says, Bālis was still populous in the 4th (10th) century; but Yāḵūt reports that, by a change of bed, the Euphrates in the 7th (13th) century had come to flow more than four miles distant from the town, and Abu-l-Fidā refers to Bālis as a place that had long seen its best days.

Jisr Manbij, where a bridge of boats crossed the Euphrates, and the road led west up to Manbij (Hierapolis) of the Aleppo province, was a place of great importance during the middle-ages. The bridge was protected by a great fortress, and below this a small town stood on the Euphrates bank. The fortress was known as Kaḷ‘at-an-Najm, ‘the Castle of the Star,’ from its height on the hill, and it was also called Ḥiṣn Manbij, ‘the Manbij Fortress.’ When Ibn Jubayr passed Kaḷ‘at-an-Najm, coming from Harran in 580 (1184), he speaks of the market which was held below its walls. Abu-l-Fidā says that the fort had been rebuilt by Sultan Nūr-ad-Din, son of Zangi, and its garrison freely harassed the neighbouring

towns occupied by the Crusaders. Қазвینی, writing in the latter half of the 7th (13th) century, gives a long account of the frauds practised by sharpers here who, getting acquainted with rich travellers passing Қал'ат-an-Najm, by means of games of hazard, aided by confederates, would win all their money and possessions. The play ran so high that, according to Қазвینی, the stranger was often left 'with nothing but his drawers (ṣRAWIL) of all his clothes or former possessions.' The sharpers, indeed, would sometimes hold the victim himself in pawn, until his companions could be induced to buy him off.

Sumaysāt, the Roman Samosata, was still higher up the Euphrates, and lay on the right or north bank of the great river, which here runs west. It was a very strong fortress. Mas'ūdi states that Sumaysāt was also known as Қal'at-át-Ţīn, 'the Clay Castle,' and Yāḵūt reports that in the 7th (13th) century one of its quarters was exclusively inhabited by Armenians. Finally to complete the list of towns of the Muṣār district Sarūj is to be mentioned, which lies about half-way on the direct road from Raḵkah north, across the desert plain, to Sumaysāt; this road forming the chord of the great semicircular sweep followed by the Euphrates. Sarūj was also on the caravan road from Harrān and Edessa to Jisr Manbij, and is described by Ibn Ḥawkal as a fine city, surrounded by fertile districts, a description which Yāḵūt, adding nothing further, corroborates 1.

The cities of Diyār Bakr, the smallest of the three districts into which the Jazīrah province was divided, lay exclusively on, or to the north of, the upper course of the Tigris. The chief town of the district was Āmid, sometimes written Hāmid, the Roman Amida. In later times the city was generally known under the name of the district, as it is at the present day, being called Diyār Bakr, or else Қārā Āmid (Black Āmid) from the colour of the stone used here.

The town stood on the right or west bank of the Tigris, and a hill 100 fathoms in height dominated it. Ibn Ḥawkal states that its walls were built of black mill-stones. Muḥaddasi describes its strong fortifications as being like those of Antioch, the outer walls,

battlemented and with gates, being separated from the inner fortifications by a clear space, afterwards occupied by the suburbs. There were springs of water within the town and Muḥaddasī also remarks on the black stone of which, and on which, he says the city was built. Âmid possessed a fine Friday Mosque, and its walls were pierced by five chief gates, namely the Water gate, the Mountain gate, the Bâb-ar-Rûm (the Greek gate), the Hill gate, and the Postern gate (Bâb-as-Sîrî) used in time of war. The line of fortified walls included the hill in their circuit, and in the 4th (10th) century Muḥaddasī says that the Moslems possessed no stronger or better fortress than Âmid on their frontier against the Greek Empire.

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw the Persian pilgrim passed through Âmid in 438 (1046), and has left a careful description of the city as he saw it. The town was 2000 paces in length and in breadth, and the wall built of black stone surrounded the hill overlooking it. This wall was 20 yards in height and 10 yards broad, no mortar was used in its construction, but each stone block was, Nāṣir estimates, of the weight of 1000 *man* (equivalent to about three tons). At every hundred yards along the wall was built a semicircular tower, and the crest had battlements of the aforesaid black stone, while stone gangways at intervals led up to the ramparts from within the circuit. There were four iron gates, facing the cardinal points; namely, to the east the Tigris gate, to the north the Armenian gate (Bâb-al-Arman), to the west the Greek gate, and to the south the Hill gate (Bâb-at-Tall). Beyond the city wall ran the outer wall, ten yards in height, also of black stone, a suburb occupying the space between the two, in a ring that was fifteen yards across. This outer wall also had battlements, and a gangway along it for the defence, and there were here four iron gates corresponding with those of the inner wall. Âmid, Nāṣir adds, was one of the strongest places he had seen.

In the centre of the town a great spring of water, sufficient to turn five mills, gushed out; the water was excellent, and its overflow irrigated the neighbouring gardens. The Friday Mosque was a beautiful building, of black stone like the rest of the town, with a great gable roof and containing over 200 columns,
each a monolith, every two connected by an arch, which supported in turn a row of dwarf columns under the roof line. The ceiling was of carved wood, coloured and varnished. In the mosque court was a round stone basin, from the midst of which a brass jet shot up a column of clear water, which kept the level within the basin always the same. Near the mosque stood a great church, built of stone and paved with marble, the walls finely sculptured; and leading to its sanctuary Nāšir saw an iron gate of lattice-work, so beautifully wrought that never had he seen the equal thereof.

This description of the magnificence of Āmid is borne out by what the anonymous annotator of the Paris ms. of Ibn Ḥawḳal writes, who was here in 534 (1140). He notes that its markets were well built and full of merchandise. In the 7th (13th) century Yāḵūt and Ḫazwīnī repeat much of the foregoing description, and the latter speaks of Āmid as then covering a great half-circle of ground, with the Tigris flowing to the eastward, and surrounded on the other side by magnificent gardens. Mustawfī in the following century writes of it as a medium-sized town, paying the Īl-Khāns a revenue of 3000 gold pieces. At the close of this century Āmid was taken by Tīmūr.

To the north of Āmid, and near one of the eastern arms of the upper Tigris, stands the town of Ḥānī, which is said by Yāḵūt to be famous for the iron mine in its neighbourhood, which produced much metal for export. Ḥānī is also mentioned by Mustawfī. Some distance to the west of Ḥānī lies the chief source of the Tigris, which Muḥaddasī describes as flowing with a rush of green water out of a dark cave. At first, he says, the stream is small, and only of sufficient volume to turn a single mill-wheel; but many affluents soon join and swell the current, the uppermost of these being the Nahr-adh-Dhib (the Wolf River), apparently identical with the Nahr-al-Kīlāb (the River of Dogs) referred to by Yāḵūt, which came down from the hills near Shimshāṭ, to the north of Ḥānī. The source of the Tigris, according to Yāḵūt, was distant two and a half days' journey from Āmid, at a place known as Halūras, 'where 'Ali, the

Armenian, obtained martyrdom,' and he too speaks of the dark cavern from which its waters gushed forth. The names of many other affluents are mentioned both by Muḳaddasî and Yâḳût, whose accounts are not quite easy to reconcile, and probably the names of these streams varied considerably between the 4th and the 7th (10th and 13th) centuries.

Some distance below Âmid the Tigris turns due east at a right angle, and then from the north receives a stream called the Nahr-ar-Rams or the Nahr Šalb. A more important affluent, however, is the river coming down from the north of Mayyāfariḵīn, a tributary of which flowed by that city. This is the river Sāṭīdamā, or Sāṭīdamād, one branch of which was called the Wāḍī-az-Zūr flowing from the district of Al-Kalk, while the Sāṭīdamā river itself had its head-waters in the Darb-al-Kilāb—'the Dogs’ Pass'—so called, Yâḳût says, from a famous massacre of the Greeks, ‘when these were all killed like dogs,’ which the Persian army effected in the reign of King Anūshirwān, some time before the birth of the prophet Muhammad. This river Sāṭīdamā, which is mentioned by Ibn Serapion, is that which Muḳaddasî names the Nahr-al-Masūliyāt, and is now known as the Batman Šû, one of whose affluents, as already said, flows down from Mayyāfariḵīn.

The Arabic Mayyāfariḵīn appears to be a corruption of the Aramaic name Maypharkath, or the Armenian Moufargin, and it is identical with the Greek town called Martyropolis. Muḳaddasî in the 4th (10th) century describes it as a fine city, surrounded by a stone wall, with battlements and a deep ditch, beyond which stretched extensive suburbs. Its mosque was well built, but Muḳaddasî remarks that its gardens were scanty. Mayyāfariḵīn was visited by Nāṣir-i-Khusraw in 438 (1046), who speaks of the town as surrounded by a wall built of great white stones, each of 500 man weight (about a ton and a half), and while all Âmid, as already said, was of black stone, in every building at Mayyāfariḵīn the stones used were notably white. The town wall was then new, it had good battlements and at every 50 yards rose a white stone tower. The city had but one gateway, opening to the west,

1 I. S. 17, 18. Muk. 144. Yak. ii. 188, 551, 552, 563, 956; iii. 7, 413; iv. 300, 979. Mst. 165.
and this possessed a solid iron door, no wood having been used in its construction. There was according to Nāṣir a fine mosque within the city, also a second Friday Mosque in the suburb outside, standing in the midst of the markets, and beyond lay many gardens. He adds that at a short distance to the north of Mayyāfariḵīn stood a second town called Muḥdathah, 'the New Town,' with its own Friday Mosque, bath houses, and markets; while four leagues further distant was the city of Naṣrīyah, lately founded by the Mirdāsid Amīr Naṣr, surnamed Shibl-ad-Dawlah.

Both Yāḵūt and Kazwini give a long account of various churches, of the three towers, and the eight town gates, which had existed of old at Mayyāfariḵīn—the Greek name of which, Yāḵūt says, was Madūrsālā, meaning 'the City of the Martyrs.' These buildings dated from the days of the Emperor Theodosius, and some of their remains, especially those of an ancient church built, it was said, 'in the time of the Messiah,' might still be seen in the 7th (13th) century. Thus there was in particular, on the summit of the south-western tower of the town wall, a great cross, set up to face Jerusalem, and this cross, it was reported, was the work of the same craftsman who had made the great cross that adorned the pinnacle of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, the two crosses being alike, and wonderful to behold. Further, in the Jews' quarter of Mayyāfariḵīn near the Synagogue, was to be seen a black marble basin, in which was kept a glass belt (possibly a phylactery), wherein was preserved some of the blood of Joshua the son of Nun, this having been brought hither from Rome, and to touch it was a sovereign remedy against all disease. In the 8th (14th) century under the Mongols Mayyāfariḵīn was still an important place, and Mustawfi praises its excellent climate and abundant fruits.

Arzan, a short distance to the east of Mayyāfariḵīn, stood on the western side of the river called the Nahr, or Wādī, as-Sarbat. Arzan had a great castle, well fortified, and it was visited in 438 (1046) by Nāṣir-i-Khusraw. He writes of it as a flourishing place with excellent markets, being surrounded by fertile and well irrigated gardens. Yāḵūt describes Arzan (which must not be

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confounded with Arzan-ar-Rûm or Erzerum which will be noticed in the next chapter) as in his day gone to ruin; but Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century, who generally spells the name Arzanah, speaks of it as though it were still a flourishing place.

On the southern bank of the Euphrates, between where the two rivers from Mayyâfarîkîn and Arzan flow in from the north, stands the castle called Hîshn Kayfâ, or Kîfâ, which the Greeks called Kiphas or Cephe. Muşaddâsî describes the place as a strongly fortified castle, and the markets of its suburbs were plentifully supplied. There were, he adds, many churches here, and the anonymous annotator of the ms. of Ibn Ḥawkâl, already referred to, writing in the 6th (12th) century, speaks of the great stone bridge which crossed the Tigris here, and which had been restored by the Amir Fâkhr-ad-Dîn Kârâ Arslân in the year 510 (1116). Below the castle, at that time, was a populous suburb, with many markets and hostelries, the houses being well built of mortared stone. The surrounding district was fertile, but the climate was bad, and the plague was often rife during the summer heats. Yâkût, who had been at Hîshn Kayfâ, says that suburbs had formerly existed here on both banks of the Tigris, and he considered the great bridge as one of the finest works he had seen. It consisted of a single great arch, which rose above two smaller arches, and these, presumably by a central pier, divided the bed of the Tigris. In the next century Mustawfi describes Hîshn Kayfâ as a large town, but for the most part gone to ruin, though still inhabited by a numerous population.

The hill known as Tall Fâfân, with a town of this name at its foot, stood on the northern or left bank of the Tigris, some 50 miles east of Hîshn Kayfâ, where the river makes its great bend south. The town, Muşaddâsî writes, in the 4th (10th) century was surrounded by gardens, its markets were well provisioned, and though the houses were mostly clay-built, the market streets were roofed over. The river which joins the Tigris at Tall Fâfân comes down from Badâtîs (Bitlis), rising in the mountains of Armenia to the south-west of Lake Vân. This river is joined by a great affluent rising to the south of the lake, which Muşaddâsî and Yâkût name the Wâdî-ar-Razm, and the Tigris below the junction of their united streams became navigable for boats. On
the banks of the river Razm, north of Tall Fāsān, just above where the Badlis river runs in, stands the town of Sā'īrt, also written Si'īrd and Is'īrt, which was often counted as of Armenia. Yāḵūt more than once refers to it, but gives no description; Mustawfi, however, speaks of Sā'īrd as a large town, famed for the excellent copper vessels made by its smiths; and the drinking cups from here were exported far and wide. Near Is'īrt, according to Ḥazwini, was the small town of Ḥizān, where alone in all Mesopotamia the chestnut-tree (Shāh-balūt) grew abundantly.¹

¹ Ist. 76. I. H. 152. Muk. 141, 145. N. K. 7. Yav. i. 205; ii. 277, 552, 776; iii. 68, 854. Kaz. ii. 241. Mst. 165, 166. The name of the river Razm is variously given in the mss. as Zarm, Razb, or Zarb, and the true pronunciation is unknown.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE UPPER EUPHRATES.


The cities and districts lying along the banks of the Eastern and Western upper Euphrates (for the great river had two headstreams) were generally counted as dependent on northern Mesopotamia, and are often included in the Jazîrah province. The Eastern Euphrates, the southernmost of the two branches of the river, and by some geographers counted as the main source, is the Arsanias Flumen of Tacitus and Pliny. In the 4th (10th) century Ibn Serapion still calls this the Nahr Arsanâs, and the same name is given to it by Yâkût as in use in the 7th (13th) century, who refers to the extreme coldness of its waters. At the present day it is generally known to the Turks as the Murâd Şû, being so named, it is commonly said, in honour of Sultan Murâd IV, who conquered Baghdad in 1048 (1638).

The Arsanâs took its rise in the Ṭarûn country, a name the Armenians write Daron, and the Greeks knew of as Taronites, which includes the mountains lying to the north of Lake Vân. The first place of importance on the Arsanâs was the town of Malâzkird, which in the various dialects of this region was also known as Minâzjîrd, Manzikart, and Milâsgird. In the 4th (10th) century Muḥaddasî describes Malâzkird as a strong fortress with a mosque in its market street, the place being surrounded by
many gardens. In 463 (1071) Manzikart, as the Greeks called it, was the field of the decisive battle between the Byzantines and Moslems, when the Emperor Romanus IV (Diogenes) was taken prisoner by the Saljûqs, this leading up to their conquest and permanent settlement in Asia Minor. Yâkût more than once refers to Minâzjird or Minâzkird, and Mustawfi, who gives the name as Malâzjird, praises its strong castle, its excellent climate, and its fertile lands. The town of Mûsh to the south of the Arsanâs, in the great plain on the west of Lake Vân, is often counted as of Armenia. It is mentioned by Yâkût, and Mustawfi describes it as having excellent pasture lands, watered by streams that flowed north to the Eastern Euphrates and south to the Tigris. The town was in his day in ruins¹.

The Arsanâs received on its right bank two affluents coming down from the north, and the Kâlîkâlâ country. These affluents are important as they enable us to fix the approximate position of Shimshât, a town of some note, which has disappeared from the map, and which has often been confounded with Sumâysât on the Euphrates already mentioned (p. 108). Ibn Serapion states that the first affluent was the Nahr-adh-Dhib, 'the Wolf River,' which rising in Kâlîkâlâ fell into the Arsanâs a short distance above Shimshât; the second was the Salḳît river, which rose in the mountains called Jabal Marûr (or Mazûr) and joined the Arsanâs one mile below Shimshât. A reference to the map shows that these two streams are those now known respectively as the Gunek Şû and the Perî Chay; the Kâlîkâlâ country representing the mountain region lying between the Arsanâs and the Western Euphrates, and to the west of the Târûn country.

Shamshât (Shimshât) was much the most important place on the Arsanâs, which Ibn Serapion also refers to as the river of Shimshât, and the town appears to have stood on the southern or left bank of the river. Shamshât is undoubtedly the Arsamosata of the Greeks, and Yâkût—who particularly remarks that it is not

¹ I. S. 11. Kud. 246, 251. Muk. 376. Yak. i. 207; iv. 648, 682. Mst. 165, 167. Häjjî Khâlâfah (J. N. 426) in 1010 (1600) is apparently our earliest authority for the Eastern Euphrates being called the Murâd Şû, and as his work was apparently written before the reign of Sultan Murâd IV, this goes to prove that the stream was not called after that monarch, as is commonly said.
to be confounded with Sumaysât—says that Shamshât lay between Pâlûyah (modern Pâlû) and Hîshn Ziyâd (modern Kharpût). In the 7th (13th) century when Yâkût wrote, Shamshât was already in ruins, but the data above given by Ibn Serapion and Yâkût enable us to fix its position within narrow limits. The fortress of Hîshn Ziyâd, which Ibn Khurdâdbih mentions as situated at no great distance from Shamshât, was on the authority of Yâkût the Arab name for the Armenian Khartabirt, now more generally called Kharpût. Mustawfi gives the spelling Kharbirt, but adds no details, referring to it merely as a large town enjoying a good climate. In this district Balâdhuri and other early authorities mention the bridge of Yaghrâ, which crossed a stream that was probably some tributary of the Arsanâs, and this bridge (Jîsr) lay 10 miles distant from Shamshât; its exact position, however, is unknown. Then about a hundred miles to the westward of Shamshât the Arsanâs or Eastern Euphrates finally mingle its stream with the Western Euphrates.

The Western Euphrates has generally been considered the main branch of the great river, and it is that now commonly known to the Turks as the Kârâ Şû (Black Water), and this is the Nahr-al-Furât of Ibn Serapion. According to him it took its rise in the mountains called Jabal Akradkhis (the name is apparently written Afradkhis by Masʿûdî, and other variants occur) which are of the Kâllikalâ country to the north of Erzerum. This important town, which the Arabs called Arzan-ar-Rûm or Arç-ar-Rûm (the Land of the Romans), the Armenians knew as Karin, and the Greeks as Theodosiopolis. It is the Moslem city of Kâllikalâ, and the chief place in this district. The origin of the name Kâllikalâ, so frequently mentioned by all the earlier Arab geographers, appears to be unknown, but all agree that this was the country in which the Western Euphrates, the Araxes river, and the affluents of the Arsanâs took their rise. Of the town of Erzerum the earlier Arab geographers afford no details, except to state that it was a great city: Mustawfi speaks of there being many fine churches here, one especially with a dome whose circle was fifty ells in diameter. Opposite this

church was a mosque built on the model of the Ka'bah at Mecca. Ibn Baṭūṭah, who was in Arz-ar-Rûm (as he writes the name) in 733 (1333), describes it as a large city, belonging to the Sultan of ʿIrāk, for the most part in ruins, but still famous for its gardens, and three rivers ran through its suburbs. Eight leagues to the east of Arzan-ar-Rûm, on the summit of a mountain and near one of the head-streams of the Araxes, is Avnik, a great fortress, of which Mustawfi says that the town at its foot was named Abaskhûr (or Abshakhûr). It belonged to Arzan-ar-Rûm, and Yâkût adds that the district was called Bâsin. At the close of the 8th (14th) century Timûr took Avnik after a long siege, and it is frequently mentioned in the history of his campaigns.

Some 200 miles west of Arzan-ar-Rûm and on the right or north bank of the Euphrates, is the town of Arzanjân, which Yâkût says was more often called Arzingân. He speaks of it as a fine town well provisioned, in his day inhabited for the most part by Armenians, who openly drank wine to the scandal of their Moslem fellow-citizens. Mustawfi adds that its walls had been restored by the Saljuq Sultan ʿAlâ-ad-Din Kaykubâd at the close of the 7th (13th) century, and that they were built of well-cut jointed stone masonry. Arzanjân had an excellent climate, its lands producing corn, cotton, and grapes in abundance. Ibn Baṭūṭah who passed through here in 733 (1333) writes of it as mostly inhabited by Turkish-speaking Armenians, who were Moslems. In the neighbourhood were copper mines, and the brass work of the native smiths was famous; the markets were good and much cloth was woven in the town. Bâbirt to the north of Arzanjân is mentioned by Yâkût as a considerable town, mostly peopled by Armenians; but Mustawfi adds that in his day it had much diminished in importance. The fortress of Kamkh (or Kamakk) lay on the Western Euphrates a day's journey below Arzanjân, on the left or south bank of the river. It is frequently mentioned by Ibn Serapion and the earlier Arab geographers, and was the Greek Kamacha. Mustawfi describes it as a great castle, with a town below on the river bank, and many fertile villages were of its dependencies¹.

¹ I. S. 10. I. R. 89. I. K. 174. Mas. i. 214. Tanbih 52. Yak. i. 205,
Sixty miles or more to the west of Kamkh the Euphrates, which from Erzerum has flowed westward, makes a great bend and takes its course south, and it here receives on its right bank the river called by Ibn Serapion the Nahr Abrik, from the castle of Abrik which is on its upper course. This is the stream now known as the Chaltah Irmaḳ, which comes down from Divrik or Divrigi. In Mustawfi and Ibn Bibi the name is given as Difrigi, which the Byzantines wrote Tephrike (the form Aphrike also occurs in the Greek mss.), and the earlier Arab geographers shortened this to Abrik. The place was celebrated at the close of the 3rd (9th) century as the great stronghold of the Paulicians, a curious sect of Eastern Christians whose Manichaean beliefs caused them to be ruthlessly persecuted by the orthodox Emperors of Constantinople. The Paulicians, whose name the Arab writers give under the form of Al-Baylaḳānī, took possession of Tephrike, fortified it, and countenanced or aided by the Caliphs, for some years successfully defied the armies of Constantinople. Kudāmah and Mas'ūdī, who are nearly contemporary authorities, both refer to the castle of Abrik as 'the capital of the Baylaḳānī'; and 'Ali of Herat (quoted by Yākūt) writing in the 7th (13th) century has left a curious account of a great cave and a church near Al-Abruḳ (as he spells the name) where were preserved the bodies of certain martyrs, which he considered to be those of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

A short distance to the south of the Chaltah Irmaḳ and Divrik, the Şarîchîchek Şu joins the Euphrates, on which stands the fortress of 'Arabgîr. This place does not appear to be mentioned by any of the earlier Arab geographers, though Ibn Bibi in his Sultuk chronicle of the 8th (14th) century names it more than once; also under the form Arabrases it is found in the Byzantine chronicles. 'Arabgîr in any case does not represent Abrik and Tephrike, as has been sometimes erroneously urged. Apparently the earliest occurrence of the name of 'Arabgîr or 'Arabkir in any Moslem geographer is to be found in the Turkish Jahân Numâ of Hâjji Khalfah at the beginning of the 11th (17th) century.
He also mentions Divriki (as the town is now called), but unfortunately we have no description of the old Paulician stronghold.

Malatïyah, which the Greeks called Melitene, was in early days one of the most important fortresses of the Moslem frontier against the Byzantines. Baladhuri states that its garrison held the bridge, three miles distant from the fort, where the high road crossed the Kubâkib river near its junction with the Euphrates. The Kubâkib is the river known to the Greeks as the Melas, and called by the Turks at the present time the Tukhmah Šû, and it rises far to the west of Malatïyah in the mountains from which the Jayhân, the ancient Pyramus, flows south-west (as will be noticed in the next chapter) to the Mediterranean in the Bay of Alexandretta. Except for the Arsanás the river Kubâkib is by far the most important of the many affluents of the upper Euphrates, and the Kubâkib itself has many tributaries that are duly named by Ibn Serapion. The city of Malatïyah was rebuilt by order of the Caliph Mansûr in 139 (756), who provided it with a fine mosque, and he garrisoned it with 4000 men. Iṣṭakhri describes it in the 4th (10th) century as a large town surrounded by hills on which grew vines, almonds, and nut-trees, for its lands produced the crops of both the hot and the cold regions. It was more than once taken by the Byzantines and retaken by the Moslems, and Yâkût in the 7th (13th) century counts it as of the Greek country. Mustawfi in the next century speaks of Malatïyah as a fine town with a strong fortress. Its pasture lands were famous, corn, cotton, and abundant fruit being grown in the neighbourhood. On a mountain peak near Malatïyah was the convent called Dayr Baršûmâ, which Kazwînî describes as greatly venerated by the Christians, and as inhabited by many monks.

The fortress of Tarandah, the modern Darandah—under which form it is mentioned in the Jahân Numâ—lay on the upper waters of the Kubâkib, three marches above Malatïyah. A Moslem garrison was placed here, to hold the pass, as early as the year 83 (702), but the post was subsequently abandoned in 100 (719) by order of the Caliph ‘Omar II. In the Byzantine chronicles

this place is frequently mentioned as Taranta, and in the 3rd (9th) century it was one of the strongest of the Paulician fortresses.

The river Kubākib had an important tributary, the Nahr Kārākīs, which joined it from the south, and on the upper waters of the Kārākīs stood the great fortress of Zibaṭrāḥ, which the Byzantines called Sozopetra or Zapetra, the ruins of which are probably those of Virān Shahr, some leagues to the south of Malṭīyāh on the river Sulṭān Şū, the modern name of the Kārākīs. Baladhūrī and Ištākhṭī both speak of Zibaṭrāḥ as a great fortress on the Greek frontier, many times dismantled by the Byzantines and rebuilt by the Caliph Mansūr and later by Māmūn. Yaḵūt and other authorities couple together the names of Zibaṭrāḥ and the fortress Al-Ḥadath, which will be noticed presently. In the Arab and Byzantine chronicles Zibaṭrāḥ or Sozopetra is famous for its capture by the Emperor Theophilus, and again for its recapture by the Caliph Muṭaṣṣim in his great expedition against ‘Amūriyāh, which will be mentioned in the next chapter. Zibaṭrāḥ long continued a place of importance, but Abu-l-Fidā who visited it in the year 715 (1315) describes the fortress as then a ruin. The line of the old walls could at this time barely be traced, and its fields were completely wasted, so that Abu-l-Fidā found excellent hunting in the oak woods near the formerly well-cultivated lands, the hares here being, he says, of a size not met with elsewhere. He describes the place as two marches south of Malṭīyāh and the same distance from Hīṣn Mansūr, which will be noticed below.

The fortress of Al-Ḥadath, the Byzantine Adata, was taken by the Moslems in the reign of the Caliph ‘Omar, and is frequently mentioned in the chronicles. The word Ḥadath in Arabic means


"news," and more especially "bad news," and Balâdhrî says that the road thither, of old called Darb-al-Ḥadath, 'the Road of Bad News,' was changed to Darb-as-Salâmâh, 'the Road of Safety,' after the capture of the fortress by the Moslems. Darb-as-Salâmâh, however, as will be mentioned in the following chapter, is more generally the name given to the Constantinople road, going by the Cilician Gates. There was a mosque at Ḥadath, and the town was rebuilt by the Caliph Mahdi in 162 (779), and again restored by Ḥârûn-ar-Rashid, who kept a garrison here of 2000 men. Īṣṭâkhrî mentions its fertile lands, and relates how this frontier fortress had been taken and retaken many times alternately by Byzantines and Moslems. According to Yâkût and others Al-Ḥadath was called Al-Ḥamrâ, 'the Red,' because of the colour of the ground thereabout, and the castle stood on a hill called Al-Uḥaydab, 'the Little Hump-back.' In 343 (954), after many vicissitudes, it was finally taken from the Greeks and rebuilt by Sayf-ad-Dawlah the Ḥamdânî, and in 545 (1150) it passed into the hands of Masʿûd, son of  Khálij Arslân the Saljûk.

The river near which Ḥadath stood was called the Jûrîth or Ḥûrîth; this Ibn Serapion, in error, gives as an affluent of the Kubâḵîb (the Malatiyah river), but Yâkût, who writes the name Ḥûrîth, rightly says that it was a tributary of the Nahr Jayhân, the Pyramus. Ibn Serapion records that the source of the Ḥadath river was at a spring called 'Ayn Zanîthâ, and that before passing Ḥadath it ran through a series of small lakes; further, that the Jûrîth river (as he writes the name) was joined by the river Al-'Arjân, whose sources were in the Jabal-ar-Rish, the town of Ḥadath being supplied by water-channels from the 'Arjân river, to which they again returned. To supplement this Abu-l-Fidâ states that Ḥadath lay twelve miles distant from a place on the main stream of the Jayhân where that river was crossed at 'the Ford of the Alid.' The exact site of Ḥadath has not been identified, but there is little doubt that it protected the pass going from Mar'ash (Germanicia) to Al-Bustân (Arabissus), and that it lay on the banks of the present Âk Şû, near Iniklî, the Âk Şû being in fact one of the head-waters of the Jayhân.  

Each of the two fortresses of Ḥiṣn Maḥṣūr and Bahasnâ (which exist to the present day) lies on its own river, and both these are right-bank affluents of the Euphrates, joining it successively below Sumaysât. Ḥiṣn Maḥṣūr, in modern days more often called Adiamān, was by the Byzantines called Perrhe. It took its name from its builder, Maḥṣūr of the tribe of Қays, who was commander of this frontier station during the reign of the last Omayyad Caliph, Marwân II, having been killed in 141 (758). Ḥiṣn Maḥṣūr was re-fortified by Hârûn-ar-Rashîd during the Caliphate of his father Mahdî, and it is described by Ibn Ḥawkâl as a small town with a Friday Mosque. Its fields were well irrigated, but Ibn Ḥawkâl writes that the fate of this place, like other frontier fortresses, was to be ravaged and dismantled alternately by the Byzantines and the Moslems. Yâkût adds that the town had a wall with three gates and a ditch outside; and that in its midst stood the fortress defended by a double wall. When Abu-l-Fidâ wrote in the 8th (14th) century Ḥiṣn Maḥṣūr was a ruin, though the fields round it were still cultivated.

The Nahr-al-ʿAzrâk (the Blue River) passed down to the north-west of Ḥiṣn Maḥṣūr, this fortress occupying the tablelands above the Euphrates, which flowed along their southern border. The fortress of Bahasnâ, which the crusading chronicles call Behesdin, lies to the west of Ḥiṣn Maḥṣūr, and its district was called Kaysûm. Bahasnâ stood on a hill-top, and had a Friday Mosque in the town below, where there were excellent markets, the surrounding country being very fertile. Yâkût speaks of it as an impregnable castle. The neighbouring Sanjah river, which appears to be that which the Greeks called Singas, had on its banks the small town of Sanjah, near which the stream was crossed by a celebrated bridge, built of dressed stone, with well-set arches of beautiful workmanship. This bridge, the Қanṭarah Sanjah, was one of the wonders of the world according to Ibn Ḥawkâl. Yâkût, who speaks of the Sanjah and the Kaysûm rivers, reporting both as affluents of the Euphrates, describes this great bridge as being of a single arch, going from bank to bank, and over 200 paces in span. It was built, he adds, of huge well-dressed blocks of stone, each block being ten ells
long and five high, the width not being shown, and it had been constructed, he affirms, by aid of a talisman.¹

In the matter of trade, the province of Jazîrah or Upper Mesopotamia produced little. Muṣaddasî gives us a list and the items are chiefly the natural products of the land. Mosul, the capital, exported grain, honey, charcoal, cheese, butter, the sumach fruit and pomegranate pips, manna, salted meat, and the tirîkh fish; also iron, and for artificers' work knives, arrows, chains, and goblets. The district of Sinjâr produced almonds, pomegranates, sumach fruit, and sugar-cane; Naṣîbîn, walnuts; Rakîbah, olive oil, soap, and reeds for pens. Raḥbah was famous for its quinces; Harrân for its honey and the preserve called Kubbayt; Jazîrah Ibn 'Omar for nuts, almonds, and butter, also excellent horses were reared on its pastures. Ḥasaniyâh on the Little Khâbûr (on the east bank of the Tigris) produced cheese, partridges, fowls, and fruit preserve; the neighbouring Maʿalathâyâ, charcoal, grapes and other fresh fruits, salted meat, hemp seed and hemp stuffs; and finally Âmid in Diyâr Bakr was famous for its woollen and linen fabrics².

The high roads of Upper Mesopotamia are in continuation

¹ Baladhuri, 192. Ist. 62. I. H. 120. Yak. i. 770; ii. 278; iii. 162, 860. A. F. 265, 269. The Sanjâh bridge is always given as one of the four wonders of the world—the other three are the church at Edessa already mentioned, the Pharos at Alexandria, and the Great Mosque at Damascus (Yak. ii. 591). It is curious that Muṣaddasî on two occasions confounds this bridge over the Sanjâh, which last by all accounts was a right-bank affluent of the Euphrates joining it near Sumaysâtu, with the no less remarkable bridge at Al-Ḥasaniyâh, which was built over the Lesser Khâbûr, an affluent of the Tigris (Muk. 139, 147, and see above, p. 93). The stream now known as the Bolam Şû which, after being joined by the Kâkhtah Chay, falls into the Euphrates from the north a short distance above Sumaysâtu, is apparently the Nahr Sanjah of the Arab geographers; and the great bridge, so famous as one of the wonders of the world, still exists. It was built by Vespasian, and by a single arch of 112 feet span crosses the Bolam Şû just above the junction of the Kâkhtah Chay. It is described as ‘one of the most splendid monuments of the Roman period in existence,’ and an illustration of it will be found in the Geographical Journal for October, 1896, p. 323; also, with more detail, in Humann and Puchstein, Reisen in Kleinasien, plates 41, 42, and 43.

² Muk. 145, 146.
of those of ‘Irāk. The post-road from Baghdād to Mosul, going up the eastern bank of the Tigris, entered the Jazīrah province at Takrit; it continued on the left bank of the river, going straight to Jabultā, whence by way of Sinn and Ḥadithah Mosul was reached. This road is given by our earlier Arab authorities and by Mustawfī¹.

From Mosul the post-road, changing to the right or western bank of the Tigris, went up to Balad, where it bifurcated, the left road going by Sinjār to Ḳarkīsiyā on the Euphrates, the right through Naṣibīn to Kafartūthā, where again it bifurcated, the right leading to Āmid, the left by Rās-al-ʻAyn down to Raḵḵah on the Euphrates. This main road from Mosul to Āmid is given by Ibn Khurdādbih and Kudāmah, also—but in marches—by Muḵaddasī; and the same authorities give the cross roads to the Euphrates. Muḵaddasī also gives the marches from Mosul straight to Jazīrah Ibn ‘Omar by Hasaniyāh, and he mentions the road from Āmid by Arzan to Badlis near Lake Van².

The post-road up the Euphrates kept along its right or western bank, from Alūsah passing ʻAnah to the river harbour of Al-Furḍah. Here it bifurcated, one road running beside the Euphrates up to Fāsh opposite Ḳarkīsiyā, and thence still along the western side of the river to Raḵḵah; while the left road of the bifurcation at Furḍah went straight across the desert through Ruṣāfah to Raḵḵah, thus avoiding the windings of the Euphrates. Ruṣāfah, further, was an important station, for here two roads went off to the west across the Syrian desert, namely to Damascus and to Himṣ (Emessa). At Ḳarkīsiyā and Raḵḵah, as already said, branch roads came in, one from Mosul via Sinjār, the other from Naṣibīn via Rās-al-ʻAyn and Bajarwān; while from Raḵḵah by Bajarwān a road went through Harrān and Ruhā (Edessa) to Āmid.

Lastly from Raḵḵah, via Sarūj, the direct road, avoiding the great bend of the Euphrates, reached Sumaysāṭ; whence the various distances to Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, Maṭāiyah, Kamkh and the other fortresses are mentioned in round numbers. Unfortunately,

however, these last distances are not given with sufficient exactness to be of much use in fixing the positions of Ḥadath and Zibaṭrah, about which there is some question, though Muḥaddasi often adds some useful indications even as regards these outlying frontier forts.\(^1\)

\(^1\) I. K. 96, 97, 98. Kud. 215, 216, 217. Muk. 149, 150.
CHAPTER IX.

RÛM OR ASIA MINOR.

Bilâd-ar-Rûm or the Greek country. The line of fortresses from Malatîyah to Tarsûs. The two chief passes across the Taurus. The Constantinople high road by the Cilician Gates. Trebizond. Three sieges of Constantinople. Moslem raids into Asia Minor. The sack of Amorion by Mu'tâsim. Invasion of Asia Minor by the Sâljuks. The kingdom of Little Armenia. The Crusaders. The chief towns of the Sâljuq Sultanate of Rûm.

The provinces of the Byzantine empire were known collectively to the Moslems as Bilâd-ar-Rûm, 'the Lands of the Greeks'; the term 'Rûm' standing for the Romaioi or Romans, being in early Moslem times the equivalent for 'Christian,' whether Greek or Latin. The Mediterranean too, was generally known as the Bahr-ar-Rûm, 'the Roman Sea.' Then Bilâd-ar-Rûm, abbreviated to Rûm, in course of time came more especially to be the name of the Christian provinces nearest to the Moslem frontier, and hence became the usual Arab name for Asia Minor, which great province at the close of the 5th (11th) century finally passed under the rule of Islam when it was overrun by the Sâljuks.

Unfortunately, for lack of contemporary authorities, we are extremely ill-informed concerning the details of the history and historical geography of Asia Minor during the middle-ages—whether under Christian or Moslem rule. The earlier Arab

1 The Historical Geography of Asia Minor by Professor W. M. Ramsay (referred to as H. G. A. M.) contains an admirable summary of all that is at present known on the subject, and is indispensable to any one who wishes to gain a clear understanding of this knotty problem. The present chapter owes far more to this work than appears from the citations in the notes, and reference
geographers not unnaturally knew little of the country that was in their day a province of the Roman empire, and after it had come under the rule of the Seljuk Turks our Moslem authorities unfortunately almost entirely neglect this outlying province of Islam. No systematic description of it, such as we possess of the other provinces, therefore has come down to us, and the first complete account of Moslem Asia Minor is that written by Hâjjî Khalfah, which only dates from the beginning of the 11th (17th) century, when for nearly two hundred years this province had formed part of the Ottoman empire.

Under the Omayyads, as under the Abbasid Caliphs down to rather more than a century and a half before the final overthrow of their dynasty by the Mongols, the frontier line between the Moslems and the Byzantines was formed by the great ranges of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus. Here a long line of fortresses (called Ath-Thughûr in Arabic), stretching from Malaṭiyah on the upper Euphrates to Tarsus near the sea-coast of the Mediterranean, served to mark and guard the frontier; these, turn and turn about, being taken and retaken by Byzantines and Moslems as the tide of war ebbed or flowed. This line of fortresses was commonly divided into two groups—those guarding Mesopotamia (Thughûr-al-Jazîrah) to the north-east, and those guarding Syria (Thughûr-ash-Shâm) to the south-west. Of the former were Malaṭiyah, Zibaṭrah, Hiṣn Manṣūr, Bahasnâ, Al-Hadath, which have been already described in the previous chapter, next Mar'ash, Al-Hârûnîyah, Al-Kanîsah and ʿAyn Zarbah. Of the latter group lying near the northern coast-line of the bay of Iskandariyah (Alexandretta), and protecting Syria, were Al-Maṣṣîsah, Adhanah, and Ṭarsûs.

Mar'ash, the Byzantine Marasion, and it is said occupying the site of Germanicia, was rebuilt by the Caliph Mu'âwiyyah in the 1st (7th) century; under the later Omayyads it was strongly

must be made to Professor Ramsay's important papers in the Geographical Journal for September, 1902, p. 257, and October, 1903, p. 357.

1 In the eastern part of the Mediterranean the islands of Cyprus (Kubrus) and Rhodes (Rûdis) were both well known to the Arabs, the first having been raided by the Moslems as early as the year 28 (648) under the leadership of Mu'âwiyyah, afterwards Caliph. No geographical details, however, are given. Baladhuri, 153, 236. Yak. ii. 832; iv. 29.
fortified, and a large Moslem population settled here, for whose use a Friday Mosque was built. It was re-fortified by Hârûn-ar-Rashîd with double walls and a ditch. Its inner castle, according to Yâkût, was known as Al-Marwânî, being so called after Marwân II, the last Omayyad Caliph. In 490 (1097) Mar‘ash was captured by the Crusaders under Godfrey de Bouillon, and subsequently became an important town of Little Armenia (to be described later), remaining for the most part in Christian hands till the fall of that kingdom. The fortress of 'Ayn Zarbah, which the Crusaders knew as Anazarbus, still exists. It was rebuilt and well fortified by Hârûn-ar-Rashîd in 180 (796), and the place is described by Ištakhri as lying in a plain where palm-trees grew, the surrounding lands being very fertile, while the city had fine walls and its prosperity in the 4th (10th) century was considerable. About the middle of this century Sayf-ad-Dawlah the Ḥamdânîd prince spent, it is said, three million dirhams (about £120,000) on its fortification, but it was taken more than once by the Greeks from the Moslems. Then at the close of the next century the Crusaders captured it and left it a ruin; afterwards it formed part of the dominions of the king of Little Armenia. Abu-l-Fidâ describes the town as lying at the base of a hill crowned by a strong castle, it being one day's march south of Sis, and south of it, he adds, flowed the Jayhân river. The name 'Ayn Zarbah had in the 8th (14th) century become corrupted into Nâwarzâ.

The exact positions of Al-Hârûnîyâh and Al-Kanîsah are unknown, but they lay in the hill country between Mar‘ash and 'Ayn Zarbah. Hârûnîyâh, which was one march to the west of Mar‘ash and considered as its outlying bulwark, took its name from its founder Hârûn-ar-Rashîd who built it in 183 (799). The fortress lay in a valley to the west of the Lukkâm mountains, a name by which the Moslem geographers roughly indicate the chain of the Anti-Taurus. Ibn Ḥawkâl appears to have visited it, for he says the hamlet was populous and the fort had been strongly built, but had been ruined by the Byzantines. This was in 348 (959), when, according to Yâkût, one thousand five hundred Moslems, men and women, were taken captive. Subsequently Hârûnîyâh was rebuilt by Sayf-ad-Dawlah the Ḥamdânîd, but
again the Christians took it, after which it remained a possession of the king of Little Armenia. Kanisah, the full name being Kanisah-as-Sawdâ, ‘the Black Church,’ was a very ancient fortress built of black stones, and by the Greeks, says Baladhuri, who adds that Harûn-ar-Rashid had it strongly fortified and well garrisoned. It possessed a Friday Mosque and apparently lay to the south of the Jayhân, for Iṣṭakhrî describes it as ‘at some distance from the sea-shore.’ Abu-l-Fidâ adds that it was only 12 miles from Harûnîyâh; being in his day included like the latter place in the kingdom of Little Armenia.

Another fortress of this neighbourhood was that known to the Arabs under the name of Al-Muthakḵâb, ‘the Pierced’; so called, according to Yâkût, ‘because it stands among the mountains, all of which are pierced as though with great openings.’ Its exact site appears to be unknown, but it stood not far from Al-Kanisah, being at the foot of the Lûkkâm mountains, near the sea-shore, and in the vicinity of Maṣṣîsah. The fortress was built by the Omayyad Caliph Hishâm; others say by ‘Omar II; and a Kurân, written by the hand of ‘Omar II, the most pious of the Omayyad Caliphs, was according to Ibn Ḥawkal preserved here. Further, Baladhuri states that when the engineers first came to dig the ditch at Ḥiṣn-al-Muthakḵâb, they found buried in the earth a human leg, but of such monstrous size that it was considered a portent, and it was forthwith despatched to the Caliph Hishâm as a unique gift.¹

The three cities of Al-Maṣṣîsah (Mopsuestia), Adhanah (Adana) and Tarsûs (Tarsus), all of Greek foundation, still exist. Al-Maṣṣîsah lies on the Nahr Jayhân (the river Pyramus). It was conquered by ‘Abd-Allah, son of the Omayyad Caliph ‘Abd-al-Malik, in the 1st (7th) century, who rebuilt its fortifications and established a strong garrison here. A mosque was erected on the summit of the hill, and the church in the fortress was turned into a granary. A suburb or second town was built shortly afterwards on the other bank of the Jayhân, called Kafarbayâ, where the Caliph ‘Omar II founded a second mosque and dug a great cistern. A third quarter, lying to the east of the Jayhân, was built by the

¹ Ist. 55, 63. I. H. 108, 121. Baladhuri, 166, 171, 188. Mas. i. 26; viii. 295. Yak. i. 927; iii. 761; iv. 314, 498, 945. A. F. 235, 251.
last Omayyad Caliph Marwan II, and named Al-Khusfu; he surrounded it by a wall with a ditch, and wooden doors closed its gateways. Under the Abbasids the Caliph Mansur turned an ancient temple into a Friday Mosque, making it thrice as large as the older mosque of ‘Omar II. Harun-ar-Rashid rebuilt Kafarbayyâ, and its mosque was further enlarged by Mamûn. The two quarters of Kafarbayyâ and Ma’siṣah proper were connected by a stone bridge across the Jayhân; the town bore the title of Al-Ma’mûriyâh, ‘the Populous,’ or ‘Well-built,’ said to have been bestowed upon it by the Caliph Mansur, who restored Ma’siṣah after it had been partially destroyed by earthquake in 139 (756). At a later date Ma’siṣah, like its neighbours, passed into the possession of the kings of Little Armenia.

The adjacent city of Adhanah lay on the Nahr Sayhân (the river Sarus), and on the road thither from Ma’siṣah was the great bridge which dated from the time of Justinian, but was restored in the year 125 (743) and called Jisr-al-Walid after the Omayyad Caliph Walid. This bridge was again restored in 225 (840) by the Abbasid Caliph Mu’tasim. Adhanah had been in part rebuilt in 141 (758) by Mansur, and Istakhrí describes it as a very pleasant city, lying to the west of the Sayhân, well fortified and populous. The fortress was on the eastern bank of the river, and was connected with the town by a bridge of a single arch, according to Yakût, and Adhanah itself was defended by a wall with eight gates and a deep ditch beyond it.

The rivers Sarus and Pyramus were known to the Moslems respectively as the Nahr Sayhân and the Nahr Jayhân. In early days they were the frontier rivers of the lands of Islam towards the Greek country. As such on the analogy, or in imitation, of the more famous Oxus and Jaxartes of Central Asia, which latter were called the Jayhûn and the Sayhûn by the Arab geographers, as will be more fully explained later, the rivers Pyramus and Sarus were named the Jayhân and Sayhân. Both had their sources in the highlands lying to the north of Little Armenia, and the Jayhân—which Abu-l-Fidâ compares for size to the Euphrates, adding that in his day the name was commonly pronounced Jahân—after passing Ma’siṣah flowed out to the Mediterranean in the Bay of Ayas to the north of the port
of Al-Mallûn (Mallus, later Malo). The Sayhân was of lesser size, and Adhanah was the only important town on its banks. It was however famous for the great bridge, already mentioned, and both the Jayhân and Sayhân, as reported by Mas'ûdî, were held to have been of the rivers of Paradise.

The most important, however, of all the frontier fortresses was Tarsús (Tarsus), where a great army of both horse and foot was kept in early times, for Tarsus commanded the southern entrance of the celebrated pass across the Taurus known as the Cilician Gates. Ibn Hâwkal states that Tarsus was surrounded by a double stone wall, and garrisoned by 100,000 horse-soldiers; he adds, 'between this city and the Greek lands rises a high mountain range, an offshoot of the Jabal-al-Luakkâm, which stands as a barrier between the two worlds of Islam and Christendom.' Ibn Hâwkal explains that the great garrison he saw here in 367 (978) was made up for the most part of volunteers coming from all the provinces of Islam to aid in fighting against the Byzantines, 'and the reason thereof,' he adds, 'is this, that from all the great towns within the borders of Persia and Mesopotamia, and Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Marocco, there is no city but has in Tarsus a hostelry (Dâr) for its townsmen, where the warriors for the Faith (Ghâzi) from each particular country live. And when they have once reached Tarsus they settle there and remain to serve in the garrison; among them prayer and worship are most diligently performed; from all hands funds are sent to them, and they receive alms rich and plentiful, also there is hardly a Sultan who does not send hither some auxiliary troops.'

Already under the earlier Abbasid Caliphs, namely Mahdî and Hârûn-ar-Rashid, Tarsus had been carefully re-fortified and well

1 Baladhuri, 165, 166, 168. Ist. 63, 64. I. H. 122. Mas. ii. 356; viii. 295. Yâk. i. 179; ii. 82; iv. 558, 579. A. F. 50. The names of both rivers are occasionally, but incorrectly, written Sayhûn and Jayhûn, like their Central Asian prototypes. In the matter of the ancient mouth of the Sarus, it is worth noting that Ibn Serapion (ms. folio 44 a) states that in his day, at the beginning of the 4th (10th) century, the Sayhân (Sarus) flowed into the Jayhân (Pyramus) five leagues above Masîshah, having but one mouth to the sea with the Jayhân. At the present day the Sayhân has its separate mouth to the westward near Marsinah, but the old bed may still be traced. See the Geographical Journal for Oct. 1903, p. 410.
garrisoned at first with 8,000 troops; and from the celebrated Bāb-al-Jihād, ‘the Gate of the Holy War,’ the yearly expeditions against the Christians were wont to set forth. The Caliph Mamūn, who had died at the neighbouring Badhandūn (Podandos), was buried at Tarsus, on the left-hand side of the great Friday Mosque. Through the city ran the Nahr-al-Baradān (the river Cydnus); the double walls of the town were pierced by six gates, and outside was a deep ditch. Tarsus, Yākūt adds, remained the frontier city of Islam until the year 354 (965), when the Emperor Nikōfūr, Nicephorus Phocas, having conquered many of the frontier fortresses, laid siege to Tarsus and took it by capitulation. Among the Moslems, those who could leave the city; those who remained were forced to pay the capitation tax. The mosques were all destroyed ‘and Nikōfūr burnt all the Kürans, further he took all the arms away from the arsenals, and Tarsūs with all the country round has remained in the hands of the Christians to this day of the year 623 (1226).’

The ancient Cydnus river, as already said, was generally known as the Nahr-al-Baradān or Baradā, and Ibn-al-Faḵīh states it was also called the river Al-Ghadbān. It rose in the hill country to the north of Tarsus in a mountain known as Al-Aḵra, ‘the Bald,’ and flowed into the Mediterranean not far from the later mouth of the Sayhān. To the westward, one march from Tarsus, the frontier in early times was marked by the river Lamos, which the Arabs called the Nahr-al-Lamis, and here the ransoming of Moslem and Christian captives periodically took place. Beyond this was the Greek town of Salūḵiyah (Seleucia of Cilicia) which in later times, under the Turks, came to be known as Selefkeh.

The line of the Taurus was traversed by many passes, but two more especially were used by the Moslems in their annual raids into the Byzantine country. The first, to the north-east, was the Darb-al-Hadath which led from Mar‘ash north to Abulustān, a town in later times known as Al-Bustān (Byzantine Ablastha and the Greek Arabissus), this pass being defended by the great fortress of Hadath (Adata) already noticed in the last chapter. The
second, and most frequently used pass in early times was that of the Cilician Gates, leading north from Tarsus, and through this went the high road to Constantinople. This road, which was traversed by the post-couriers, and periodically by the embassies passing between the Caesar and the Caliph, in addition to being followed more or less exactly in innumerable raiding expeditions whether of the Moslems or the Christians, is carefully described by Ibn Khurdâdbih writing in 250 (864), and his account has been copied by many later writers. It was known in its southern part as the Darb-as-Salâmah, ‘the Pass of Safety,’ and threaded the Pylæ Ciliciæ—the celebrated Cilician Gates.

The account is as follows. Many of the places of course cannot now be exactly identified, but the names are added where possible in brackets. Ibn Khurdâdbih writes:—From Ţarsus it is six miles to Al-‘Ullayk and thence 12 to Ar-Rahwah (‘the Water-meadow,’ probably the ancient Mopsukrene) and Al-Jawzât, then seven miles on to Al-Jardaḵūb, and again seven to Al-Badhandûn (Podandos, the modern Bozantii), where is the spring called Râkah near which the Caliph Mamûn died. And then on from Badhandûn it is 10 miles to the (northern) end of the pass (of the Cilician Gates) at Luluah (Loulon) of Mu‘askar-al-Malik, ‘the King’s Camp,’ near the hot springs, and here is Aš-Ṣafṣâf, ‘the Willows’ (near Faustinopolis), also Ḥiṣn-as-Ṣakâlibah, ‘the Fortress of the Sclavonians.’ From the King’s Camp (where the Pylæ Ciliciæ end) it is 12 miles to the Wâdí-āt-Ṭarfâ, ‘the Tamarisk Valley,’ thence 20 to Minâ, thence 12 to the river of Hiraḵlah (later Arâkliyah, the Greek Heraclia), the town which Hârûn-ar-Rashîd took by storm. From Hiraḵlah it is eight miles to the city of Al-Liban, thence 15 to Râs-al-Ghâbah, ‘the Beginning of the Forest,’ thence 16 to Al-Masqanîn, thence 12 to ‘Ayn Burghûth, ‘the Spring of Bugs,’ thence 18 to Nahr-al-Aḥsâ, ‘the Underground River,’ and thence 18 miles on to the suburb of Kûniyah (Iconium). From Kûniyah it is 15 miles to Al-‘Alamayn, ‘the Double Sign-posts,’ thence 20 to Abrumasânah, thence 12 to Wâdî-al-Jawz, ‘Nut River,’ and 12 miles on to ‘Ammûriyah (Amorion). But there is another route also going from Al-‘Alamayn, ‘the Double Sign-posts’ aforesaid, to ‘Ammûriyah; namely from Al-‘Alamayn 15 miles to the villages of Naṣr the Cretan, thence 10 to the head of the lake of
Al-Bāsiliyūn (lake of the Forty Martyrs), thence 10 to As-Sind, thence 18 to Ḥiṣn Sinádah (the fortress of Synades), thence 25 to Maghl, and then 30 miles on to the forest at ‘Ammūriyah.

From ‘Ammūriyah (Amorian) it is 15 miles to the villages of Al-Ḥarrāb, and two on to the river Sāgharī (the Sangarius) of ‘Ammūriyah; thence 12 to Al-‘Ilj, ‘the Barbarian,’ and thence 15 to Falāmi-al-Ghābah, ‘Falāmi of the Forest,’ then 12 to Ḥiṣn-al-Yahūd, ‘the Jews’ Fortress,’ and 18 miles on to Sandābarī (Santabaris), 35 miles beyond which lies the Meadow of the King’s Asses at Darawliyah (Dorylæum). From Darawliyah it is 15 miles to the fortress of Gharibull, and three on to Kanāis-al-Malik, ‘the King’s Churches’ (the Basilica of Anna Comnena), then 25 miles to At-Tulūl, ‘the Hills,’ and 15 to Al-Akwār, whence in 15 miles you reach Malajtnah (Malagina). From here it is five miles to Iṣṭabl-al-Malik, ‘the King’s Stables,’ and 30 on to Ḥiṣn-al-Ghabrā, ‘the Dusty Fortress’ (namely Kibotos, whence the ferry goes over to Aigion), and thence it is 24 miles on to Al-Khalij, ‘the Strait’ (which is the Bosporus of Constantinople). And over against (namely south of) the fortress of Al-Ghabrā is Nīkīyāh (Nicæa). This ends the account in Ibn Khurdādbih of the Constantinople road.¹

Off the line of the great high road to Constantinople, the earlier Arab writers had but very incorrect notions of the geography of Asia Minor;—as is shown, for instance, by the confusion which Ibn Ḥawkāl makes between the two very distinct rivers Alis and Sāghirah, the Halys and Sangarius. The names of a number of Greek towns appear, in an Arabicized form, in the

¹ I. K. 100—102, 110, 113. Some other variants of this route are given by Ibn Khurdādbih (pp. 102 and 103), for which the distances have been added by Idrīs (Jaubert, ii. 308, 309), and compare especially Ramsay, H. G. A. M. pp. 236 and 445. Professor Ramsay (see Geographical Journal for Oct. 1903, p. 383) has identified the famous fortress of the Sclavonians (Ḥiṣn-əṣ-Ṣaḵālibah) with the ruins of the Byzantine fortress, built of black marble, and now known as Anasha-Kal’aḥsi, which is perched high on the mountain overlooking, from the south, the vale of Bozanti (Balhandūn, Podandos). The Byzantine castle of Loulon, which the Arabs called Lulūmah, ‘the Pearl,’ he has also identified (loc. cit. pp. 401 and 404, where a photograph of the place is given). It lay to the north, above Aṣ-Ṣaḵāf, ‘the Willows,’ which marked the settlement in the valley below, where the Greek town of Faustinopolis had stood.
earlier chronicles, and these names for the most part recur, but in an altered form after the Turkish conquest; the Arab authors, however, have unfortunately left no descriptions of these towns. Their identity is not disputed, and we have, to name but a few, Aţ-Ţawānah (Tyana), Dabāsah (Thebasa), Malaḵūbiyyah (Malacopia), Hiraḵlah (Heraclia), Lādhiḵ (Laodicea), Ḵayṣāriyyah (Cæsarea Mazaka, of Cappadocia), Anţākiyyah (Antioch of Pisidia), Kuṭiyyah (Cotyœum), Anḵurah (Angora), Afsūs (Epheesus), Abidūs (Abydos) and Niḵmūdiyyah (Nicomedia), with some others.

Trebizond, written Tarābazandah or Aṭrabazandah, according to Ibn Ḥawkāl, was the chief port by which goods from Constantinople, in early Abbasid times, were brought for sale to Moslems. Arab merchants or their agents took the goods thence across the mountains to Malaṭiyyah and other towns on the upper Euphrates. The carrying trade was in the hands of Armenians, according to Ibn Ḥawkāl, but many Moslem merchants, he adds, resided permanently at Trebizond. Greek linen and woollen stuffs are more especially mentioned and Roman brocades, all of which were brought by sea from the Khaliṣ or Bosporus. The fame and importance of Trebizond at this time is also proved by the Black Sea being then commonly known as the Sea of Trebizond (Bahr Tarābazandah). Its official name, however, was the Bahr Bunṭus or Punṭush, the Greek Pontos, which by a clerical error (from the misplacing of the diacritical points of the Arabic character) had from a very early time been incorrectly written and pronounced Niṭus or Niṭush, under which form the name is still often quoted by Persian and Turkish writers, and the mistake is now become so stereotyped as to be beyond recall.

Although so little topographical information is recorded in the Arab writers about the towns of Asia Minor previous to the Saljūḵ conquest in the latter half of the 5th (11th) century, the Moslems must have had ample practical acquaintance with much of the country; for almost yearly, and often twice a year in spring and autumn, under the Omayyads and the earlier Abbasids, raids

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1 I. H. 129, 132, 245, 246. I. K. 103. Tabari, iii. 709, 710. A. F. 34. Yak. i. 401, 499. Mas. i. 260. The Black Sea is also occasionally called the Bahr-al-Khazar, the Sea of the Khazars, a name more generally applied only to the Caspian. I. K. 103.
were made across the Taurus passes into the Greek country, and their ultimate object was ever the capture of Constantinople. Three times, in fact, under the Omayyad Caliphs was Constantinople besieged by Moslem armies, but the result was in each case disastrous to the assailants, which is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that the Bosporus, measuring in a direct line across the mountainous plateau of Asia Minor, is over 450 miles from Tarsus, the base of the Arab attack.

These three famous sieges are: the first in the year 32 (652), under the reign of ‘Othmán, when Muʿáwiyah the future Caliph raided across Asia Minor and attempted to take Constantinople, first by assault, and then by siege, which last he had to raise when news came of the murder of the Caliph ‘Othmán. The events which followed soon led to the foundation of the Omayyad dynasty. The second siege was in 49 (669), when Muʿáwiyah, established as Caliph, sent his son and successor Yazíd against the Emperor Constantine IV; but the generals were incapable, the Moslem army suffered a crushing defeat, and Yazíd, succeeding to the Caliphate on his father’s death, had to return home. The third and best known attempt against Constantinople was the great siege lasting, off and on, for many years in the reign of the Caliph Sulaymân, who sent his brother Maslamah in 96 (715) against Leo the Isaurian. Of this campaign, which again ended in a defeat for the Moslems, we have very full accounts both from the Arab and the Greek chroniclers; and it was in these wars that ‘Abd-Allah, surnamed Al-Baṭṭâl, ‘the Champion,’ made himself famous, who long after, among the Turks, came to be regarded as their national hero, the invincible warrior of Islam.

In spite of frequent defeat and disaster the raids continued, year by year, with a brief interlude while the Abbasids were establishing themselves in power, till more than a century after the date when the latter, having supplanted the Omayyads, became Caliphs; and though again to besiege Constantinople was beyond their power, they raided, sacked, and burnt again and again throughout Asia Minor. One of the most famous of these expeditions was that of the Caliph Muʿtaṣim, son of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, in 223 (838) against ‘Ammûriyah (Amorion), described
as the most splendid city of the East, 'the strongest fortress of the Bilâd-ar-Rûm and the very eye of the Christians,' which none the less was plundered and burnt to the ground by the Caliph, who returned unmolested, laden with the spoils.

The division of Asia Minor into Themes, under the Byzantine Emperors, has been carefully described by Ibn Khurdâdbih, and his account is of use in correcting the confused details given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. This however need not be discussed here, as it belongs of right to the geography of the Byzantine empire. Besides the towns already mentioned the Arab writers, when recounting the Moslem expeditions across the frontier, notice a number of places which, either from the vagueness of the statement or the ambiguity in the name, can now hardly be identified. Tûs Marj-al-Uṣkuf, 'the Bishop's Meadow,' is frequently mentioned, which from one of the itineraries given by Ibn Khurdâdbih lay some distance west of Podandos. Al-Maṭmûrah, or (in the plural) Al-Maṭâmîr, 'the Cellars,' or 'Grottos,' also frequently occurs, and must be sought for in the neighbourhood of Malacopia. Dhû-l-Kulâ (the Strong Castle), otherwise spelt Dhu-l-Kîlâ (the Castle of the Rocks), was a famous fortress, which Balâdhuri states was called 'the Fortress

1 The long list of Moslem raids into Asia Minor, from Arab sources, has been fully worked out and annotated by Mr E. W. Brooks in his papers 'The Arabs in Asia Minor, 641 to 750' (published in the Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xviii, 1898) and 'Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the early Abbasids, 750 to 813' (published part i. in the English Historical Review for October, 1900, and part ii. in the January number, 1901). The great siege of Constantinople during the Caliphate of Sulaymân he has separately treated of in the Journal of Hellenic Studies (vol. xix, 1899) in a paper on 'The Campaign of 716—718 from Arabic sources.' From the Byzantine side this famous siege has been fully discussed by Professor J. B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, ii. 401. The Moslems called Constantinople Al-Kuṣṭântînîyah, but in regard to the Byzantine name, from which the modern Turkish İstambûl is said to be derived, it is worth noting that Maṣûdî, in the early part of the 4th (10th) century, writes (Tanbih p. 138) that the Greeks in his day spoke of their capital as Bûlîn (i.e. Polin—for πόλις, 'the city'), also as İstan-Bûlîn (ehs rûn pûlû), and he notes that they did not generally use the name Constantinople (Al-Kuṣṭântînîyah), as did the Arabs.

of the Stars' by the Greeks, which would seem to identify it with Sideropolis in Cappadocia.

The town of Luluah (the Pearl), as the Arabs, to give the name a meaning, called the Byzantine Loulon, stood as already mentioned at the northern end of the pass of the Cilician Gates. Still further north was Tyana (Ṭawānah or Ṭuwānah), which for a time Hārūn-ar-Rashīd strongly garrisoned and where a mosque was built. The town or fortress called Ṣafṣāf, 'the Willows,' was on the Constantinople road near Luluah, probably as already said (p. 134) at the site of Faustinopolis, while immediately to the south of Podandos was the fortress of the Sclavonians (Ḥiṣn-aš-Ṣaḵālibah) already mentioned, where according to Baladhuri certain Sclavonians who had deserted from the Byzantines were quartered to guard the pass by Marwān II, the last of the Omayyad Caliphs'.

After the year 223 (838) the date of the Caliph Mu'tasim's famous expedition against Amorion, the Moslem raids into the Greek country became less frequent, for the recurrent disorders at Baghdād left the Abbasid Caliphs less and less free to think of invading the Byzantine territory. Still, from the middle of the 3rd (9th) century to the 5th (11th) century, many of the great semi-independent vassals of the Caliph led Moslem armies across the passes, and at different times the line of the frontier varied considerably, backwards and forwards, though speaking generally it may be stated that no land was ever permanently held by the Moslems beyond the Taurus.

The rise, however, of the Saljūk Turks in the 5th (11th) century, which followed the epoch of the Crusades, entirely changed the face of affairs in Asia Minor. In the spring of the year 463 (1071) Alp Arslān the Saljūk gained the battle of Malasjīrd (Manzikart), completely routing the Byzantine forces, and taking the Emperor Romanus Diogenes prisoner. Moreover, previously to this, in 456 (1064), Alp Arslān had taken ʿAnī, the capital of Christian Armenia, an event which broke up the older

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Armenian kingdom of the Bagratids, and led to the founding by Rupen, their kinsman, of the kingdom of Little Armenia in the Taurus country. The result of the battle of Malasjird was that Alp Arslân sent his cousin Sulaymân, son of Kutlumish, into Asia Minor; and then the Saljûks permanently settled down, after their nomadic fashion, in all the high plateau lands forming the centre of the province, and the kingdom of Rûm became from henceforth one of the lands of Islam. In their first flush of victory the Saljûks had raided so far west as Nicea, which for a short time they held, making it temporarily their capital. From here they were driven back by the first Crusade, and retiring to the central plateau, Iconium or Kûniyah, which was conquered by them in 477 (1084), became and remained the centre of their government. ¹

The line of the Saljûk Sultans of Kûniyah lasted over two centuries, from 470 (1077) to 700 (1300), but their real power was ended by the Mongol conquest of Kûniyah in 655 (1257), the year previous to the fall of Baghâd. The establishment of the Saljûks in the plateau of Asia Minor was coincident with the rise of the Christian kingdom of Little Armenia in the Taurus

¹ Ibn-al-Athîr, x. 25, 44; xii. 125. J. N. 621. On the battle of Manzikart see History of the Art of War by C. Oman, pp. 216—221. The history of the Saljûks in Rûm, and their successors the ten Turkoman Amirâs, ending in the establishment of the Ottoman Sultans, is unfortunately the most obscure period in all the Moslem annals. The Persian historians Mîrkhwând and Khwând-amir have nothing to add to the bald summary on the Saljûks of Rûm given by Mustawfî in his Târîkh-i-Gusîlî. Perhaps the fullest account of the dynasty is that given by Ibn Khâlidîn in his Universal History (volume v. pp. 162—175): but this is in fact little more than a list of names and dates. The Chronicle of Ibn Bîblî, lately published by Professor Houtsma, unfortunately begins only with the reign of Kelîj Arslân II, in the year 551 (1156), and regarding the first seventy years of Saljûk rule, when they were conquering and establishing themselves in Asia Minor, we know next to nothing. The battle of Manzikart is the only great victory that is alluded to, all the fighting that resulted in the ejection of the Byzantines from the high lands of Asia Minor passes unrecorded. Also there is no mention of a treaty, which must have been made, formally or informally, between the Byzantines and the Saljûks after Manzikart. For a summary of all that is known of the Turkoman Amirâs who succeeded to the Sultans of Rûm see Professor Lane-Poole, 'The successors of the Saljûks in Asia Minor' in the J. R. A. S. for 1882, p. 773.
country. Sis, otherwise called Sisilyah, soon after 473 (1080) became the capital of Rupen, the founder of the new dynasty. After a century Leo took the title of king in 594 (1198), and the kings of Little Armenia, weathering the Mongol invasion, only came to an end in 743 (1342). From Sis the kingdom grew to include all the mountainous country watered by the Sayhān and Jayhān rivers, down to the Mediterranean, with the cities of Maşsişah, Adhanah, and Tarsūs, as well as much of the coast-line to the west of Tarsūs. Sis, or Sisilyah, the ancient Flaviopolis, under the early Abbasids had been counted an outlying fortress of 'Ayn Zarbah, and its walls were rebuilt by the Caliph Mutawakkil, grandson of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. It was afterwards taken by the Byzantines, and when Abu-l-Fidā wrote in 721 (1321) he alludes to it as having been recently rebuilt by Leo II (Ibn Lāwūn), surnamed the Great, king of Little Armenia. Its castle, surrounded by a triple wall, crowned the hill, and the gardens descended to the river, which was an affluent of the Jayhān. Yākūt adds that, in his day, Sis was the commonly used form of the name.

To the west and north of this kingdom of Little Armenia stretched the territories of the Saljūk Sultans, and during the first hundred years of their occupation of the plateau lands of Asia Minor this province was three times traversed by the armies of the Crusades. The first Crusade in 490 (1097) resulted in the expulsion of Kīlīj Arslān I (son and successor of Sulaymān, the first Sultan of Rûm) from Nīcēa, and the rabble of the Crusaders passing by Kūniyah regained the sea at Tarsus, and took ship for Palestine. In the second Crusade Louis VII of France defeated Sultan Masʿūd (son of Kīlīj Arslān) on the banks of the Meander in 542 (1147), but the Franks in their passage onward to the port of Antāliyah suffered great losses in the mountain country. In the third Crusade the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa is said in 586 (1190) to have captured Kūniyah, the Saljūk capital, from Kīlīj Arslān II (son of Masʿūd), but marching onward Barbarossa was accidentally drowned in a river near Salūkiyah (Seleucia of Cilicia), possibly in the Lamos or Nahr-al-Lamis, already mentioned (p. 133), where under the earlier Abbasids Moslem and Christian captives were exchanged or ransomed.
The extent of the country governed by the Saljūk Sultans of Rûm varied of course at different times, according to the waning or recovered power of the Byzantine empire, the growth of the Christian kingdom of Little Armenia, and the condition of the neighbouring Moslem principalities, which the Crusaders had in part overcome, and where for a time Frank princes ruled over Moslem subjects. The chief towns of the Saljūk Sultanate in Rûm as it existed in 587 (1191) are made known to us by the division of his dominions which Kılıç Arslân II made in that year among his eleven sons. Kûniyâh (Iconium), as already stated, was the capital, and the second city of the Sultanate was Kayşariyâh (Caesarea Mazaka). Malatîyâh (Melitene) was the chief town of the eastern province on the Euphrates boundary. To the north Sivas (Sebastia), Naksâr (or Niksâr, the older Neo-Caesarea), Tûkât and Amâsiyâh (Amasia) each became the appanage of a Saljûk prince, likewise Angûriyâh (Angora) to the north-west, and on the western border Burughlû, probably identical with the modern Ulû Burûlû, lying to the west of the Egridûr lake. On the southern frontier, lying eastwards of Kûniyâh, the chief towns were Arâkliyâh (Heraclia), Nakîdah or Nigdah, and Abulustân, later called Al-Bustân (Arabissus).

Sultan 'Alâ-ad-Dîn, who succeeded in 616 (1219) and was the grandson of Kılıç Arslân II, extended his rule north and south from the shores of the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. He took Sinûb (Sinope) on the former, and on the southern coast made a great harbour at 'Alâyâ—named after him—where the slips for ship-building and remains of other constructions connected with the great navy of the Saljûks may still be seen: and on the north-west he extended his power to the town of Şârî Bûlû. His reign was made famous by the writings of the great Şûfi poet Jalâl-ad-Dîn Rûmi, who lived and died at Kûniyâh. Thirty years after the death of 'Alâ-ad-Dîn, which occurred in 634 (1237), the Mongol armies broke up the power of the Saljûks; the four last Sultans were in fact merely governors under the Il-Khâns of Persia, and in the year 700 (1300) the province of Rûm was divided up among the ten Turkmân Amîrs, who originally had been the vassals of the Saljûk Sultans.¹

¹ Baladhuri, 170. Yak. iii. 217. A. F. 257. Ibn Bibi, 5. J. N. 621,
622. Idrisi, who wrote in 548 (1153), and who, according to his own testimony (Jaubert, ii. 300), was at Amorion and visited the cave of the Seven Sleepers in 510 (1116), is the one Moslem geographer who gives us an account of Asia Minor in the time of the Seljūḳs. Unfortunately his text has come down to us in a most corrupt form. He gives a number of routes, traversing Asia Minor in all directions, which are very difficult to plot out, for the names of intermediate places are for the most part unrecognisable, though the terminal stages are beyond dispute. Idrisi, ii. 305—318. The limits of the Seljūḳ kingdom have been clearly traced by Professor Ramsay (H. G. A. M. pp. 78, 382, 384), and a description of the Great Mosques and other buildings of the Seljūḳ Sultans will be found in a series of papers by M. C. Huart entitled 'Épigraphie Arabe d'Asie Mineur,' in the Revue Sémitique, 1894, pp. 61, 120, 235, 324, and 1895, pp. 73, 175, 214, 344; and in the Journal Asiatique for 1901, i. 343, also by M. F. Grenard, 'Monuments Seljoukides de Sivas etc.,' J. As. 1900, ii. 451. See further a paper by Professor Ramsay, with remarks of Sir C. Wilson and others, in the Geographical Journal for September, 1902, p. 257.
CHAPTER X.

RÛM (continued).


The limits of the ten Turkoman Amirates of the 8th (14th) century very roughly corresponded with the following ancient Greek provinces of Asia Minor. Ṭărâmâん or Ṭărâmân, the largest, was the older Lycaonia; on the Mediterranean coast Tekkeh included Lycia and Pamphylia; inland Ḥamîd corresponded with Pisidia and Isauria; Germîyân or Germîyân with Phrygia; and on the coast of the Black Sea Ḳîzîl Aḥmadî, sometimes called Isfan-diyâr, had been Paphlagonia. On the Aḡ̣eān shores Menteshâ was the older Caria; Aydîn and Ṣârûkhâh combined were the kingdom of Lydia; Ṭărâṣî was Mysia; and lastly the ‘Othmânîlî territory (of those Ottomans who ultimately conquered all the other nine provinces) was at first only the small province of Phrygia Epictetus, backed by the high lands of Bythia which the ‘Othmânîlîs had recently conquered from the Byzantines.

Of the state of Asia Minor under these Turkoman Amîrs we possess an extremely curious account in the travels of Ibn Baṭṭâṭah the Berber, who landing from Syria at ‘Alâyâ, in 733 (1333), visited many of the petty courts on his way to Sînûb (Sinope), where he took ship across the Black Sea to the Crimea. Unfortunately, a part of his account appears to be missing. From
'Alá'í he journeyed along the sea-shore to Anţáliyah, and then struck north across the hills to Egridür in Ḥamíd, on the lake of that name. From here by a devious road through Ládhiḳ (Laodicea ad Lycum) he travelled to Milás in Menteshā, and thence right across Asia Minor diagonally, by Kûnīyah and Kayṣâriyah, to Sivâs and Arzan-ar-Rûm. Here a lacuna occurs, for the next town mentioned is Bîrki in Aydîn, whence Ayâ Sulûk (Ephesus) was visited. Finally, going north and east, Ibn Baṭūṭah takes Brusâ and other towns on his road to the Black Sea coast at Sinûb (Sinope). His contemporary Mustawfi, in the chapter of his Geography on Rûm, has added some details to the description of towns given by Ibn Baṭūṭah. Mustawfi, however, though writing in 740 (1340) works on earlier sources, and his information gives the state of Rûm under the later Saljûḳs, rather than the country as it existed when the ten Amîrs had established their power.

At the beginning of the 9th (15th) century the irruption of Tûmûr into Asia Minor temporarily altered the course of affairs, and threw back the rising Ottoman power for a quarter of a century. The account of his campaigns given by 'Alî of Yazd again adds something to our knowledge of the country, some further details also being given in the pages of the Turkish Jahân Numâ, which, though written in the beginning of the 11th (17th) century, when the Ottoman power had long been established in Asia Minor, makes mention of the chief monuments left by the Saljûḳ Sultans.

Before describing the ten provinces, already named, of the Turkoman Amîrs, some account must be given of the towns lying to the eastward of the boundary of Kârâmân, which may be taken as marked by the lower course of the Halys (the Kizil Irmâk of the Turks) continued by a line going south to the Jayhân. East of this boundary Asia Minor in the 8th (14th) century belonged to the Íl-Khâns, the Mongol princes who ruled in Mesopotamia and Persia, and sent hither their governors to keep the peace among the smaller hordes of Turkoman nomads who had settled down in this country after the great Mongol invasion. The chief city east of the Kârâmân frontier was Kayşâriyah (also spelt Kayṣâriyah, namely Cæsarea Mazaka, of Cappadocia), which under
the Saljûqs had been the second city of Rûm, and which indeed Ḷazwînî names as their capital. Here among other shrines might be seen the Friday Mosque dedicated to the hero of Omayyad days, Al-Baṭṭâl. Mustawfî describes Ḷayṣâriyâh as surrounded by the stone walls built by Sultan ʿAlâ-ad-Dîn the Saljûk; it was a great town with a castle and lay at the base of Mount Ṭrâš (Argæus). Mount Ṭrâš, Mustawfî adds, was an extremely high mountain, its summit never being free from snow, and from it many streams descended. At its foot lay Davalû, a place which will be mentioned below. On the summit of the mountain might be seen a great church. In Ḷayṣâriyâh stood the famous and greatly venerated shrine of Muḥammad ibn Ḥarâsh, a son of the Caliph ʿAlî, and when Ibn Baṭṭâh visited Ḷayṣâriyâh (as he writes the name) the city was occupied by a strong garrison in the pay of the Mongol Sultan of ʿIrâk. In the beginning of the 9th (15th) century Ḷayṣâriyâh was the first great city in Asia Minor occupied by the armies of Ṭimûr.

Abulustân (Arabissus) to the east of Ḷayṣâriyâh, the frontier fortress of Byzantine times, is also mentioned in the conquests of Ṭimûr; and Mustawfî speaks of Abulustân as a medium-sized town. In the Jahân Numâ the modern spelling Al-Bustân (with the signification of 'the Garden') is given. Ḳirshahr (Byzantine Justinianopolis Mokissus), about 80 miles west of Ḷayṣâriyâh, was a place of great importance and is frequently mentioned in the account of the campaigns of Ṭimûr. Mustawfî describes Ḳirshahr as a large town with fine buildings, and in the Jahân Numâ it is counted as one of the cities of Karamân. Ṭamâshyâr or Ṭamâsiyâr (Amasia) under the Saljûqs had been one of their centres of government; and Mustawfî relates that it had been rebuilt by Sultan ʿAlâ-ad-Dîn. Ibn Baṭṭâh, who passed through it, describes it as a great city with broad streets and fine markets, surrounded by splendid gardens irrigated by means of waterwheels erected along the river. In his day it was under the Sultan of Mesopotamia, and not far distant from it was the town of Ṣûnusâ (spelt Ṣûnisâ in the Jahân Numâ) with a population of fanatical Shiʿahs. To the north of Ṭamâsiyâr lies Lâdîk (Laodicea Pontica), a place of importance under the Saljûqs, and frequently mentioned in the chronicle of Ibn Bibî. The port of Samsûn
(or Şamsûn, the Greek Amysos) is described by Mustawfi as a great harbour for ships, and already by the latter part of the 8th (14th) century it was growing rich on the trade diverted to it from the older port of Sanûb or Şînûb (Sinope).  

Nîksâr (or Nakîsâr, the Greek Neo-Caesarea) had been an important place under the Saljûks, and is frequently mentioned by Ibn Bibî; Mustawfi describes it as a medium-sized town, with many gardens producing much fruit. Tûkât (also spelt Dûkât) lies to the west of Nîksâr on the road to Amâsiyâh, and was one of the great governments under the Saljûks; further west again lies Zîlah, mentioned by Ibn Bibî and later authorities. The city of Sîvâs (Sebastia), on the Kîzîl Irmâk (Halys), had been rebuilt by Sultan ‘Alâ-ad-Dîn, who used hewn stone for all the new masonry. Mustawfi reports that the place was famous for its woollen stuffs, which were largely exported; it had a cold climate, but cotton was grown here, as well as much grain. Ibn Baţûthah speaks of Sîvâs as the largest city in the province ruled by the Sultan of Mesopotamia. Here were a Government House, fine streets and excellent markets, and a great Madrasah or college.

Mustawfi gives an account of the high road which went west from Sîvâs to Persia: two stages led to Zârah, a town of some importance, and two more to Âk Shahr (White Town), a place frequently mentioned in the Saljûk chronicle. North-west of Âk Shahr lies Karâ Hisâr (the Black Fortress) which is often referred to by Ibn Bibî, who calls it Karâ Hisâr Dâwlaḥ—‘of the State’—to distinguish this fortress, which is referred to also by Mustawfi, from other places of like name. In the Jahân Nûmâ it is called Karâ Hisâr Shâbîn, from the alum (Shâb) mines that lie near it. From Âk Shahr the high road to Persia went on in three stages to Arzanjân, and thence it was the like distance to Arzan-ar-Rûm. From here the way went south in three stages to Khanûs (or Khûnâs as Ibn Bibî writes the name, Khinis being the modern form), whence it was 10 leagues to Malâsjird (Manzikart), this being eight leagues distant from Arjish on the lake of Vân.  


The province of Ḫaramān (or Ḫaramān), the largest of the ten Amirates, took its name from the Turkoman tribe which had settled in this region, and the capital was Lārandah, also called Ḫaramān after the province. Lārandah dated from Byzantine days, and Ibn Baṭūṭah who visited it in the 8th (14th) century, and spells the name Al-Lārandah, describes it as a fine town standing in the midst of gardens, abundantly supplied with water. At the close of the century it was taken and plundered by the troops of Timūr, but afterwards regained its former prosperity. To the south of Lārandah is Armanāk, which is spoken of by Mustawfi as having been formerly a large city, though in the 8th (14th) century it had sunk to the condition of a provincial town. It is also mentioned in the Jahān Numā, together with Seleucia, the older Arabic Salukiyah (Seleucia of Cilicia). Under the Ottoman rule these places were included in the province called Ich Ili, which in Turkish signifies 'the Interior Land,' and as this description is hardly applicable to the province in question, which lies along the coast, it has been suggested that Ich Ili is in reality only a corruption, truncated, of the older Greek name Cilicia.

Ḵuniyah (Iconium), as already stated, had been the Saljuk capital, but under the Ḫaramān Amir it sank to a city of the second rank. Mustawfi relates that the town possessed a great Aywān, or hall, in the palace which had been built by Sultan Kılıç Arslān, by whom also the castle had been founded. At a later date 'Alā-ād-Dīn had built, or restored, the town walls, making them of cut stone, 30 ells in height, with a ditch 20 ells deep outside. The walls were 10,000 paces in circuit, they were pierced by twelve gates, each having a great castellated gateway. Abundant water was brought down from a neighbouring hill, to be stored at one of the city gates in a great tank under a dome, whence over 300 conduits distributed it throughout the city. The neighbourhood of Ḫuniyah was renowned for its gardens, famous for yellow plums, and immense quantities of cotton and corn were grown in the fields around the town.

Mustawfi adds that in his day much of Ḫuniyah was in ruin, though the suburb immediately below the castle had a large population. In the city was the tomb of the great mystic, the Ṣūfi poet Jalāl-ād-Dīn Rūmī, already mentioned, which was an object of
pilgrimage. This shrine is noticed by Ibn Baṭūṭah, who praises the fine buildings and abundant water-supply of Kūniyah. He speaks of its gardens and the apricots grown here, called Kamar-ad-Din (Moon of Faith), which were exported largely to Syria. The streets were broad and the markets abundantly supplied, each trade keeping to its own quarter. Ibn Bibi in his Saljūḵ chronicle incidentally mentions the names of three of the gates of Kūniyah, namely, the Gate of the Horse Bāzār, the Gate of the Assay-house, and the Gate of the Aḥmad bridge.

The fortress of Ḫarā Ḥišār of Kūniyah lies at some distance to the east of Kūniyah, and is mentioned by Mustawfī who says that it was built by one Bahram Shāh. Beyond this is Hiraḵlah (Heraclea), a name which in later times appears as Arākliyāh, and is frequently mentioned in the Jahān Numā. To the north of Kūniyah is Lāḏīk Sūkhtah, the Burnt Lāḏīk (Laodicea Combusta, the Greek Katakekaumena), which Ibn Bibi speaks of as the Village of Lāḏīk to distinguish it from the other towns called Laodicea (Pontica and Ad Lycum). The Jahān Numā refers to Laodicea Combusta as Yurgān Lāḏīk, otherwise called Lādhīkiyāh of Karamān'.

In the northern part of the Karamān province is Angora (Greek Ancyra), the name of which is spelt by the earlier Arabic authorities Anḵurah, and by later Persian and Turkish authors Angūriyah. Mustawfī speaks of it as a town possessing a cold climate; much corn, cotton, and fruit being grown in the neighbourhood. It is famous in history as the place where in 804 (1402) Tīmūr defeated in a pitched battle, and took prisoner, the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid Ilderim. Kūsh Ḥišār, or Kūch Ḥišār, on the eastern border of the great Salt Lake, is mentioned by Mustawfī as a medium-sized town, and its name also occurs in the Jahān Numā. Some distance east of the southern end of the lake stands Āḵ Sarāy (the White Palace) built by Sultan Ḵīļij Arslān II in 566 (1171), and described by Mustawfī as a fine town surrounded by fruitful lands. Āḵ Sarā (as Ibn Baṭūṭah spelt the name) stood on three streams, and its gardens were magnificent, also there were many vineyards within the walls.

The townspeople in the 8th (14th) century made excellent carpets from the wool of their sheep, and these carpets were largely exported to Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. Ibn Battūta adds that in his day Ak Sarā was in the government of the Sultan of Mesopotamia.

Some fifty miles east of Ak Sarā is Malankūbiyah (Malacopia), which is mentioned by Mustawfi as a place of importance in the 8th (14th) century. To the north of this is another Karā Hisār, described by Mustawfi as of the Nigdah district, and east of this again is Davalū (in the Jahān Numā the name is written Davahlū), a place already spoken of as at the foot of Mount Arjāish. It occurs more than once in the history of Ibn Bibi in connection with Kayshariyyah. Mustawfi describes Davalū as a town of medium size, and its walls had been rebuilt by Sultan Alā-ad-Dīn the Saljūq. South of Malankūbiyah is Nigdah (in Ibn Bibi written Nakidah) which had taken the place of the earlier Tuwānah (Tyanah), having been built by Sultan Alā-ad-Dīn. Nigdah is described by Mustawfi as a medium-sized town, and Ibn Battūta, who passed through it, notes that the greater part was already in ruin. It lay, he adds, in the territories of the Sultan of Mesopotamia; its stream was called the Nahr-al-Aswad, 'the Black River,' and was crossed by three stone bridges. The gardens of Nigdah were most fruitful; and waterwheels were employed for their irrigation. To the south of Nigdah was Luluah (Loulon), frequently mentioned by Ibn Bibi, a great fortress which, as already said, marked the northern end of the pass of the Cilician Gates. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi describes Luluah as a small town, surrounded by excellent pasture lands. It had a cold climate, and in the neighbourhood there were famous hunting grounds¹.

In the territories of the Amir of Tekkeh the most important towns appear to have been 'Alayā and Anṭāliyah, famed for their harbours. The first, as already mentioned, had been founded by the Saljūq Sultan Alā-ad-Dīn on the site of the ruins of Coracesium. Ibn Battūta landed here from Syria in 733 (1333), and describes 'Alayā as at that time the great port for the trade with Alexandria.

In the upper town, very strongly built by 'Alâ-ad-Din, was the castle, which Ibn Ba'tûtah carefully examined; but in his day 'Alâyâ appears to have belonged to the Sultan of Karamân.

Antâliyâh, the second harbour, lying a hundred miles to the westward of 'Alâyâ, at the head of the bay, was famous as the usual place of re-embarkation of the Crusaders for Palestine. It was a fine town, and was known to Yâkût as the chief port of Rûm, being strongly fortified and surrounded by fruitful lands, with many vineyards. Here Sultan Kîljî Arslân the Saljûk had built himself a palace on the hill overlooking the sea, and here, too, Ibn Ba'tûtah found many Christian merchants settled, especially down at the Mînâ or port, their quarter being shut off by a wall, and each trade, he adds, had its own street in the markets. There was a Jews' quarter also, and the Moslems lived in their own part of the city, where stood the mosque and Madrasah (college). Antâliyâh, the name of which occurs in the Crusading chronicles as Satalia or Attaleia, is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Timûr under the form 'Adâliyâh. To the west of it, also mentioned by 'Alî of Yazd, is Istanûs, a town whose name in the Jahân Namâ is written Istanâz.¹

To the north of Tekkeh the Amir of Ťamîd owned the country round the four lakes of Egridûr, Burdûr, Beg Shahr, and Âk Shahr. Under the Saljûks, according to Ibn Bibi, the seat of government had been at Burughlû, apparently identical with the later Ulû Birlû (to the west of the Egridûr lake), the Byzantine Sozopolis or Apollonia. Antâkiyâh (Antioch of Pisidia), which in the earlier Moslem chronicles is frequently referred to, in Turkish times took the name of Yalâvâch, and was situate in the plain between the lakes of Egridûr and Âk Shahr. The chief town of the province, according to Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century, appears to have been the city of Egridûr (the ancient Prostanna) at the southern end of the lake of that name. Ibn Ba'tûtah describes it as a great place, well built, with fine markets, surrounded by abundantly watered gardens; and the lake (he adds) was traversed by the boats of the merchants, who thus transported

their goods to neighbouring places, and traded with the towns on the shores of the Âk Shahr and Beg Shahr lakes.

The town of Beg Shahr (or Bey Shahr, Karallia of the Byzantines) at the foot of its lake, according to the Jahân Numâ, had been founded by Sultan ‘Alâ-ad-Dîn the Saljûk. It had a stone wall with two gates, a Friday Mosque, and fine baths; also a market at a place called Alarghah. To the west of Egridûr lies Burdûr, on the lake of the same name, a small town, according to Ibn Baṭûtah, with many streams and gardens, protected by a castle on the neighbouring hill. Ispârtah, south of Egridûr, is given in the Jahân Numâ as the capital of Ḥamîd in later times. Ibn Baṭûtah writes the name Sabartâ; and describes it as a well-built city of many gardens, protected by a castle. This represents the Byzantine town of Baris, and Sparta is the common pronunciation of the present day¹.

The lake of Âk Shahr is that which Ibn Khurdâdbih (see above, p. 135) calls Bâsiliyûn, and which the Byzantines knew as the Lake of the Forty Martyrs. To the west of it is the great castle of Karâ Hisâr, which in connection with Âk Shahr is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Timûr. At Âk Shahr, according to ‘Ali of Yazd, the unfortunate Sultan of the ‘Othmânîls, Bayazîd Ilderîm, whom Timûr had defeated at Angora, died broken-heated in 805 (1403), and both this Âk Shahr and this Karâ Hisâr are mentioned by Mustawfi among the many celebrated places of those names. This Karâ Hisâr, now surnamed Afyûn from the quantity of opium grown round it, marks the site of the Greek town of Prymnessos or Akroenos, and local tradition asserts that Al-Baṭṭâl, the champion of the earlier Omayyad wars against the Byzantines, was killed in battle near here. Tabari, however, our earliest authority, only says that in the year 122 (740) ‘Abd-Allah-al-Baṭṭâl was slain in the Greek country, and no indication of the place is given².

¹ Sabartâ or Ispârtah is the corruption of the Greek eis Bâpea; cf. footnote, p. 157, on Izmid and İznil (Nicomedia and Nicæa).
² Ibn Bibli, 5, 212, 251, 283. I. B. ii. 265, 266. Mst. 161, 163, 164. J. N. 618, 639, 640, 641. A. Y. ii. 457, 458, 489, 492. Ramsay, H. G. A. M. 87, 139, 396, 401, 406. Tabari, ii. 1716. The tomb of Al-Baṭṭâl is given in the Jahân Numâ (p. 642) as existing in the 11th (17th) century at Sîdî Ghâzî, more than fifty miles north of Karâ Hisâr to the east of Kutâhiyâh. At the present day it is shown at Kirshahr. In regard to Antioch of Pisidia there was
North and west of the Hamid province was the country governed by the Amîr of Kermiyan, or Germiyan, whose capital was at Kûthâhiyah (Cotyæum). The Arab chroniclers wrote the name, as already mentioned, Kûthiye; but the Byzantine town must early have fallen to ruin, and according to the Jahân Numâ it was the Sultan of Germiyan to whom the later medieval town of Kûthâhiyah owed its foundation. Ibn Baṭûtah refers to it as inhabited by robbers. At the close of the 8th (14th) century the place is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Tîmûr, he for a time having made it his head-quarters. A hundred miles east of Kûthâhiyah, near the upper affluents of the Sangarius, stands the great fortress of Sîvri Hišâr, where Tîmûr also for a time had his head-quarters. The name in Turkish means 'the Pointed Castle' (Kazwînî spells it Sîbri Hišâr), and it stands above the site of the Roman Pessinus, which afterwards was renamed Justinianopolis Palia. Kazwînî reports that in the 7th (13th) century there was a famous church here called Bay'at Kamnânûs, and if animals suffering from stricture were seven times led round this church, the stricture would yield and they then recovered their health.

South of Sîvri Hišâr lies 'Ammûriyah (Amorion, at the modern Assar Ka'lah), already spoken of (p. 137), which Mustawfi refers to as if in the 8th (14th) century it were still a place of importance. For some unexplained reason the common people, he adds, called it Angûriyah or Angûrah (Angora), and this strange misnomer is repeated in the Jahân Numâ, only that according to the latter authority it was Angûriyah, Angora, that was commonly called 'Ammûriyah. In the south-eastern part of Germiyan is Lâdhîk (Laodicea ad Lycum), which the Turks called Denizlû, 'Many Waters,' from its abundant streams; the place is now known as Eski Hišâr (Old Fort). Ibn Baṭûtah describes it at all times a tendency in the earlier Arab chronicles to confound this with other places of the same name, and especially with Antioch of Syria. Ya'kûbî in his History (i. 177) refers to Anṭâkiyâh-al-Muḥtarikah, 'Burnt Antioch,' by which apparently the town of Pisidia is meant. The same author (ii. 285) speaks further of a raid made in the year 49 (669), and then mentions 'Black Antioch' (Anṭâkiyâh-as-Sawdâ), by which name possibly Antioch of Isauria is intended.
as a great city, with seven mosques for the Friday prayers, and excellent markets. The Greek women of Lâdhiḳ wove cotton stuffs, which they afterwards embroidered finely with gold, and these embroideries were famous for their wear. In the Jahân Numâ the older form of the name is given as Lâdhiḳiyah.¹

In the province governed by the Menteshä Amîr, Ibn Baṭṭâh visited the three neighbouring cities of Mughlah, Mîlâs, and Barjîn. The Amîr lived at Mughlah (the older Mobolla), the capital, according to the Jahân Numâ, which Ibn Baṭṭâh describes as a fine town. Mîlâs (Mylasa, or Melisos) was also a great city with gardens, much fruit, and plentiful streams. Barjîn (Bargylia, now known as Assarlik), a few miles from Mîlâs, was a newly built town, standing on a hill-top, with a fine mosque and good houses. In the eastern part of Menteshâ, Ibn Baṭṭâh visited Kul Hisâr, which under the name of Gul is described by Mustawfî as a medium-sized town, and it is also spoken of in the campaigns of Tîmûr. Ibn Baṭṭâh describes it as surrounded on all sides by the waters of the little lake on which it stood, this being almost entirely overgrown with reeds. A single road by a causeway led to the town across the lake, and the castle, which was very strong, crowned a hill rising immediately above the town. In the north of Menteshâ was the castle of Ḥîṣn Tawâs, at the present time called Daonas, a day and a half distant from Lâdhiḳ (Laodicea ad Lycum). Ibn Baṭṭâh describes Tawâs as a great fortress with a walled town below it. Tradition stated that Suhayb, a celebrated Companion of the prophet Muhammad, had been born here.²

North of Menteshâ was the territory of the Amîr of Aydîn, of which Tîrah (Teira) was the capital. Ibn Baṭṭâh, who visited the Amîr of Aydîn here, says it was a fine city with many gardens and abundant streams. He also passed through Birkt (Pyrgion), one march north of Tîrah, of which he praises the magnificent trees. The city of Aydîn or Guzel Hisâr occupies the site of the Byzantine Tralleis, and was a town of secondary importance. Ephesus, on the coast, was well known to the earlier Arab

geographers as Afasûs, or Abasûs, and was famous as the place where might be seen the Cave of the Seven Sleepers referred to in the Kurân (ch. xviii, v. 8). In later times the town came to be known as Ayâsulûk (also written Ayâthulûk or Ayâsulûkh), a corruption of the Greek Agiou Theologou, and so called from the great church to Saint John Theologos, built here by the Emperor Justinian. This church was visited by Ibn Baṭūṭah when he was here in 733 (1333). He describes it as constructed of great stones, each ten ells in length, carefully hewn. Another church had, on the Moslem conquest, become the Friday Mosque, and this was a most beautiful building, the walls being faced with divers coloured marbles, while the pavement was of white marble, and the roof, which was formed of eleven domes, was covered with lead. Ibn Baṭūṭah states that Ayâsulûk in his day had fifteen gates, a river (the Cayster) flowed past it to the sea, and the city was surrounded by jasmine gardens and vineyards.

The other great port of Aydûn was Smyrna, called by the Turks Azmûr or Yazmûr, which was taken by Timûr from the Knights Hospitallers in the beginning of the 9th (15th) century. Ibn Baṭūṭah, who was here in 733 (1333), describes it as then for the most part in ruin; there was a great castle on the hill hard by, and from this port, he adds, the Amir of Aydûn was wont to send out ships to harass the Byzantines, and plunder the neighbouring Christian towns. Of these last was Fûjah (or Fuchah, Phocia) on the coast of the province of Şarûkhân, mentioned later on in the time of Timûr as a Moslem castle, but which Ibn Baṭūṭah writes of in his travels as then in the hands ‘of the infidels,’ namely the Genoese. The capital of Şarûkhân was Maghnişiyah (or Maghnîsiyâ, Magnesia) which he speaks of as a fine city standing on the hill-side, surrounded by many gardens with abundant streams, and here the Amir of Şarûkhân held his court. In the campaigns of Timûr the province round Maghni Siyåh (as the name was then written) is called Saruhân-Ilî1.

North of Şarûkhân was the territory of the Karâsî (or

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Karah-Si) Amir, whose capitals were Bâlikesrî and Barghamah (Pergamos). Ibn Baṭītah, who visited Pergamos in 733 (1333), describes it as a city for the most part in ruin, but defended by a huge castle perched on a hill-top near by. Bâlikesrî, which he also visited, was a well-built and populous town with excellent markets. There was, however, no Friday Mosque here at this date, though the Sultan of Kârâsi, Dumûr (or Timûr) Khân, generally lived here, and his father had built Bâlikesrî. At a later period the town is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Timûr.

From Bâlikesrî Ibn Baṭītah travelled on to Bruşâ, at that time the capital of the ‘Othmânî state, which already had begun to overshadow and absorb all the other Turkoman Amirates. Bruşâ or Brûshah (Prusa) was already a great city, with fine markets and broad streets. The town was surrounded by extensive gardens, and within the city was a great tank where the water was collected for distribution to all the houses. At Bruşâ there was a hospital, with one ward for men and another for women, where the sick were attended to and supplied gratis with all necessities, and there was also a hot bath. The ‘Othmânî Sultan whom Ibn Baṭītah visited was Orkhân (grandfather of that Bayazîd Ilderîm, already mentioned as defeated at the beginning of the following century by Timûr), and the chief monument of his capital was the tomb of Sultan ‘Othmân, his father, who was buried in what had formerly been a church.

Mikhâlîj (Miletopolis, which the Byzantines called Michaelitze), lying about 50 miles west of Bruşâ, is frequently mentioned in the campaigns of Timûr, and in the Jahân Numâ. The most important town of the Ottoman territory in 733 (1333), however, was Nicæa, which had been taken from the Byzantines by Sultan Orkhân. Nicæa, which the earlier Arab geographers called Nîkiyâh, the Turks knew as Yazînîk or Iznîk. Ibn Baṭītah describes the lake of Yazînîk as covered with reeds. At the eastern end of it the town stood, and was entered by a single causeway across the waters, so narrow that only one horseman at a time could approach. The town itself he describes as much in ruin, but its circuit enclosed many gardens; it was surrounded by four separate walls with a water ditch dug between
every two, traversed by drawbridges. To the north of Nicæa lies Nicomedia, which the earlier Arab authorities knew as Nikmûdiyah; the Turks called it İznekmîd, as the Jahân Numâ writes the name, shortened later to İzmiît, which is that now in use. No description of this town is given by Ibn Bațûtah or our other authorities.

The province of Kızıl Aḩmadlî lay along the coast of the Black Sea from the neighbourhood of the Bosporus to Sinope. Travelling from Yâzniş, after passing the river Sangarius, which the Turks called Saḵrâ, the first large town which Ibn Baţûtah came to was Muṭurnî or Mûdurnî (modern Mudurlû, and the ancient Modrene) which he speaks of as a place of considerable size; it is also mentioned in the Jahân Numâ. The town of Bûli (Claudiopolis), to the north-east of Muṭurnî, Ibn Baţûtah describes as standing on a river of some volume; and Kereh-deh (or Geredî) Bûli, one march to the east of this, was a fine large city in a plain, with good markets and broad streets, each separate nation among its people having a distinct quarter. Geredî Bûli in 733 (1333) was the residence of the Amîr, and appears to have been then the chief town of Kızıl Aḩmadlî.

In the eastern part of the province stands Kaştamûniyah (or Kaştamûnî, for Castamôn) which Mustawfî describes as a medium-sized town. Ibn Baţûtah speaks of it as one of the largest cities which he visited in Asia Minor, and provisions, he notes, were here both cheap and abundant. To the north-east of it lay the great port of Şanûb (or Sinûb, Sinope), where he took ship for the Crimea, and from his description we learn how Sinope was surrounded on three sides by the sea, the town being entered by a single gate to the east. It was a beautiful and populous harbour and strongly defended. A fine Friday Mosque was to be seen here, the dome supported on marble pillars; and a place of

1 İznekmîd is a corruption of the Byzantine eis Νικομήδεια: Izmiît of eis Nicæav. I. B. ii. 315, 316, 317, 322. A. Y. ii. 466. J. N. 631, 656, 661, 662. Ramsay, H. G. A. M. 179. The picture Ibn Baţûtah gives of Sultan Orkhân, the founder of the celebrated corps of the Janizaries, is very curious. Ibn Baţûtah states that this chief was already the most powerful of all the Turkoman Amîrs. He possessed a hundred castles, and never stayed a month in any one town, being always out campaigning and inspecting his frontiers.
popular veneration was the reputed tomb of Bilāl the Abyssinian, the Companion of the prophet Muḥammad, and his Muezzin who had been the first to call the Moslems to prayer.

The Byzantine city of Gangra Germanicopolis, which lies some 50 miles south of ʿKaṣṭamūnī, the Turks called ʿKāŋkri. In the earlier Arab chronicles the name is given as Khanjarah, and a great raid was made by the Moslems in the reign of the Omayyad Caliph Hishām as far into the Greek lands as this town. Kazwīnī, who spells the name Ghanjarah, says that it stood on a river called the Nahr Maḵlūb, 'the stream which was turned over,'—because unlike other rivers it ran from south to north. He adds that in 442 (1050) Ghanjarah was almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake. Finally, to complete the list of towns in the ʿKızıl Aḥmadlı province, ʿKūch Ḥiṣār, which is named in the Jahān Nūmā, must be mentioned. It lies about midway between ʿKaṣṭamūnī and ʿKāŋkri, and possibly is the ʿKūḫ Ḥiṣār of Mustawfī already noticed (p. 149), and there identified with the city of the same name on the great Salt Lake.¹

In regard to the high roads traversing Asia Minor, except for the road from ʿTarsus to Constantinople (given p. 134), and the road east from Sivās towards Tabrīz (given p. 147), no itineraries that are of any use are forthcoming. In the Jahān Nūmā² a certain number of roads are mentioned that radiated from Sivās as a centre, and along these the names of various villages and post-stations are set down, many of which may still be found on the map. Unfortunately the distances are in most cases omitted, and hence the amount of information to be derived from these routes is not of much account.

² J. N. 627, 628.
CHAPTER XI.

ADHARBĀYJĀN.


The mountainous province of Adharbāyjān—the name of which is pronounced Azarbījān in modern Persian—was of much less importance under the Caliphate than it became in the later middle ages after the Mongol invasion. In the earlier period it lay off the line of traffic, which passed by the Khurāsān road through the Jībāl province (Media); and the remoteness of Adharbāyjān was also increased, according to Muḥaddasī, by the fact that over seventy languages or dialects were spoken among its mountains and high plains, while none of the cities were of any very considerable size.

In successive epochs different towns rose one after another to the position of the provincial capital. At first, with the earlier Abbasids, it was Ardabīl; then, under the later Caliphs, Tabriz took the first position, but after the Mongol invasion for a time gave place to Marāghah. Tabriz, however, soon regained its pre-eminence under the İl-Khāns, but again under the first

1 See Map III. p. 87. The older form of the name in Persian was Adharbādhağān, a name which the Greeks corrupted to Atropatene. Muḥaddasī (p. 373) describes Adharbāyjān, Arrān and Armenia as forming part of a single great province, which he designates as the İklim-ar-İhhāb, ‘the region of the high plains’—in distinction to the mountains (Jībāl) of Media, and the lowlands (Aḵūr) of Mesopotamia.
Ṣafavid kings was eclipsed by Ardabil. At a later date, in the 11th (17th) century, when Isfahān was made the capital of all Persia by Shāh ʿAbbās and Ardabil fell to decay, Tabrīz was reinstated once more in the position of chief city of Adharbāyjān, and so remains to the present day, being now by far the most important town in the north-western part of Persia.

The most remarkable natural feature of the province is the Lake of Urmīyah, the largest permanent sheet of water in Persia, being over 80 miles long from north to south and a third of this across in its broadest part. It lies to the west of Tabrīz, and takes its name from the town of Urmīyah which lies on its western shore. Our authorities give the lake a variety of names. In the Zend Avesta it is called Chaechasta, and this, the old Persian form, is retained in Chīchast, the name by which the lake is referred to in the Shāh Nāmeh, and which was still in use as late as the times of Mustawfī. Masʿūdī and Ibn Ḥawḵal in the 4th (10th) century call it the Buḥayrah Kabūdhān, a name derived from the Armenian and meaning ‘the Blue Lake’ (gaboid being ‘blue’ in that language). Iṣṭakhrī calls it the lake of Urmīyah (being followed in this by Muḵaddasī), otherwise the Buḥayrah-ash-Shurāt, ‘the Lake of the Schismatics,’ from the heterodox beliefs of the various peoples inhabiting its shores, and he describes its waters as very salt. It was, he adds, in those days covered with boats trafficking between Urmīyah and Marāghah, and on its shores were many most fertile districts.

In the middle of the lake was an island, called the Kabūdhān island by Ibn Serapion, with a small town, inhabited by boatmen. Its waters were full of fish according to Iṣṭakhrī (Ibn Ḥawḵal, on the contrary, says there were none), and there was a curious fish found here known as the Water-dog (Kalb-al-Mā); in winter time storms raised great waves, and the navigation was very dangerous. By Abu-l-Fidā the lake is referred to as the Buḥayrah Tilā— but the latter name is of unknown signification; Kaẓwīnī speaks of the salt and the Tūtiyā (tutty of zinc) which were produced here and largely exported. Mustawfī who, as already said, more generally writes of it as the Chīchast lake, also calls it the Daryā-i-Shūr, ‘the Salt Lake,’ or else refers to it as the lake of Ṭarūj or Ṭasūj, from the name of an important town on its northern shore.
He and Ḥāfiz Abrū both refer to the island (a peninsula, when the waters are low) of Shāhā, where there was a great castle crowning a hill, the burial-place of Hūlāgū and other of the Mongol princes. The fortress of Shāhā is mentioned in the 3rd (9th) century, for Ibn Mashkuwayh when relating the events of the Caliphate of Mutawakkil, grandson of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, speaks of Shāhā and Yakdur, two castles then held by rebel chieftains of these parts. In the 7th (13th) century Hūlāgū rebuilt the castle of Shāhā—which Ḥāfiz Abrū calls the Kal‘ah-i-Tilā of the Urmiyah lake—and stored here all his treasures, the plunder of Baghdad and the provinces of the Caliphate. This castle subsequently becoming his burial-place it was known in Persian as Gūr Kal‘ah, ‘the Castle of the Tomb,’ and when Ḥāfiz Abrū wrote in the time of Timūr it was entirely uninhabited.

The city of Tabriz lies some thirty miles east from the lake shore on a river which debouches near the Shāhā island or peninsula. Tabriz appears to have been a mere village till the 3rd (9th) century, when in the reign of Mutawakkil a certain Ibn-ar-Rawād settled here, he and his brother and son building themselves palaces and afterwards enclosing with a wall the town which gathered round these. A late tradition indeed refers the foundation of Tabriz to Zubaydah, the wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, but the earlier chronicles give no support to this statement, moreover it is nowhere recorded that this princess ever visited Adharbāyjān. Mūkaddassī in the 4th (10th) century describes Tabriz as a fine town, with a Friday Mosque, well watered by numerous streams, and surrounded by fruitful orchards. Yāḵūt who was here in 610 (1213) speaks of it as at that time the chief town of Adharbāyjān, Ḵazwīnī adding that it was famous for its ‘Attābī (or tabby) silks, its velvets and woven stuffs. The Mongols

1 The name Urmiyah is now commonly pronounced Urmīyah, and this is the spelling given by Ibn Serapion, MS. f. 25 a. Ist. 181, 189. I. H. 239, 247. Muk. 375, 380. Mas. i. 97. A. F. 42. Yak. i. 513. Kaz. ii. 194. Mst. 226. Hfz. 27 a. Ibn Mashkuwayh, 539. In the Shāh Nāmah (Turner Macan, Calcutta, 1829), p. 1860, line 4, and p. 1927, line 6 from below, for Khanjast (a clerical error), ‘Chīchast’ is to be read, the two names only differing by a shifting of the diacritical points.
who captured Tabrīz in 618 (1221) were promptly bought off, and the city thus escaped the usual sack; and, as already said, under the subsequent Īl-Khān dynasty it became the largest town of these parts.

Mustawfī gives a long account of Tabrīz. Twice, he says, it had been destroyed by earthquakes and rebuilt, namely in 244 (858), and in 434 (1043) when 40,000 of its inhabitants perished. After being finally restored it was surrounded by a wall 6000 paces in circuit, with ten gates, and continued thus till the 8th (14th) century, when Ghāzān Khān began to build great suburbs beyond the older wall, surrounding these in turn by a new wall. This, which was pierced by six gates, included the hill of Valiūn in its circuit, and measured 25,000 paces round. Mustawfī gives the names of the inner and outer gates of Tabrīz (the mss. vary considerably in these), and he states that Ghāzān Khān was buried in 703 (1303) in the great suburb of Shām, which he had laid out. His successors added many fine mosques and erected public buildings within the city and in the suburb of Rashīdī, which occupied the slopes of the hill of Valiūn. The orchards of Tabrīz were watered by the river Mihrān Rūd, which rose in Mount Sahand lying to the south of the city. Round Tabrīz lay seven districts, called for the most part after their respective streams. These names, with the villages adjacent, are given in detail by Mustawfī, but the readings of the many proper names are very uncertain. Ibn Baṭūṭah, who visited Tabrīz in the year 730 (1330), speaks of the Shām quarter lying outside the town, with its fine college built by Ghāzān Khān and the oratory. He entered the city by the Baghdad gate, and notes the market of Ghāzān, and the jewellers’ marché where an abundance of precious stones was offered for sale. Near by was the musk and ambergris market. The Friday Mosque, he says, had been built by the Wazīr ‘Alī Shāh of Gilān; its court was paved with marble, and to the tank a channel brought water. The walls were faced with enameled tile-work (Kāshānī-ware), and to right and left of the mosque stood, on the one side an oratory, and on the other a college.

The two rivers, called respectively the Mihrān Rūd, which ran

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through the suburbs of Tabriz, and the Sard Rûd (the Cold River), flowing to the south-west, which like the first named took its rise in Mount Sahand to the south of Tabriz, both joined the Sarâv river at a short distance to the north of the city. The Sarâv Rûd, which was also called the Sarkhâb river, rose in the mountains of Sablân Kûh, which lay 200 miles to the eastward of Tabriz, over-hanging Ardabil. After a long and winding course, passing through successive salt marshes and receiving many affluents, the Sarâv river flowed out into the Urmiyah lake at a point about 40 miles to the westward of the city of Tabriz. The two mountains of Sahand and Sablân, and the rivers that flowed down from them, are described in much detail by Mustawfî. The town of Sarâv or Sarâb, which gave its name to the river, lies on the road from Tabriz to Ardabil, and according to Mustawfî was surrounded by the four districts of Warzand, Darand, Barâghûsh, and Saḵhîr. The earlier Arab geographers spell the name of the town Sarât (for Sarâb), and Ibn Hawâkal describes it as a fine place with many mills, surrounded by fields and orchards where much corn and fruit was grown. In Sarât were found numerous hostelries and excellent markets. Yâḵût, who spells the name Sarâv or Sarv, speaks of it as having been ruined by the Mongol invasion of the year 617 (1220), when most of its inhabitants were slaughtered. It had however recovered when Mustawfî wrote a century later; he adds that it lay three days' march from Tabriz and two from Ardabil.

On a left (south) bank affluent of the Sarâv river stood the town of Awjân or Újân, which was ten leagues from Tabriz on the road to Miyânah. Yâḵût who had been here in the 7th (13th) century describes Újân as a walled town with an excellent market. It had, however, been ruined by the Mongols, and in Mustawfî's day was rebuilt by Ghâzân Khân, who at one time had resided here. He renamed it Shahh-i-Islâm, 'the City of Islam,' and enclosed it with a wall 3000 paces in circuit built of mortared stones. The surrounding districts were very fertile, growing cotton, corn, and much fruit. Its river, called the Āb-i-Újân, rose in an eastern spur of Mount Sahand. To the south-west of this mountain, and about 60 miles from Tabriz, being four leagues from the shore of the lake, was the great
village of Dâkharrâkân, as Ibn Ḥawkâl and the Arab geographers spell the name, which the Persians write Dih Khuwârkân. Yâḳūt gives Dih Nakhrîjân as an alternative reading, explaining this as meaning the village (Dih) of Nakhrîjân, treasurer of Chosroes, king of Persia. Mustawfi describes it as a small town, surrounded by dependencies and eight villages, where much fruit and corn was grown.

The city of Marâghah stood about 70 miles south of Tabriz, on the river Sâfî, which flowed south down to it from Mount Sâhând, and then turned west to reach the lake. Marâghah, an abbreviation for Kâriyat-al-Marâghah, 'the Village of the Pastures,' is said to have been called Afrâzah Rûdh by the Persians. In the 4th (10th) century Marâghah is described by Ibn Ḥawkâl as a town of the size of Ardabil, at that time the chief city of Adharbâyjân; he adds further that Marâghah had already even then been for a time the provincial capital, where the government treasury and offices were stationed, before they were permanently transferred to Ardabil. Marâghah was a most pleasant town, surrounded by a wall beyond which lay fruitful orchards. It was famous for a particular kind of perfumed melon grown here, green outside and red within, which tasted of honey. Muḥaddasi speaks of its castle and fortifications, with a great suburb lying outside these. Yâḳūt records that its fortifications were built under Hârûn-ar-Râshîd and restored by the Caliph Mamûn.

Under the earlier Mongols, as we have already seen, Marâghah became the capital of Adharbâyjân, and Mustawfi describes it as a great city surrounded by numerous and fertile districts, some of which he names, amply watered by many streams. Outside Marâghah stood the great observatory built by the astronomer Nâṣîr-ad-Dîn of Ţûs, where by order of Hûlâgû the celebrated Īl-Khâbî tables had been calculated and published. The observatory, of which the ruins still exist, was however already dilapidated when Mustawfi wrote in the 8th (14th) century. Kazwini mentions the castle, called Ruwîn Dîz, which lay three leagues distant from Marâghah, having a stream flowing on either

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1 Ist. 190. I. H. 248, 253. Yak. i. 131, 198; ii. 425, 636; iii. 64. Mst. 155, 158, 204, 205, 217, 218.
side of it, and within the castle a famous garden called Umidâbâd with its own cistern to irrigate it. A league from here stood the village of Janbadhâk, with a hot spring, of which many wonders were related.

The Şâfl river, which flowed into the lake to the west of Marâghâh, mingled its waters in flood-time with those of the Jaghtû river and its affluent the Taghtû, both of which as described by Mustawfî rose in the Kurdistan mountains; and the whole of the southern shore of the lake at their outflow was a great swamp. Here surrounded by tortuous streams stood the small town of Laylân (or Naylân), among fruitful orchards, and inhabited in the time of Mustawfî by Mongols. Some way to the south of Laylân, according to the distances given in the Itineraries, was the village of Barzah, where the road coming up from Sisár (in the Jibâl province) bifurcated. To the right one way went on north-east to Marâghâh; while to the left, and by the west of the lake, lay the way to Urmiyah.

Fifty miles from the southern shore of the lake was Baswâ, by the Persians pronounced Pasawâ, which Yâkût had visited, and he states that in his day the inhabitants were mostly robbers. Mustawfî praises its fruitful orchards, and to the north-west of it lay the town of Ushnuh, which in the time of Ibn Hâwkal was inhabited by Kurds. In the 4th (10th) century Ushnuh did a great trade in horses and cattle with the neighbouring towns of Mesopotamia, especially Mosul: its lands were very fertile and its sheep pastures were famous. Yâkût, who had visited it, speaks of its fine gardens, and Mustawfî, who spells the name Ushnûyah, describes it as a medium-sized town of the mountain region which he calls Dih Kiyâhân. ¹

The city of Urmiyah, which gave its name to the lake, lay at a short distance from its western shore. Tradition proclaimed Urmiyah to have been the birth-place of Zardûsht or Zoroaster. The town, according to Ibn Hâwkal in the 4th (10th) century, was of the same size as Marâghâh, being a pleasant place and surrounded by vineyards; its markets were well supplied with merchandise, among the rest being the clothiers' market,

where stood the Friday Mosque. Urmiyeh was fortified and defended by a castle, and a stream flowed through it down to the lake, which was about a league distant. In the 8th (14th) century it had grown to be a large place, its wall measuring 10,000 paces in circuit, and a score of villages were of its dependencies. On the high road north of Urmiyeh, and at some distance back from the north-western corner of the lake, is Salmás. Muḥaddasā describes this as a fine town with good markets and a Friday Mosque built of stone; the population of the place in the 4th (10th) century was of Kurd origin. Yāḵūt says that in the 7th (13th) century Salmás lay for the most part in ruin; but the Wazīr ʿAli Shāh, Mustawfī writes, rebuilt its walls 8000 paces in circuit during the following century, in the reign of Ghāzān Khān, the Mongol, and the town had then regained its former importance. Its climate was cold, and a river which rose in the mountains to the west passed through it to the lake.

On the northern shore of the lake was the town called Ṭarūj or Ṭasūj, which is apparently identical with the modern Tursah. Mustawfī, as already said, often speaks of the Salt Lake of Ṭasūj or Ṭarūj, and the town therefore shared with Urmiyeh the honour of giving its name to this sheet of water. In the 8th (14th) century Ṭasūj must have been an important place, it was warmer than Tabriz and damper, being so near the lake, and it was surrounded by gardens and orchards. To the north-east of Salmás lies Khawī, pronounced Khoi, on a stream that flows north to the river Aras (Araxes). Khawī was a strongly fortified and flourishing town according to Yāḵūt and Kāzwīnī, surrounded by fertile lands and famous for its excellent brocades. There was also a spring here which had the reputation of being hot in winter and cold in summer. Mustawfī says that the enceinte of its town walls measured 6500 paces, and that its people were a white-skinned race like the Khatāi (Chinese); eighty villages were of its dependencies.

The town of Marand which lay to the east of Khoi, on the banks of a stream which was a right bank affluent of the Khoi river, is described by Muḥaddasā in the 4th (10th) century as a small fortress with a mosque, and a market in the suburb, which was surrounded by gardens. Yāḵūt says that it was ruined by
the Kurds who had carried off most of its inhabitants after plundering the town. Its river according to Mustawfi was called the Zulu (or Zakvir), and a part of it was said to flow for four leagues underground. Mustawfi states that in his day Marand was only half its former size, but was still famous for the rearing of the Kirmiz-worm (cochineal), used for making the red dye, and that round the town were 60 villages that were of its dependencies

Nakhchiván, or Nakjawán, to the north of the Aras river, was generally counted as of Adharbáyyán. It is identical with Nashawá of the Arab geographers, and is often mentioned in the Itineraries, but no description of the town is given. Nakhchiván rose to importance under the Mongols, and Mustawfi describes it as a large town built of brick. Near it, to the eastward, was the fortress of Alanjik, and to the north rose the snow-clad mountain called Mast Kuh. In Nakhchiván stood the dome built by Diyá-al-Mulk, son of Niẓám-al-Mulk, the great Wazír of Malik Shâh the Saljúk, and 'Ali of Yazd describes the famous bridge of Diyá-al-Mulk (the ruins of which still exist) which crossed the Aras at the fortress of Karkar on the road to Marand, about 15 miles from Nakhchiván.

A little lower down on the Aras is Julsah, otherwise written Julahah, which was destroyed by Shâh 'Abbâs of Persia in 1014 (1605), when he transported all its Armenian inhabitants to the new suburb which he built to the south of Isfahan and named Julsah from the older Julsah on the Araxes. Among other towns on the banks of the Aras river Mustawfi mentions Urdubâd (which still exists), near where a river joins the Aras from the south, on whose banks stood the castle of Dizmâr, which is also mentioned by Yakút. Still lower down the Aras lay the town of Zangiyân in the Murdân Na'im district, where a second bridge, still in existence, crosses the Araxes. This is called the Pûl-i-Khudâ-Áfarin in Persian, 'the Bridge of Praising God,' which Mustawfi says had been built by one of the Companions of the prophet Muhammad in the year 15 (636). The Murdân (or Murâd) Na'im territory comprised in its circuit over 30 villages. 

1 Ist. 181. I. H. 239. Muk. 377. Kaz. i. 180; ii. 354. Yak. i. 218; ii. 502; iii. 120; iv. 503. Mst. 156—159, 218.
The city of Ardabil stood on the upper waters of the river called Andarâb by Mustawfi, and the Ardabil river, after being joined lower down on its left bank by the Āhar river, flowed into the Araxes some way below the bridge of Khudâ-Âfarîn. The rivers of Ardabil and Āhar rose on the eastern and western slopes, respectively, of the great mountain called Sablân Kûh, which overhangs Ardabil, and from whose southern slopes the Sarâv river, as already mentioned, takes its course westward to the Urmiyah lake. Mount Sablân is mentioned in the 4th (10th) century by Ibn Ḥawkāl, who erroneously considered it as higher than Damâvand, some miles to the north of Tîhrân. Its slopes were covered with trees, and here stood villages and many towns, which are enumerated by Mustawfi. The mountain, he adds, was visible 50 leagues away, its summit being always covered with snow, while near the top was a spring the surface of which remained always frozen. Near Mount Sablân also were two other peaks, Kûh Sarâh and north of Āhar, and Siyâh Kûh (the Black Mountain), which last towered above Kalantar, a small town with a castle which stood among woods, with a river flowing through its many cornfields.

Ardabil, as already said, was the capital city of Adharbâyjân in the 4th (10th) century. It is described by Išṭâkhri as walled, and measuring two-thirds of a league across every way; the houses were of burnt brick and clay, and at that time troops were kept here in garrison. Its dependencies were extremely fertile, and the Ardabil honey was famous. Muḥaddasî speaks of the fortress, and the markets of Ardabil were in four cross-streets, with the Friday Mosque standing at the intersection point. Outside the town was an extensive suburb. In 617 (1220) Ardabil was sacked by the Mongols and left a ruin; but just before this, when Yâkût was here, it was a most populous city. Ardabil had been known anciently by the Persian name of Bâdhân Firûz. When Mustawfi wrote in the 8th (14th) century, though no longer the chief town of Adharbâyjân, it had recovered much of its former splendour; and in the 10th (16th) century, as already stated, it became for a time the capital of the whole of Persia under the newly founded dynasty of the Şafavids, before they removed, first to Tabriz and afterwards to Isfahân.
Åhar which lies 150 miles west of Ardabil, on the Åhar river, is named in the lists of the earlier Arab geographers, and described by Yâkût as a well-built city, to the north of which lay Mount Sarâhand. It was surrounded by many small towns standing on the hill-slopes, the names of which are recorded by both Yâkût and Mustawfî, but these are difficult now to recognise or identify. The surrounding district was known as Pishkîn (at the present day Mishkîn), from the name of the ruling family who flourished here in the 8th (14th) century. The town of Pishkîn lay one march from Åhar, and originally had been known as Varavi. The river Andarâb, just above where the Åhar river joined it, Mustawfî says, was crossed by a fine bridge that had been built by ‘Ali Shâh, the Wazîr of Ghâzân Khân the Mongol.

The Safid Rûd, or White River, with its many affluents, drained all the south-eastern part of Adharbâyjân. Its main stream for most of its length formed the frontier dividing Adharbâyjân from the Jibâl province, and the river finally flowed out to the Caspian Sea through the province of Gilân. Ištâkhri and other Arab writers give the name as the Sabîd-rûdh. Mustawfî says that in his time it was known to the Mongols as the Hûlân Mûlân (more exactly Ulân Mören), which in Mongolian means ‘Red River’; and at the present day part of the Safid Rûd is known as Kizîl Uzen, which in Turkish also signifies ‘Red Stream.’ Mustawfî writes that the Safid Rûd rose in the highlands of Kurdistân, in a mountain called Panj Angûsht (in Persian) or Besh Parmak (in Turkish), and both names mean ‘the Five Fingers.’ Flowing north the Safid Rûd first received the Zanjân river on its right bank, coming from the city of that name, which will be described in a later chapter; then on its left bank there flowed in the Miyânij river, formed by the confluence of many streams coming down from the west. North of Miyânij the Safid Rûd turned west, receiving on its left bank the united streams of the Sanjîdah and Gâdîv rivers coming down from Khalkhâl to the south of Ardabil, and next the Shâl river from the Shâh Rûd district of Khalkhâl. Below this on its right bank, and coming from the Jibâl province (as will be described in

1 Ist. 181. I. H. 237, 238, 240, 266. Muk. 374, 377. Yak. i. 197, 367, 409, 461; iv. 918. Mst. 156, 157, 204, 205, 217.
Chapter XV), the Tārum river joins the Safid Rūd, and next the river Shāh Rūd (not to be confused with the district of Shāh Rūd just named) coming from the country of the Assassins, and then finally, after piercing the mountain barrier, the Safid Rūd reaches the Caspian Sea at Kawkam in the province of Gilān.

The Miyānij river, as already said, was the most important left bank affluent of the Safid Rūd. It came from the west, rising in the country south of Újān (see p. 163), and in the Garm Rūd district received on its left bank the waters of the Garm Rūd (Hot River), a stream which rose in the hills to the south of Sarāv. Below the town of Miyānij the main stream receives on its right bank the waters of the Hasht Rūd, 'the Eight Streams,' which have their sources in the hills to the east of Marāghah; and, in the time of Mustawfī, where the Hasht Rūd joined the Miyānij river, there spanned it a great masonry bridge of thirty-two arches.

The town of Miyānij or Miyānah, 'the Middle Place,' which stands at the junction of all these streams, was an important centre from the earliest times. Ibn Hawkāl writes of it as very populous in the 4th (10th) century, and its district—in later times known under the name of the Garm Rūd—produced great quantities of fruit. Mukaddasī, who gives the modern form of the name Miyānah, praises its store of goods, and Yākūt, who had visited it in the 6th (12th) century, extols its situation. In the following century, when Mustawfī wrote, it had sunk to the size of a large village, but was still an important stage on the road system inaugurated by the Mongols. The climate was hot, and insect pests were numerous (the Miyānah bug at the present day is a terror to travellers), but the Garm Rūd district comprised over a hundred fertile villages, and much corn was grown.

The three rivers called Sanjīdah, Gadīv (or Kadpū, in the Jahān Numā), and Shāl, joined the Safid Rūd from the north, coming down from the Khalkhāl district. Khalkhāl was also the name of the chief town of this district, the position of which is given in the Itinerary as 12 leagues south of Ardabil. Firūzābād, situated at the summit of the pass, where there was a boiling spring bubbling up in the midst of the snow-clad peaks, according to Mustawfī had in former times been the
residence of the governor, but when it fell into ruin Khalkhāl city took its place. The exact position of Firūzābād, however, cannot now be fixed. The small towns of Kalūr and Shāl, which are still to be found on the map, were of the Shāh Rūd district, and lay on the Shāl river (now called the Lesser Shāh Rūd) which rose in the Shāl hills. Mustawfī mentions a number of other places in Khalkhāl, the names of which, however, cannot now be identified.

The few products of Adharbāyjān will be described at the end of the next chapter; and the summary of the high roads through this province must be deferred to the conclusion of Chapter XV, after describing the Jibāl province, for these roads all start from various points on the great Khurāsān road which traverses the latter province.

CHAPTER XII.

GÎLÂN AND THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.


The Safîd Rûd, as described in the last chapter, after traversing the chain of the Alburz mountains by a tortuous course, flows into the Caspian Sea at the western end of its southern shore, and here forms a delta with marshlands of some breadth backed by the mountain chain. This delta of the Safîd Rûd, with the great amphitheatre of forest-clad foot-hills surrounding it on the south and west, is the small province of Gîlân, which the Arabs called Jîl or Jîllân, and which comprised three very different districts.

The alluvial delta lands are those more especially called Jîl or Jîllân by the Arab geographers, who when referring to the whole province often give the name in the plural form, Jîllânât, 'the Gîlân's,' which may then be taken to include the mountain districts. To the south and west, the mountain range bordering on the districts of Tâliḵân and Târum in the Jîbál province, was the Daylam country, generally also given in the plural form as Ad-Daylamân; and this country became famous in history as the original home of the Buyids, or Daylamites, whose chiefs were masters of Baghdad, and of the Caliphate for the most part.

1 For Gîlân see Map V, at the beginning of the following chapter.
during the 4th (10th) century. The narrow strip of shore and mountain slope, running north from the south-west corner of the Caspian, and facing east over that sea, is the Tālish country, a name which Yāḳūt gives under the plural form Tālishān or Tīlshān. To the east, on the Ṭabaristān frontier, was the mountain range of Ar-Rūbanj, beyond which came the hill district belonging to the great Ḍārūn family, whose chiefs had from time immemorial been rulers of these fastnesses, as will be further mentioned in Chapter XXVI.

When Muḥaddasī wrote in the 4th (10th) century, and the Buyid supremacy was at its height, all Gīlān, together with the mountain provinces to the eastward and along the shore of the Caspian, namely, Ṭabaristān, Jurjān, and Kūmis, were included in the province of Daylam, but in later times these eastern provinces came to be counted as separate. Afterwards the name of Daylam itself for the most part fell out of use, and the lowlands of the Safīd Rūd delta gave their name to the whole of the adjacent district, which was commonly known as the Jīlān province. More exactly, however, Jīlān was the coast district, while Daylam was the mountain region overhanging it, and at different times either of these names in turn might be taken commonly to include the whole province lying round the south-western corner of the Caspian Sea. The chief city of Daylam is said to have been called Rudhbār, but its situation is unknown. Muḥaddasī on the other hand says the capital was known as Barvān, but unfortunately it no longer exists and none of the Itineraries give its exact position. Barvān, Muḥaddasī adds, had neither good houses nor good markets, and possessed no Friday Mosque. Where the governor resided was called the Shahrastān, and the merchants living here were wealthy, so that it was a flourishing town. Of Jīlān, Muḥaddasī gives Dūlāb as the chief town, which he describes as a fine place, its houses being well built of stone; the market was excellent, and a Friday Mosque stood in it. According to Abu-l-Fidā Dūlāb is

1 Ist. 204, 205, 206. I. H. 267, 268. Muk. 353. Yak. i. 174. 812; ii. 179, 711; iii. 571. Mst. 147, 191. A. F. 426. The name of Tālish is written with either the soft t, or the hard Arabic t; and in the plural as Tālishān or Tīlshān, also Tawālish in Mustawfī.
the same as Kaskar, and in the only Itinerary of this country that has come down to us, Muşaddasî gives Dülab as lying four marches from Baylamân, a small town like a farmstead according to Abû-1-Fidâ, which appears to have been one of the chief places in the Tâlish country. Two marches from the Safîd Rûd, and four from Baylamân, was the town of Khashm, the residence of the Alid chief (the Dâ'î or Missioner), who in the latter half of the 3rd (9th) century ruled these provinces as an independent (heretical) sovereign, who did not acknowledge the Caliph. Muşaddasî describes Khashm as having a fine market and a Friday Mosque near the chief's palace. A river ran through the town, which was crossed by a remarkable bridge of boats. The identification and situation of all these early towns is exceedingly uncertain.

In the 8th (14th) century the chief towns of Gilân, according to Mustawfî, were Lâhijân and Fûmin. Abû-1-Fidâ also mentions Lâhijân, which lies to the eastward of the mouth of the Safîd Rûd. It was then a fair-sized town; much silk was manufactured here and the district grew rice and corn, also oranges and shaddocks with other fruits of a hot region. Kawtam or Kûtam, nearer the mouth of the Safîd Rûd, was the harbour for ships coming from other parts of the Caspian; it is mentioned by Yâkût and Abû-1-Fidâ, having been a place of much commerce in the 8th (14th) century, and the town lay one day's march from the actual shore of the Caspian. Fûmin with its district lies further inland, and to the west of the Safîd Rûd. It is counted as the chief town of the mountain region of Daylam, and Mustawfî writes of it as a large place standing in a fertile district growing much corn and rice. Silk was also produced and manufactured here.

Mustawfî is one of the earliest authorities to describe Rasht, now the capital of Gilân, but none of the Arab geographers appear even to name it. He notices its warm damp climate, cotton and silk being both largely produced for export, and the place was already in his time of some size and importance. To the westward of Rasht extends, at the present day, the district of

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1 Ist. 204, 205. Muk. 355, 360, 373. A. F. 429 (where, in error, Baylamân is printed Bîmân). Yâk. ii. 831. For the Dâ'î dynasty of Alids (Hasanids), see G. Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Caspischen Meeres*, p. 53.
Tûlim, and Mustawfi gives this as the name of an important town in the 8th (13th) century. According to Abu-l-Fidâ it was the chief city of the Jîlân or lowlands; its districts were very fertile, corn, cotton, rice, oranges, shaddocks and lemons being grown for export. Shaft, or Shaftah, is the name of a town mentioned in similar terms by Mustawfi, though at present only the Shaft district exists, which lies to the southward of Rasht. Finally, as of Gilân, Mustawfi mentions the little town of Išfahbad, which Yâkût spells Isfahbudhân, adding that it stood two miles distant from the coast of the Caspian, but not otherwise indicating its position; corn, rice, and a little fruit were grown here, and in the neighbouring district were near a hundred villages. The name of the township came from the Išfahbads or Ispahbids, who had been the semi-independent kings of this country under the Sassanians, and who, nominally converted to Islam, continued to rule as princes in Ṭabaristân under the earlier Caliphs¹.

*Mughân.*

Mûghân, Mughkân, or Mûkân² is the name of the great swampy plain which stretches from the base of Mount Sablân to the east coast of the Caspian Sea, lying south of the mouth of the river Aras, and north of the mountains of Tâlish. It was sometimes counted as part of the Adharbâyjân province, but more often formed a separate district.

The capital of Mûghân in the 4th (10th) century was a city of the same name, the position of which it is difficult to fix. Muñadasî speaks of Mûkân city as lying on two rivers, with gardens all round, and as almost of the size of Tabriz. From his description it is not improbable that this Mûkân city was identical with Bajârvân, which Mustawfi names as the older capital of the district, and which in his day had already gone to ruin. The position of Bajârvân he gives in his Itineraries as four leagues north of Barzand, a name which is still found on the map. Further, Moslem tradition connected Bajârvân with the Fountain of Life, said to have been discovered near here by the prophet Khîdîr;

² For Mûghân and the north-west frontier provinces see Map III, p. 87.
otherwise Elias. As already stated, to the south of Bajarvān lay Barzand, which is described as a great city by Ibn Hawḵal, and Mukaddasi praises its markets, where goods from all the surrounding regions were collected for exportation, for this was the commercial centre of the district. Mustawfī mentions both Bajarvān and Barzand as sunk to be mere villages in his time; the climate in the surrounding districts was hot, and much corn was grown.

In the Mūḵān plain Mustawfī names the three towns of Pilsuvār, Maḵmūdābād, and Hamshahrah. Pilsuvār, which stood on a stream coming down from Bajarvān, lay at a distance of eight leagues from the latter place, and it is said to have been so called after the Amir Pīl-Suwār sent here by the Buyids, whose name signified ‘great rider or soldier.’ Maḵmūdābād in the plain of Gāvbarī, near the Caspian, was twelve leagues beyond Pilsuvār, and Mustawfī adds that it had been built by Ghāzān Khān the Mongol. The neighbouring Hamshahrah was two leagues from the coast, and originally had been known as Abrušahr, or Būshahrah, having been founded, says Mustawfī, by Farhad, son of Gūdarz, ‘whom they identify with Nebuchadnezzar.’ To the north of Bajarvān, in earlier times, was Balkhāb, described as a populous village with guard-houses and hostleries for travellers; and beyond this stage on the northern high road, and upon the south bank of the Aras, was Warthān, at the crossing into the Arrān country. In the 4th (10th) century Warthān was a walled city with markets and much merchandise, having a suburb without its gates. The place was very populous, standing in a plain two leagues from the river bank, and its Friday Mosque was in the suburb; further, tradition averred that Warthān had been built by order of Zubaydah, wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd.

**Arrān.**

The provinces of Arrān, Shirvān, Georgia and Armenia, which for the most part lay north of the river Araxes, were hardly counted among the lands of Islam, and hence are but perfunctorily described by the Arab geographers. From early days Moslems

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lived here, and governors were appointed at various times by the Caliphs, but the majority of the population continued to be Christian until near the close of the middle-ages. Hence it was not till the resettlement subsequent to the Mongol invasion, and more especially after the many campaigns which Timūr waged in Georgia at the close of the 8th (14th) century, when these lands came to be permanently settled by the Turks, that Islam became the dominant faith.

The province of Arrān is included in the great triangle of land lying to the west of the junction point of the rivers Cyrus and Araxes—the Kur and the Aras of the Arabs—and it is thus 'between the two rivers' (Bayn-an-Nahrayn) as Mustawfi calls it. The earlier Arab geographers write the name Al-Rān (pronounced Ar-Rān) to give it the appearance of an Arabic word, and the capital town in the 4th (10th) century was Bardhā'ah, the ruins of which still exist. Bardhā'ah, later written Bardā', Ibn Ḥawkal describes in the 4th (10th) century as measuring a league across, and it was by far the largest city of these parts. It was built in the form of a square, was protected by a fortress, and stood about three leagues from the Kur river, on the bank of its affluent the Tharthūr. Near by the town, in the Kur, was caught the fish called Sarmāhi (otherwise Shūr-māhi in Persian, salt-fish), which after being salted was exported to all neighbouring towns. This fish was also found in the Aras river near Warthān. The fertile district round Bardhā'ah was known by the name of Al-Andarāb, where villages with continuous gardens and orchards, a day's journey across in every direction, produced abundant fruits, especially chestnuts, filberts, and figs. In these parts also the silkworm was reared.

A great market was held every Sunday outside Bardhā'ah at the Bāb-al-Akrād, 'the gate of the Kurds'; and the market-place stretched a league in length. It was called locally Al-Kurkī (from the Greek Kuriakos, 'the Lord's day'), and Sunday, we are told, was here commonly known as the day of the Kurkī. Bardhā'ah further had a fine Friday Mosque, the roof of which was supported on wooden pillars, its walls being of burnt brick covered with stucco. Also there were many hammāms, or hot-baths; and in Omayyad times the Treasury of the province was kept at...
Bardhāʿah. In the 7th (13th) century, when Yākūt wrote, Bardhāʿah had already fallen to ruin, though Mustawfī in the following century still refers to it as a considerable town on the river Tharthūr. At the crossing of the Kur, probably below the junction of the Tharthūr, and 18 leagues, counted as a day’s march, on the direct road from Bardhāʿah to Shāmākhī in Shirvān, was the town of Barzanj, much frequented by merchants, where goods were stored for import and export.

The city of Baylaḵān, known in Armenian as Phaidagarān, became the capital of Arrān after the decay of Bardhāʿah. Though all traces of the town have now apparently disappeared, its approximate position is clearly given by the Arab itineraries. Baylaḵān lay 14 leagues south of Bardhāʿah and seven or nine leagues north of the Aras on the road up from Barzand, and it still existed as a great place in the 9th (15th) century. Ibn Ḥawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes it as a fine city, watered by streams with many mills, and surrounded by gardens and orchards. It was celebrated for a particular kind of syrup made here. In the year 617 (1220) Baylaḵān was stormed by the Mongols, who, finding no stones in the surrounding plain for their manguers, cut down the plane trees, sawed the trunks into blocks, and shot these against the walls and houses of the city, which was subsequently plundered and burnt. The population, however, after a time returned, rebuilt their houses, and the place regained its former prosperity. At the close of the 8th (14th) century it was besieged and taken by Timūr, who afterwards caused it to be rebuilt, and a canal was dug from the river Aras, six leagues in length and 15 ells in width, by which the new town was well supplied with water. This canal was known as the Barlāš, from the Barlāš tribe, from which Timūr was sprung.

Two other cities of Arrān are also mentioned, both of which lie to the north-west of Bardhāʿah, on the road to Tiflis. The first of these is Ganjah (now better known as Elizabetpol), which the Arab geographers write Janzah, and its river is called by Kazwini the Kirdkās. Further to the north-west again lay Shamkūr, the ruins of which still exist, and this town in the 3rd

(9th) century was known as Mutawakkilîyah, from having been rebuilt by orders of the Caliph Mutawakkil in the year 240 (854). The two rivers bounding the province of Arrân, which the Greeks knew as the Araxes and the Cyrus, are called by the Arabs the Nahr-ar-Rass (or Aras) and the Nahr-al-Kurr (or Kur). The Aras rises in the Kâllîkâlâ country of western Armenia, and after passing along the northern frontiers of Adharbâyjân joins the river Kur (according to Mustawfî) in the Karâbâgh country in the eastern part of Arrân. The river Kur rises in the mountains west of Tiflis in Georgia, namely, in the country of the Khazars, which comprised the districts of Abkhâs and Allân. Passing Tiflis the Kur flows down to Shamkûr, and here, according to Mustawfî, sends off a branch, or canal, which ends in the great Shamkûr swamp or lake. The Kur, after being joined by the Aras river some distance below Bardhâ‘ah, flows out to the Caspian in the Gushtâsfî district.

Shirvân.

Beyond the Kur river, and along the Caspian where the Caucasus range sinks to the sea, is the Shirvân province, of which the capital was Ash-Shamâkhîyah, now called Shâmâkhî or Shâmâkhâ. In the 4th (10th) century Muqaddasî describes this as a stone-built town, at the foot of the mountains, surrounded by gardens. Its governor, the ruler of the province, was called the Shirvân Shâh. Much corn was grown here, and in the neighbourhood, according to Moslem tradition as reported by Mustawfî, was to be seen both the Rock of Moses (referred to in the Kurân, xviii. 62) and the site of the Fountain of Life, already mentioned as also localised in Bajarvân. Two other towns of the Shirvân

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2 In the Jâhân Numâ (396, 397) a long description of both the Aras and the Kur, with their various affluents, is given. This serves to correct Mustawfî, also to elucidate the campaigns of Timûr in Georgia, though many of the names of towns cannot now be identified. Ist. 189. I. H. 246. Muk. 379. Kaz. i. 184; ii. 331. Mst. 213, 215.
province are mentioned by Muṣaddasī and other early authorities, the sites of which have not been fixed, namely Shābārān, chiefly inhabited by Christians, which is said to have stood 20 leagues distant from Darband, and the city of Shirvān, which lay in the plain, having a Friday Mosque in its market-place. The latter was three days' march from the capital Shāmākhī on the road to Darband.

The northernmost place in Shirvān was Bāb-al-Abwāb, 'the Gate of Gates,' as the Arabs called Darband, the famous port on the Caspian. Ibn Ḥawḳal says that in the 4th (10th) century the town was larger than Ardabil, then the capital of Adharbāyjān. The harbour was protected by two moles, stretching out into the sea, and at their extremity was a water-gate, closed by chains, so that no ship could go out or in except by permission. These moles were built of blocks of stone fastened by lead joints. A stone wall enclosed the town, and it had two gates, the Great Gate and the Little Gate, besides the Water Gate aforesaid; and the walls had towers. The linen stuffs which were made in Darband were largely exported, also saffron from the neighbouring countryside.

There was a fine mosque in the market-place of Bāb-al-Abwāb, which was here the frontier town of Islam, for the place in early days was surrounded by infidel folk. Yāḵūt gives a long account of the various tribes inhabiting the mountains and highlands of the Caucasus to the westward, among which he says that seventy different languages were spoken, and no man could understand that of his neighbour. Of these the Khazars, from whom the Caspian Sea, generally called the Bahr-al-Khazar, took its name, were the most important. Yāḵūt also describes the great wall which ran along the hill-crests westward from Darband, built to keep out the Barbarians, which had been erected, it was said, by King Anūshirvān of Persia in the sixth century A.D. The river Samūr, which flows into the Caspian a short distance to the south of Darband, is described by Muṣaddasī under the name of the Nahr-al-Malik, 'the King's River,' otherwise the Nahr-as-Samūr, and there was a bridge of boats (fisr) across it, some 20 leagues from Darband, on the road coming up from Shāmākhī.

The port of Bāḵūh, or Bāḵūyah (modern Bāḵū), lies south of
Darband, and Ištâkhrl refers to its well-known naphtha springs. Yâkût and others describe these in detail, the produce was worth a thousand dirhams (£40) a day; the naphtha flowed continuously, and all the ground was on fire round and about. Mustawfî speaks of the castle of Bâkûyah, which being high placed above the town kept it in shadow at midday. To the south of Bâkûh was the Gushtâsû district, near the mouth of the Kur river, from which its lands were watered by a canal, much corn and cotton being grown here. Lastly, in the mountains near Darband was the fortress of Ŷabalâh, where according to Muḫaddasî there was a mosque on a hill. Ŷabalâh is more than once mentioned in the campaigns of Timûr, Mustawfî adding that both silk and corn are of its produce.

**Gurjistân.**

Gurjistân, which we call Georgia, and Abkhâs, otherwise Abkhasia, were lands that only became Moslem districts after the campaign of Timûr in these parts, at the close of the 8th (14th) century. Tiﬂis, the capital of Gurjistân, on the upper waters of the river Kur, was, however, well known to the geographers of the 4th (10th) century. Ibn Ḥawkal describes it as possessing double walls, strongly fortified, with three gates. There were natural hot-baths in Tiﬂis where hot springs gushed out in the river bed, and the surrounding country was extremely fertile. The town lay on both banks of the Kur, and a bridge of boats, Muḫaddasî writes, connected the two quarters.

The neighbouring district of Abkhâs, or Abkhâz, was according to Muḫaddasî to be counted as of the Jabal-al-Ḳabûk, the Caucasus. Here stood the village of Jonâh, Ḳariyat Yûnis, inhabited by Moslems, and round this were the tribes of the Gurj (Georgians), Allân, and others. Many rivers flowed down from the mountain of Alburz, according to Mustawfî, who further mentions Ḳarš as one of the chief towns of Georgia.

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Armenia.

Great Armenia (spelt Armānīyah, in Arabic) was divided into Inner and Outer, and though mostly inhabited by Christians, was brought under Moslem rule at an early period. The country lay comprised within the great knot of mountains lying between the lake of Vān and the Gukchah lake, and from these highlands the Aras river and the two branches of the Euphrates took their rise.

The capital of Moslem Armenia in early times was Dabil, otherwise called Duvn or Tovin, now marked by a small village to the south of Erivan, near the Aras river. In the 4th (10th) century Dabil was a larger town than Ardabil, and was the chief place in Inner Armenia. It was a walled town, having three gates, and a Friday Mosque stood here side by side with the church. Mount Ararat, with its double peak, towered above Dabil to the south, across the Araxes. As already said (p. 94) Moslem tradition identified Jabal Jūdi, in Upper Mesopotamia, as the mount on whose summit the Ark of Noah had come to rest. Ararat, in Armenia, they called Jabal-al-Hārith (of ‘the Labourer’ or ‘Ploughman,’ or else Al-Hārith was taken as the proper name of a pre-Islamic Arab who had settled in these parts). The lesser peak of Ararat was called Al-Huwayrith, ‘Little Há- rith,’ and Iṣṭakhri says that both summits were always covered with snow, and they were not to be scaled by reason of their great height and steepness. The people of Dabil cut firewood on their slopes, and hunted the abundant game here, and Muḳالفdasī adds that a thousand hamlets were situated among the spurs flanking the great mountain. The wool stuffs of Dabil, dyed red with the kirmiz insect, were famous. In the 4th (10th) century Muḳальн dasī describes Dabil as peopled by Kurds, and the Christians, he says, had the upper hand. Outside the town was the plural, meaning the range; but he uses the term vaguely, and only one part of these corresponded with the Caucasus chain. At the present day Alburz, generally pronounced Elburz, or Elbruzz, is the name of the highest mountain peak of the Caucasus; and in Persia Alburz is now used to designate the great range of mountains (of which Damāvand is the highest peak) lying to the north of Ţihrān.
a great suburb surrounded by gardens. ʿAnf, the older capital of
Christian Armenia, which was taken and sacked in 456 (1064) by
Alp Arslán the Saljūk, is mentioned by Mustawfi as a town in
the mountains where much fruit was grown. At some distance to
the north-east of Dabil lies the sweet-water lake, called Gukchah
Tangiz (the Blue Lake) by ʿAli of Yazd; this, however, does
not appear to be named by any earlier Moslem authority than
Mustawfi.\(^1\)

The lake of Vān, or of Arjīsh as it is called by the earlier
authorities, was naturally the best known of the Armenian lakes,
having on its shores the cities of Akhlāṭ, Arjīsh, Vān, and Vastān.
Iṣṭakhri describes it as twenty leagues in length, and it was cel-
èbrated for the fish called ẓīrīkh (of the herring kind and still
captured here in immense numbers) which after being salted was in
the 7th (13th) century exported to Mesopotamia, and even to the
furthest parts of Khurāsān, for Yākūt says he bought some of this
salt fish in Balkh. The waters of the lake were salt and bitter.
Akhlāṭ, or Khilāṭ, at the western end of the lake, was one of the
largest cities of Armenia. Mustawfi describes it as standing in a
plain, surrounded by gardens, and dominated by a fortress. The
Friday Mosque stood in the market-place. The cold here was
severe in winter, but the town was very populous; it stood on the
banks of a small stream across which was a bridge; and Mustawfi
praises the gardens of the neighbouring district. Above Akhlāṭ
was the great mountain called Kūh Sipān, visible, says Mustawfi,
fifty leagues away, and its summit was always snow-clad.

Arjīsh, a town on the northern shore of the lake, to which
it frequently gave its name, according to Mustawfi, had been
strongly fortified by the Wazīr ʿAlī Shāh by order of Ghāzān
Khān in the 8th (14th) century, and the country round was
famous for its corn lands. Further to the east was the town of
Bārkīrī, or Bahargīrī, near Band-i-Māhī (the Fish Dam), on the
road from Arjīsh to Khuwī (Khoi) in Adharbāyjān, and it is
described by Mustawfi as having a strong castle crowning a hill.
Its river came down from the Alāṭāk pastures, where the ʿĪl-Khān,
Arghūn, had built his great summer palace in the midst of

\(^1\) Ist. 188, 191. I. H. 244. Muk. 374, 377, 380. Yak. ii. 183, 549.
carefully preserved hunting grounds. The city of Vān, which at the present day gives its name to the lake, stands near its eastern shore; but we have no description of it. The fortress of Vâstân or Vâstân lies on the south shore and is spoken of by Mustawfī, in the 8th (14th) century, as having a large town near it. Finally near the south-western corner of the lake lies Badlîs (Bitlis), described by Muḥaddasî as situated in a deep gorge where two streams met. A castle built of stone protected the town, and according to Yâḵût the apples grown in its district were so excellent as to be largely exported to all neighbouring lands¹.

The products of these northern provinces were few, and the manufactures consisted chiefly of stuffs dyed red with the kīrmiz, an insect that fed on the oak trees growing throughout Adharbâyjān, and gave its name to the ‘cramoisie’ silks, being the origin of our words ‘crimson’ and ‘carmine.’ Ibn Ḥawkāl and Muḥaddasî both describe the kīrmiz. The former says it was a worm like the silkworm, spinning for itself a cocoon exactly like the silkworm’s cocoon; Muḥaddasî, on the other hand, writes that the kīrmiz insect, or worm, was found on the earth, and that the women went out to gather it up, and afterwards dried it in an oven on brass pans. Silk, goat’s-hair stuffs, linen, and wool were dyed with it, and the colour was famous in all lands. Armenia in general was also noted for its girdles, ribbed coverlets, carpets, rugs, cushions and veils; these commodities with figs, walnuts, and the salted ṭîrîkh fish from lake Vān already noticed, were the chief exports, and might all be found in great store at Dabil. The town of Bardhâ’ah was also celebrated for the silk produced in its neighbourhood, and from the countryside, as from Bāb-al-Abwâb, great numbers of mules were obtained for export; while lastly from the latter port, otherwise called Darband, came slaves brought thither from out of the northern lands².

² I. H. 244. Muk. 389, 381.
CHAPTER XIII.

JIBĀL.


The broad mountain region, which the Greeks called Media, stretching across from the Mesopotamian plains on the west to the great desert of Persia on the east, was known to the Arab geographers as the province of Al-Jibāl, ‘the Mountains.’ This name afterwards fell out of use, and during the 6th (12th) century under the later Saljuḵs, the province came by a misnomer to be called ‘Irāk ‘Ajamī, which means Persian ‘Irāk, being so named to distinguish it from the older ‘Irāk of the Arabs, which was Lower Mesopotamia’.

How this change in the name came about would appear to have been as follows. Al-‘Irāk, as already said (Chapter II, p. 25, note), besides being the Moslem denomination for the lower half of Mesopotamia, was commonly, but in the dual form, applied

1 ‘Ajam or ‘Ajamī is the name originally applied by the Arabs to a ‘foreigner,’ or non-Arab, as the Greeks used the term Barbarian. Since the Persians were the first foreigners with whom the Arabs came into contact ‘Ajam and ‘Ajamī soon became specialised to mean ‘the Persian foreigner,’ and as the equivalent of ‘Persian’ is in use at the present time. Jibāl is in Arabic the plural of Jabal, ‘a hill.’ Abu-l-Fidā (p. 408) has the double name; he writes ‘Bilād-al-Jabal (Provinces of the Mountain) which is called by the people ‘Irāk-al-‘Ajam (Persian ‘Irāk).’
by the Arabs to the two chief provincial cities, Kūfah and Baṣra, which hence were known as Al-ʿIrākayn—meaning ‘the Two (capitals of) ‘Irāk.’ This was the older and classical usage; but in the latter part of the 5th (11th) century the Saljuḵs had come to rule over all western Persia, having their capital at Hamadān, and they also governed Mesopotamia, where the Abbasid Caliph resided. From him they received the title of Sultān of the Two ‘Irāḵs, which seemed fitting to their case, and the second of the two ‘Irāḵs soon came to be understood as meaning the province of Jibāl, where the Saljuḵ prince more especially resided, which thus by the vulgar came to be known for distinction as Persian ‘Irāḵ. This is the account of the matter given by Yāḵūt, who states that the Persians in his day, but incorrectly and as a modern usage, called the province Persian ‘Irāḵ. Yāḵūt himself uses the older name of Al-Jibāl, for which his contemporary Kazwīnī, writing also in Arabic, gives the Persian equivalent of Kuhistān (the Mountain province). The name Jibāl, however, apparently became completely obsolete after the Mongol conquest, and Mustawfī in the 8th (14th) century nowhere uses it. He divides the older Jibāl province into two parts, the smaller being Kurdistān on the west, the larger moiety Persian ‘Irāḵ on the east; and the name of ‘Irāḵ is still in use at the present day, for that part of the older Jibāl province which lies south-west of Tīhrān is now locally known as the ‘Irāḵ district 1.

Four great cities—Ḵirmīsīn (later Kirmānshāh), Hamadān, Ray, and Isfahān—were from early days the chief towns of the four quarters of this province. In Buyid times, namely in the 4th (10th) century, according to Ibn Hawḵal, the offices of the government were at Ray; at the close of the next century Hamadān became the capital under the Persian Saljuḵs; but at all times Isfahān would appear to have been the largest and generally the most flourishing city of the Jibāl province. In the present work it will be found convenient to describe the province as divided into the dependencies of its four great cities, and to begin with the western quarter, that dependent on Kirmānshāh, which since the days of the Saljuḵs has been commonly known as Kurdistān, signifying the land of the Kurds.

1 Yak. ii. 15. Kaz. ii. 228. Mst. 141.
The capital city of Kirmânsâhân, a name generally curtailed to Kirmânsâh, was by the earlier Arabs known as Kirmisín (written also Kirmâsin and Kirmâshîn). In the 4th (10th) century it is described by Ibn Hawkal as a pleasant town surrounded by trees, with running waters, where fruit was cheap and all commodities abundant. Muğaddasî, who is the first to mention the Persian name of Kirmânsâhân, adds that there was a Great Mosque in the market-place, and that 'Aṣud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid had built himself a fine palace here in the main street of the city. Kâzvînî in the 7th (13th) century speaks of Kirmisín as standing close to Kirmânsâhân, as though these were twin cities; Yâkût, who gives both names, says little of the town, confining himself to a description of the sculptures and ruins on the neighbouring mountain of Bihistân. The Mongol invasion in the 7th (13th) century effected the ruin of Kirmânsâh, which Mustawfî in the following century describes as reduced in his day to the size of a village, the name of which 'in books' was, he says, still written Kirmisín (since his time become obsolete), and he too is chiefly concerned with describing the Bihistân or Bîsûtûn sculptures.

These are on the side, and at the foot of the great mountain of black rocks, about a day's march to the east of Kirmânsâh, near the Khurâsân road, and they consist of remains dating from the Achaemenian kings (5th century B.C.) and the Sassanians (7th century A.D.). They are described in the 4th (10th) century by Ištakhrî and Ibn Hawkal, who write the name of the mountain Bihistûn and Bîsûtûn, adding that the sculptures were to be found near the village of Sâsâniyân, doubtless the same village which Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century called Vâstâm or Basîtâm and which is now known as Tâk-i-Bustân, 'the Garden Arch.' Here the well-known sculpture of Darius receiving the tributary kings, with the trilingual cuneiform inscription, is referred to by Ibn Hawkal, who describes it as being 'the representation in stone of a school-house, with the master and the boys; further (he adds) in the school-master's hand is an instrument like a strap wherewith to beat: also there be cauldrons as used in a kitchen sculptured in stone.' In regard to the Sassanian sculptures, added over a thousand years later, these are chiefly in and about a grotto, where
there is a spring of water gushing out at the foot of the great mountain and, according to Ibn Hawkal, repeated by all later Persian authorities, they represent King Khusraw Parviz on his celebrated horse Shībdāz (or Šābdāz), while above him stands the beautiful Queen Shīrīn, her portrait adorning the roof of the grotto aforesaid. Somewhat defaced, these sculptures exist at the present day, and have been more than once figured and described. Yāḵūt who quotes the travels of Ibn Muḥalhal, 4th (10th) century, and Mustawfī, give in some detail the popular legends of their time. The story of Khusraw and Shīrīn, and of her lover the sculptor Farhād who in despair slew himself, will be found localised in many of the neighbouring places; the incidents are well known, both from the Shāh Nāmah of Firdūsī, and from Niżāmī's great poem (which Mustawfī quotes) called the 'Loves of Khusraw and Shīrīn'.

Overhanging Kirmānshāh to the north, and on the left hand of one travelling along the great Khurāsān road, was the isolated hill called Sinn Sumayrah, 'Sumayrah's Tooth,' whence the northern road started leading to Dīnāvar and the Adharbāyjān province. 'Sumayrah's Tooth' was so called from an Arab woman of that name, celebrated for her projecting teeth, and the Moslems gave the hill this nickname in jest, as they marched past it to the conquest of Nihāvand. Eastward beyond Bisutūn, on the great Khurāsān road, lies the village of Sīhnah, as mentioned by Iṣṭakhri, and still existing though not to be confused with the modern town of Sīhnah to be spoken of later. Beyond Sīhnah village lies Kanguvār, which the Arabs called Қaṣr-al-Luṣūs, 'the Robbers' Castle,' from the evil ways of the inhabitants, who at the time of the first Moslem conquest stole all the baggage animals of the army sent against Nihāvand. There was here, according to Ibn Rustah and others, a great arched building standing on a platform, and dating from the days of Khusraw Parviz, being constructed with columns and of mortared brickwork. The town of Kanguvār was of considerable size, and had a Friday Mosque.

built by Mūnis the chamberlain of the Caliph Muqtadir. Yākūt asserts that the platform, where the Sassanian buildings stood, was 20 ells above the ground level, and Mustawfi adds that the great stones for its construction had been brought from the mountain of Bisutún.

About 25 miles to the westward of Kanguvâr are the ruins of Dinavar, which in the 4th (10th) century was the capital of the small independent dynasty named after Hasanawayh, or Hasanûyah, the Kurdish chief of the dominant tribe settled in these parts. At the time of the Moslem conquest of Persia Dinavar had received the name of Māh-al-Kūfah, 'because (as Ya’kūbī writes) its revenues were apportioned to the payment of the state pensions of the inhabitants of Kūfah'; and Māh Kūfah for a time became the common name for the city and its surrounding territory. Ibn Hawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes Dinavar as two-thirds the size of Hamadân, and the population as more urbane and better mannered than the Hamadân people. Muqaddasi adds that the markets were well built, the surrounding gardens being very fruitful. The Great Mosque, which had been built by Hasanawayh, stood in the market-place, and over the pulpit rose a fine dome that was ornamented with sculptures. Dinavar was still an inhabited town when Mustawfi wrote in the 8th (14th) century; the climate was temperate, water plentiful, corn and grapes being abundantly grown. The place probably fell to its present state of ruin after the conquest of Timûr, who according to ‘All of Yazd left some of his troops in garrison here.

Probably in the neighbourhood of Dinavar, but the site appears to be as yet unknown, stood the great castle of Sarmâj, described by Yākūt as impregnable, being built of hewn stones by Hasanawayh, who died here in 369 (979), after a glorious reign, according to Ibn-al-Athîr, of nearly fifty years. In the next century Sarmâj was taken after a four years' siege in 441 (1049) by Tughril Beg the Saljûk, who, however, had to bring together an army of 100,000 men before he could force his brother Yunnâl out of this almost impregnable stronghold.

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1 Ist. 196. I. H. 256. I. R. 167. Muk. 393. Yak. iii. 50, 169; iv. 120, 381. The name of the village is spelt either Şînah or Sînah. Mst. 168.

About sixty miles north of the ruins of Dīnavar stands at the present day the important town of Sīnānah, which is the modern capital of the Persian province of Kurdistān, though under this name it is not mentioned by any of the medieval Arab or Persian geographers. In the position of the modern Sīnānah, however, according to the itineraries of Ibn Khurdādbih and Kūdāmah, stood, during the middle-ages, the city of Sisar, a name which Yāḵūt rightly says means in Persian ‘Thirty Heads.’ The neighbourhood of Sisar abounded in springs and was known as the Sad-Khāniyāh—‘the Hundred Houses’ or Heads of Water—from the number of these springs. The Caliph A'nān had built a fortress here, which his more celebrated brother Mamūn had garrisoned, taking into his pay the Kurdish tribes who held the surrounding pastures, and using them in the civil war against his brother, whom he deprived later on of the Caliphate. Sisar was counted as one of the 24 sub-districts of Hamadān; and it is possible that the modern name of Sīnānah may be merely a corruption of Sad-Khāniyāh, shortened to Sī-Khānah, ‘Thirty Houses,’ but of this there is no direct evidence.

Four marches north-west of Dīnavar was the town of Shahrazūr, standing in the district of the same name. Ibn Ḥawḵāl, in the 4th (10th) century, mentions Shahrazūr as a walled and fortified town inhabited by Kurds, whose tribes he names; they occupied all the surrounding region, which was most fruitful. The traveller Ibn Muḥalhal (as quoted by Yāḵūt) describes in the 4th (10th) century the many towns and villages of this district, and the chief town, he says, was known among the Persians as Nim-Rāh, or ‘the Half-way House,’ because it stood at the middle stage between Madāín (Ctesiphon) and Shīz, the two great fire-temples of Sassanian times. The neighbouring mountains were called Shaṭrān and Zalam, where according to Ḫazvnī a species of

530. Ibn-al-Athir, viii. 518, 519; ix. 380. According to Yāḵūt (iv. 405) the Persian word Māḥ is synonymous with Kaṣbah (chief town) in Arabic. The prefix Māḥ, which occurs in the older names for Dīnavar and Nihāvand, is in Old Persian Mada, and as a place-name is radically the same word which has come down to us, through the Greeks, in the form of Media and the Medes. The ruins of Dīnavar have been lately visited, and are described by De Morgan, Mission en Perse, ii. 95, 96.
grain was grown that was deemed a powerful aphrodisiac. The Kurds in this region, when Ibn Muhalhal visited the place, numbered 60,000 tents, and when Mustawfi wrote in the 8th (14th) century Shahrazûr was still a flourishing town, and inhabited by Kurds.

The great Khurâsân road, which, as already described in our first chapter, went eastwards from Baghâd to the uttermost limits of Moslem lands, after crossing the Mesopotamian plain entered the mountainous region of Persia at Hulwân, a town of the Jibâl province, which however was sometimes counted as of Arabian 'Irâk. Ibn Hawkal says that in the 4th (10th) century Hulwân was half the size of Dinavar, and its houses were built of both stone and clay bricks. Though the climate was hot, dates, pomegranates, and figs growing abundantly, snow could all the summer through be found on the mountains two leagues above the city. Mukaddasi adds that there was an old castle in the town within which stood the mosque, and the city wall had eight gates, the names of which he enumerates. Outside the town stood a synagogue of the Jews, much venerated by them, which was built of squared stones set in mortar. In the 7th (13th) century, when Kazvini wrote, Hulwân was already in ruins, but famous for its sulphur springs. In the next century Mustawfi praises its crops, but says that the town stood desolate, except for divers shrines of Moslem saints, though the surrounding territory comprised thirty villages.

Along the Khurâsân road, and four leagues above Hulwân towards Kirind, lay Mâdharûstân, where according to Yâkût might be seen a great arched building surmounting a platform. This had formed part of the palace of the Sassanian king Bahram Gur, who laid out a paradise round it that, in Yâkût's days, had long gone to ruin. Six leagues beyond this comes the town of Kirind, which is apparently first mentioned by Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century; he couples Kirind with the neighbouring village called Khûshân, which however has now completely disappeared, though Mustawfi describes it as in his day more

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1 I. K. 120. Kud. 212. I. H. 263, 265. Yak. iii. 316, 340; iv. 988. Kaz. ii. 266. Mst. 167. The district of Shahrazûr still keeps the name, the old city stood where are the ruins now known as Yasîn Tappah.
populous even than Kirind. These two places lie together at the head of the Ḥulwān pass, in a fertile plain, and correspond in position—for as already said neither are mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers—with the station of Marj-al-Ḳal'ah (the Meadow Castle), which Ibn Ḥawḵal describes as a great walled town surrounded by populous and fertile districts. Ya'ḵūbī states that in these pastures the Abbasid Caliph kept his stud of horses. Four leagues beyond these pastures the high road passed Ṭazar, where, according to Muḳaddasī, might be seen the remains of a palace of the Chosroes, built Yâḵût records by one Khusrûjird, son of Shahān. Ṭazar had good markets, and it appears to be identical with Kaṣr Yazīd (Yazid's palace or castle), mentioned by other authorities. Six leagues beyond Ṭazar again was Az-Zubaydiyih, 'a fine healthy place,' according to Ibn Ḥawḵal, the position of which on the high road shows it to be identical with the present village of Hārūnābād. Here the Khurāsān road turns east, and crossing the plain of Māyidasht (or Māḥīdasht) runs direct to Kirmānshāh. The Māyidasht plain is described by Mustawfī as in his day dotted with some fifty villages, surrounded by excellent pasture lands that were well watered from the neighbouring hills. In this region was the castle of Harsīn with a small town at its base, which still exists, lying about 20 miles to the south-east of Kirmānshāh.

As regards the origin of the Kurdistān province, it is stated that about the middle of the 6th (12th) century Sulṭān Sanjar the Saljūḵ divided off the western part of the Jibāl province, namely the region which was dependent on Kirmānshāh, and giving it the name of Kurdistān put it under the government of his nephew Sulaymān Shāh, surnamed Abūh (or Ayūh), who, at a later period—that is from 554 to 556 (1159 to 1161)—succeeded his uncle as chief of the house of Saljūḵ and Sultan of the Two 'Irāḵs. This is the account given by Mustawfī, who states that under Sulaymān Shāh Kurdistān flourished greatly, and its revenues then amounted to two million gold dinārs (equivalent to about a million sterling),

which was near ten times the sum yielded by the province in the 8th (14th) century under the Mongols, when Mustawfi was their revenue officer. Sulaymán Shâh made Bahâr—a town that still exists, lying some eight miles to the north of Hamadân—his capital; and here there was a strong castle. In Mongol times a second capital was built, by Uljaytû Sulţân, at Sulţânâbâd Jamjamâl (or Chamchamâl) near the foot of the Bisutûn mountain, and this town Mustawfi describes as standing in a rich country where much corn was grown. Of Jamjamâl, or Chamchamâl, the position is given in his itineraries (four leagues from Siţnah village, and six from Kirmânshâh) and its ruins still exist, being marked on the map at the spot indicated. The town is frequently mentioned by ‘Alî of Yazd when describing the marches of Timûr through Kûrdistan.

Among other towns which occur in the description of the campaigns of Timûr, and which are noticed by Mustawfi, are Darband Tâj Khâtûn, ‘a medium-sized town now for the most part in ruin,’ and Darband Zangî, a smaller place, which had good pasture grounds with a temperate climate. Both towns apparently have disappeared from the map; but Darband means ‘a pass,’ and from ‘Alî of Yazd, who writes the name of the first as Darband-Tâshî-Khâtûn, these two Darbands would appear to have stood on the western frontier of Kûrdistan (between Shahrazûr and Hûlwân), among the hills that here dominate the plains of Mesopotamia.

Mustawfi also mentions four other towns in Kûrdistan, namely Alâîî, Alishtar, Khufiyyân, and Darbil, as important places in his day, but it is not easy now to identify their sites. Alâîî, for which some mss. give the reading Alâbî, in the 8th (14th) century was presumably one of the chief towns of the province, though no other authority but Mustawfi appears to mention it. Its lands grew wheat crops, it had a good climate, well-watered pastures lying round it, and there were well-stocked hunting grounds in the neighbourhood. At Alishtar also was an ancient fire-temple called Ardahish (Arîkhsh or Arakhhash). Unfortunately none of the Itineraries give its position; but the plain of Alishtar still exists, and probably one of its ruined sites is the town mentioned by Mustawfi. It is doubtless identical with the town of Lishtar or Lâsh tér mentioned by Ibn Hawkâl and others as lying 10 leagues south-
west of Nihâvand, being 12 leagues north of Sâbûrkhwâst. On the other hand the reading of the name Alishtar is, it must be admitted, extremely doubtful; many of the best mss., also the Turkish Jahân Numâ, give Al-Bashr, and a variety of other forms occur. Nothing is known of Khustiyân (for which the Jahân Numâ gives Hàkshi-yân, and the mss. a variety of readings) except that it was a strong castle surrounded by villages lying on the banks of the Zâb river; but whether this was the Upper or the Lower Zâb is not indicated. Its site is unknown and the same is the case with Darbil (or Dizbil), 'a medium-sized town with a good climate,' the position of which is not even approximately indicated by Mustawfî. This concludes his notice of the Kurdish district.

Hamadân (which name the Arabs wrote Hamadhân) is the ancient Ecbatana, the capital of the province of Media. Ibn Hàwkâl in the 4th (10th) century describes Hamadhân as a large fine city, over a league square, which had been rebuilt since the Moslem conquest. Its walls had four gates, and without them was a suburb. There was much merchandise in its markets, and the surrounding district was very fertile, producing large crops, more especially saffron. Muḵaddasî adds that the town possessed three rows of markets, and that in one of these stood the Great Mosque, a very old structure. Yâḵût, who has some notes on Hamadân, written shortly before it was laid in ruins by the Mongol invasion of 617 (1220), states that there were twenty-four Rustâks, or subdistricts, dependent on the city, and these he enumerates. The list is again given by Mustawfî in the following century, who adds thereto the names of the villages of each district; most of them however it is impossible now to identify. Mustawfî describes the city, in the 8th (14th) century, as measuring two leagues across, in the centre of which stood the ancient castle, built of clay, called the Shahristân. This ancient citadel of Hamadân like that of Isfahân—to be noticed later—is named Sârûk by Ibn Faḵîh, but the meaning of the word is not explained. The goldsmiths' market

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1 I. H. 259, 264. Yak. i. 276; iii. 5. Mst. 167, 192. A. V. i. 584, 585, 599, 640. J. N. 450. Neither Bahâr, Alâni, Khustiyân, Darbil, nor the two Darbands, are mentioned by any of the earlier Arab geographers.

2 Hamadhân represents the Hagmatâna of the Achaemenian inscriptions, which the Greeks wrote Ecbatana.
in Hamadân was famous, built on the site of the former village of Zamîn Dîh; and the city walls measured 12,000 paces in circuit. Originally, says Mustawfî, Hamadân comprised five cities, namely Kal'ah Kabrît, 'Sulphur Castle,' Kal'ah Mâkîn, Girdlâkh, Khurshîd, and Kurasht. He adds, 'this last, formerly a large town, is now entirely ruined.' Of Hamadân, too, were the following five great districts, with their villages; namely, Farîvâr near the city, next Azmâdîn, Sharâmîn, and A'lam; with, lastly, the district of Sard Rûd and Barhand Rûd. It must, however, be added that the readings of these names are uncertain, as the mss. vary considerably'.

Three leagues from Hamadân (but in what direction is not stated, and the name does not appear on the map), in the village of Juhaistah, stood the ruins of the ancient castle of King Bahram Gûr, described by Ibn Faqîh. It was a huge structure, with halls, passages, and chambers, in part cut out of the live rock. At the four corners were sculptured female figures, and along one face of the building ran an inscription in Old Persian (Farsiyyah) commemorating the conquests of the Chosroes. Half a league distant from this palace was a hill, where was to be seen the so-called Antelope's tomb (Nâûs-az-Żabîlyah), and Ibn Faqîh gives a long anecdote concerning King Bahram Gûr and his mistress, and of the many gazelles that he slew in the neighbouring plain, and how he finally put his mistress to death here for her insolent remarks in disparagement of his shooting.

To the south-west of Hamadân rises the great mountain of Alvand, or Arvand as Yâkût writes the word, and this form of the name appears as the mint city on silver dirhams of Abu-Sa'id, the Mongol Îl-Khân, dated 729 (1329). Mustawfî gives a long account of Kûh Alvand, which he says was thirty leagues in circuit, its summit always being covered with snow. There was an abundant spring of water on the topmost peak, which issued from a sort of building cut in the rock, and forty-two other streams, he adds, gushed from the various spurs of the mountain. Travelling west from Hamadân, after crossing the Alvand pass, on the high road

to Kanguvâr, stands Asadâbâd, which Ibn Ḥawḵal describes as a populous city; and Muḵaddasî adds that a league distant from it was to be seen the arch (Aywân), in a building which Yâḵût refers to as the Maṭâbikh-al-Kîsrâ, ‘the Kitchens of Chosroes.’ Asadâbâd had a mosque, and good markets; its district was very fertile and produced honey. Mustawfi says that 35 villages were of its dependencies.

The plain in which Hamadân stands drains to the north and east, its numerous streams uniting to form the head-waters of the river Gâvmâhâ (or Gâvmâsâ) whose course will be described later when speaking of the Kum river. To the north of Hamadân lies the district of Darguzîn, and north of this again that of Kharraḵân. Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century writes of Darguzîn as a considerable town, formerly a village, the capital of the A’lâm district, mentioned on the previous page as one of the five dependent on Hamadân. The A’lâm district, he adds—and Yâḵût confirms him—was wrongly called Al-Amr by the Persians: it was a high plateau lying between Hamadân and Zanjân, where grapes, cotton, and corn grew abundantly. Kharraḵân, more often called Kharraḵânayn, ‘the two Kharraḵâns,’ lay north of the A’lâm district. It comprised many villages, which Mustawfi enumerates (but the readings in the mss. are uncertain), and the chief town which still exists was Ávah, or Ábah of Hamadân, so named to distinguish it from Ávah of Sâvah, which will be noticed later. This, the northern Ávah, sometimes also written Ávâ, is mentioned by Yâḵût, and it is referred to as early as the 4th (10th) century by Muḵaddasî. The Kharraḵân river, according to Mustawfi, during the spring freshets poured its waters into the stream of the Khushk Rûd which ultimately lost itself in the great desert in the Ray district. In the summer time, however, the Kharraḵân river never flowed beyond the boundaries of its own immediate district, its waters drying up in irrigation channels.

The city of Nihâvand, lying about forty miles south of Hamadân, was an important place dating from Sassanian times. After the first Moslem conquest, which was effected by the troops from
Baṣrah more particularly, the town and its district received the name of Māḥ-al-Baṣrah, for its revenues were allotted to the payment of pensions in Baṣrah, just as those of Dīnavar were paid to Kūfah (see above, p. 189). Ibn Ḥawḳal in the 4th (10th) century speaks of the rich merchandise sold in its markets, whither the saffron of the neighbouring district of Rūdhrāvar was brought for distribution. Nihāvand had then two Great Mosques, the old and the new. Yāḵūt adds the tradition that many Arabs coming from Baṣrah had settled here in early days; and the city was famous for the manufacture of perfumes. Mustawfī in the 8th (14th) century states that in his day the population consisted mostly of the Kurdish tribesmen; much cotton was grown in the neighbouring districts, three of which in particular he names, Malāʾir, Isfīdhān, and Jahūk. About half-way between Hamadān and Nihāvand lay the rich district of Rūdhrāvar, so famous for its saffron, of which district the chief city was Karaj, possessing a fine mosque. The district was three leagues across, and comprised 93 villages according to Yāḵūt. Mustawfī generally spells the name Rūdārūd, and of its towns he mentions Sarkān and Tuwī, both of which still exist; and Tuwī, at the present day, is the name commonly given to the district.

To the eastward of Nihāvand lay the district of the two Īghārs (Al-Īghārayn) of which the capital was also called Karaj, known for distinction as Karaj of Abu Dulaf. The exact site of this Karaj is unknown, but from the distances given in the Itineraries, and from the fact stated by Mustawfī that the town lay beneath the Rāsmand mountains (almost certainly to be identified with the present range called Rāsband), its site must be sought for near the head-waters of the stream which flows past Sārūk to join the modern Ḩarā Șū. Ibn Ḥawḳal in the 4th (10th) century speaks of Karaj as smaller than Burūjird, but it was a place of importance, built on a height. The houses of the town covered a space of over two leagues, and there were two markets, one at the Bāb Masjid-al-Jāmī, 'the gate of the Great Mosque,' the other situated at the opposite town gate opening

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1 I. R. 166. I. H. 258, 259, 261. Muk. 393. Yak. ii. 832; iv. 251, 827. Mst. 152, 153. The ruins of Karaj of Rūdhrāvar are doubtless those described by De Morgan, Mission en Perse (ii. 136), which he names Rūdilāvar.
beyond what was known as 'the great plain.' Baths were numerous and the houses were well built, mostly of clay bricks; the gardens were few, but those round the town limits were very fertile. Abu Dulaf, from whom the place took its distinguishing name, had been a celebrated general, also a poet at the court of Hârûn-ar-Rashid and his son Mamûn. Abu Dulaf together with his descendants settled in this district, which with that lying round Burj, 12 leagues distant towards Isfahân, had been granted to them as Īghârs—that is 'fiefs in perpetuity,' paying a fixed yearly tribute to the Caliph, but free of all other taxes. Yâkût states that the Persians pronounced the name of Karaj Karah, and Farrazîn was the name of a castle not far from the gate of Karaj. Mustawfî, who refers to the river as the River of Karah—the Karah Rûd—says that the Râsmand mountain here rose above the plain to the north. At the foot of the mountain was an abundant spring of water, called the fountain of King Kay-Khusraw, which irrigated the neighbouring pasture lands, six leagues long by three wide, known as the Margzâr of Kîtû, which lay under the protection of the Farrazîn castle. The Râsmand mountain is described as a black rock towering up like the hill of Bisûtûn, with glens at its base, and it was ten leagues in circuit. The site of Burj, the second city of the Īghârayn, has not yet been identified. Its position, however, is approximately known. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of it as a fine well-conditioned town, and tells us that it lay on the high road towards Isfahân, some 12 leagues distant from Karaj.

Lower down the Karaj river, and to the north of Karaj of Abu Dulaf, is the town of Sârûk of the Farâhân district, noticed by Yâkût and Mustawfî, being counted by them as belonging to Hamadân. Dawlatâbâd, which still exists, is mentioned as a prominent place of the neighbourhood; and there was a salt marsh near here, formed by a lake, measuring four leagues square, which when dried up by the summer heats produced excellent salt for export. This lake, according to Mustawfî, the Mongols named Jaghân Nâûr, meaning 'Salt Lake.' It is doubtless

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1 I. H. 258, 262. Muk. 394. Yak. i. 420, 548; iii. 873; iv. 250, 270. Mst. 151, 204.
identical with the present lake of Tualâ. Lastly, to the south-east of Hamadân, and about half-way between that city and Nihâvand, lies the small town of Râmîn, which is noticed by Yâkût as of this district, but it is not further described by any other authority\(^1\).

\(^1\) Yak. iii. 867, 887; iv. 683. Mst. 151. At the present day the chief town of this district, now famous for its carpets, is Sultânâbâd, founded by Fath ‘Ali Shâh at the beginning of the nineteenth century; it is commonly known as Shahr-i-Naw (New Town).
CHAPTER XIV.

JIBÂL (continued).


South of Hamadân lies Luristân, the district of the Lur tribes, kinsmen of the Kurds, and this mountainous region is divided by its rivers into two parts, Great Lur to the south and Little Lur to the north. The district of Little Lur is separated from Great Lur by the main stream of the Upper Kârûn, and the towns of Great Lur will be more conveniently described in the chapter on Khûzistân, although the district of Great Lur also is by some authorities regarded as forming part of ‘Irâk ‘Ajam.

The chief towns of Little Lur, as enumerated by Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century, were Burûjird, Khurramâbad, and Shâpurkhwâst. Burûjird is described by Ibn Ḥawkâl in the 4th (10th) century as a fine city, measuring over half a league across. Its fruits were exported to Karaj, much saffron was grown, and its importance increased after Hamûlah, the Wazîr of the Abu Dulaf family just mentioned, built the Friday Mosque here. When Mustawfî wrote, in the 8th (14th) century, there were two mosques, the old and the new; but the town, he says, was then already falling to ruin. ‘Alî of Yazd, who always writes the name Vurûjird, frequently refers to it in describing the campaigns of Timûr, by whose orders the castle, called the Kal‘ah Armiyân, was restored.

1 I. H. 258, 262. Yak. i. 596; ii. 737. Mst. 151. A. Y. i. 587; ii. 515.
The name of Khurramâbâd, since the time of Timûr the most important place in Little Lur after Burûjjird, does not occur in any of the Arab geographers of the middle-ages; and it has often been suggested that Khurramâbâd was identical with the town of Shâpûrkhwâst, a place frequently mentioned in earlier days. That this, however, is not the case, is proved by the mention, separately, of both towns by Mustawfî, who further indicates the position of Shâpûrkhwâst. Khurramâbâd, when Mustawfî wrote in the 8th (14th) century, was a fine town, though already partly in ruin. The date palm produced abundantly here, and he adds that this was the only place in the hill country where it grew, excepting Şaymarah: but this statement cannot be accepted as quite exact.

In regard to Shâpûrkhwâst, which the Arab geographers wrote Sâbûrkhwâst, this also had been a town famous for its dates since the time of Ibn Hawjal. In the 4th (10th) century Sâbûrkhwâst with Burûjjird and Nihâvand came under the power of Hasanawayh, the Kurdish chief who had established his government at Dinavar (see above, p. 189), and at Dizbaz, the castle of Sâbûrkhwâst, which rivalled Sarmâj for strength, Badr, son of Hasanawayh, kept his treasures, which in 414 (1023) fell into the hands of the Buyids. During the 5th (11th) century Sâbûrkhwâst is frequently mentioned in the chronicles relating to the doings of the Saljûks, and in 499 (1106) the Atabeg Mankâbars came into possession of the city, together with Nihâvand and Lîshtar (Alishtar). Writing in the early part of the 8th (14th) century Mustawfî (in the Gushidah) gives the information that in his day there were, in Little Lur, three populous cities, namely Burûjjird, Khurramâbâd, and Shâpûrkhwâst (as he spells it in Persian). He relates that, 'this last, though once a great city, and very populous, being full of people of various nations and the capital of the kingdom, is now reduced to become a provincial town'; and in regard to its position he states that beyond (south) of Burûjjird, 'the road (coming from Nihâvand and going to Isfahân) branches to the right to Shâpûrkhwâst,' while to the left (eastward) the main road went on to Karaj of Abu Dulaf. These details are in accordance with the accounts given by Ibn Hawjal and Muğaddasî; for the former states that from Nihâvand it was 10 leagues (south) to Lâshtar, and thence 12 on to Sâbûr-
khwâst, from which it was counted 30 leagues to (Great) Lur—that is to say the plains lying north of Dizful which will be noticed later in Chapter XVI. Mukaddasî adds that from Sâbûrkhwâst to Karaj of Abu Dulaf was four marches, it being the same from Sâbûrkhwâst to Lur¹.

To the west of Little Lur, and on the frontier of Arabian 'Irâk, lay the two districts of Mâsabadhân and Mihradjânkudhâk, of which the chief towns were, respectively, Sirawân and Şaymarah. The ruins of both towns still exist, and Mâsabadhân is in use as the name of the region to the south of the Mâyidasht plain. Sirawân (or As-Sirawân) was, according to Ibn Ḥawkal, a small town, its houses built of mortared stone, not unlike Mosul. It produced the fruits of both hot and cold regions, especially nuts and melons, the latter of the celebrated kind known as Dastabûyâh; moreover the date palm, as already said, flourished here. Kazvini refers to mines of salt, sulphur, vitriol, and borax as being found in the Mâsabadhân district. Situated some fifty miles to the eastward, Şaymarah was not unlike Sirawân, and it remained a populous town to a later date than the latter, its position being better chosen. The Mihrajânkudhâk district lying round it was celebrated in the 4th (10th) century for great fertility; and Mukaddasî refers to its numerous population. ‘Dates and olives, nuts and snow are all found here abundantly,’ Yâkût writes, and on the road between Şaymarah and the neighbouring hamlet of Tarhân was a wonderful bridge, ‘twice as great as the bridge between Hulwân and Khânîkîn.’ When Mustawfî wrote in the 8th (14th) century Şaymarah, though already falling to ruin, was still a fine town, and the surrounding country was celebrated for its date-groves².

At the south-eastern corner of the Jibâl province, and not far distant from the borders of the Great Desert, stands Isfahân (the

¹ I. H. 259, 264. Muk. 401. Yak. ii. 572; iii. 4, 82, 225. Ibn-al-Athîr, ix. 174; x. 274. Mst. 151, 195; also Gûzîdah (Gantin), i. 622, and MS. f. 159 b, giving the paragraph on Lesser Lur, at the end of section xi of chapter iv, immediately preceding the section treating of the Mongols. The name is variously spelt Sâbûrkhwâst, Shâburkhâst, and Shâpûrkhwâst. The exact site of the ruins has not been identified.

name being spelt Isbahân by the Arabs and by the Persians Ispahân),
which from the earliest times must have been a place of impor-
tance, on account of the fertility of its lands which are watered by
the abundant stream of the Zâyindah Rûd. At the present day
Isfahân and its suburbs occupy both banks of the river, but in the
middle-ages the inhabited quarters lay only on the northern or
left bank of the Zâyindah Rûd. Here there were two cities side
by side; namely, to the east Jay, otherwise called Shahristânâh1,
girt by a wall with a hundred towers; and two miles to the west-
ward of this Al-Yahûdîyâh, 'the Jew Town,' double the size of Jay,
taking its name, so tradition asserted, from the Jews who had been
settled here in the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

Ibn Rustah, at the close of the 3rd (9th) century, describes
the city of Jay as measuring half a league across, and covering an
area of 2000 Jarîbs (about 600 acres). There were four gates,
Bâb Khawr or 'of the Creek,' otherwise Bâb Zarîn Rûd, for this
was the earlier spelling of the name of the river; then Bâb Asfîj,
Bâb Tîrâh, and the Yahûdîyâh Gate. Ibn Rustah enumerates the
number of towers on the wall between each gate, and he also gives
the space in ells. In Jay was an ancient building like a fortress
called Sârûk, the name likewise of the Hamadân citadel, as above
stated, which Ibn Rustah says dated from before the Flood.
Ibn Hâwkal and Muḥaddasî in the next century describe both
Jay and Yahûdîyâh. In each city was a Great Mosque for the
Friday prayers; and Yahûdîyâh alone equalled Hamadân in size,
being indeed the largest city in the Jibâl province, Ray only
possibly excepted. Isfahân was already a great commercial
centre, and its silks, especially the 'Attâbî (tabby stuffs), and its
cottons, were largely exported. Saffron and all kinds of fruit
grew well in its districts, which were the broadest and richest of
the whole Jibâl. Al-Yahûdîyâh, according to Muḥaddasî, had
been originally settled by the Jews in the time of Nebuchadnezzar
because its climate resembled that of Jerusalem. The town,
which he reports had twelve gates (Darb), was built mostly of
unburnt brick, and it had both open and covered markets. The

1 Shahristân, or Shahristânâh, means, in Persian, 'the Township,' and is a
common name for the capital city.
Great Mosque was in one of the markets, built with round columns, having a minaret on the Kiblah (Mecca) side, 70 ells in height. The neighbouring township of Jay, a couple of miles to the eastward, was according to Muḥaddāsī called Al-Madinah, ‘the City,’ the Arabic equivalent of Shahristānah, and immediately below its ancient fortress, in the 4th (10th) century, the river was crossed by a bridge of boats.

In 444 (1052) Isfahān was visited by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, who describes it as the largest city in all Persian-speaking lands that he had seen. There were two hundred bankers, and fifty caravanserais; and the town was surrounded by a wall said to be three and a half leagues in circuit, with battlements and a gangway running along the summit. The Great Mosque was a magnificent building, and the money-changers’ market a sight to be seen, and each of the other numerous markets was shut off by its own gate. When Yāḵūt wrote, in the beginning of the 7th (13th) century, both Yahūdīyah and Jay had fallen to ruin; and of the two the latter was then the more populous. He further speaks of the Great Mosque in Jay built by the Caliph Manṣūr Rāshid, who, as the chronicles relate, having been deposed by his uncle Muḥammad Muḵtafī in 530 (1136), was afterwards killed in battle and brought to be buried outside the gate of Isfahān. Yahūdīyah, however, after the Mongol invasion, recovered a part of its former glory, and was a populous thriving city when Abu-l-Fidā wrote in 721 (1321), having, he says, the suburb of Shahristān a mile distant to the eastward, which occupied part of the older site of Jay.

His contemporary, Mustawfī, gives us a long account of Isfahān and its districts, mentioning the names of many places that still exist; and his description proves that Yahūdīyah of medieval times is the city of Isfahān as described by Chardin at the close of the 17th century, when it had become the capital of Persia under Shāh ‘Abbās, the past glories of which are to be seen at the present day. According to Mustawfī the city walls, 21,000 paces in circuit, dated from the 4th (10th) century, having been built by ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. The area of Isfahān had formerly been occupied by four villages, whose names survived in the town quarters, namely, Karrān (the Karrān Gate is given by
Chardin as opening on the east side), Kushk, Jübarah (this was the eastern quarter when Chardin wrote, and the Jübarah Gate was to the north-east), and Dardasht (the gate of this name lay to the north, and the Dardasht quarter was to the north-west). Mustawfi writes that the most populous quarter under the Saljuqks had been that known as Julbârah (the Gulbâr quarter of Chardin, round the present Maydân-i-Kuhnah or 'Old Square'), where stood the College and Tomb of Sultan Muhammad the Saljuq, and here might be seen a block of stone weighing 10,000 mans (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.

When Timur conquered Isfahan at the close of the 8th (14th) century, the name of the citadel which he occupied is given as Kal'ah Tabarik (the latter word meaning a 'hillock' in the Persian dialect), and the ruins of this castle, which still exist, are described by Chardin as standing outside the Dardasht Gate. Further we are informed that Malik Shâh the Saljûq erected another strong castle—the Shâh-Diz, 'the Royal Fort'—on the summit of a mountain close to Isfahan in the year 500 (1107), and Kazvini adds a long anecdote relating the circumstances that brought about its foundation. At the beginning of the 10th (16th) century, Persia came under the rule of Shâh Ismâll the Safavid, and at the close of the century Shâh 'Abbâs the Great transferred his capital from Ardabil to Isfahan, whither he also removed the whole Armenian population of Julfah on the river Aras, settling them in a new quarter of the city which he founded on the southern or right bank of the Zâyindah Rûd. Shâh 'Abbâs also added other new quarters and suburbs to Isfahan, but north of the river, all of which are minutely described by Chardin, who lived at Isfahan for many years during the latter half of the 17th century A.D.

1 History, however, does not record that this Sultan Muhammad—he reigned from 498 to 511 (1104—1117) and was a son of Malik Shâh—made any conquests in India; possibly Mustawfi has mistaken him for Mahmûd of Ghaznah.

The eight districts round Isfahān, which Mustawfī carefully enumerates with their villages, still exist, and the same names appear in Ya'qūbī and other early authorities of the 3rd and 4th (9th and 10th) centuries. Four of these districts lie to the north of the river, while the other four are on its right bank to the southward. Beginning with the north bank, the home district, that immediately round the city, was called Jay, the name of the older town to the eastward. The Marbīn district was to the west of Isfahān, and here stood an ancient fire-temple built by the mythical king Tahmurath, surnamed Div Band, 'the demon binder.' To the north-west, at some distance from the city gates, lay the Burkhwār district, of which Jaz (modern Gaz) was the largest village; while to the north-east was the district called Kahāb, the fourth on the northern river bank. South of the Zāyindah Rūd, and to the south-east of the old Shahristānah city, was the district of Baraān, with the Rūdasht district beyond it lying further down the river, of which last the chief centre was Fārisān, a large town in the 8th (14th) century, though now only a village, standing near the great Gāv-Khānah swamp. The Karārij district is south of Baraān; and westward of this, higher up the right bank of the Zāyindah Rūd, is the great Khānlānjān district, the last of the four to the south of the river, of which the chief town was Fīrūzān. Of this city no trace apparently remains, but it was a considerable town 'in two parts' in the 8th (14th) century, situated on the Zāyindah Rūd, and Ibn Baṭūtah, who passed through it, says it lay six leagues distant from Isfahān. The Khānlānjān district was already famous in the 4th (10th) century for its plentiful fruits and the fertility of its lands. Its name is often written Khālanjān or Khūlanjān, and it was also known as Khānan-al-Abrār, 'the Caravanseraí of the Benefactors.' As the name of a town Khānlānjān is doubtless identical with Fīrūzān aforesaid, and in the Itineraries this is the first stage southward from Isfahān on the western road to Shfrāz. In the 5th (11th) century Nāsir-

i. 431. Kaz. ii. 265. The description of Isfahān fills volume viii (see especially pp. 122, 126, 147, 153, 212, 227, 229, for passages referred to) of the Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse (Amsterdam, 1711). For modern Isfahān see Houtum-Schindler, Eastern Persian 'Irāq (1897), pp. 18, 19, 120, 122.
i-Khusraw passed through Khânlanján on his way to Isfahân, and noticed on the city gate an inscription bearing the name of Tughril Beg the Saljûk.\(^1\)

The main stream of the Isfahân river, at the present time generally called the Zandah Rûd, is known as the Zâyindah Rûd or the Zarîn-Rûd̨h to our various authorities, though this last name is now generally given to a tributary river. The main stream, in its upper reach, was named the Jûy-Sard, ‘the Cold River,’ and this rose in the Zardah-Kûh, ‘the Yellow Mountains’—still so called from their yellow limestone cliffs—30 leagues west of Isfahân, not far from the head-waters of the Dujayl or Kârûn river of Khûzistân; and here, according to Mustawfi, were also the Ashkahrân mountains, which marked the frontiers of Great Lur. Below the town of Fîrûzân in Khânlanjân, the Zandah Rûd receives an affluent, almost equal to its main stream in volume, which comes down from near Gulpaygân (Jurbâdhaḵân); then after passing Isfahân, and irrigating its eight districts, the Zandah Rûd somewhat to the eastward of Rûdasht flows finally into the swamp of Gâv-Khânah on the borders of the Great Desert. According to popular belief, which is mentioned already by Ibn Khurdâdbih in the 3rd (9th) century, the river, after sinking into this swamp, rose again to the ground surface 90 leagues away in Kirmân, thence reaching the sea; but Mustawfi not unnaturally discredits the story, because of the high mountains lying between Isfahân and Kirmân, and though he states that it was said that bits of reeds thrown into the Gâv-Khânah marsh reappeared in Kirmân, he adds ‘but this account is incredible’.

Nâyin, which lay to the north of the Gâv-Khânah swamp on the border of the Great Desert, and the towns to the south-east

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\(^1\) I. K. 20, 58. I. R. 152. Kud. 197. I. H. 201. Ykb. 275. Muk. 389, 458. Yak. i. 294; ii. 394; iii. 839. Mst. 143, for the most part reproduced in J. N. 291. I. B. ii. 42. N. K. 92. Khânlanjân is famous also as the place of refuge of Firdûsî, when he fled from the wrath of Sultan Mâhmûd of Ghaznah. An account of his reception by the governor of Khânlanjân is given in a copy of the Shâh Nâsânah preserved in the British Museum (Or. 1403, f. 518 a), of which the text and translation are given by C. Schéfer in his edition of Nâsîr-i-Khusraw (Appendix iv. p. 298).

of it towards Yazd, were all included in the province of Fârs during the middle-ages, as will be explained in Chapter XVIII, but Ardistân, some miles north-west of Nâyîn, was counted as of the Jibâl province. As early as the 4th (10th) century, Ištâkhri describes Ardistân as a walled city, a mile across, with five gates and well fortified. The Friday Mosque stood in the centre of the town, and much silk was manufactured here, chiefly for export. At Zuvârah, to the north-east of Ardistân, some ancient ruins were attributed to King Anûshîrwân the Just, and Muğaddâsî adds that the soil of Ardistân was white, 'like wheat flour, whence its name,' for Ard in Persian meaning 'meal,' Ardistân would have the signification of 'the place like flour.' The ruins are referred to under the name of Uzvârah by Yâkût, who states that there were many vaulted buildings, also the remains of a fire-temple that had become the castle of Ardistân, and here according to tradition Anûshîrwân had been born. Mustawfī however, who spells the name Zuvârah, attributes all these remains, including the fire-temple, to King Bahmân, son of Isfandiyâr; and records that the town, which stood close to the desert, had round it 30 villages, giving as a tradition that these had been built by Dastân, brother of the hero Rustam.

On the desert border between Ardistân and Kâshân were the Kargas Kûh, 'the Vulture Hills,' which Muğaddâsî describes as the highest mountains in the Great Desert of Persia. The neighbouring Siyâh Kûh, 'Black Hills,' were of almost equal height and ruggedness:—'black evil-looking mountains'; and both, says Ištâkhri, were famous hiding-places for robbers. In a valley of the Vulture Hills was a fine spring called the Āb-i-Bandah, which gushed out from a cleft that was completely enclosed by rocks. About half-way between the Kargas Kûh and the Siyâh Kûh on the desert road, stood the caravanserai called Dayr-al-Jîs, 'Gypsum Convent,' a strong place, built entirely of burnt brick and shut by iron gates. In this hostel, according to Ištâkhri, guides for the desert routes were to be found, stationed here by order of the Sultan. Further, great tanks had been constructed here for storing water, which Muğaddâsî relates were never allowed to go out of repair, and there were shops in the caravanserai for the sale of provisions. Mustawfī describes the Kargas Kûh as
standing solitary, being joined to no other range, and some ten leagues in circuit. In their rocky heights the vultures nested, and the ibex (*wa‘l*), that could live long without water, was found here in great numbers. To the west of Ardistán is the town of Naţanz, or Naţanzah, which appears to be mentioned by no Arab geographer before the time of Yâkūt. Mustawfî states that its castle was called Washâk, after one who was governor of Naţanz, though originally this castle had borne the name of Kamart. Close to Naţanz also was the large village of Ţark, almost a town says Yâkūt, and here according to Қazvini the people were celebrated for their skill in carving bowls out of ivory and ebony; these being largely exported.

The city of Kâshân is mentioned by Iṣṭakhrî ‘as a pleasant town, clay built, like Kum.’ The earlier Arab geographers always spell the name Kâshân (with the dotted َُ). The place became famous throughout the east for its tile-work, which took the name Kâshî (for Kâshâni), this being still the common term for the well-known enamelled blue and green tiles so much used in mosque decoration. According to Muķaddasi Kâshân was the reverse of famous for its scorpions; and Yâkūt, who refers to the beautiful green bowls of Kâshî-ware which were in his day largely exported, speaks of the population as all fanatical Shi‘ahs of the Imâmite sect. Mustawfî asserts that Kâshân had originally been built by Zubaydah, the wife of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd; and he praises the palace of Fin, lying near Kâshân, for its tanks and watercourses, which were supplied by the river from Kuhrûd. The Kâshân river, which in summer went dry before reaching the town limits, in spring often endangered the city with its floods, which passing on were lost in the neighbouring desert.

The city of Kum (more correctly spelt Kumm according to Arab orthography), to the north of Kâshân, is now famous among the Shi‘ahs for its shrine, said to mark the tomb of Fâtimah, sister of the sixth Imâm ‘Ali-ar-Ridâ, a contemporary of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, whom they assert to have died here of poison on her way to join her brother in Khurasân. Already in the 4th (10th) century Ibn Hawkâl describes Kum as peopled by Shi‘ahs; it was then a

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walled town, with fertile gardens round it, celebrated for pistachio
nuts and filberts. The ancient name of Kum according to Yâkût
had been Kumandân, curtailed by the Arabs to Kumm. The
remains of a Persian fortress were, he says, still to be seen among
the ruins of the town, and an ancient stone bridge crossed the
river which separated the older site from the Moslem town.
Mustawfi states that the walls of Kum measured 10,000 paces in
circuit, and, like Âvah, the place was celebrated for its numerous
ice-houses excavated in the ground; also for its cypress trees, and
for vines which produced the famous red grapes. When Mustawfi
wrote in the 8th (14th) century most part of Kum lay in ruins,
and it is to be remarked that neither he nor any earlier authorities
make any mention of the tomb of Fâtimah, although the city is
always noted as being a centre of the Shi'ah sect 1.

The river of Kum rose in the Gulpaygân district near the
mountains of Khânsâr, as Mustawfi writes the name, and these
ranges are the watershed between the Kum river and the left-
bank tributary of the Isfahân river already mentioned. Jurbadh-
aḵân is the Arab name for Gulpaygân, of which the older form
was Gurbâyigân, and Mustawfi explains the name to mean 'the
place of roses,' writing it Gul-âbād-ikân and goes on to praise its
fertility and the excellent water, 50 villages being of its depend-
encies. Muḵaddasī refers to Jurbâdhaḵân as lying about half-way
between Karaj of Abu Dulâf and Isfahân, and the village of Khân-
sâr which gave its name to the district, Yâkût adds, was of its
neighbourhood. The town of Dallijân lies further down the Kum
river; and according to Yâkût the name was pronounced Dulayjân
or Dulaygân. Formerly it had been a flourishing place, but when
Mustawfi wrote it had fallen to ruin. After passing the city of
Kum, the Kum river joined the waters of the great stream
coming down from Hamadân, called the river Gâvmâhâ, or
Gâvmâsâ, which itself a short distance above Kum had received
on its right bank the Âvah river, and on its left bank the river
passing Sâvah. All these streams branched to form many water
channels, and intermingling by cross canals finally became lost in
the Great Desert to the north-east of Kum.

J. N. 305.
The town of Ávah (called Ávah of Sâvah to distinguish it from Ávah near Hamadân, see p. 196) lay a short distance to the west of Kum. The Ávah river took its rise in Tafrish, which Mustawfî describes as a district 'that on all sides was only approached by passes,' and the country here was very fertile, with many villages. The town of Ávah is mentioned by Muḫaddasî, who names it Ávâ or Ávah of Ray; and Yâkût, who speaks of it as a village or a small town, writes the name Ábah, adding that its population were ardent Shi'âhs. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfî describes Ávah as enclosed by a wall a thousand paces in circuit, and there were pits for storing ice, which were famous, for ice was much in demand during the summer heats; but the bread here was very bad. Between Ávah and Kum, he describes an isolated hill, called Kûh Namak Lawn (Salt Mountain), where the earth was everywhere mixed with salt. To reach the summit was impossible on account of the friable nature of the ground; no snow either would remain on its sides, and the salt was too bitter to be used by man. This hill was three leagues in circuit, and so high as to be visible at a distance of 10 leagues.

The city of Sâvah, lying midway between Hamadân and Ray on the great caravan road which traversed Persia (the Khurâsân road), was a place of importance as early as the 4th (10th) century, when Ibn Ḥawkal describes it as noted for its camels and cameldrivers, both much in demand throughout the land by pilgrims and travellers. Muḫaddasî adds that the town was fortified, that there were fine baths here, and that the Friday Mosque stood near the high road, and at some distance from the market. The people of Sâvah were Sunnis, and Yâkût writes that in his day they were perpetually at feud with their neighbours of Ávah, who were Shi'âhs. Sâvah suffered severely at the hands of the Mongols in 617 (1220), who plundered the town, slaying most of its inhabitants; and among other buildings burning the great library, which Yâkût had seen, and describes as having had no equal throughout all Persian ʿIrâk. This library is also referred to by Kazvînî, who says it was housed in the Great Mosque, and contained, besides books on all subjects, a set of astrolabes and globes for the study

1 Ist. 195, 198. Muk. 25, 51, 257, 386, 402. Yak. i. 57; ii. 46, 392, 584. Mst. 147, 150, 206, 216.
of astronomy. In the town was a hospital, as well as many colleges and caravanserais; and at the gate of the mosque was a mighty arch, recalling the arch of the Chosroes at Madain.

In Moslem legend Sâvah was famous for the great lake which had been here before the days of Islâm, and which had suddenly dried up on the night of the birth of the prophet Muḥammad; 'the water sinking down into the earth in joy at the good news,' as Mustawfî writes. He adds that in his day the walls of Sâvah had been recently rebuilt of burnt brick, being then 6200 ells in circuit. Four leagues to the west of Sâvah was the shrine of the prophet Samuel, and when Mustawfî wrote the population of the town had nearly all become Shī'ahs. He mentions the names of many of the surrounding villages, and adds that corn, cotton, and pomegranates were grown abundantly throughout the district.

The Sâvah river was called the Muzdaḵân, from a town of this name which stood on its banks. This stream rose at Sâmân, a large village on the border of the Kharraḵān district of Hamadân (see p. 196), lying in a rich country producing corn and grapes. From Sâmân the river came to Muzdaḵân (also spelt Muṣdaḵân), a town which Mustawfî describes as 3000 paces in circuit, with a cold climate, being in the hill country. Yâḵût speaks of a celebrated Rubāṭ—guard-house or monastery—at Muzdaḵân, where many Şûfîs had their abode; and the town was a stage on the great caravan road crossing Persia. After passing through Sâvah, Mustawfî tells us, the Muzdaḵân river divided, part of its waters sinking underground into a great pit, while a moiety joined the Gâvmâhā.

The long river called the Gâvmâhā (or Gâvmásâ as some mss. write the name), which Mustawfî carefully describes for us, is now known as the Kârâ Şû—Black Water—along a part of its course. It had its head-waters, as already said, in the Hamadân plain, where divers streams came down from Asadâbâd, the Alvand mountain, and the Farîvâr district. Flowing first northward and then bending sharply to the east, it received from the south a great affluent, the river rising near Karaj of Abu Dulaf. Beyond Sâvah and Êvah, where it received the two other affluents we have previously described, a great dam was built across the river to retain its waters for irrigation purposes during the summer
droughts. The Gâvmâhâ eventually mingled its stream with the river of Kum coming from Gulpaygân, and Mustawfi adds that their surplus waters after passing a place called Haftâd Pulân, 'Eighty Bridges', finally escaped and were lost in the Great Desert. The Gâvmâhâ river was to its district, says Mustawfi, what the Zandah Rûd was to Isfahân, being the chief fountain of its riches and prosperity. It is to be remarked that none of the earlier Arab geographers make mention of this river.

1 I. H. 258. Muk. 392. Yak. iii. 24; iv. 520. Kaz. ii. 258. Mst. 148, 149, 152, 217. The dam on the Gâvmâhâ was built by Shams-ad-Dîn, prime minister (Şâhib-Dîvan) of Sulṭân Ahmâd, son of Hûlâgû, the third Îl-Khân of Persia.
CHAPTER XV.

JIBÂL (continued).


At the north-eastern corner of the Jibâl province stood Ray, more correctly spelt Rayy, which the Arab geographers always write with the article Ar-Rayy, the name representing the Greek Rhages. In the 4th (10th) century Ray appears to have been the chief of the four capital cities of the Jibâl province; 'except for Baghdâd, indeed, it is the finest city of the whole east,' Ibn Hawkâl writes, 'though Naytsâbûr in Khursân is more spacious,' and Ray covered at that time an area of a league and a half square. Officially, during the Abbasid Caliphate, Ray was known as Muḥammadîyah, in honour of Muḥammad, afterwards the Caliph Mahdî, who had lived here during the reign of his father Mansûr, and had rebuilt much of the city. His son Hârûn-ar-Rashîd was born here, and under its official title of Muḥammadîyah it became the chief mint city of the province, this name occurring on many of the Abbasid coins.

In Ray the houses were mostly built of clay, but burnt bricks were also largely used. The town was strongly fortified, and Ibn Hawkâl mentions five gates; the gate of the Bâtâk Arch opening (S.W.) on the Baghdâd road, Bâb Ba拉丁sân (N.W.) towards Kâzvin, Bâb Kûhak (N.E.) towards Tâbaristân, Bâb Hishâm (E.) on the Khursân road, and Bâb Sin (S.) towards Kûm. The
markets of the city lay at, and outside, these gates, and the most frequented were in the suburbs of Sârbânân and Ar-Rûdhah, where shops, and warehouses filled with merchandise, extended along both sides of the main thoroughfare for a great distance. Two rivers, according to Ibn Ḥawkal, brought water to Ray, one called Sûrkanâ running past the Rûdhah suburb; and the other, the river Al-Jillâni, flowing through Sârbânân. Yâkût also mentions the Nahr Mûsâ (River of Mûsâ), coming down from the mountains of Daylam, which may therefore be identical with the Jîlânî or Gilân river, aforesaid. Muâddasî refers to two great buildings in Ray, one the Dâr-al-Baţîkh, "the water-melon house," a name commonly given to the city fruit-market, the other the Dâr-al-Kuttub, or library, lying below Rûdhah in a khân (caravanserai), where, however, there were not many books, according to his account.

In the 4th (10th) century both Ibn Ḥawkal and Muâddasî speak of Ray as already much gone to ruin, the chief traffic then being in the suburbs of the older town. High above the Great Mosque, which Yâkût states was built by the Caliph Mahdî and finished in 158 (775), was the castle, which stood on the summit of a steep hill, of which Ibn Rustah writes that "from its top you overlook all the roofs of Ray." The account of Ray given in Yâkût is not very clear, but he quotes, in one part of his work, an old topographical description of the town, which is to the following effect. The Inner City, where the mosque and the Government House stood, was the quarter surrounded by a ditch, and this was generally known as Al-Madinah, "the City" proper. The Outer City was that part more especially known as Al-Muḥammadîyah, which at first had been a fortified suburb. It crowned the summit of the hill overlooking the lower (or inner) town, and according to the information quoted by Yâkût its castle was known as Az-Zubaydîyah (some mss. give the name as Az-Zaybandî), which had been the palace of Prince Mahdî when he was quartered in Ray; Afterwards this became the prison, and it was rebuilt in 278 (891). Further, there was another castle in Ray called the Kal'ah-al-Farrukhân, also known as Al-Jawsāk, "the Kiosque," and during the 4th (10th) century Fâkhîr-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, who disliked the old palace on the hill-top, built himself a great
house in the midst of gardens, which was afterwards known as Fakhrābād.

The most celebrated in early days of the many fertile districts round Ray were the following:—Rūdhah (or Ar-Rūdhah), with a large village of the same name beyond the city suburb; Varāmīn, which afterwards took the place of Ray as the chief city of this part of the Jībāl province; Pashāvīyah, still existing under the form Fashāvīyah; lastly, Kūsin and Dīzah, with the districts of Al-Kašrān, 'the Two Palaces'—the outer and the inner—Dīzah being the name of two large villages or towns lying one day's journey from Ray, to wit, Dīzah of Kašrān, and Dīzah of Varāmīn. All these hamlets according to Ibn Ḥawkal, with some others that he names, were like small towns, each with a population of over 10,000 men. In the year 617 (1220) Ray was taken, plundered, and burnt by the Mongol hordes, and from this great calamity it never recovered. Yâkût, who passed through the place at this time, states that the city walls alone remained intact, most of the houses being reduced to ruin. Many of these had originally been built of burnt brick, faced with blue enamelled tiles, which Yâkût describes as 'varnished smooth like the surface of a bowl.' The Shāfi'iite suburb, the smallest of the city quarters, alone had escaped the Mongols, the quarters of the Hanbalites and of the Shi'ahs having been completely ruined.

From its state of utter ruin Ghāzān Khān the Mongol, by imperial decree, according to Mustawfi, attempted to restore Ray, ordering the city to be rebuilt and repeopled. The attempt, however, failed, for the population had already shifted to the neighbouring towns of Varāmīn and Tīhrān, more especially the former, which, having a better climate than the older Ray, had become at the beginning of the 8th (14th) century the most flourishing city of the district. The ruins of Varāmīn lie at some distance to the south of Ray, while to the north of the city, Mustawfi says, was the hill of Tābarik—presumably not that on which the castle

1 Ykb. 275. I. R. 168. I. H. 265, 269, 270. Muk. 390, 391. Yak. ii. 153, 894, 895; iii. 855; iv. 431. Whether or not the fortress of Ray built by Mahdi was called Zubaydlyah (if this indeed be the true reading) after the future wife of his son Hârûn-ar-Rashīd is not clear.

already mentioned as built by the Caliph Mahdi had stood—where a silver mine was worked at much profit to the state. This castle of Tabarik, according to the chronicle of Zahir-ad-Din, was founded by Manuchehr the Ziyarid at the beginning of the 5th (11th) century. Yaqut states that it was destroyed in 588 (1192) by Tughril II, the last Saljuq Sultan of Irak, and a long account is given of the siege of this famous stronghold. The Tabarik hill, he adds, lay on the right of the Khurasan road to a traveller leaving Ray, while the Hill of Ray (presumably the site of the castle built by Mahdi) lay to the left of one leaving the city gate. Mustawfi describes the shrine of the Imam Zadah 'Abd-al-'Azim as situated close to Ray, and this Mashhad, or place of martyrdom, is still the most venerated sanctuary of modern Tehran; the saint being a certain Husayn, son of Al-庄-Ridh, the eighth Imam.

One of the famous districts near Ray was called Shahriyâr, and Mustawfi incidentally mentions a castle (Kal'ah) of this name as lying to the north of the city. In later times this castle must have become important, for Shahriyâr or Ray-Shahriyâr is the name which 'Ali of Yazd, when describing the campaigns of Timur, gives to Ray. Varâmín, as already said, was then the chief centre of population, but this town in the beginning of the 9th (15th) century was itself already falling to ruin. At a later time its place was taken by Tehran, which in the 7th (13th) century is merely mentioned as one of the largest villages of Ray. The early Tehran (also spelt Tehran with the soft t) had many half-underground houses, 'like Jerboa holes' according to Kazvint, and the people of its twelve wards were always fighting, each ward against the other. Mustawfi in the next century describes Tehran as a medium-sized town; but it was not till long after, namely at the close of the 12th (18th) century, that the city was made the capital of Persia by Aka Muhammad Shâh, founder of the Kajar dynasty.

The rivers that water the plain in which Ray, Varâmín, and Tehran stand, flow thence to the neighbouring border of the Great

1 Kaz. ii. 228, 250. Mst. 143, 144, 205. Yak. iii. 507, 564. A. Y. i. 583, 586, 597. Zahir-ad-Din (Dorn, Muhammadanische Quellen, i. p. 15 of the Persian text) states that Tabarik means 'a hillock,' being the diminutive of Taha which signifies 'a hill or mountain' in the Tabaristan dialect. Tabarik of Isfahan has been noticed on p. 205.
Desert and there are lost. One of the chief streams was the Nahr Mūsā already mentioned, along whose bank lay many villages; further, Mustawfi speaks of the river Karaj, which was crossed by a bridge of a single arch known as the Pul-i-Khâtūn, 'the Lady's Bridge,' and so called, it was said, in memory of the lady Zubaydah, wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. The ruins of this bridge still exist not far from Ţihrān. Ḵazvīnī also mentions the Nahr Sūrlīn, whose waters were carefully avoided by the Shi‘ah population of Ray, because the body of the murdered Yaḥyā, grandson of ‘Alī Zayn-al-‘Ābidīn the fourth Imām, had been washed in it, and thus polluted the stream for evermore. The chief river of Ray, however, according to Mustawfi, was the Jāyij Rūd, which, rising in the Jāyij range under Damāvand, divided into forty channels on reaching the plain of Ray.

On the western border of this plain lies the district of Sāūj Bulǎgh—meaning 'Cold Springs' in the Turkish dialect—which is described by Mustawfi as having been an important place under the Saljūqs. In the time of the Mongols it paid revenues to the amount of 12,000 dinārs, and the chief among its numerous villages was Sunḵurābād (which still exists), an important stage on the itinerary given by Mustawfi. Sāūj Bulǎgh district was watered by the Garm Rūd, which, rising in the mountains to the east of Ḵazvīn, irrigated the districts of Ray and Shahriyār, where it was joined by many streams from the mountain range to the north before such of its waters as were not used up in irrigation channels were absorbed by the Great Desert.

Ḵazvīn (otherwise Ḵazwīn) lies about a hundred miles northwest of Ţihrān, immediately below the great mountain chain, and from the earliest times was an important place, guarding the passes that led across the Ṭabaristān province to the shores of the Caspian. The mountain region to the north-west had in early times formed part of the district of Daylam (already described in Chapter XII) which for a time was semi-independent, not having been brought under the government of the Abbasids. During this period Ḵazvīn was the chief fortress against these fierce infidels, and was strongly garrisoned by Moslem troops. Already in the times of the

Omayyad Caliphs, Muḥammad, son of Ḥajjāj—the latter being the celebrated governor of Arabian ‘Irāk—had been sent by his father at the head of an army against the infidels of the Daylam mountains. This Muḥammad had halted at Ḥazvin, and built here the first Friday Mosque, which Yākūt describes as standing near the gate of the palace of the Bani Junayd. It was called the Masjid-ath-Thawr, ‘the Bull Mosque,’ and was the chief mosque of the city till the days of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. Ibn Ḥawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes Ḥazvin as consisting of a double city, one without, the other within, and there were two Friday Mosques in the central town, which was like a fortress. Its lands were very fertile, and the houses of the city covered an area of a square mile. The people were brave and warlike, and it was from this city that the Abbasid Caliphs were wont to despatch punitive expeditions into Tāliḵān and Daylam.

The two chief rivers of Ḥazvin, according to Yaḵūbī, were the Wāḍī-al-Kabīr (the Great Stream), and the Wāḍī Sayram. There were the remains of many fire-temples in this neighbourhood, and Muṣaddasi praises the grapes grown in the gardens round the place. Of the double town the two quarters were called the Madinah Mūsā and the Madinah Mubārak, otherwise the Mubārakiyyah. The Caliph Hádi (elder brother of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd), whose name was Mūsā, had built here the town quarter named after him, Madinah Mūsā. This was during the Caliphate of his father Mahdi; and afterwards Hārūn-ar-Rashīd (who succeeded Hádi) on his way to Khurāsān had halted in Ḥazvin, where he laid the foundations of the new mosque and built the city walls. Mubārak the Turk, a freedman either of the Caliph Mamūn or of Muṣtaṣim, was the builder of the Mubārakiyyah fortress at Mubārakābād, otherwise called the city of Mubārak.

Throughout the middle-ages Ḥazvin continued to be a flourishing town, but at the beginning of the 7th (13th) century it was laid in ruins by the Mongols. A hundred years later, Mustawfi, who was himself a native of Ḥazvin, gives a long account of the place, derived in part from local traditions. He states that on the site of later Ḥazvin there had stood an ancient Persian city, built by King Shāpūr and called Shād Shāpūr—‘the Joy of Sapor.’ Near its ruins the two Moslem cities of Madinah
Mūsā and Mubārakābād (Mubārak, he says, was a freedman of the Caliph Hādī) were subsequently built, and Hārūn-ar-Rashīd surrounded all three towns by a great fortified wall. This wall was only completed in 254 (868) by the Turk commander Mūsā ibn Bughā in the reign of the Caliph Mu'tazz; and it was afterwards rebuilt in burnt brick by Şadr-ad-Dīn, the Wazīr of the Saljūk Sulṭān Arslān II, in 572 (1176). Mustawfī further states that 300 villages were of the dependencies of Kāzvin, and of these the most important were Fārisjīn and Sagsābād, both mentioned in his itinerary. He also names a number of streams which irrigated the Kāzvin territory, namely the Kharūd, with the Buh Rūd and Kardān Rūd both flowing from Tālikān, and the Turkān Rūd coming from the Kharraḵān district (see p. 196). According to Kāzvinī the streams that watered the gardens of the city were the Daraj river on the east, and the Atrak river on the west; and the same author also names a number of towns and villages that were situated in the plain, and in the hill country overlooking Kāzvin

Dastuvā (or Dastabā) under the Omayyads holds the position of a mint city, and is the name of a great district, of which Yazdābād was the chief village. In Omayyad times Dastuvā had belonged in part to Ray, in part to Hamadān, and we are told that the direct post-road from Ray to the Adharbāyjān province lay through it, avoiding Kāzvin. The name is no longer found on the map, but Dastabā must have been to the south of Kāzvin, of which city in later days, under the Abbasid Caliphs, it came to be counted as a dependency.

To the north-west of Kāzvin, on the summits of the mountains dividing this district from that of Rūdбār, which lay along the

1 I. H. 259, 263, 271. Ykb. 271. I. K. 57. Muk. 391. Yak. iv. 88, 89, 454, 455. Kaz. ii. 190, 193, 194, 196, 244, 274, 275, 290. Mst. 145, 146, 196, 217. As his name implies, Kāzvinī (like Mustawfī) was a native of Kāzvin, and Mustawfī in his history (the Gustāh) has left a long account of his birth-place, which M. Barbier de Meynard has translated in the Journal Asiatique for 1857, ii. p. 257. Kāzvinī (ii. 291) gives a rough ground plan of the town, which is figured in concentric circles of walls. The inner circle was the Shahristān, and this was surrounded by the great city (Al-Madinah-al-Uţmā), which in turn was enclosed by gardens, depicted as encircled by arable fields; the latter traversed by the two rivers.
river Shâh Rûd in Šabaristân, stood the famous castles of the Assassins (İsmâllians), fifty in total number Mustawfi says, of which Alamût was the capital and Maymûn Diz the strongest fortress. The name Alamût is said to mean ‘the eagle’s nest’ or ‘the eagle’s find’ in the Šabaristân dialect, and the first to build a castle here was a Daylamite king whose hunting eagle had by chance once perched on the crag. Ḥâzînî, who doubtless knew the place well, describes the castle as surrounded by deep and wide ravines, cutting it off from all communication with the neighbouring mountain spurs, and rendering it impregnable, for it was beyond bow-shot or even the bolts from a mangonel. Alamût lay six leagues distant from Ḥâzînî, and its later fortress was built by the ‘Alid missioner Hasan, surnamed Ad-Dâ’î-îlâ-l-Haḳḳ, in 246 (860). In 483 (1090)—or 446 (1054) according to Ḥâzînî—it came into the possession of Hasan Sabâh, surnamed the Old Man of the Mountain, and for 171 years was the chief stronghold of his followers. Alamût was taken and dismantled in 654 (1256) by order of Hûlagû Khân the Mongol, and, after its fall, the remaining castles of the Assassins were quickly captured and razed to the ground. Its supposed site has been visited by various travellers, and the remains of many other fortresses, said to be those of the İsmâllians, still exist in the mountains to the north of Ḥâzînî.

Abhar and Zanjân, two cities often named together, lay on the high road west of Ḥâzînî, and were famous from early times. Ibn Ḥawḵal in the 4th (10th) century mentions Abhar as peopled by Kurds, its fields were very fertile and well watered, corn being largely grown here. It was protected by a strong castle built upon...

1 Kaz. ii. 200. Mst. 147. In the Guzïl-hâ (chapter iv, section ix, part 2) Mustawfi gives the history of the İsmâllians or Assassins in Persia; and this has been translated, with notes, by Defrémery, in the Journal Asiatique (1849, i. 26). He gives in a list (p. 48) the names of the İsmâllian fortresses taken and destroyed by order of Hûlagû, but the position of most of these is unknown. Girdkûh and Lanbasar were the last strongholds to fall. Alamût, however, appears not to have been entirely destroyed by Hûlagû, or perhaps it was rebuilt later, for it served as a state prison under Shâh Sulaymân the Şafâvî, as is mentioned by Chardin (Voyage en Perse, x. 20). In the last century Colonel Monteith visited the ruins, and has described them in the J. R. G. S. for 1833 (p. 15).
a great platform, and Қazvinî reports that it was famous for its watermills, also for the so-called ‘Abbâsî pear grown here, in shape like an orange and very sweet. According to Yâkıût the Persians pronounced the name Avhar. Mustawfî records that the fortress was rebuilt under the Saljûqs by the Atabeg Bahâ-ad-Dîn Ḥaydar, and hence was known as the Ḥaydarîyâh. The city walls measured 5500 paces in circuit, and the Abhar river, after watering the district, flowed towards Қazvin, becoming lost in the desert plain. The city of Zanjân lay about 50 miles to the northwest of Abhar, and on the Zanjân river, which flowed west to the Safîd Rûd. Zanjân is described by Ibn Ḥawkal as larger than Abhar; and it was on the high road into Adharbâyân. The Persians, Yâkıût says, pronounce the name Zangân, and Mustawfî states that the place was founded by King Ardashîr Bâbgân, being first named Shahîn. Zanjân had been ruined during the Mongol invasion; its walls, however, were still 10,000 paces in circuit, the district was most fertile, and its revenues amounted to 20,000 dinârs. Mustawfî adds that the language talked here, in the beginning of the 8th (14th) century, was still ‘almost pure Pahlavi,’ by which a local Persian dialect is doubtless indicated.

About half-way between Abhar and Zanjân, in the centre of the great plain forming the watershed between rivers flowing west to the Safîd Rûd and east to the Great Desert, lie the ruins of the Mongol city of Sulṭânîyâh, which, founded by Arghûn Khân, was completed by Uljaytû Sulṭân in 704 (1305) and made the capital city of the Īl-Khân dynasty. Abu-l-Fidâ states that its Mongol name was Kungurlân, and according to Mustawfî nine cities were of its dependencies. Its walls were 30,000 paces in circuit, and in the central fortification stood the great sepulchre of Uljaytû, adorned with many carvings in stone. The ruins of this domed tomb (or mosque) still exist, but of the city nothing now remains, although Mustawfî says that in his day Sulṭânîyâh contained finer buildings than any other town in Persia, Tabriz alone excepted. On the Abhar road five leagues east of Sulṭânîyâh lay the village of Kuhûd, ‘which the Mongols call Şâin Қal’âh,’ Mustawfî writes, and under the latter name—‘Şâin’s Fortress’—

the place still exists, Šāin, otherwise called Bātū Khân, being the grandson of Changiz Khân. The strong castle of Sarjahân stood on the mountain spurs half-way between Šāin Kal‘ah and Sultāniyah. From the latter it was distant five leagues, and it crowned a hill-top overlooking the great plains which extended thence eastward to Abhar and Kāzvin. Yāḵūt describes Sarjahân, which was of the Ṭārūm district, as one of the strongest fortresses that he had seen; but when Mustawfī wrote it was in ruins, the result of the Mongol invasion, its munitions of war and garrison having been transferred to Šāin Kal‘ah.

To the west of Sultāniyah lay the two small neighbouring towns of Suhravard and Sujās, which were still of some importance when Mustawfī was here in the 8th (14th) century, though now entirely gone to ruin. Ibn Ḥawḵal writes in the 4th (10th) century that Suhravard with its Kurdish population was then as large as Shahrazūr, it was a walled town and well fortified, lying to the south of Zanjān on the road to Hamadān. Sujās, or Sijās, lay close to Suhravard, and Mustawfī describes both places as having been ruined during the Mongol invasion, so that in his day they were merely large and populous villages. The surrounding districts were called Jarūd and Anjarūd (at the present day they are known under the names of Ijarūd and Angurān), and Sujās lay five leagues west of Sultāniyah in the midst of more than a hundred villages settled by Mongols. In the mountain near was the grave of Arghūn Khân, made a Kurāgh or ‘inviolable sanctuary’ after the custom of the Mongols, and his daughter Uljaytū Khâṭûn had built here a khānḵāh or convent for Darvishes1.

On the western border of the Jībāl province, near one of the head-streams of the Safīd Rūd, are the remarkable ruins called Takht-i-Sulaymān—‘Solomon’s Throne’—at the present day, with a little lake or pool which is always kept full by a natural syphon, however much water may be drawn off. These ruins

1 I. H. 258, 263. Kaz. ii. 261. Yak. iii. 40, 70, 203. A. F. 407. Mst. 144, 145, 148, 149, 196. Both Sujās and Suhravard have apparently now disappeared from the map; though Sir H. Rawlinson writes (J. R. G. S. 1840, p. 66) that Sujās was in his time a small village lying 24 miles S.E. of Zanjān he further adds that Suhravard is ‘now lost.’
have been identified with the city of Ash-Shīz, mentioned by the early Arab geographers, which Mustawfī also describes under the name of Satūrīḵ. At Shīz, Ibn Khurdādbih, writing in the 3rd (9th) century, describes the great fire-temple, so much honoured by the Magians, which bore the name of Adharjushnas. Hither, walking on foot all the way from Madāin (Ctesiphon), and halting at the half-way stage of Shahrazūr, already noticed p. 190, each of the Sassanian Chosroes was bound to come as a pilgrim immediately after his accession to the crown; for according to one tradition Shīz was the birth-place of Zoroaster. Yāšūt reports that the Persian name was Jīs, otherwise Gazn, of which Shīz was an Arab corruption. He then quotes a long account from Ibn Muhalhal, who in 331 (943) wrote a description of Shīz, which he had visited in search of gold mines said to exist in its mountains. The town walls of Shīz, he states, surrounded a lake, that was unfathomable, about a Jarīb (one third of an acre) in extent, and whose waters always kept the same level though seven streams continually flowed from it, and these streams had the property of producing petrifaction on objects laid in their waters. Ibn Muhalhal also describes the fire-temple, from which the sacred fire was taken to all the other temples throughout Persia; and for seven hundred years, he says, the sacred fire had never been extinguished in Shīz. The same place is described by Mustawfī who gives it as the chief town of the Anjarūd district, and adds that the Mongols called it Satūrīḵ. He describes a great palace here, originally built, report said, by King Kay-Khusraw, the court of which was occupied by a bottomless pool or small lake that always maintained its level, although a stream perpetually flowed from it, while if the stream were dammed back the pool did not overflow. Mustawfī relates that Abaḵah Khān the Mongol had built himself a palace here, for there were excellent pasture grounds in the neighbourhood.

In the north-western angle of the Jībāl province, on the high road from Zanjān to Ardabil, lay the important commercial town of Khūnaj, according to Ibn Hawkal noted already in the 4th (10th)

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century for its fine breed of horses, sheep, and oxen. Yâkût, who had visited the town, gives the alternative spelling of Khûnâ, but he adds that it was more generally called Kâghadh Kunân, 'the Paper Factory'—for the people augured evil of the name Khûnâ which signified 'bloody' in Persian. Mustawfî, who in his itinerary gives the position of Kâghadh Kunân as lying six leagues south of the Safid Rûd, and fourteen north of Zanjân on the direct road to Ardabil, says that during the Mongol invasion it had been ruined, and was, when he wrote, merely the size of a village. The stream that watered its lands was a tributary of the Safid Rûd. Excellent paper, however, was still manufactured, and the Mongols who had settled in the place gave it the name of Mughûliyah, 'the Mongol Camp.' The exact site of Khûnaj has not, apparently, been identified.

Along the southern slope of the great range dividing the Jibál province from Daylam and Ṭabaristân to the north, were the three districts of Pushkil-Darrah, Ṭâlîḵân, and Ṭârum, of which the last two overlap, the names often being used indifferently, one for the other. These districts were each divided into Upper and Lower, the Upper region being of the mountains, and as such counted to be of the Daylam province. Pushkil-Darrah, according to Mustawfî, lay to the west of Kazvin, and south of Ṭâlîḵân. It comprised forty villages whose revenues had formerly gone to the up-keep of the Friday Mosque in Kazvin. The name Ṭâlîḵân—the district lying between the Sulţâniyâh plains and the northern mountain range—has disappeared from the map, but At-Ṭâlîḵân (as it is generally written) is frequently mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers. Muḥaddasî refers to it as a most populous and fertile region; and expresses his wonder that the Sulţân (the Governor of Daylam) does not live here instead of in the mountain valleys, 'but his people will not have it,' he adds. Kazvîn refers to the abundant olives and fine pomegranates grown in Ṭâlîḵân, and Yâkût names some of its villages. Of these last Mustawfî gives a long list, but the majority of them it is impossible now to identify on the present map. He considered that most part of the Ṭâlîḵân region belonged rather to Gilân.

To the north of Zanjân, likewise along the foot of the hill spurs, lies the Ṭârum district, which with the Arab geographers is
generally found in the dual form At-Târumayn, ‘the Two Târums,’ Lower and Upper, the latter being entirely of the Daylam country. As already said, the Târum river was a right-bank affluent of the Safîd Rûd, and its many tributaries irrigated this fertile district. Yâkût, who spells the name Târum or Tarum (with the unemphatic t), says that there was no great city here, but in history the land was famous for the memory of the Vahsûdân family, and the last of these native chiefs had been dispossessed by Rukn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. Mustawfi mentions Firûzâbâd as the capital town of Lower Târum, Andar (or Aydi) being the chief place in Upper Târum, with the fortress called Kal'ah Tâj, and he names five districts, each comprising numerous villages.

As being in Lower Târum, but the position is nowhere given, Mustawfi mentions the great castle, of Shamîrân, or Samîrân as the name is spelt by Yâkût, who had himself visited its ruins. Yâkût quotes also a long account from Ibn Muhalhal, who passed through Samîrân in about the year 331 (943), when it was counted as one of the chief strongholds of the Daylamite kings, and contained (he writes) 2850 and odd houses, large with small. Fâkhra-d-Dawlah the Buyid took the place in 379 (989), dispossessing the last of the Vahsûdân family, a child, whose mother the Buyid chief married. At about this date Mukaddasi, who spells the name of the castle Samirûm, describes it as being of the Salârvand district, and on its walls were ‘lions of gold, and the sun and the moon,’ though its houses were built but of mud-brick. In the middle of the next century the Persian traveller Nâshîr-i-Khusraw visited Samîrân on his pilgrimage to Mecca. This was in 438 (1046) and he describes it as the capital of Târum in Daylam. It apparently lay three leagues west of the junction of the Shâh Rûd with the Safîd Rûd on the high road to Sarâv in Adharbâyjân. Above the lower town was an immense fortress, crowning a rock with its triple wall, garrisoned by a thousand men, water being obtained by an underground conduit. Yâkût, who saw Samîrân in the earlier years of the 7th (13th) century, found it a ruin, the result of an order of the chief of the Assassins at Alamût. The remains were those of a mighty fortress, ‘a mother of castles,’ and it was situated on a great river that flowed from the mountains of Târum. Its site, however, does not appear to have been identified
by any modern traveller. Another fortress of this district is also mentioned by Yakút, bearing the name of Kîlât, which was situated in the Târum mountains, on the frontier of Daylam between Kazvin and Kalkhâl. It occupied the summit of a mountain, and below, on the river bank, where a masonry bridge of many arches crossed the stream, was a suburb with excellent markets. Yakút states that this castle had belonged to the chief of the Assassins at Alamût, but like Samîrân its site as yet remains unidentified. In the matter of the manufactures and products of some of the chief towns of the Jibâl province Muḥaddasî gives us a succinct account. He says that Ray exported various kinds of stuffs, especially those known as Munâyyar. Cotton was spun here and dyed blue, and the striped cloaks of Ray were famous. Needles, combs, and great bowls were made for export, the last two articles, according to Kazvinî, being made from the fine-grained hard wood known as khalanj, which came from the Tâbaristan forests. Ray also was famous for its melons and peaches, and for a kind of saponaceous clay, much used in washing the head.

In Kazvin well-made clothes were to be bought, also leathern sacks used on journeys as wallets. Bows for archery were exported, also the calamint herb. Kum was noted for its chairs, bridles, stirrups, and various stuffs; much saffron, too, came from its district. Kâshân exported a kind of dried immature date; also tarragon. Isfahân was famous for its overcloaks; and a special kind of salted meat was made for export; further, the Isfahân padlocks were renowned. Hamadân and its neighbourhood produced cheese, and much saffron; and the skins of foxes and martens were exported. Tin is named as found near here, and various stuffs, as well as good boots, were made in the city. Finally from Dînavar came famous cheeses.

The chief highway through the Jibâl province was part of the great caravan road, commonly called the Khurásân road, which, as already described in the introductory chapter, went from Baghda(2,7),(996,985)(2,4),(996,985)(2,7),(996,985)d to Transoxiana and the farther east. Entering the

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2 Muk. 395, 396. Kaz. ii. 250.
province at Ḥulwân this high road passed through it diagonally, coming first to Kirmisîn (or Kîrmânhâh), then to Hamadân, from which town Sâvah was the next point, thence finally north to Ray, beyond which it passed eastward out of the Jîbûl province into Kûmîs, and through this to Khurâsân. Of the Khurâsân road, the fullest of the early descriptions, as already explained, is that given by Ibn Rustah at the close of the 3rd (beginning of the 10th) century, who, stage by stage, mentions all the streams and bridges crossed by the road, also whether it ascends or descends or runs across level ground, further naming the various villages and towns that are passed. We have, besides, four other early accounts of this road, the last by Mukaddasi, who gives the distances by the day’s march (Marhalâh).

After the Mongol conquest and the establishment of the dynasty of the Íl-Khâns in Persia, Sultânîyah became the capital, and hence the centre of the road system. In the itineraries of Mustawfî, therefore, instead of starting from Baghdad and going east, the roads start from Sultânîyah, and towards Baghdad the reverse direction is of course followed. From Ḥulwân to Hamadân (to revert to the older order of the route) the stages are however practically the same in both systems. But from Hamadân, instead of going by Sâvah to Ray, the Mongol high road goes north direct to Sultânîyah across the Darguzîn and Khurârân districts. No great towns, however, are passed, and the stages on the road, as given by Mustawfî, being names of villages, are all extremely uncertain.

From near Kîrmânhâh, at the hill called ‘Sumayrah’s Tooth,’ Sinn Sumayrah (see p. 188), the road to Marâghah in Adharbâyjân and the north turns off from the great Khurâsân road, running first to Dinavar and thence to Sîsar (probably identical with the modern Sînah town, see p. 190) and the Jîbûl frontier. This route, of which the continuation through Adharbâyjân will be described presently, is given by both Kudûmah and Ibn Khurdâdbih, and the earlier portions of it are found in Ibn Hawkal. From Kîrmânhâh (Kirmîsîn), from Kangûvâr and from Hamadân, roads branched to the right, going south-east to Nihâvand,

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whence, and from Hamadân direct, the way went by Burûjird to Karaj of Abu Dulf and thence on to Isfahân. Mustawfi gives the stages from Kanguvâr to Nihâvand and then on by a devious route to Isfahân; while from Karaj Muqaddasi gives the direct road to Ray going via Āvah and Varâmin¹.

The present high road from Isfahân to Tîhrân (past Ray) goes up through Kâshân and Kum; but in the earlier middle-ages the caravan route kept more to the east and nearer the desert border, sending off branches to the left westward, in turn, to Kâshân and to Kum. Muqaddasi, however, at the close of the 4th (10th) century, already gives the route direct through Kâshân and Kum, as it goes nowadays. In Mustawfi the road after passing these two towns turned to the left through Āvah to Sâvah, whence Sulţânîyah was reached, the great high road from this new capital to Ray being joined at the stage of Sûmghân, as will be described in the next paragraph².

The number of marches between the towns to the west of Ray on the high road to the Adharbâyjân province is given by Ibn Hawkal and others, also those from Zanjân north to Ardabil. The stages on this route, however, are found in fullest detail in Mustawfi. Between Sulţânîyah and Ray the road passed through Abhar to Fârisjin, leaving Kazvin to the north, and thence reached a stage called Sûmghân (the reading of this name is uncertain), where it bifurcated. The Khurâsân high road went straight onward by the shrine of 'Abd-al-'Azîm to Ray, and thence to Varâmin; while branching to the right southwards, the Isfahân road went first to Sagzâbâd (or Sagziâbâd), and thence on to Sâvah as already described³.

Of the roads through Adharbâyjân, in early times under the Caliphate, as already noticed, the great northern branch starting from the Khurâsân road at Hamadân went to Sîsar, and thence on to Barzah in Adharbâyjân, 60 miles south of the Urmiyâh lake, where it bifurcated⁴. To the right the main road passed to

⁴ See Map 111, p. 87.
the east of the lake by Marâghah to Tabriz, and thence east through Sarâv to Ardabil. The left branch at the bifurcation at Barzah kept to the west of the lake, going by Urmiyâh city to Khuwi, and thence by Nakhchivân (Nashawâ) to Dâbil, the capital of Armenia. From Tabriz there was the cross-road by Marand to Khuwi, and thence on by Arjish to Khîlât at the western end of the Vân lake. This last section is given by İştâkhrî and Muğaddasî only.¹

From Ardabil, north, the road went across the Mûghân district to Warthân, where the Araxes was crossed, and thence by Baylakân to Bardhâ‘ah. From this town one road went by Shamkûr north-westwards up the Kur river to Tiflis in Georgia; while to the right by Barzanj, at the crossing of the Kur, another road led to Shamâkhâ, the capital of Shirvân, and thence on to Bâb-al-Abwâb, otherwise Darband. A road from Dâbil, the capital of Armenia, to Bardhâ‘ah is also given by Muğaddasî and others, but the stages are not easy to identify.²

The Mongol road system which went through Adharbâyjân to the north-western frontiers, as described by Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century, started from the new capital Sultânîyah, and at Zanjân bifurcated. To the right, the northern branch passed through Khûnaj or Kâghadh Kunân, crossed the Safîd Rûd, and by Khalkhâl city came to Ardabil, from whence Bajârvân, the capital of Mûghân, was reached. From Zanjân, and crossing the Safîd Rûd by a stone bridge (called the Kântârah Sabîd Rûdh), this road is also given in part by İştâkhrî and Ibn Ḥawkal, with a cross-road from Miyâniy. Continuing on from Bajârvân Mustawfî first notices the branch road, east, to Maḥmûdâbâd, and then mentions the stages on the main road, which went from Bajârvân by Bardhâ‘ah and Shamkûr to Tiflis.

Returning to the bifurcation at Zanjân, the left branch, as described by Mustawfî, went up to Miyâniy in Adharbâyjân, and thence by Üjân to Tabriz, following the line given (in the contrary direction) by the earlier Arab geographers. From Tabriz Mustawfî likewise gives the road on to Arjish on the lake of Vân,

whence, bearing away from the left road along the lake shore to Khilāt, he records the distances going north-west to Malāsjird, and on by Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum) through Arzanjān to Sivās, the capital of the Saljūk province of Rūm. Finally, starting from Tabriz and going north-east, Mustawfi gives the cross-road to Bajārvān, which went by Āhar, crossing two passes; and along this line, he tells us, the Wazir ‘Alī Shāh had recently built a number of Rubāṭs or guard-houses: 1

1 Mst. 198, 199. Ist. 194. I. H. 252.
CHAPTER XVI.

KHÚZISTÁN.


The province of Khúzistán comprises all the alluvial lands of the river Kárún, known to the Arabs as the Dujayl of Al-Ahwáz, with its many affluents. This river was called the Dujayl (Little Tigris) of Al-Ahwáz, past which city it flowed, in order to distinguish it from the Dujayl canal of the Tigris to the north of Baghdád. Khúzistán means 'the Land of the Khúz,' a name otherwise written Húz or Húz; and the plural of Húz, in Arabic, is Ahwáz, which was the capital city, Al-Ahwáz being the shortened form of Súk-al-Ahwáz, 'the Market of the Húz people.' The name Khúzistán for the province is now become almost obsolete, and at the present day this district of Persia is known as 'Arabistán, 'the Arab Province.' Its great river, too, is no longer called the Dujayl, being now known as the Kárún, a name which is said to be a corruption of Kūh Rang, 'the Coloured Hills,' namely the mountains from which it descends; the name Kárún, however, appears to have been unknown to the medieval Arab or Persian geographers.

The upper waters of the Dujayl or Kárún river ramify

1 For Khúzistán see Map 11, p. 25.
through the gorges of the district of Greater Lur, and its affluents come down from Lesser Lur and the Kurdistân mountains. The source of the Dujayl is in the Kûh Zard, ‘the Yellow Mountain’ (see p. 207); from which, on the other versant, the main stream of the river Zandah Rûd flows towards Isfahân. The Dujayl river after a long and winding course through the gorges, with many minor affluents on either bank, comes to the city of Tustar, which Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century counts as the capital of Khûzistân, whence he calls the river the Dujayl of Tustar. At Tustar the stream bifurcates, but coming together again at ‘Askar Mukram, thence flows past Ahwâz, where it is joined by the Junday Sábûr or Dizfûl river. The Dizfûl takes its course from Burûjird in Lesser Lur (see p. 200), and its upper waters were known as the Karâh (or Kawâh). After being joined by another river, called the Kazki, the main stream flowed past the city of Dizfûl to join the Dujayl, as we have seen. Another great affluent of the Dujayl ran further to the westward, namely the river of Sûs, otherwise called the Karkhah. This rose in the mountains of Lesser Lur, and was joined by the Kûlkû, also by the river of Khurramâbâd. After a long course these united streams, flowing down past the city of Sûs, came to the Hawizah country to the west of Ahwâz and finally joined the Dujayl. At some distance below the junction of these affluents, the Dujayl river became a great tidal estuary, through which, to the eastward of the estuary of the Tigris (already described in Chapter II) the combined waters of the Khûzistân rivers found their way out to the Persian Gulf\(^1\).

Al-Ahwâz, the capital of the province, had originally been known by the name of Hurmuz-Shahr (variously given in the MSS. as Hurmuz Awshîr and Hurmuz-Ardashîr), this being the Persian name. Muşaddâsî describes the town as having suffered greatly during the rebellion of the Zanj in the 3rd (9th) century, and their chief for a time had made it his place of residence. In the following century it was in part rebuilt by the Buyid prince ‘Aḏud-ad-Dawlah; and Muşaddâsî writes of it as possessing in his day many great warehouses, where merchandise was collected

from the inland towns and stored, before being transferred to Baṣrah for final sale and export.

In those days Ahwāz consisted of two quarters; one, the eastern, on the river bank, was the main quarter of the town, containing the great markets and the Friday Mosque, and it was connected by a bridge with the island in the Dujayl river, on which stood the western quarter of the city. This bridge, built of kiln-burnt bricks, and known as the Kanṭarah Hinduwān, had been restored by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, and on it stood a mosque overlooking the river, which near the town had many waterwheels along its banks. The main stream of the Dujayl flowed past the further, or western side of the island, and a little below Ahwāz a great weir (Shādhurwān), built on the rocks, dammed back the waters, raising them for irrigation purposes. Three canals, used for watering the lands round the town, left the river above the weir, in which sluices regulated the level for supply and when opened in flood-time saved the city from inundation. The climate of Ahwāz, according to Muṣaddasi, was execrable, hot winds blew all day, and by night sleep became impossible by reason of innumerable mosquitoes and bugs, which 'bite like wolves,' he tells us, adding that the noise of the waters rushing over the weir had prevented him from resting, being plainly audible all over the town. Snakes and scorpions, he says, infested the neighbouring plain, which in many parts was a salt marsh, and the rice-flour bread on which the population fed was most indigestible.

In complete contrast to the evil-famed city of Ahwāz was the second capital of Khūzistān, called Tustar by the Arabs, and Shustar, or Shushtar, by the Persians. This as the crow flies lay about 60 miles north of Ahwāz, but perhaps double that distance by water, on account of the windings of the Dujayl river. Muṣaddasi records Tustar as surrounded by gardens, where grapes, oranges, and dates grew abundantly, and no town of Khūzistān, he says, was more beautiful or pleasanter to live in, though he admits that the heat was extreme in summer. The markets of Tustar were abundantly supplied; brocades, with

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1 Ist. 88. I. H. 171. Muk. 406, 410. Yak. i. 410—413; iv. 969. Mst. 169.
embroidered cotton stuffs of all kinds were made here, the brocade (Dībāj) of Tustar being most famous. The Friday Mosque stood in the middle of the cloth-merchants' market; and the fullers' quarter, down by the river, was a fine place.

In the year 260 A.D. the Roman Emperor Valerian fell a prisoner into the hands of King Shāpūr (Sapor I), the second monarch of the Sassanian dynasty, and during his seven years' captivity, according to the Persian historians, had been employed to build the Great Weir (Shādharwân) across the Dujayl immediately below Tustar. This was held by the Arabs to be one of the wonders of the world, and the remains of it still exist at the present day. The bed of the stream to the west of Tustar was paved, and the weir held back the water, enabling a part of the full river to be diverted above Tustar into an artificial channel turning off eastwards, which rejoined the Dujayl river many miles lower down after irrigating the lands through which it passed. The weir of Tustar is given by the older authorities as measuring nearly a mile across, and according to Muṣaddasī a bridge of boats (fîsr) stretched over it, carrying the high road which went west from Tustar towards ‘Irāq. At the present day an ancient bridge of many small arches, over a quarter of a mile in length, carries the road across the weir, but this does not appear to have existed in the earlier middle-ages. Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century describes the city of Shustar as having four gates, and it was protected by a strong fortress. His contemporary Ibn Baṭuṭah calls the Dujayl (or Kārūn) the Nahr-al-Azraḵ, ‘the Blue River,’ and speaks of the bridge of boats, ‘like those at Baghdad and Hilla,’ which crossed the river west of the town from the Dizfūl Gate. He describes at some length the various shrines at the place, which, when he was there, was, he reports, an extremely flourishing town.

The Great Weir at Tustar, as already said, was built to raise the water sufficiently high for a canal to be taken from the Dujayl

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1 Ist. 89, 92. I. H. 172, 174, 175. Muk. 405, 409. Yak. i. 847. Mst. 168. I. B. ii. 24. The story of Valerian, and the building of the Great Weir by Sapor I, is narrated by Tabari (i. 827), who, with unusual accuracy, gives the name of the Roman Emperor as Alarion (the Greek form is Ὀλαριάμος). Masʿūdi (ii. 184) in error gives these events under the reign of Sapor II.
above the city, which should water the lands to the eastward. This canal, now called the Āb-i-Gargar, was in the earlier middle-ages known as the Masruḵān or Mashruḵān, and according to Ibn Muhalhal—a traveller of the 4th (10th) century, quoted by Yāḵūt—its waters were white, while those of the main stream of the Dujayl were red in colour. The main stream of the Dujayl (called at the present day the Shuṭayṭ, or ‘Little River,’ in the reach immediately below Shustar) is rejoined by the Masruḵān branch some 25 miles south of Shustar, at a point near the ruins of Band-i-Ḵīr. These mark the site of the city called ‘Askar Mukram, which, throughout the middle-ages, was the most important town on the Masruḵān, and the canal throughout its course passed through and irrigated lands planted with sugar-canes, the finest, it was said, in all Khūzistān.

In the early part of the 9th (15th) century, Ḥāfiz Abrū and ‘Ali of Yazd, writing after the time of Timūr, refer to these waterways under the following names: the moiety of the main stream of the Dujayl, which passed off to the eastward above Shustar (the Masruḵān, or Āb-i-Gargar), was then called the Dū Dānikah or ‘Two Sixthfs’; while the major part of the Dujayl, which went over the weir to the west of the town, was known as the Chahār Dānikah or ‘Four Sixthfs.’ At the present day a canal, called the Minaw, is diverted south-east from the main stream, and passing through a tunnel under the rock on which the castle of Shustar stands, irrigates the high-lying lands to the south of the city. This channel is the Dashtābād canal mentioned by Mustawfi; and it is referred to by Ḥāfiz Abrū, who says that the Chahār Dānikah was divided near the city into two streams, of which only one re-united below with the Dū Dānikah (or Masruḵān). According to tradition the Masruḵān had been originally dug by Ardashīr Bābgān, founder of the Sassanian monarchy. Mustawfi mentions the city of Masruḵān as standing on the canal bank; and south of this, as already said, at a point half-way between Tustar and Ahwāz, the Masruḵān stream poured back into the Dujayl near the city of ‘Askar Mukram.

The Masruḵān district was famous for a particularly excellent kind of date, as well as for the sugar-cane already alluded to.
'Askar Mukram took its name from the camp ('Askar) of Mukram, an Arab commander sent into Khûzistân by Hajjâj, the celebrated viceroy of 'Irâk under the Omayyads, to put down a revolt. Mukram encamped near the ruins of a Persian town originally called Rustam Kuwâd, a name corrupted by the Arabs into Rustaḵubâdh; and this afterwards became known as 'Askar Mukram, a new city having sprung up on the site of the Arab camp. At the present day the name of 'Askar Mukram has disappeared from the map, but its site is marked by the ruins known as Band-i-Kûr, 'the Bitumen Dyke,' where the Åb-i-Gargar (the Masruḵân) runs into the Kârûn. In the 4th (10th) century 'Askar Mukram was a town occupying both banks of the Masruḵân canal, the western quarter being the larger, and this was connected with the other side by two great bridges of boats. The city had well-built markets, which, with the Friday Mosque, stood in the western quarter, but a great drawback to the place was the number of particularly venomous scorpions that were found there. According to Mustawfî the older Persian town had been called Burj Shâpûr, after King Sapor II, who had rebuilt and enlarged it; Mustawfî states that it was in his day commonly called Lashkar, meaning 'the Camp' in Persian, being when he wrote, in the 8th (14th) century, accounted as the healthiest of all the towns of Khûzistân.

According to Ibn Serapion, and other early authorities, the Masruḵân channel, in the 4th (10th) century, did not flow back into the Dujayl at 'Askar Mukram, but took its separate course, running parallel with the Dujayl main stream, down to the tidal estuary. Further, Ibn Hawḵal, in the previous century, describes how he himself travelled down the bed of the Masruḵân, at a season of low water, going by this route from 'Askar Mukram to Ahwâz; the first six leagues were, he says, by boat, the remaining four being completed on horseback in the dry bed of the canal. The old course of the lower part of the Masruḵân cannot now be followed, for in this alluvial country the lapse of a thousand years has completely changed the face of the land. Below Ahwâz city, in the 3rd (9th) century, began the broad reach of the Dujayl called the Nahr-as-Sidrah—'the Lotus Canal'—which, after
receiving many affluents, ended at Ḩiṣn Mahdī, near the head of the Kārūn tidal estuary.

Eight leagues north-west of Tustar, on the road to Dīzfūl, lie the ruins now called Shāhābād, which mark the site of the city of Junday Sābūr, or Jundi Shāpūr. Under the Sassanians Junday Sābūr had been the capital city of Khūzistān, and as late as the time of the Caliph Manṣūr it was famous for the great medical school founded here by the Christian physician Bukht-Yishū, who, followed by his sons and grandsons, stood high in favour with more than one of the Abbasid Caliphs. The neighbourhood was celebrated also for the sugar that it produced, which was exported thence to Khurāsān and the further east, though already by the 4th (10th) century Muḵaddasī speaks of Junday Sābūr as falling to ruin, on account of the inroads of the Kurds. Its embroideries, however, were famous, and rice was largely grown; and in the town was to be seen the tomb of Yaḵūb, son of Layth the Ṣaffārid, who having made this city his capital, died here in 265 (878). Mustawfī in the 8th (14th) century describes Jundi Shāpūr as still a populous town, famous for its sugar-cane, though at the present day an almost uninhabited ruin alone marks the site.

Dīzfūl, ‘the Diz Bridge’ or ‘the Castle Bridge,’ lies on the Diz river to the west of Junday Sābūr. The city took its name from a famous bridge, said to have been built by Sapor II, and called Ḵāntarāh Andāmīsh by Iṣṭakhrī. The remains of it still exist. The city was in the 4th (10th) century also known as Ḵašr (the Castle of) Ar-Rūnāsh; Muḵaddasī, however, sometimes refers to it merely as the town of Al-Ḵaṭṭarah, ‘the Bridge.’ The place and its famous bridge had various other names. Thus Ibn Serapion calls it Ḵaṭṭarah-ar-Rūm, ‘the Roman Bridge,’ and the Diz he names the river of Junday Sābūr. Again, Ibn Rustah writes of Ḵaṭṭarah-ar-Rūdīh, ‘the River Bridge,’ and in Ibn Khurdādbih we find Ḵaṭṭarah-az-Zāb, Zāb being according to him the name of the Diz river. In the 8th (14th) century

Mustawfi describes the bridge as built of 42 arches, being 320 paces in length, and the roadway 15 paces wide; he says it was then called the Andâlmishk (or Andamish) Bridge.

The town of Dizfûl occupied both banks of the river, and above the town a canal, cut through the rock on the east side, turned a great waterwheel working a mechanism which raised the water 50 ells and thus supplied all the houses of the town. The pasture lands round Dizfûl were famous, and the narcissus grew here abundantly. ‘All of Yazd gives the name of Zâl to the river, and he describes the bridge at Dizfûl (a name which he writes Dizpul, in the Persian fashion) as built on 28 great arches, with 27 smaller ones between each two, making a total of 55. A reference to the modern map shows that at the present day the Dizpul river joins the Kârûn opposite Band-i-Kîr (‘Askar Mukram), but in earlier times it must have come into the Dujayl somewhat lower down, and probably in its upper course the stream passed nearer to Junday Sâbûr than is now the case. At its junction, in the middle-ages, with the Dujayl, and probably to the north of Ahwâz, lay the two fertile districts, with their chief towns, called Great and Little Manâdhîr, which Ibn Ḥawkāl in the 4th (10th) century describes as surrounded by palm-groves and growing much corn.'

The country to the north and east of Dizfûl and Tustar, was, in the earlier middle-ages, known as the Lur Plain (Ṣâhrâ Lur), being occupied by the Lur tribes who in later times migrated into Lesser and Greater Lur, the mountain districts, of which the first-named was included in the Jibâl province, as already noticed in Chapter XIV. In the 4th (10th) century, when Ibn Ḥawkāl wrote, the Lurs had evidently already begun to migrate, for he describes the neighbourhood as inhabited by the Kurds, and says of the Lur country that it was a most fertile though exceedingly mountainous district.  


2 Ist. 88, 94. I. H. 171, 176. Muk. 409.
To the south-west of Dizful lie the ruins of Susa, the ancient Susa, near the bank of the Karkhah river. This was a populous town in the middle-ages, being the centre of a district with many cities, and it was famous for its raw silk, as well as for oranges, while the sugar-cane grew here abundantly. The city was protected by an ancient fortress, and there were fine markets in the town, where stood a Friday Mosque built on round columns. Tradition asserted that the tomb of the prophet Daniel had been made in the bed of the Karkhah river which ran on the further side of Susa, and a fine mosque marked the place on the bank which lay nearest to his supposed grave. Mustawfi, who describes the city as a flourishing place in the 8th (14th) century, speaks of the tomb of the prophet Daniel as standing (apparently on dry ground) to the west of it, adding that in his honour none of the fish in the river were ever molested by man. The neighbouring city of Karkhā, or Karkhah, which now gives its name to the river flowing by the mounds of Susa, lies some distance above these, and on the right or western bank. Muqaddasi describes it as a small but populous town, holding its market weekly, on the Sunday. It was protected by a castle, and was surrounded by gardens.

A number of places are mentioned by the early geographers as lying on or near the Karkhah river, some to the westward, some below Susa, which were important towns during the middle-ages, but of which no trace now remains on the modern map. Their positions are, however, approximately given by the Itineraries. Of these the most important was Başinnâ, which lay a short day’s journey south of Susa, on a canal (or possibly a minor affluent of the Karkhah river), which was known as the Dujayl or ‘Little Tigris’ of Başinnâ. It was a great place for trade, and the veils of Başinnâ were celebrated all over the Moslem world; beautiful carpets of felt also were made here, and wool-spinning was a chief industry. The city was defended by two castles, and the Friday Mosque, a bow-shot from the river bank, stood at the town gate; seven mills built in barges floated on the ‘Little Tigris’ according to Muqaddasi. Near Başinnâ, and also about

a day's journey from Sús, but probably to the west of the Karkhah river, was the town of Bayrút or Birúdh, which Yâḳūt visited in the 7th (13th) century. Muḳaddasi speaks of it as a large place, surrounded by date-groves, and on account of its flourishing commerce it was known as 'the Little Baṣrāh.'

Mattút or Mattūth, where there was a strong castle, was also of this neighbourhood; it lay nine leagues to the south of Sús, and on the road between Ahwáz and Kurḳūb. This last—where were made the celebrated Sūsanjird embroideries—was a town of some importance, lying half-way between Sús and Tib in 'Irāḳ, being one march from Sús and two from Baṣīnā. Another town of this district, the site of which has not been found, though probably it stood to the north of Kurḳūb, was Dūr-ar-Rāsibi, which Yâḳūt describes as situated between Tib and Junday Sābūr. This Dūr was famous as the birth-place and residence of Ar-Rāsibi, who died in 301 (913), having been for many years the semi-independent governor of all the districts from Wāsiṭ to Shahrazūr, during the Caliphate of Muḳṭadīr. He was celebrated for his immense wealth, and of the goods and furniture that he left at his death Yâḳūt gives a long and curious inventory.

The Karkhah river is joined at about the latitude of Ahwáz by streams coming down from Ĥawīzah (or Huwayzah, the diminutive form of Ḥūz or Hūz, as already said, the name of the people of this province), which Mustawfi describes in the 8th (14th) century as one of the most flourishing cities of Khūzistān. Corn, cotton, and sugar-cane grew here abundantly, and the town had at that time a population of Sabeans or Sábians. The town of Nahr Tīrā or Nahr Tīrīn, on the canal or river of this name, which appears to have been a right bank affluent of the lower Karkhah, must also have been of the Hawīzah district. It lay a day's journey west of Ahwáz on the road to Wāsiṭ, and it was famous for the stuffs made there, which resembled those of Baghdaḍ.

The Karkhah river flows from the west into the Dujayl below Ahwáz, probably in the broad reach, already referred to, known as

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1 Ist. 171, 175. I. H. 93. Muk. 405, 408. Yak. i. 656, 786; ii. 616; iv. 65, 412. Ḥfz. 826. A. F. 313.
the Lotus river (Nahr-as-Sidrah). From the east, but lower down, is the junction of the Dawrak river, or canal, on which lay the city of this name, the capital of the Surak district. The town was called Dawrak-al-Furs, ‘of the Persians’; it was very spacious, with fine markets where goods of all sorts were warehoused, and the pilgrims from Fars and Kirmân mostly passed through here on their road to Mecca. It was famous for its veils. Its Friday Mosque stood in the market-place, and on the river bank were many hamlets. Yellow sulphur was found here, near the hot sulphur springs, where the sick bathed and were healed. These, which were especially beneficial in skin diseases, gushed out from a hill side, the waters filling two tanks. In the 4th (10th) century wonderful Sassanian buildings were still to be seen at Dawrak, also a fire-temple, according to Ibn Muhalhal.

In the district near Dawrak were the two cities of Mirákiyân and Mirâthiyân, which Muşaddasî describes. The first lay on a tidal canal, and was surrounded by excellent lands; while Mirâthiyân consisted of two quarters, with a Friday Mosque in each of them and markets that were much frequented. In the 4th (10th) century much of the water of the southern swampy lands of the Khûzistân district drained out to the Persian Gulf by channels running south from Dawrak, and these entered the sea at Bâsiyân. Near this town must have been the creek and island of Dawrakistân, mentioned by Yakût and Kazwini, where ships coming from India cast anchor. The town here was protected by a fortress, to which political prisoners were sent by the Caliph to be kept out of the way; and as late as the 7th (13th) century boats could pass up from here northwards, to ‘Askar Mukram, by a series of canals or rivers that flowed to the eastward of the Dujayl’.

The Dujayl below Ahwâz soon broadened out to become the tidal estuary, which was the lower part of the Lotus river or Nahr-as-Sidrah. On this estuary stood Sûk Bahr, a town where, until the time of the Caliph Muqtadir in the middle of the 4th (10th)

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1 Ist. 93. I.H. 176. Muk. 407, 412. Yak. i. 411; ii. 371, 618, 620. Mst. 169. Kaz. ii. 130, 246. Both Nahr Tirâ and Manâdhir must have been important places in Omayyad days, for between the years 90 and 97 (709—716) both were mint cities.
century, there had been toll-barriers, vexatious and unlawful dues being here exacted. The town of Sūk-al-Arba‘ā (the Wednesday market) was in this neighbourhood, lying to the east of the Dujayl, and on a canal which divided the town into two quarters that were connected by a wooden bridge. The eastern quarter of Sūk-al-Arba‘ā was the more populous, and here was the mosque. The neighbouring town of Jubbā was noted for its sugar-canes, and the lands near were occupied by many villages.

At the head of the broad waters of the great tidal estuary of the Dujayl was the fortress called Ḩiṣn Mahdī, with a mosque standing in the midst of its guard-houses (Rubāt), said to have been built by the Caliph Mahdī, father of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. Ḩiṣn Mahdī stood a few miles above the point where the Aḍudī canal branched off to the westward, joining the head of the Dujayl estuary with the Blind Tigris at Bayān, and round it lay the district of the Sabkhah, or salt marshes (see Chapter III, p. 48). The estuary, or Fayḍ of the Dujayl went into the Persian Gulf at Sulaymānān, and this was a dangerous passage for ships, which appear to have reached Ahwāz more safely by threading the various canals and rivers going up by Bāsiyān to Dawrāk and thence into the Lotus river. The fortress of Ḩiṣn Mahdī, the exact site of which is unknown, stood, we are told, at the junction of many roads, and commanded the upper reach of the Dujayl estuary, where it was nearly a league across, being immediately below where many streams from the Hawizah country and the Dawrāk river flowed in from the north-west and the east. Above this point began the Lotus channel, going up to Ahwāz, from which city Ḩiṣn Mahdī was 20 leagues distant¹.

Three days’ march east of Ahwāz is the city of Rāmhurmuz, still known by the name which it received from King Hurmuz, grandson of Ardashir Bābgān. In the 4th (10th) century it was famous for the silkworms reared here, and raw silk was largely exported. In Rāmhurmuz there was a fine Friday Mosque, and excellent markets which had been built by ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid prince. Muḥaddasī relates that every night the gates of the various wards occupied by the shops of the cloth-

merchants, perfumers, and mat-weavers, were securely locked. There was, he adds, a celebrated library here, where lectures were delivered, and this had been built and endowed by a certain Ibn Sawwâr, who had also founded a similar institution at Bašra. Râmhumuz got its water by a canal from the Tâb river, but this in summer-time often ran dry, and the town was everywhere so infested by gnats that according to Mužaddasi mosquito curtains were a necessity. Mustâfi, in the 8th (14th) century, says that the name Râmhumuz was then commonly shortened to Râmuz; the town was still a flourishing centre, much corn, cotton, and sugar-cane being grown in its districts.

Six leagues south-east of Râmhumuz, on the road to Arrajân and not far from the river Tâb, which here marked the boundary of Fârs, was the Hawmah or district of the Zuţt, otherwise known as the Jât tribes from India (identical it is said with the Gipsies). This district was watered from the Tâb river, and here stood the two populous villages called Az-Zuţt and Al-Khâbarân. Beyond this, and two marches short of Arrajân, close to the Fârs frontier on the road coming from Arrajân to Dawrak, was the little town of Asak, where, according to Ištâkhri, there was a small volcano. The place stood in the midst of palm-groves, and much dîshâb, or syrup of raisins, was made here and exported. Near Asak also were Sassanian remains, namely, a great Aywân or domed hall, a hundred ells in height, built by King Ċubâdh over a spring. East of Asak, and a few miles short of Arrajân, but to the west of the bridges over the Tâb river, was the market town of Sanbil in the midst of its district, which thus lay along the borders of Fârs 1.

The Lur districts lay east and north of Tustar along the upper course of the Dujayl (Kârûn river) and its numerous affluents. The country to the east and south of the upper Kârûn (which here makes a great bend and doubles back, between its source in the mountains west of Isfahân, and the point north of

1 Ist. 93, 93, 94. I. H. 175, 176. Muk. 407, 413. Yak. i. 61. Mst. 169. By a strange error Yâkût (ii. 791) mentions the village of Az-Zuţt under the form Ar-Ruţt, though he was perfectly well acquainted with the Zuţt or Gipsies, and mentions a canal (ii. 930) called after them.
Tustar, where it finally turns south and flows down towards the Persian Gulf) Mustawfi describes as the Great Lur district, and this lay contiguous to the Shûlistân district over the border in Fârs. The chief town of Great Lur was Ídhaj, otherwise called Mâl-Amîr. Muçaddasî describes it in the 4th (10th) century as one of the finest towns of Khûzistân; and it stood near the hills, where, at a place called Asadábâd, was the palace of the governor. In winter snow fell here abundantly, and was stored to be carried to Ahwâz for sale during the summer. The fields being irrigated by the rains the pistachio-trees produced fine crops of nuts. Ibn Baçûtah, who visited the place in the beginning of the 8th (14th) century, says that Ídhaj was already then more commonly known as Mâl-al-Amîr, 'the Amir's property,' a name which it still bears, Ídhaj having now become obsolete.

Ídhaj was further famous for its great stone bridge over the Dujayl, which YâkJût describes as one of the wonders of the world. This, the ruins of which still exist, was known as the Kançararah Khurrah Zâd, being so named after the mother of King Ardashîr, and it spanned the ravine by a single arch, rising 150 ells above the water level. In the gorge two leagues below the town was a mighty and dangerous whirlpool, known as Fam-al-Bawwâb, 'the Porter's Mouth.' The great bridge was repaired in the 4th (10th) century by the Wazîr of Rukn-ad-Dawlah, the Buyûd prince, and it took two years' labour to bring this to completion. Its stones were joined by lead with iron clamps, and it is said that 150,000 dinârs (£75,000) were spent upon the work. YâkJût says that earthquakes were frequent in the neighbourhood of Ídhaj; also there were many mines, a certain alkali being found here, called Kûkallî, which was a sovereign remedy for the gout. He adds that an ancient fire-temple was to be seen at Ídhaj, which until the reign of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd had been constantly in use.

Occupying both banks of the river, and four leagues to the north-west of Ídhaj, was the small town called Sûsan, otherwise known as 'Arûj (or 'Arûh). Round this place stretched extensive gardens, producing grapes, citrons, and oranges, and Mustawfi says that the mountains, on which snow still lay in summer, were only four leagues distant. 'Arûj, or Sûsan, was also known as Jâbalaq, and this place according to some authorities is to be identified
with 'Shushan the palace' of the Book of Daniel. About 150 miles east of Māl-Amīr, on the frontier of Fārs and near the easternmost of the affluents of the Kārūn river, is Lurjān (otherwise Lurdagān or Lurkān, all forms of the name of Lur), which Iṣṭakhrī describes as the capital of the Sardān (or Sardan) district,—a spacious town embowered in trees. Mustawfi praises it for its abundant grapes, and it was often held to be of the province of Fārs, on the borders of which it lay¹.

The main produce of Khūzistān was sugar, for the sugar-cane grew in almost all parts of it, and Muḥaddasi states that in the 4th (10th) century, throughout Persia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, no sugar but that exported from Khūzistān was to be found. He says that Ahwāz, the capital, was renowned for a special kind of kerchief, such as women mostly wear; and Tustar produced the brocades (Dibāj) that were famous all the world over, as well as rugs and fine cloth. Much fruit also was grown in Tustar for export, particularly melons. The district of Sūs was especially the home of the sugar-cane, and the city exported enormous quantities of this commodity; silk too was woven here and cloth stuffs. In 'Askar Mukram they made veils of raw silk, and napkins, also cloth. Başinnā was famous for its curtains; ʿUrḳūb for felt rugs; and Nahr Tirā for long face-veils².

In Khūzistān all the rivers and canals were navigable for boats, and much of the traffic between the towns passed along the waterways. The high roads centred in Ahwāz, to which the traveller from Başrah journeyed either by water along the 'Aḍudī canal, or by land across the salt marsh (Sabkha) from 'Askar Abu Ja'far, opposite Ubullah, to Ḥiṣn Mahdī; and thence through Sūḳ-al-Arbaʽā to Ahwāz³.

The distances between the various cities of Khūzistān are given by Iṣṭakhrī and Muḥaddasi in much detail. From Ahwāz a road went west to Nahr Tirā, and on thence to Wāsiṭ in 'Irāk. The northern road from the capital passed through 'Askar Mukram

² Muk. 416.
³ Kud. 194. Muk. 135.
to Tustar, whence by Junday Sâbûr and Sûs it struck westward to Tîb, whence again there was a high road to Wâsiṭ.

From Junday Sâbûr Muḵâddasî gives the route through the Lur mountains to Gulpaygân in the Jibâl province, north-west of Isfahân; and from 'Askar Mukram another road (given by Kudâmah and others) went east to Ídhaj, whence across the mountains this likewise reached Isfahân¹.

From 'Askar Mukram, and from Ahwâz, two roads converged on Râmhrumuz, whence continuing eastwards the frontier of Fârs was reached on the Tâb river over against Arrajân. These roads are given by Kudâmah and most of the other authorities, being a part of the high road from Başrah to Shîráz. Iṣṭâkhri also gives another route, chiefly by water, from Ḥiṣn Mahdî to Arrajân, which passed by Bâsiyân on the coast to Dawrâk, and thence by Asak to Arrajân. The stages north from Râmhrumuz to Ídhaj are recorded by Muḵâddasî, who also describes a route from Râmhrumuz across the Lur mountains to Isfahân. A second route passed from the Lur plains (north of Dizfûl) by Sâbûrkhwâst to Karaj of Abu Dulaf—the distances here, however, are only given in marches, and the stages are difficult if not impossible now to identify. A third route north, given by Muḵâddasî, went across the mountains from Arrajân in seven days' march to Sumayram (in Fârs), south of Isfahân, keeping along the frontier of Khûzistân and Fârs².

CHAPTER XVII.

FĀRS.


The province of Fārs had been the home of the Achaemenian dynasty, and the centre of their government. To the Greeks this district was known as Persis, and they, in error, used the name of this, the central province, to connote the whole kingdom. And their misuse of the name is perpetuated throughout Europe to the present day, for with us Persia—from the Greek Persis—has become the common term for the whole empire of the Shāh, whereas the native Persians call their country the kingdom of Īrān, of which Fārs, the ancient Persis, is but one of the southern provinces. The Arabs had inherited from the Sassanian monarchy the division of Fārs into five great districts, each called a Kūrah; and this division, which it will be convenient to retain in describing the province, continued in use down to the time of the Mongols. The five Kūrahs were:—(1) Ardashīr Khurrah, with Shīrāz, the provincial capital, for its chief town; (2) Sābūr or Shāpūr Khurrah, with Shāpūr city for its chief town; (3) Arrajān, with the chief town of the same name; (4) Iṣṭakhr, with the ancient city of this name (Persepolis), the Sassanian capital of Fārs; and lastly (5) Dārābjird, also with the chief town of the same name.

Further it must be noted that, during the Caliphate, Fārs
included Yazd with its district, also the district of Rûdhân (between modern Anâr and Bahramâbâd), both of these having formed part of the Ištâkhr Kûrah. After the Mongol conquest, however, Yazd was of the Jibâl province, while at the present day it is counted as forming part of Kirmân, as is also the case with the former district of Rûdhân. In old Persian Khurrah has the meaning of 'Glory'; Ardashir Khurrah and Shâpûr Khurrah, therefore, signify the districts which commemorate the glory of the founder of the Sassanian kingdom, Ardashir, and of his famous son, Sâbûr or Shâpûr, the Greek Sapor. Lastly, the Arab geographers commonly divide Fârs between two regions, namely, the Hot Lands and the Cold Lands (Jurûm and Sarîd), by a line running east and west; and at the present day we find that this division of the lowlands near the coast from the highlands beyond the passes is still current under the names, respectively, of the Garmûsir and the Sardsir, 'the hot' and 'the cold region,' which are also the terms employed by Mustawfî.

Shîrâz, the capital of Fârs, is an Arab foundation, and at the time of the Moslem conquest in the days of the Caliph ‘Omar its site was the camping ground of the army sent to besiege Ištâkhr. As Mu’kaddasî points out, Shîrâz probably owes its pre-eminence as a town to its central position, being supposed to lie 60 leagues from the frontiers at the four cardinal points of the compass, and 80 leagues from each of the four corners of the province. The chronicles state that Shîrâz was founded in the year 64 (684) by a certain Muṣṭammad, brother or cousin of Ḥajjâj, the famous governor of Irâk under the Omayyads; and it grew to be a large city in the latter half of the 3rd (9th) century when the Ṣaffârids had made it the capital of their semi-independent principality. In the 4th (10th) century Shîrâz is described as being nearly a league across, with narrow, but crowded markets. The city had then eight gates, the Gates of Ištâkhr, Tustar, Bandâstânah, Ghassân, Sallam, Kuvar, Mandar, and Mahandar. Its water was from an underground channel carried down from Juwaym, a village five leagues to the north-west; and there was

1 Mu’kaddasî (p. 421) alone divides Fârs into six (in the place of five) Kûrahs; making a separate district of the country round Shîrâz. Ist. 97, 135. Baladhuri, 386. Muk. 447.
a Bimaristân, or hospital, also the palace built by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, who according to the Fârs Nâmâh established a library here.

Half a league south of Shîrâz, this same Buyid prince, 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, surnamed Fanâ Khusraw, had built himself another palace and surrounded it by a new town, named after himself, Kard Fanâ Khusraw. Immense sums were spent on the gardens, which extended a league across; and the houses round this were occupied by wool-weavers, brocade-makers, and others, being all craftsmen whom the Buyids had brought to settle in Fârs from many distant lands. A yearly festival was held at Kard Fanâ Khusraw, which also became for a short time a mint city; but its glories did not survive its founder, and before the close of the 4th (10th) century it had fallen to ruin. As a suburb it came to be known as Sûk-al-Amîr (the Amir's Market), and the rents on shops are said to have produced 20,000 dinârs (£10,000) yearly.

The walls of Shîrâz were first built by Šamsâm-ad-Dawlah or by Sulṭân-ad-Dawlah (son and grandson of 'Aḍud aforesaid), being originally eight ells thick, with a circuit of 12,000 ells, and no less than eleven gates. In the middle of the 8th (14th) century, these walls having fallen to ruin, Maḥmûd Shâh Injû, the rival of the Muẓaffârîds, repaired them, building also bastions of burnt brick. When Mustawfî knew Shîrâz the city was divided into seventeen quarters, and had nine gates. These were the Gates of Iṣṭâkhr; of Dârak (or Darâk Mûsâ), called after the mountain of this name, two leagues distant from Shîrâz, where the winter snow was stored in pits for use in summer-time; then the Gate of Bayḍâ; of Kâzîrân; of Sallam; of Қubâ (for which some mss. give Fanâ or Қanâ); next Bâb-i-Nâw (the New Gate); and lastly, Bâb-i-Dawlah and Bâb-i-Sa'âdah, 'the Gate of Government' and 'the Gate of Felicity.' Mustawfî, who gives the list, further remarks that Shîrâz is a very fine town, the market streets never being empty, but he admits that these last were inconceivably filthy. The water-supply was from the famous channel of Rûknâbâd, which had been dug by Rûkn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, father of 'Aḍud mentioned before, and from the canal of the Sa'dî orchard. In spring, torrents flowed down through the city from Mount Dârak; and thence drained into Lake Mâhalûyâh.
There were three chief mosques: first the Old Mosque—Jāmi ‘Atik—built by the Ṣaffārid ‘Amr, son of Layth, in the latter half of the 3rd (9th) century, and this mosque, Mustawfī states, was never empty; next, and dating from the latter half of the 6th (12th) century, was the New Mosque, built by the Salghārī Atabeg Sa’dr ibn Zangi; and lastly there was the Masjid Sunkur, in the Barbers’ Square, built by the first Atabeg of the Salghārīds. The hospital of ‘Aḏud-ad-Dawlah still existed, and Shī’ahs visited the shrine of Muḥammad and Aḥmad, sons of the seventh Imām Mūsā-al-Kāzīm. The account which Ibn Baṭūṭah, the contemporary of Mustawfī, gives of Shirāz bears out the preceding. He, too, speaks of the Old Mosque, the north door of which was known as the Bāb Ḥasan, ‘the Gate Beautiful,’ and of the shrine of Aḥmad, where there was a college. Further, he eulogises the five streams that flowed through the city; one, that of Ruknābād, rising at Al-Kulay‘ah, ‘the Little Castle,’ in the hills, near to which was the fine orchard surrounding the tomb of the poet Sa‘dī, who had died in 691 (1292), about half a century before the time of Ibn Baṭūṭah’s visit. Sa‘dī had flourished at the court of the Atabeg Abu Bakr, son of Atabeg Sa‘d who had built the New Mosque, and in the orchard round his tomb, which was much visited, were magnificent marble tanks for clothes-washing, which Sa‘dī had built on the Ruknābād stream.

At the close of the 8th (14th) century, Shirāz had the good fortune to escape a siege by Timūr, who defeated the Muẓaffarīd princes at the battle of Pātillah in the plain outside. The city suffered little damage, according to ‘Ali of Yazd, for Timūr camped at the garden called Takht-i-Ḵarāchah, outside the gates of Sallam and Sa‘ādah, opening towards Yazd. The same authority states that the other eight gates were then closed, and he also mentions the Red Castle Hill (Ḵūh Ḳal’at Surkh) near Shirāz, the position of which is unknown. Of famous castles near Shirāz Mustawfī mentions Ḳal‘ah Tīz, standing on a solitary hill three leagues to the south-east of the city. There was a spring of water here, on the hill-top, and another in the plain below, which for a day’s journey beyond was all waterless desert.  

1 The reading of the name is uncertain. Tīr, Tabr, Bābr, Bīr and Tasr or Tashr, with many other variants occur in the MSS. of Mustawfī. Ist. 124.
Shiráz stands on no great river, but its streams, as already said, drain eastward, flowing into the lake which occupies a depression in the plain a few leagues distant from the city. This lake is called Jankân by Iṣṭakhrī: Abu-l-Fidā and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah refer to it as Jamkân; in the Fārs Nāmah and in Mustawfī it has the name of Māhalūyah, and at the present day it is known as the Lake of Māhalū. The water is salt, and from the salt-pan along its shore Shiráz was supplied with this necessary commodity, as also with fish, which were abundant in its waters. The lake was 12 leagues round, the district of Kahrjân lying along its southern borders, while to the south-east was the city of Khawristân, otherwise called Sarvistân, where the date palm flourished and corn was grown, also other produce of both the hot and the cold regions. Kūbanjân, according to the Fārs Nāmah and Mustawfī, was a small town near Sarvistân.

The longest river in Fārs is the Nahr Sakkân, which rising some 30 miles to the north-westward of Shiráz follows a devious course, going south-east for over 150 miles; then after making a great bend it runs due west for another 150 miles, but with many windings, and finally, after receiving the waters of the Firuzābād river from the north, discharges itself into the sea a little to the south of Najīram. The name Sakkân is said by Iṣṭakhrī to be derived from the village of Sakk, which stands near the great bend westward; other authorities, however, spell the name variously: thus we find Sittājân, Thakkân, and Sikân, while Mustawfī generally has Zakkân or Zhakkân. In the Fārs Nāmah and later

Muk. 429, 430, 456. F. N. 71 a, b. Yak. iii. 349; iv. 258. Mst. 170, 171, 179, 203. I. B. ii. 53, 77, 87. A. Y. i. 437. 594. 609. 613. The garden of Takht-i-Karāchah, ‘the Throne of Karāchah,’ was so named after the Atabeg Karāchah, who became governor of Fârs on the death of Atabeg Châull in 510 (1116). It is said to be identical with the garden now known as Takht-i-Kajaran.


2 Its upper course is now known as the Kārā Aghāch, Black-tree river (in Turkish); its lower course is called the Mând river. The Sakkân is probably identical with the river Sitakus of Nearchus. See Colonel Ross, P.R.G.S. 1883, p. 712.
writers, the district where the river had its source is named Māşaram; according to Iṣṭakhrī it rose in Rustāk-ar-Ruwayḥān, which is the plain south of Juwaym and Khullār. These are two important villages, lying 5 and 9 leagues distant respectively from Shīrāz, on the road to Nawbanjān, to the north of the Dasht Arzin plain. Near Juwaym, as already said, one of the Shīrāz streams took its rise. According to Mustawfī, Khullār was famed for its millstones, though the people themselves possessed no mills, and had to send elsewhere to grind their corn. Its honey also was largely exported. Dasht Arzin (the Plain of the Bitter-almond) was famous for its magnificent pasture lands (Marghzār), and the Lake of Dasht 'Arzin, which in the season of rains was 10 leagues across, was of sweet water; this, however, as often as not, dried up in summer. According to Iṣṭakhrī, the lake produced much fish, and Mustawfī adds that the forest near here abounded with lions.

The Sakkān river, 10 leagues south of Shīrāz, passed the town of Kavār or Kuvār, lying near its left bank. According to Mustawfī a dam had here been thrown across the stream to raise its water for irrigation, and the neighbouring pasture lands were famous. Both the sour cherry and the almond grew here plentifully, also large pomegranates. Beyond Kuvār, also on the left bank of the river Sakkān, is the town of Khabr, noted for the tomb of Saʿīd, brother of Ḥasan-al-Baṣrī, the theologian. Mustawfī states that Khabr was larger than Kuvār, and that near by was the famous castle of Tir-i-Khudā, 'God's Arrow,' so called from its inaccessibility, for it stood on a hill-top, so that no human arrow could attain it. Below Khabr the Sakkān river turned south, following a sinuous course through the district of Šīmkān, the town of Šīmkān being near its left bank at the junction of a great affluent coming from Dārābjird on the east.

According to Mustawfī, Šīmkān was a fine town standing on

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1 Juwaym, sometimes written Juwayn, is the present village of Goyun. Ist. 120, 122. I. K. 44. F. N. 77 b, 79 b, 80 b, 81 a. Yak. ii. 457. Mst. 177, 179, 214, 226.

2 Ist. 105, 120. F. N. 71 b, 72 a, 81 a, 83 a, 86 a. Yak. ii. 399. Mst. 172, 173, 179. This district is now called Šīmākūn, and often by mistake written Akun on the maps. See E. Stack, Six Months in Persia, ii. 232.
the stream where this was crossed by a bridge; and it was remarkable that all the lands above the bridge produced trees of the cold region only, such as the plane (Chinâr) and the nut; while below the bridge grew oranges and lemons with other fruits of the hot region. The wine made here was so strong that, before drinking, it had to be mixed with twice or thrice its weight of water. Not far distant was Hirak, a large village of the dependencies of Simkân. Near the right bank of the Sakkân river, and south of the Simkân district, were the three towns of Kârzîn, Kîr and Abzar, the surrounding district being known as Kubâd Khurrah, 'the Glory of Kubâd,' in memory of one of the Sassanian kings. Ištakhri speaks of Kârzîn as being one-third the size of Ištakhr (Persepolis); it had a strong castle up to which water could be drawn from the Sakkân river, and being on a great height many distant castles could be seen from it.

The town of Jahram (or Jahrum), which is sometimes counted as of the Dârâbjird district, lies south of Simkân, and east of Kârzîn, surrounded by a fertile plain. It was famous for its great castle, lying five leagues distant from the town, called Kal'ah Khûrshâh, which Nizâm-al-Mulk, the great Wazîr of the Saljûks, had re-fortified, it having been originally built by Khûrshâh, who was governor of Jahram under the Omayyad Caliphs. To the south-east of Jahram is the town of Juwaym of Abu Âhmad (so called to distinguish it from Juwaym near the head-waters of the Sakkân, see above, p. 253), which Mu'addadân describes as lying on a small river, surrounded by palm-gardens, having a fine mosque which stood in a long market street. The district to the south-west was called Irâhistân, and near the town stood the strong castle called Samîrân (or Shamîrân), which Mustawfî characterises as 'a nest of robbers and highwaymen.' The surrounding districts were famous pasture grounds, especially those lying between Juwaym

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1 Ist. 125. Muk. 422. F. N. 72 a, 73 a, 82 b, 83 a. Mst. 172, 179. According to the Fârs Nâmâh (folio 78 a) and Mustawfî (p. 177) there would appear to have been another district called Kûrah Kubâd Khurrah on the banks of the Tāb river above Arrajân.

2 Ist. 107. F. N. 69 a, 82 b. Mst. 175, 179. The name of the castle is written Khûrshâh, Khûrshâh, and Kharashâh, in the various mss., also Kharshad and Kharskar, but no mention of it occurs in the older Arab geographers.
and the bank of the Sakkân river, where were many stagnant pools and lion-haunted forests.

The town of Kâriyân, commanded by a strong fortress, lay one march west of Juwaym, and was celebrated for its fire-temple, from which the sacred fire anciently preserved here was distributed far and wide by the Zoroastrian priests. The fortress, which crowned a hill-top, was deemed impregnable. To the west of Kâriyân, and at the great westward bend of the Sakkân river, stood Lâghir, a place of some importance in the 8th (14th) century, when Mustawfi wrote, for it was a stage on the caravan road down from Shirâz to Kays island. Lâghir also is mentioned in connection with Kaharjân (or Makarjân), a place no longer to be found on the map. Between Lâghir and the coast, but along the right bank and north of the Sakkân river, lay the desert of Mândistân, midway between Najram and Bûshkânât; here were found neither permanent villages nor streams, but, none the less, as Mustawfi writes, on the rare occasions of sufficient rainfall, the whole desert might be made to grow crops of cotton and corn that at the close of the winter season would give profit of a thousand-fold.

Mândistân, the medieval name of this desert—meaning 'the Mând country'—is doubtless retained in the name of the Mând river, which, as already noted, is now used for the lower course of the Sakkân. About half-way between Lâghir and the sea the main stream receives an important affluent from the north, namely the river of Fîrûzâbâd. The city of Fîrûzâbâd was anciently called Jûr, and in Sassanian times this (in place of the later Shirâz) had been the chief town of the district of Ardashîr Khurrah. Ištakhrî reports that the plain here had originally been a lake, this having been drained by King Ardashîr, who built the city round an artificial mound—still existing here in the 4th (10th) century and later—called Aţ-Ţîrbâl, 'the Look-out,' with a building named in Persian the Aywân (Archway), standing upon a great platform. At this time Jûr was as large as Ištakhr, and the city was surrounded by a wall and ditch, with four gates, namely Bâb Mihr to the east,
Bāb Bahrām opposite, Bāb Hurmuz to the north, and Bāb Ardashir to the south.

The name Jūr, in Persian pronounced Gūr, means 'a grave,' and it was held inauspicious by the courtiers of 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, who was fond of coming here, that the Amīr should be said to be residing in Gūr, 'the grave.' Hence Jūr was renamed Firūzābād—'the Abode of Luck'—and so it is called at the present day. Muḥaddasī, who gives the story, speaks of the great town square (Raḥbah), and the beautiful rose gardens of Firūzābād, also of the well-cultivated country round, stretching a day's march across. Water for the town was brought from a neighbouring hill by means of a syphon tube, and according to the Persian geographers there was a great castle four leagues from the town, called Kāl'ah Sahārah (or Shahārah). The Firūzābād river is named by Iṣṭakhri the Tirzah; the Fārs Nāmah and Mustawfī call it the Burāzah (or Barārah) river. It rose in the Khunayfghān district, and was said to have been turned from its original course by Alexander the Great, who, when besieging Jūr, flooded the country round and made the lake, which was subsequently drained by Burāzah the Sage, in the reign of King Ardashir. He afterwards built an aqueduct that conveniently brought the waters of the stream into the town, and from him the river took its name of the Nahr Burāzah. Ḫazvini says there was a celebrated fire-temple in Firūzābād, and refers to a wonderful spring of water that gushed out at the city gate; the red roses of Jūr, too, he adds, were famous the world over. The country to the north was, as already said, the district of Khunayfghān, or Khunayfḵān, which the Persians pronounced Khunāfgān; and among the hills there was a large village of this name, whence a difficult and stony road led down to Firūzābād.

The coast of the Ardashir Khurrah district was known as the Sīf (or shore), and there were three Sīfs, all of the hot region, or Garmsīr, lying along the Persian Gulf. These were named respectively the Sīf 'Umārah to the eastward of Ḫays island; the Sīf Zuhayr on the coast south of Irāhistān and round Sīrāf; and lastly the Sīf Mużaffar to the north of Najīram; the 'Umārah,
Zuhayr, and Muṣaffar being the names of three Arab tribes who, having crossed to the northern coasts from the other side of the Persian Gulf, had here settled in Fârs. In the 4th (10th) century Sîf ‘Umârah was famous for an impregnable castle on the sea, called Kal‘ah-ad-Dîkdân (or Dîkbâyah), also known as Ḥīṣn Ibn ‘Umârah, where twenty ships could find safe harbourage, and the only entrance into the castle was by working a crane set on the walls. A short distance to the west of this lay the island of Kays, or as the Persians wrote the name, Kîsh, which in the course of the 6th (12th) century became the trade centre of the Persian Gulf after the ruin of Siraf, which will be described presently. A great walled city was built in Kays island, where water tanks had been constructed, and on the neighbouring sea-banks was the famous pearl fishery. Ships from India and Arabia crowded the port, and all the island was full of palm gardens. In summer, says Kazvini, the heat was greater than the hottest room in the bath (Ḥammâm): none the less Kays was a very populous town. The island lay about four leagues from the coast, where the port of embarkation was Huzû, to which, in the 7th (13th) century, a caravan road came down from Shírâz through Lâghir. Huzû, though much ruined when Yâkût wrote, had been a strong fortress in the 4th (10th) century under the Buyids, who made it their state prison. Close to the town was the village called Sâviyah (with variants in the mss. Tâbah or Tânah and the true reading is unknown). ¹


The stages on the road down from Lâghir to Huzû are given by Mustawfi (p. 200), but as no modern traveller has followed this route the names are not to be found on the map, and are most uncertain; the distances are in farsaks (leagues). ‘From Lâghir 6 to Fâryâb district, thence 6 to the city of Ṣaj (Ṣâh, Ḥaj, Ḍâh, with many other variants), thence 5 to Âb-Anbâr-i-Kînâr, thence 5 to Haram (Siram or Marmaz), thence 6 down many steep passes to the village of Dârûk (Dârzâk, Ürâk or Dâvrak), thence 6 to Mâhân (Hâmân or Mâyân), and thence 6 by the pass of Lardak to Huzû on the sea-shore.’ The district Mustawfi calls Fâryâb is evidently identical with Bârâb, half-way between Kâriyân and Kurân, as given by Muṣaddas (p. 454). The city of Ṣaj is a puzzle, none being known in this region, but possibly we should read
To the westward of Slf 'Umârah along the sea-shore was the Zuhayr coast, of which Kurân, inland, was the chief town, Sirâf, and Nâband being its famous harbours; and the region went as far as Najîram beyond the mouth of the Sakkân river. Inland of this was the Irâhistân district. According to Iştâkhri, Kurân produced an edible clay, green in colour, that tasted like beet-root. Mustawfi counts Kurân as of Irâhistân, and says its lands only produced dates. Due south of it was the district and town of Mîmand, not far from the port of Nâband, which last stood at the head of a creek known as the Khawr or Khalij of Nâband. Mîmand, according to Mustawfi, produced quantities of grapes, also other fruits of the hot region, and it was famous for its clever craftsmen.

Further up the coast, to the north-west of Nâband, was the port of Sirâf, the chief emporium of the Persian Gulf in the 4th (10th) century, prior to the rise of Kays island into pre-eminence. Sirâf, Iştâkhri says, nearly equalled Shirâz in size and splendour; the houses were built of teak-wood brought from the Zanj country (now Zanzibar), and were several storeys high, built to overlook the sea. This author writes that a merchant of his acquaintance here had spent 30,000 dinârs (L15,000) on his house, and the Sirâf merchants were accounted the richest in all Fârs, a fortune of sixty million dirhams (about two millions sterling) having been gained here by commerce. There were no gardens round the city, fruit and other produce being brought in from the mountains of Jamm, where there was a great castle called Samîrân. Muṣaddasi speaks of Sirâf as commercially the rival of Baṣrah; its houses were the finest he had ever seen, but it had been in part ruined by an earthquake, lasting seven days, which had occurred in 366 or 367 (977), and with the fall of the Buyid dynasty the place began to decay. The Fârs Nâmâh states that its final ruin was the work of Rukn-ad-Dawla Khumârtagin, the

Jamm (Ist. 106). This route, unfortunately, is not reproduced in the Jahân Numâ, nor is it given by any Arab geographer. The coast of the Banî-as-Şaffâr would appear to have been identical with the 'Umârah coast, to judge by what Iştâkhri (p. 141) and Yâkût (iii. 217) write.

1 Ist. 104, 141, 152. Yak. i. 419; ii. 489; iii. 212, 217. Mst. 172, 173. A. F. 322.
Amīr of Ḫays island, who made the latter the port of call, though he had his war-ships still built at Sirāf; but when Yāḵūt visited the place at the beginning of the 7th (13th) century, only the mosque, with its columns of teak-wood, remained standing, though the ruins of the town could be traced up the neighbouring gorge from the sea-side. Ships then went on to Nāband for shelter, as the harbour of Sirāf was already silted up. Yāḵūt adds that the name of Sirāf was in his time pronounced Shilāv by the natives.

Najīram, a port of some importance to the westward of Sirāf, beyond the mouth of the Sakkān river, was at the beginning of the Muẓaffar coast, which stretched thence as far as Jannābah in the Kūrah (district) of Arrajān. Najīram possessed two mosques when Muḵaddasi wrote, with good markets, and cisterns for storing rain-water. The Dastaḵān district was also of the Sif Muẓaffar, and in the 4th (10th) century its chief town was called Saḥārah. The district itself appears to have been in the neighbourhood of Jannābah, but the exact position of the town of Saḥārah is unknown.¹

Near the frontier of the Arrajān district, the river of Shāpūr debouches, and some distance from its mouth, probably above the junction of the Jirrah river, to be mentioned later, must have stood the important commercial town of Tawwaj or Tavvaz. In the 4th (10th) century İṣṭakhri speaks of this place as about the size of Arrajān; it was very hot, and stood in a gorge of the lowlantis, palm-trees growing here abundantly. Tawwaj, which was a place of great trade, was famous for its linen stuffs, woven in divers colours, with a gold-thread ornament. The Shāpūr river, which flowed near the city, was often called the Tawwaj river; and the town is said to have been peopled with Syrian Arabs, brought hither by 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. At the beginning of the 6th (12th) century Tawwaj had already much fallen to ruin. Its site has never been identified, but the position of the town is given as on or near the Shāpūr river, in a gorge, being 12 leagues from Jannābah on the coast, and four from

¹ Possibly this Dastaḵān district is identical with the coast of the Banī-ḥaṣ-Ṣaffār, already mentioned. Ist. 34, 106, 116, 127, 141, 154. Muk. 422, 426, 427. F. N. 73 b, 74 a. Yak. iii. 211, 217. Mst. 172. The ruins of Sirāf are described by Captain Stiffle in the J. R. G. S. 1895, p. 166.
the pass that leads down from Dariz. Tawwaj was a famous place at the time of the first Moslem conquest, and its mosque dated from those early days; but when Mustawfi wrote, it had become a complete ruin.

The important town of Ghundijân, in the district of Dasht Bārīn, was of this neighbourhood. The position of Ghundijân, of which apparently no ruins now exist, is given in the Fārs Nāmah as standing four leagues from Jirrah and 12 from Tawwaj; and the author speaks of the Jirrah river as flowing by 'a part of Ghundijân.' In the 4th (10th) century the town is said to have equalled Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis) or Jannâbah in size; carpets and veils were made here, and the district was counted as of the hot region. Muḵaddasî describes a stream among the Ghundijân hills as producing a poisonous hot vapour, so that none could approach it, and birds flying over the stream fell down suffocated; but there were also hot mineral springs here that healed the sick. The population of Ghundijân, according to Mustawfi, consisted mostly of shoemakers and weavers, and in his day the name Ghundijân had taken the place of Dasht Bārīn in the common speech for the district. In the neighbourhood was a strong castle, called Ḵal'ah Ram Zavân (or Dam Darân, with many other variants), where great cisterns had been dug for storing water. The district of Bûshkânât lay half-way between Ghundijân and the Mândistân desert (see p. 255) to the north of Najiram. According to Mustawfi there were no towns here, but dates grew and were the chief crop, for Bûshkânât was of the hot region of the Gulf.

1 Muḵaddasî and Yâkût with many of the older authorities state that Dasht Bārīn was the name of the town, Ghundijân being that of the district. Originally, however, this can hardly have been the case, since the name Dasht Bārīn, meaning 'the Plain' of Bārīn, is not applicable to a town. The name of a district or province in the East is very frequently taken over by the chief town, and following this rule when Ghundijân fell out of use, the name Dasht Bārīn may have taken its place, being used then for town or district indifferently, as Mustawfi remarks later, but contrariwise of the name Ghundijân. Ist. 106, 128, 130, 152, 153. Muk. 422, 423, 432, 435, 445, 448. F. N. 73 a, 76 a, 79 b, 81 b, 86 a. Mst. 171, 177, 179, 218. Yak. i. 199, 890; ii. 576; iii. 5, 820. Tawwaj is often included in the Shāpūr Khurrah district by the earlier geographers.
The island of Khârik, which lay off the mouth of the Shâpûr river, was included in the Ardashir Khurrah district, and was a port of call for ships sailing from Başrah to Қays island and India. Yâkût had visited the island, and says that from its hills Jannâbah and Mahrubân, both on the coast of the Arrajân district, were visible. The soil of the island was fertile, producing many fruits, and the date palm grew well here. In the neighbouring sea was one of the best pearl fisheries. Many of the other islands in the Persian Gulf are described by our authorities as of the Ardashir Khurrah district; but Khârik and Қays were commercially the two most important, and of the others named some are not easy to identify. Uwâl was the chief of the Bahrayn islands, on the Arabian coast, and it is mentioned in the annals of the first Moslem conquest. Bûshahr (Bushire of the present day) first appears in the pages of Yâkût, and opposite to it on the mainland, as stated by Balâdhurî, was Rîshahr or Râshahr of Tawwaj. The island called Lâwân (Allân, Lân, or Lâr are all variants), by the distances given, must be the present island of Shaykh Shu‘ayb lying to the west of Қays, and Abrûn island is doubtless the modern Hindarâbî which with Chîn (or Khayn) lies near Қays.

The great island at the narrows of the Gulf now called Kishm, also the Long Island (Jazirah ɀawilah), is probably that referred to in our medieval authorities under the various names—possibly merely manuscript variants—of Banî (or Ibn) Kawân, Abarkâfân, and Abarkumân. Yâkût states that it was also known as Lâft. The island of Khâsik or Jâsik was one of its neighbours, or was possibly merely another name for Kishm (the Long Island). Its population were hardy boatmen, and according to Kazvînî they were much given to piracy and raiding. Near each of these islands were pearl fishery banks, but most of them were uninhabited, except during the fishing season. Beyond and east of Kishm was the island of Hurmuz (Ormuz), which being in Kirmân will be spoken of in the chapter treating of that province1.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FÂRS (continued).


The district of Sâbûr Khurrah, 'the Glory of Shâpûr' (Sâbûr, as already said, being the Arabic form of the Persian name), was the smallest of the five Kûrahs or districts of Fârs, and its limits were comprised within the basin of the upper Shâpûr river and its affluents.

The chief town of the district in early days was the city of Shâpûr, the name of which had originally been Bishâpûr¹, more commonly known as Shahristân, 'the town-place' or 'the capital.' Ibn Ḥawḳal states that Shâpûr city was in his day as large as Iṣṭakhr and more populous, but Muḳaddasî in the latter part of the 4th (10th) century speaks of the town as already for the most part gone to ruin, its population having migrated to the neighbouring and rising city of Kâzîrûn. Shâpûr, however, was then still a rich place, for its lands produced sugar-cane, olives, and grapes abundantly, and fruits and flowers, such as the fig, the jasmine, and the carob, were seen on every hand. The castle was

¹ In the mss. the name is generally (but probably incorrectly) written Nashâpûr or Nishâpûr. Bishâpûr stands for Bih-Shâpûr, the older form being Wih-Shâpûr, meaning 'the good Sapor' or 'the excellence of Sapor.' This prefix Bih occurs in other place-names; cf. Bih Ardâshîr, or Guvâshîr, in Chapter XXI, p. 303.
called Dunbulā, and the town wall had four gates, namely those of Hurmuz, Mīhr, Bahrām, and lastly the City gate (Bāb-ash-Shahr). Outside the town was a Friday Mosque, and another called Masjid-al-Khiḍr, or the mosque of Elias. In the beginning of the 6th (12th) century the author of the Fārs Nāmah describes Shāpūr as having completely fallen to ruin; and when Mustawfī wrote a couple of centuries later the name of Shāpūr or Bishāpūr had been transferred to the neighbouring Kāzirūn district.

Mustawfī apparently knew the Shāpūr river under the name of the Shahriyār Rūd, and the city, he says, had been named Dindār by its first founder, the mythical King Tahmurath, the ‘Devil-binder.’ Afterwards Alexander the Great laid it in ruins, and King Shāpūr rebuilt it, when it was known, according to Mustawfī, as Banā Shāpūr, and later as Nāshāpūr or Bishāpūr. Its crops were famous in the 8th (14th) century: the iris, violet, jasmine, and narcissus grew abundantly, and much silk was woven here. Mustawfī further refers to the well-known colossal statue of King Shāpūr in the cave near the ruins. This he describes as ‘a black statue of a man, larger than life, standing in a temple (Haykāl); some say it is a talisman, others that it is merely a real man whom God has turned to stone. The kings of that country were used to visit it, and to pay it honour anointed the statue with oil.’Already in the 4th (10th) century Mukaddasi refers to the cave, which, he says, lay one league distant from the city of Nawbandajān. The colossal figure of King Sapor he describes as crowned and standing at the mouth of the cave, in which water fell continually, and a violent wind blew. At the base of the statue were the semblances, sculptured, of ‘three green leaves.’ The foot of the image measured ten spans in length, while the total height was eleven ells.

The upper course of the Shāpūr river was called the Nahr Ratīn by the Arab geographers, and it came from the Upper Khumāyījān or Khumāyīgān district, of which one of the principal villages, according to Mustawfī, was Dih ‘Ali. Lower Khumāyījān was counted

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1 I. H. 194. Muk. 432, 444. F. N. 74 b, 75 a, where the name is spelt Bishāvūr and Bishāpūr. Mst. 175, 176. C. A. De Bode, Travels in Luristan (London, 1845). i. 214.
as of the Ištakhr Kûrah (the Persepolis district, to be described in the next chapter) lying round Bâyû on an affluent of the Kur river, and both these Khumâyîjân regions were famous for the products of the colder hill country, such as nuts and pomegranates, while much excellent honey was exported. The people were mostly muleteers, who travelled with caravans. To the westward of Khumâyîjân was the district of Anburân with the city of An-Nawbandajân, otherwise called Nûbandagân or Nawbanjân. This place, when Ištakhrî wrote, was larger than Kâzîrûn, the climate was hot and the date palm grew here. Muḵaddasî speaks of its fine markets, of the gardens with their abundant water-supply, also of its mosque. In Saljûk times Nawbandajân had fallen to ruin, but in the 5th (11th) century the town was rebuilt by the celebrated Atabeg, the Amîr Châullî.

Two leagues distant from Nawbanjân began the famous valley, one of the four earthly paradises of the Moslems, called Sha'b Bâvvân, the waters of which drained to the Kur river in the Ištakhr Kûrah. The valley was three and a half leagues in length by one and a half across, and its fertility was beyond compare; being due, according to Mustawfî, to the nature of the hills on either side of the valley, which stored the winter snows and thus afforded water throughout the summer droughts. A couple of leagues to the north-east of Nawbanjân is the great mountain fastness called the White Castle—Kal'âh Safîd, and Isfid Dîz—or the Castle of Isfandiyâr, occupying a flat-topped table-mountain, many miles in circuit, bounded by precipitous sides. Muḵaddasî possibly mentions it under the name of the Kaṣr Abu Ṭâlib, which, he says, was called ʿAyân. The Fârs Nâmah states that Kal'âh Safîd had been rebuilt by a certain Abu Naṣr of Tir Murdân in the earlier years of the Saljûks, and that at the beginning of the 6th (12th) century it was in the

1 The Amîr Châullî (often written Jâullî), whose name so frequently occurs in the Fârs Nâmah and Mustawfî in connection with the rebuilding of towns or castles in Fârs, and the reconstruction of river dams, was governor of the province for Sulṭân Muhammad the Saljûk. Atabeg Châullî Sakâuh (meaning 'the Falcon') received the surname of Fakhîr-ad-Dawlah, and died in 510 (1116) after having been the semi-independent governor of both Kirmân and Fârs for nearly a score of years.
hands of their governor. The mountain summit, which was 20 leagues in circuit, had only one road leading to the top, and this was guarded below by the castle called Dizak Nishnāk. The summit was a level plain, with many springs and gardens, and fruit grew here abundantly. The siege of Kal‘ah Safid by Timūr, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, made it famous in history. He was marching from Bihbahān to Shirāz, and took the place by storm, after a two days’ investment, in the spring of 795 (1393).

One march east of Nawbanjān, on the road to Shirāz, lay Tīr Murdān, a small town surrounded by six villages, of which the most important was called Karjan (or Jarkan), lying five leagues from Nawbanjān. The surrounding region was well watered, very fertile, and much honey was exported. To the west of Nawbanjān, on the road to Arrajān, was the town of Anburān, in this district; also the Bāsht Kūtā district, with the town of Bāsht, which still exists. Two rivers, the Darkhīd and the Khūbdhān, traversed this region. The Nahr Khawrawādhnān, otherwise the Khūbdhān river, had on its banks the town of the same name, distant four leagues from Nawbanjān, and Khūbdhān town in the 4th (10th) century was a populous place, with a mosque and good markets. Four or six leagues west of this river, and two stages distant from Nawbanjān, was the small town of Darkhīd, on the river of the same name, which last came from, or some authorities say flowed into, a small lake. It is mentioned that the Darkhīd river was a sufficiently large stream to be unfordable. The Khūbdhān river was an affluent of the river Shīrin, which will be noticed when describing the Arrajān district, and either the Khūbdhān river or the Darkhīd was crossed by a great bridge, built by a certain Abu ʾṬālib of Nawbanjān, who had erected the castle of ʿAyān mentioned in the previous paragraph. Iṣṭakhri and Muḵaddasī are at variance as to which of the rivers this celebrated bridge traversed. Later authorities add to the confusion by giving different names to these rivers, which it is difficult

1 Iṣṭ. 110, 111, 120, 127. Muk. 434, 437, 447. F. N. 76 b, 78 a, 81 b. Mst. 177, 178, 219. A. Y. i. 600. Dizak Nishkuman and Astāk are variants of the name of the lower castle in the mss. Kal‘ah Safid is well described by Macdonald Kinneir, Persian Empire, p. 73.
or impossible now to identify with any of the existing streams shown on our maps. The bridge is described by Muşaddasi as having been built in his day, ‘and there is none to equal it in all Syria and Mesopotamia.’ This was in the latter half of the 4th (10th) century, and Yâkût in the 7th (13th) century apparently refers to it as still existing. Many of these places are also mentioned by ‘Ali of Yazd, in describing the march of Timûr from Bihbahân to Shiráz'.

In this mountain region of Fârs, known later as the Jabal Jilûyah, the five Kurdish tribes, called collectively the Zamm-al-Akrâd, had in the 4th (10th) century their pastures and camping grounds. Muşaddasi speaks of a castle in the mountain near here that belonged to them, standing in a wide district with many gardens stocked with fruit trees and date palms.

The city of Kâzîrûn, from the latter half of the 4th (10th) century when Shâpûr fell to ruin, became the most important town of the Shâpûr district. Ibn Hawkâl describes it as in his time smaller than Nawbandajân, but well-built, the houses being of stone set in mortar. Muşaddasi, a little later, refers to it as ‘the Damietta of Persia,’ already commercially important as the centre of the linen trade, and ‘Açud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid had recently built in the town a great house (Dâr) for the merchants, the rooms in which produced a yearly rent of 10,000 dirhams (£,400). The houses of the town, Muşaddasi tells us, were all like palaces, each with a garden; the mosque crowned a hillock. According to Mustawfi Kâzîrûn had originally consisted of three neighbouring villages, named Nûrd, Darbast, and Râhshân, built on the water conduits of these names, which, it is stated, were still preserved in the town quarters. The dates of Kâzîrûn were

1 The spelling of the names varies greatly. Khawrawâdhan is contracted to Khûbdhân, also written Khwâbdhân, Khabâdhân and Khâvdân, or Khâvarân in ‘Ali of Yazd. Darkhid is also written Darkhwîd, but Dakhunad (as given by Muşaddasi) is probably only a clerical error. Ist. 110, 120. Muk. 435, 440. F. N. 76 a, b, 79 a, 80 b. Mst. 176, 218. Yak. i. 905; ii. 487; iii. 838. Ibn-al-Athîr, viii. 122, 202. A. Y. i. 600.

2 Ist. 98, 113. Muk. 435. Yak. ii. 821. Mst. 176, 206. Zamû means in Kurdish ‘a tribe’ (more correctly written Zûmah), and by mistake the word has often been given as Ramm. See the translation by Prof. De Goeje of Ibn Khurdadbeh, p. 33, footnote.
excellent, especially of a kind called Jillân, and a cotton stuff, known as Kirbâs, was exported largely. The neighbouring pastures, called Marghâr Narkis, ‘the narcissus meads,’ were famous. The district round Kâzîrûn was known as the Shûl country, according to Ibn Batûtah, who passed through here in the year 730 (1330), and at the present day this region is called Shûlîstân. In the plain, a short distance to the east of the city, lies the Kâzîrûn lake, which in the 4th (10th) century was known as the Buḫayrah Mûz, or Mûarak (for the reading of the name is uncertain). It was 10 leagues in length, very salt, and contained much fish. The two famous passes on the road above the lake going up to Shirâz, which are now known to travellers as the Old Woman’s Pass and the Maiden’s Pass (Kutâl Pîr-i-Zan, and Kutâl-i-Dukhtar), are named by Mustawfi, the Hûshang Pass, which lies three leagues from Kâzîrûn, and the Mâlân Pass, which is above it and is likewise very steep 1.

The roads down to the coast from Kâzîrûn lead by Darîz to Kumârij, and thence by Khisht on the Shâpur river to Tawwaj, which has been described in the previous chapter (p. 259). Darîz was a small town, and already in the 4th (10th) century famous for its linen weavers; Khisht, lying beyond it, had a strong castle, according to Muĥaddasi, and was surrounded by broad lands. The Fârs Nâmâh mentions Khisht and Kumârij together, and Mustawfi gives the people of both places a bad character as being inveterate robbers.

A short distance below Khisht the river Shâpur received on its left bank the waters of the Jirrah river, which was known as the Nahr Jarshik to the Arab geographers, and the latter, a few miles before it fell into the Shâpur river, was joined on its left bank by the tributary stream called by them the Nahr Ikhsin. The Ikhshin river took its rise among the valleys of the Dâdîn country, and according to Iṣṭâkhri, its waters, which were sweet and drinkable, had the property of dyeing to a green colour any cloth that was steeped therein. The Jarshik river rose in the

1 Ist. 122. I. H. 197. Muk. 433. Mst. 176, 180, 200, 226. Of the three town quarters of Kâzîrûn variants in the ms. are Nûr, Darîst, and Rahibûn or Rahîyûn. I. B. ii. 89. The Fârs Nâmâh (f. 80b) writes the name of the lake Mûr very clearly. It is sometimes called Daryachîh Shûr, ‘the Salt Lake.’
hills to the south of Jirrah, in the Māṣaram country (which according to Mustawfi was a district stretching from this river to as far north as the head-waters of the Sakkān river), and before reaching the town of Jirrah it was crossed by an ancient stone bridge called the Ḫantaṭarsh Sabūk. The river next watered part of the Dādhīn district, and finally, after receiving the Ikhshīn river, fell into the Shāpūr river some distance above Tawwaj. The Fārs Nāmah and Mustawfi state that the country at the head-waters of the Jirrah river, near the town of Jirrah, formed part of the Ghundijān district, and this gives a clue to the position of Dasht Bārin, which, as we have seen on a previous page, belonged to the Ardashīr Khurrah district. The city of Jirrah is described by Muḥaddasī as crowning a hill-top, and possessing many palm gardens. Yākūt states that the common people in his day pronounced the name Girrah, which is confirmed by the Fārs Nāmah and Mustawfi; they also refer to its corn crops and dates, for all the lands round the city were extremely fertile.¹

The Arrajān district is the westernmost of the five Kūrahās of Fārs, and Arrajān, its chief town, lay at its westernmost border, on the Tāb river, which on this side forms the boundary between Fārs and Khūzistān. The ruins of Arrajān lie a few miles to the north of the present town of Bihbāhān, which has taken its population and become the chief town of the district since the close of the 6th (12th) century.

In the 4th (10th) century Arrajān was a fine town, surrounded by date-gardens and olive-groves. It had six gates, which were by order closed at night, and were named, respectively, the Awhāz, Rishahr, and Shirāz gates, then the gate of Ar-Ruṣ́afah, the gate of the Maydān (or Square), and lastly Bāb-al-Kayyālīn or the ‘Gate of the Weighers.’ The mosque and market streets were magnificent. Soap was largely manufactured in the town. Near Arrajān, and crossing the Tāb river on the high roads into Khūzistān, were two famous bridges, the remains of which still exist. One was said to have been built by a certain Daylamite physician of Ḥajjāj, governor of Irāq under the Omayyad

Caliph, and is described by Iṣṭakhri as having but a single arch, 80 paces across in the span, and sufficiently high for a man, mounted on a camel and bearing a banner, to pass freely under the key-stone. This bridge, which was known as the Ḵanṭarah Thakân, stood a bow-shot from the city of Arrajân on the road to Sanbil. The second stone bridge was more than 3000 ells in length, and dated from the times of the Sassanian kings, being known as the Ḵanṭarah-al-Kisrawiyah or ‘the Bridge of the Chosroes.’ It was on the road leading to the village of Dahlizân. In a hill near Arrajân, according to Ḵazvini, was a cave whence bitumen (Mâmîyâ) was taken from a spring, and this was celebrated all the world over for its medicinal properties, while in the town of Arrajân itself a fathomless well called the Bîr Ṣâhîk existed, the water of which was never known to fail, even in the driest summer season.

Mustawfî, in the beginning of the 8th (14th) century, states that Arrajân was then called Arkhân or Arghân by the common people, and at the end of this century ‘Allî of Yazd refers to the river Ṭâb as the Āb-i-Arghân. Arrajân had suffered much, according to Mustawfî, on its capture in the 7th (13th) century by the Ismailian heretics (the Assassins, subjects of the Old Man of the Mountain), and the town had never recovered its former prosperity. There had been Ismailian strongholds on the hill-tops in the neighbourhood, one called Ḵal‘âr Tîghûr, and another Dîz Kilât, and the garrisons of these places had frequently plundered the city and its districts. By the latter half of the 8th (14th) century, Arrajân had fallen completely to ruin, and it was replaced shortly after this by the town of Bihbahân, situated some half-dozen miles lower down the Ṭâb river. Bihbahân, the name of which occurs in none of the Arab geographers, is first mentioned by ‘Allî of Yazd, in his description of the march of Timûr from Ahwâz to Shhêrêz in the spring of 795 (1393), and from this date onward Bihbahân has been the chief town of the region formerly known as the district of Arrajân1.

1 Ist. 128, 134, 152. I. R. 189. I. K. 43. Muk. 425. Kaz. ii. 94, 160. Mst. 177, 178. A. Y. i. 600. In his Mîrdût-al-Bulûtân (Tîhrân lithograph, A. H. 1294, vol. i. p. 306) the Ṣanî‘-ad-Dawlah says that Bihbahân was first settled by the Kûhgilû nomads, by order of Timûr, these having migrated from
The river Ṭāb of the Arab geographers is now known as the Jarāhiyāh, Jarāḥī, or Kurdistān river, for by some confusion the name of Ṭāb has, at the present day, been transferred to the Khayrābād affluents of the Hindiyān or Zuhrah river, a different stream which flows out to the Persian Gulf at Hindiyān. The Ṭāb river of the middle-ages had its source, if we may accept the combined authority of Iṣṭakhrī and Muḥaddasī, in the mountains to the south-west of Isfahān, at Al-Burj over against Sumayram in the Iṣṭakhr district. Thence coming down to the district called As-Sardah, in Khūzistān, the Ṭāb was joined on its left bank by the river Masīn, the village of Masīn lying near the point of junction, and the combined streams flowed on to Arrajān. Below this city the Ṭāb watered the Rishahr district, and then curving round abruptly to the south reached the sea to the west of Mahrubān. The Masīn river above-mentioned also rose in the mountains near Sumayram, and flowed past a place called Sīsāt, according to the Fārs Nāmah and Mustawfī, before it joined the Ṭāb. It is said to have been 40 leagues in length, and was a sufficiently broad river not to be easily fordable. Near the upper course of the Ṭāb was the district of Bilād Shāpur, or Bālā Sābūr, of which the chief town was called Jūmah, which stood on the frontier between Fārs and Khūzistān. The district had been very fertile, but when Mustawfī wrote the lands had already gone out of cultivation. Along the course of the Ṭāb river, according to the Fārs Nāmah, was also the region called Kūrah Kubād Khurrah, but all earlier authorities give this as the name of the district round Kārzīn, as has been already described on p. 254.

Kūsfah. For the ruins of Arrajān, and of the two bridges now known as the Pul-i-Bigām and the Pul-i-Dukhtar (the Lady's and the Maiden's bridge), see De Bode, Luristan, i. 295, 297. The name of the first bridge is often given as Kanṭārah Rakān or Takān in the MSS. Ibn Ḥawṣal (p. 170) further mentions a wooden bridge as crossing the Ṭāb river, passing at a height of ten ells above the water level.

1 Ist. 119. Muk. 24, 425. F. N. 77 ḍ, 78 a, 79 a. Mst. 176, 177, 218. The Arab geographers evidently confounded the upper course of the Arrajān river (the Ṭāb) and its affluent (the Masīn) with the streams which we know to be the upper branches of the Kārun. It is to be further noted that the Arrajān river, in its lower course near the Persian Gulf, has evidently changed its
Below Arrajân the Țāb river, as already said, curved round the Rishahr district (not to be confounded with Rishahr of Bushire mentioned above, p. 261); and here, besides the town of Rishahr, lying half-way between Arrajân and Mahrubân, there was a town called Daryân (otherwise Dayrjân or Darjân) which in the 4th (10th) century had fine markets and lay in a fertile district. Rishahr continued to be an important place in Saljuq times, and the Fârs Nâmah speaks of its castle, and states that ships were built here. According to Mustawfi the Persians called the place Barbiyân, and the original name, he says, had been Rîşahr. Linen stuffs were manufactured here, and the population traded largely with the Gulf ports. The summer heat was terrific, and people went up to Diz Kilât, one league away, which as just mentioned had formerly been a castle of the Ismailians. Near Rishahr was Hindijân, a small town and district on the lower course of the Arrajân river, and Muqaddasî relates that this Hindijân or Hinduwân town was a great market for sea fish and possessed a fine mosque. In the Hindijân district were the remains of fire-temples, and some waterwheels of ancient construction. Further, there were supposed to be hidden treasures, 'as in Egypt,' and Kazvini speaks of a well, from which arose a poisonous vapour, so that birds flying above fell dead into it. Lastly, at Ḥabs, a town in this district on the road to Shîrâz, there had been a toll-house in Saljuq times.

Jallâdgân, otherwise pronounced Jallâdjân, was a neighbouring district lying between the lower courses of the rivers Țāb and Shîrîn. The river Shîrîn—'the Sweet Water'—rose in the hills called Jabal Dinâr of the Bâzranj or Bâzrang district, and passed through the district of Fûrzûk, lying four leagues south-east of Arrajân. According to 'All of Yazd, Tîmûr, marching from bed since the 4th (10th) century. Muqaddasî speaks of it as debouching near Simz, but this is possibly only a clerical error for 'near the Tustar' river, in other words the estuary of the Dujayl.

1 Ist. 112, 113, 119, 121. Muk. 421, 426, 453. F. N. 78 a, b. Mst. 177, 178. Yak. iv. 963, 993. Kaz. ii. 186. Hindijân, Hinduwân, and Hindiyân appear to be all intended for the same place. For Ḥabs the mss. give Khâbs, Jls, Jins and every possible variation; it was a post-stage, as mentioned in the Itineraries.
Bihbahân to Shiráz, crossed the Shírin river on the day after leaving Bihbahân; four days later he reached the Khâvdân river (already noticed, p. 265, under the name of Khûbdhân), and thence marched to Nawbanjân. We have seen that the Khûbdhân river was a tributary of the Shírin, and this last appears to be identical with the stream now known in its upper course as the Khayrâbâd river (with many affluents), and lower down as the Zuhrah river, which is the river marked on modern maps as the Tâb, or Hindiyân. On one of the tributaries of the river Shírin was situated Gunbadh Mallaghân, an important place lying on the road from Nawbanjân to Arrajân which is now called Dû Gunbadân, ‘the Two Domes,’ and still shows extensive ruins. Of this neighbourhood were the Dînâr hills, and the district of Bâzrang already mentioned; also Şarâm, where the climate in winter was extremely cold, and the mountain summits near by never entirely free from snow even in summer. The town of Gunbadh Mallaghân, however, was of the hot region, and famous for its date palms. The name is also spelt Gunbad Mallajân or Malaḵân, and Muḵaddasî in the 4th (10th) century speaks of the village here as in ruins. According to the Fârs Nâmah in the beginning of the 6th (12th) century the small town here was protected by a castle, in which rations of corn, to last the garrison for three or four years, were kept in store. Many other like castles crowned the adjacent hills, among the rest one named Kal‘ah Khîng being especially mentioned. Mustawfi states that the neighbouring district was known as Pûl Bûlû (some mss. give Pûl Lâlû) and was very fertile, producing famous apricots; and he declares the castle of Gunbad Mallaghân was so strong that one man might hold it against an army.

Not far from the mouth of the river Shírin—which, as already said, is the modern Tâb or Zuhrah river—lay the port of Mahrubân, close to the western frontier of Fârs, and this was the first harbour reached by ships bound to India after leaving Başrah and the

1 Ist. 111, 112, 113, 119, 120. Muk. 435. F. N. 76 b, 77 a, 78 b, 79 a, 83 b, 85 b. Mst. 176, 177, 178, 179, 218. Yak. iii. 5; iv. 630. A. Y. i. 600. Hfr. 31 b. De Bode, Luristan, i. 258. To the north of Dû Gunbadân is the castle now known as Kal‘ah Arû; possibly this is the place named Khîng in the Fârs Nâmah.
Tigris estuary. Mahrubân was accounted the port of Arrajân, and in the 4th (10th) century was very populous, and had a fine mosque and good markets. According to Mustawfî the Persians called it Mâyruyân, or Mahrûyân; linen was made here, and dates were exported, but the shipping was always the chief source of income. Nâşir-i-Khusraw touched at Mahrubân in 443 (1052), and describes the town as lying along the sea-shore on the eastern side of the bay. The markets were excellent, and the mosque bore the name of Ya'kûb, son of Layth the Šaffârid. Water was stored in cisterns, there were three great caravanserais for travellers who landed here for Arrajân, and the commerce of the place was considerable. The next port down the Gulf, east of Mahrubân, was Sînîz or Shînîz, whose ruins lie on the creek now called Bandar Daylam. Ištâhkhîrî describes the place as larger than Mahrubân in the 4th (10th) century. There was a small bay (Khawr), and the town lay half a league from the open sea; the climate here was very hot, and date palms grew abundantly. Muqaddasî speaks of the mosque and the palace of the governor, and of the markets as being well provided with wares. According to Yâkût, Sînîz was half ruined by the Carmathians, who sacked the port in 321 (933). The Fârs Nâmâh however, and Mustawfî, in the 6th and 8th (12th and 14th) centuries, speak of it still as a flourishing place, where flax was grown and much linen made. The port was defended by a fortress (Hisârî), and the oil for lamps that came from its district was exported far and wide.

South of Sînîz was Jannâbah (or Jannâbâ), the ruins of which still exist, lying near the mouth of the river which the Arab geographers called the Nahr-ash-Šâdîhkân. Jannâbah according to Ištâhkhîrî was extremely hot, and its creek (Khawr) was not a safe anchorage. The town was larger than Mahrubân and had excellent markets; further, it was celebrated as the birth-place of Abu Țâhir the Carmathian. The Persians called the place Ganfah, or Āb-i-Gandah, from its ‘soul water,’ and four neighbouriing villages lying on the sea-coast were counted as of its

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1 Ist. 34, 128. Muk. 426. N. K. 90. Yak. i. 502; iii. 221. F. N. 78b, 79a. Mst. 178.
dependencies. The river Shādhkān rose in the Bāzrang district, and, passing through the Dastakān plain, flowed thence out to the sea. Which stream on the present map it corresponds with is not quite clear, but it must undoubtedly be one of the two short rivers which enter the Persian Gulf near Jannābah. In point of fact, however, no large stream now exists here, though Mustawfī especially states that this was a ‘large river and not easily fordable, being nine leagues in length’; he therefore had in mind a stream of some considerable size.

CHAPTER XIX.

FÂRS (continued).


The Kûrah or district of Ištakhr occupied the whole of the northern part of Fârs, and this, as already said, in the middle-ages included Yazd, with the neighbouring towns and lands lying along the border of the Great Desert. The capital of the district was Ištakhr, as the Arabs named the Sassanian town which the Greeks had called Persepolis.

The city of Ištakhr lay on the river Pulvâr, a few miles above its junction with the Kur river, and some distance to the westward of the remains of the great Achaemenian platform and palaces. At the time of the Moslem conquest Ištakhr was one of the largest, if not the most important of the Sassanian cities of Fârs, and it was taken by capitulation. In the 4th (10th) century, Ibn Haw̄kal describes the town as a mile broad, and as having formerly been surrounded by a wall which, he says, had recently been destroyed. At the city gate, crossing the river, was the Khurâsân bridge (why so called is not stated), a very fine structure, and the houses stretched far beyond this into the country, being surrounded by gardens which produced rice and pomegranates. The other Arab geographers add nothing to this account, and the Moslem writers give no information of interest about the celebrated Achaemenian buildings and tombs, which they generally ascribe to Jamshid and King Solomon. Mustawfî states that the
ruin of Iṣṭakhr (and hardly any trace of the Moslem city now remains) was due to the turbulent outbreaks of its inhabitants. Finally in the latter half of the 4th (10th) century Ṣamşâm-ad-Dawlah, son of ‘Aḍūd-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, was forced to send an army against Iṣṭakhr under the Amir Kutlumish; as a result the town was laid in ruins, and from that time onward Iṣṭakhr was reduced to the size of a village, containing perhaps a hundred men, as described in the Fārs Nāmah at the beginning of the 6th (12th) century.

On the hills to the north-west of the city were three great fortresses, known as the Castle of Iṣṭakhr Yār, ‘the Friend of Iṣṭakhr,’ the Kal'ah Shikastah, ‘the Broken Castle,’ and the Castle of Shankavān. Collectively these castles were called Sīh Gunbadhān, ‘the Three Domes’; and from a deep gorge in the mountains, where a dam had been built, water was brought to the first of these castles, in which ‘Aḍūd-ad-Dawlah the Buyid had constructed great tanks, carefully roofed over on twenty columns, so as to be capable of supplying the needs of a thousand men during a year’s siege. There was here an exercising-ground, or Maydān, on the hill-top, which had also been planned and constructed by ‘Aḍūd-ad-Dawlah ¹.

The Pulvār river—which the Arab geographers call the Furwāb, and which in Persian is written Purvāb—rises to the north of Ūjān or Uzjān at Furvāb village in Jawbarkān. Flowing at first eastward, it turns to the south-west above Pasargadā at the tomb of Cyrus, which the Moslems call the Shrine of the Mother of King Solomon (Mashhad-i-Mādar-i-Sulaymān), and, running through the Iṣṭakhr gorge, passes this city and enters the plain of Marvdasht, where it falls into the river Kur a short distance above the great dam called Band-i-Amīr. The river Kur rises in the district of Kurvān, a little to the south of Ūjān, and not far therefore from the source of the Pulvār river, but it takes at first the opposite direction. Flowing towards the north-west it makes a great circular sweep, passing under the Shahriyār bridge, on the summer road

from Shīrāz to Isfahān, which stands in the Īrd district. Passing southward the Kur next flows near the villages of Kūraḍ and Kallār, turning then to the south-east, when it receives an affluent from the Sha'īb Bāvān valley (see above, p. 264), and traverses in turn the districts of Rāmjird and Kāmfrūz. Passing into the Marvdasht plain it here receives on its left bank the Pulvār river, then waters the districts of Upper and Lower Kirbāl, and flowing near the large village of Khurramah falls into Lake Bakhtīgān, between the Jafūz district to the south, and the Kāskān district on the left bank.

The Fārs Nāmāh, and other Persian authorities, state that the Kur was known in its upper reach as the Rūd ‘Āslī, ‘the Rebel River,’ because till it was hemmed back by a dam (band) its waters could not be used for purposes of irrigation. The first of these dams on the Kur was called the Band-i-Mujarrad, ‘the Bare Dyke.’ This was of very ancient construction, and having fallen to decay had been restored by the Atabeg Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Chāūlī in the beginning of the 6th (12th) century, after whom the dyke was called the Fakhristān, a name it still bore in the time of Ḥāfīẓ Abrū. Below the junction of the Pulvār the Kur was dammed back by the celebrated Band-i-Amīr1 or Band-i-‘Aḍudī, part of the works being also known as the Sikr (Weir) of Fanā Khusrāw Khurrah. All these names came from ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, who had constructed this dam to water the district of Upper Kirbāl. According to the contemporary account of Muḥammad-dāl, this dam was ‘one of the wonders of Fārs.’ The foundations of the dam were laid in masonry, with lead joints, and it threw back the waters of the Kur river, forming an extensive reservoir. Along this ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah had erected ten great waterwheels, which raised the water to a still higher level, thus to irrigate 300 villages, and at each waterwheel was a mill for grinding corn. Soon afterwards a great town was founded near the dam. The lowest of the dams upon the Kur river was called the Band-i-Käṣṣār—‘the Fuller’s Dam’—and served to raise the waters to irrigate the district of Lower Kirbāl. This dam was an ancient structure, but having fallen to ruin in the beginning of the 6th (12th) century it was repaired by the Atabeg Chāūlī

1 Hence ‘Bendemeer’s stream’ of Moore’s Lūlah Rookh.
aforesaid, who also effected a much needed restoration of the Band-i-Amīr.

The great lake of Bakhtigān into which the Kur flows, though at the present day surrounded by desert lands, was in the middle-ages bordered by many villages and towns situated in richly cultivated territories. The waters of the lake form two great bays, of which the southern one in medieval times was known as Bakhtigān, the northern part of the lake being called the Buḥayrah Bāsafūyah or Jūbānān. The waters were salt, and abounded in fish, which supplied the Shīrāz market, and the lake shore was covered with reeds that, when cut, served as fuel. The Jafūz district was at the western end of the lake, with the town of Khurramah (still existing as an important village) lying 14 leagues distant from Shīrāz, on the road to Kirmān which went along the southern shore of Bakhtigān. Muḥaddasī speaks of Khurramah in the 4th (10th) century as a town with broad lands and a castle crowning a hill-top; this last was very strong and well built, according to Mustawfī writing in Mongol times, and the Fārs Nāmah refers to its cisterns.

The south-eastern end of Lake Bakhtigān was of the Dārabjird district, and here lay Khayrah and Nīrīz, which will be spoken of in the next chapter. Near the eastern end, in what is now a waterless desert, stood in the 4th (10th) century the two important towns of Great and Little Ṣāhak or Ṣāhik, a name which the Persians wrote Chāhik (meaning ‘a small pit’ or ‘well’). At Great Ṣāhik the two roads—one along the north side of Bakhtigān lake, from Iṣṭakhr; the other by the southern shore, from Shīrāz—came together, and from Great Ṣāhik one single road went on to Kirmān. Muḥaddasī describes Great Ṣāhik as a small town, famed for its calligraphists, who wrote fine copies of the Kurān. In the neighbourhood, according to Mustawfī, were steel and iron mines, and the Fārs Nāmah speaks of the excellent swords made here.

On the road from Great Ṣāhik to Iṣṭakhr, and lying on the

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2 Ist. 122, 135. Muk. 437. F. N. 80 a, 82 b, 87 b. Mst. 174, 179, 225, 236.
northern shore of that part of Lake Bakhtigân which was called Bâsafûyah or Jûbânân, were two towns of importance during the middle-ages, all traces of which seem to have disappeared from the map. The easternmost, lying six or eight leagues from Great Şâhîk, was the city of Bûdanjân, known as Kariyat-al-Ås, 'the Myrtle Village,' which Mustawfi gives under the Persian form of Dih Mûrd. The country round produced plentiful corn crops, and the myrtle, after which the town was called, flourished here. To the westward of Kariyat-al-Ås, and six or seven leagues further on the road towards Ištâkhîr, was Kariyat 'Abd-ar-Rahmân, otherwise called Abâdah, a city standing in the district of Barm. The town possessed fine houses and palaces, and Kazvînî relates that the water in its wells was intermittent, sometimes rising up and overflowing the surface of the ground, and at other times being so deep down in the pits as almost to disappear from view. In Saljûk times Abâdah had a strong castle, with engines of war, and great water cisterns.

The broad plain of Marvdasht is traversed by the lower reaches of the Kur river after it has received the waters of the Pulvâr; it is overlooked from the north by Ištâkhîr with its three castles, and was divided further into various districts. Lower and Upper Kirbâl lay near the western end of the Bakhtigân lake; Ḥafrak and Kâlí came higher up the Kur river, and the meadow lands of Kâlí bordered the banks of the Pulvâr. In the Ḥafrak district (spelt Ḥabrak in the older mss.) was the strong castle of Khuvâr, near the village of the same name. The place is mentioned by Ištâkhîrî, and several times in the Fârs Nâmâh, where its position is given as half-way between the ‘Aḍudi dam on the Kur, and Abâdah on Lake Bakhtigan, being 10 leagues from either place. Khuvâr is referred to also twice by Yâkût, who, however, evidently did not know its position. Its water was taken from wells, and the fortifications of the castle were very strong. The plain of Marvdasht was famous for its corn lands, being well irrigated from the dams on the Kur. According to

1 I. K. 48, 53., Kud. 195. Ist. 101, 131., Muk. 437. F. N. 66 a., 68 a., b., 83 a. Mst. 175, 179. Kaz. ii. 160. Besides the city of Abâdah (or Abâdhah) there was the village of the same name, on the road from Ištâkhîr to Isfahân, which will be mentioned later.
the Fârs Nâmah it took its name from the hamlet of Marv, which originally had been one of the quarters of Iṣṭakhr city, where later were the gardens of Jamshîd, below the Achaemenian ruins.

Above Marvdasht came the Kâmfrûz district, for the most part on the right bank of the Kur, of which the chief town was, and is, Bayḍâ. Al-Bayḍâ means in Arabic ‘the White’ (town); and this is one of the few instances in which an Arabic name has been adopted by the Persians (who pronounced it Bayzâ), and kept in use down to the present day. Bayḍâ was so called because it ‘glistened from afar,’ and Ibn Hawṣal adds that its name among the Persians had been Nasâtak, meaning, according to Yâkût, Dâr-i-Isfîd or ‘White Palace.’ Part of the Moslem army had camped here, when besieging Iṣṭakhr city; and Bayḍâ was as large a place as this last in the 4th (10th) century, Muṣkaddasi referring to it as a fine town, with a large mosque, and a much-visited shrine. The pasture lands around it were famous, and the light-coloured soil made the city stand out ‘glistening white’ among its green corn-lands. The Kâmfrûz district comprised many villages, which Iṣṭakhrî names, and its oak (Balût) forests were in his day haunted by fierce lions, which were the terror of the cattle on its pasture lands.

North and east of the Kâmfrûz district was the district of Râmjîrd, of which the chief city was Mâyin. Half-way between Shîrûz and this place was the town called Hazâr or Azâr Sâbûr, otherwise Naysâbûr, which is often mentioned in the 4th (10th) century. Muṣkaddasi describes it as a small town, possessing broad lands, irrigated by underground channels; and it was the first stage out from Shîrûz going to Mâyin, on the summer or mountain road from Shîrûz to Isfahân. Mâyin, the capital of Râmjîrd, is described by Muṣkaddasi as a populous city with fruitful lands. Mustawfi reports that under the Mongol dynasty its revenues amounted to 52,500 dinârs (about £17,500 in the Îl-Khânîd currency). There was in the town a famous shrine of a certain Shaykh Gul Andâm; and at the foot of the pass, on the road north, was the Mashhad of Ismâîl, son of the seventh Imâm Mûsâ-al-Kâzîm. The district of Râmjîrd owed its great productiveness to the irrigation canals

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1 Ist. 104. F. N. 66 b, 67 b, 83 a, 84 b, 86 a, b. Mst. 174, 175, 179, 180. Yak. i. 199; ii. 480.
taken from above the dam on the Kur at Band-i-Mujarrad, which, as already stated, the Atabeg Châûli had restored. In Râmjird also was the castle called Sa'îdâbâd, crowning the summit of a steep hill, the road up being one league in length. In old days it was called Isfidbâd (the White Place), and in the times of the Omayyad Caliphs it had frequently been held against their armies by rebel chieftains. Finally Ya'qûb, son of Layth the Šaffârid, at the close of the 3rd (9th) century took possession of it, and, after strengthening the fortifications, used it as a state prison 'for those who opposed him.' The name Isfidbâd is possibly a misreading, being sometimes written Isfândyr, and it is apparently identical with the Isfîdân of the Fârs Nâmâh and Mustawfî, near which was the village of Kumistân, with a great cavern in the adjacent hill.

Near the left bank of the Kur river, not far from Mâyin, stood the town and castle of Abrâj (often miswritten ʿIrâj), which is mentioned by Iṣṭakhrî as of this district, and the place is still to be found on the map. The Fârs Nâmâh and Mustawfî describe Abrâj as a large village at the foot of a mountain, on whose slope its houses were partly built. Its castle, the Diz Abrâj, was in part fortified by art, part being already impregnable by the precipices of the hill summit on which it stood; it had gardens too, and was well supplied with water. The town of ʿUjân, or Uzjân, which lies one march north of Mâyin, is mentioned by Mustawfî, but no details are given. ʿUjân is probably identical with the place named Hûsgân (for Hûsjân) by Kudâmâh, where the name is printed in error Khûskân, and in the text of Muḵaddasî, again, it is misprinted Ḥarskân².


² Kud. 196. Ist. 102, 136. Muk. 457, 458. F. N. 66 b, 83 a. Mst. 174, 179. Abrâj, as given in the Fârs Nâmâh, is undoubtedly the true pronunciation, ʿIrâj (as printed in the texts of Iṣṭakhrî and Muḵaddasî) being due to a clerical error in the mss., and this has been adopted by Yaḵût (i. 419). The old castle exists above Abrâj, and is now known as Ishkanvân, which recalls the name of Shankavân mentioned above (p. 276) as one of the three castles of Iṣṭakhrî. See Schindler, P. R. G. S. 1891, p. 290.
The most direct road from Shīrāz to Isfahān went by way of Māyin, and thence by Kushk-i-Zard through Dih Girdū and Yazdikhwāst to Kumishah on the frontier of Fārs. From Māyin the road went up the pass, going north to the crossing of the Kur river at the Shahriyar bridge, near which was the guard-house of Salāḥ-ad-Dīn in the plain called Dasht Rūn or Dasht Rūm. North of this, again, according to Mustawfī, came the Mother and Daughter Pass (Garivah-i-Mādar-wa-Dukhtar), and then Kushk-i-Zard, 'the Yellow Kiosque,' which is probably identical with the Čaṣr Ayin, or A'in, of Ištakhri and Muḥaddasī. The plains of greater and lesser Dasht Rūn were famous as pasture grounds, and the arable lands gave four crops a year, these being watered by the Kur river and its affluents. Kushk-i-Zard is first mentioned in the Fārs Nāma, where the name is more generally written Kushk-i-Zar, or 'the Golden Kiosque.' To the north again, between Kushk-i-Zard and Dih Girdū, stretched the even more fertile pasture lands of the Ūrd or Āvard district, the chief towns of which, according to Ištakhri, were Bajjah and Taymaristān (written Ṭaymarjān in the Fārs Nāma). Mustawfī mentions Dih Girdū, and it appears in the Fārs Nāma as Dih Gawz (for Jawz), both names signifying 'Nut Village.' The earlier Arab geographers do not mention this name (which is Persian in the forms given above), but by its position in the Itineraries, modern Dih Girdū must be equivalent to Ištakhriān of Kudāmah and Ištakhri.

Along the eastern borders of the Dasht Ūrd plain lie Iklīd, Sarmaḵ, and Abādah village, then Shūristān and Sarvistān village, half-way between Dih Girdū and Yazdikhwāst. Iklīd had a fine castle according to the Fārs Nāma, and like Sarmaḵ was famous for its corn lands. The name of Sarmaḵ is spelt Jarmaḵ by Muḥaddasī; it was a well-built town surrounded by trees, among which those bearing the yellow plum were notable, this fruit being dried and largely exported to other places. The village of Abādah, a stage on the present post-road from Shīrāz to Isfahān, is first mentioned in the Fārs Nāma, and later by Mustawfī; the same also is to be said of Shūristān which lies on a salt river flowing east to the desert. The village of Sarvistān, Muḥaddasī states, had a mosque in the 4th (10th) century, and the place was well supplied with water from the neighbouring
hills. The name of Yazdikhwāst, the town lying to the north of this, first occurs in the Fārs Nāmeh, but it is doubtless the same place mentioned by Muḥaddasi under the curtailed form of Azkās. Mustawfī gives Yazdikhwāst with Dīh Girdū, but adds no particulars. The name is often spelt Yazdikhās.

Kūmishah, which Muḥaddasi spells Kūmisah, was, as already said, on the northern frontier of Fārs, and it was often counted as belonging to Isfahān. Mustawfī mentions the clay-built castle of Kūlanjān which defended it, and tells us that it was surrounded by fruitful districts. To the westward of Yazdikhwāst is situated the town of Sumayram near the head-waters of the Tāb river, and through it passed the western road from Shīrāz to Isfahān. Muḥaddasi describes Sumayram as having a well-built mosque standing in the market street. Nuts and other fruits of the cold region abounded here, and the town was protected by a strong castle, with a plentiful spring of water within the fortifications. Yāḵūt states that the name of this castle was Wahānzdād. The western road from Shīrāz to Isfahān passed through Bayḍā in the Marvdasht plain, and thence went on to Mihrajānāvād (or Mihrajānābād), which Muḥaddasi describes as a town with broad lands, apparently lying on the banks of the river Kur, or on one of its western affluents. Between this and Sumayram the only important places were Kūrād and Kallār (already mentioned as on the Kur), two neighbouring towns, famous according to Muḥaddasi and Mustawfī for their corn lands and the fruit trees of the cold region. Iṣṭakhri refers to their well-built houses, but apparently all trace of these two places has disappeared.

The shortest of the three roads from Shīrāz to Isfahān is that already described, by Māyīn and the Dasht Rūn plain, and this is called the Winter Road in the Fārs Nāmeh. The Summer

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1 I. K. 58. Kud. 196. Ist. 103, 132. Muk. 437, 458. F. N. 65 b, 66 a, 80 b, 81 a, 83 a, b, 84 a, b. Mst. 174, 175, 179, 200. Yak. i. 197. I. B. ii. 52.

2 Ist. 126. F. N. 66 a, 84 a, b. Muk. 389, 437, 457, 458. Mst. 175. Yak. iii. 151; iv. 942. It is to be remarked that while Muḥaddasi (p. 458) in his itinerary refers to Kūrād and Kallār as though these two villages stood close one beside the other, in the Fārs Nāmeh itinerary (i. 84 b) Kallār is placed five leagues north of Kūrād.
Road was much longer, and was the easternmost of the three, going by Ištakhr through Kamín and past the tomb of Cyrus to Dih Bid, where, to the right, a road branched off to Yazd. The Isfahân road continued westward through Sarmaḵ and Abâdah village to Yazdikhwâst and Kûmishah. Kamín, not far from the eastern bank of the Pulvár river, was according to Mustawfi a town of considerable importance in the 8th (14th) century, standing in a corn-producing district, and its fine pasture lands lying along the river are specially mentioned. Higher up, at the bend of the Pulvár, is Pasargadâe and the tomb of Cyrus, which, it may be remembered, the Moslems identify as the tomb of the mother of Solomon. The four-sided stone mausoleum, still to be seen here, was held to be protected by a talisman, and according to the Fârs Nâmâh anyone attempting to take up his abode within its walls suddenly became blind. The surrounding pasture lands were called the Marghzâr of Kâlân. Dih Bid, 'Willow Village,' the next stage north of this, where the road forked, is given by Muḳaddasî and the other Arab geographers as Kariyat-al-Bidh, and to the north again, about half-way between Ištakhr and Yazd, stood the city of Abarkûh.

Abarkûh or Abarkûyah—sometimes shortened to Barkûh—is said by İbn Ḥawkâl to have been a fortified town one-third the size of Ištakhr, with great markets, and Muḳaddasî refers to its fine mosque. Mustawfi says the population were all craftsmen, and the lands round produced much corn and cotton; he further adds that the climate of the city had this remarkable peculiarity—that no Jew could remain alive here above forty days, hence 'among the population of Abarkûh were no Jews.' In the town itself Mustawfi describes the tomb of the famous saint called Ṭâûs-al-Haramayn, 'Peacock of the Two Sanctuaries' (Mecca and Medina); and it was an acknowledged fact that such was the saint's humility, that the shrine over his grave would never suffer itself to be covered by a roof. However often a roof was erected over the tomb, says Mustawfi, it was invariably destroyed by a supernatural power, lest the saint's bones should become the object of idolatrous worship. In the neighbourhood of Abarkûh was the village of Marâghah (or Farâghah), where there were magnificent cypress trees, celebrated all the world over as
larger and finer than those even of Balkh, or of Kishmar in Kuhistán.  

Yazd in early times had been known as Kathah, and this name, when the town came to be called more particularly Yazd, had passed to its district, otherwise known as the Hawmah, or Jumah (of Yazd). Ibn Hawk'al in the 4th (10th) century describes the place as a well-built and well-fortified city, with two iron gates—Bab Izad and Bab-al-Masjid—the latter near the mosque which stood in the extensive suburb. A small stream flowed out of the castle hill, the lands round were extremely fertile, although so near the Great Desert, and fruit was largely exported to Isfahán. In the neighbourhood a lead mine was productively worked. Kazvini and others speak of the heavy silk stuffs that were woven in Yazd, all of most beautiful patterns. Mustawfi adds that the town was built of sun-dried bricks, which here lasted as burnt bricks elsewhere, for hardly any rain ever fell, though water was plentiful, being brought in by channels from the hills, and each house had its own storage tank.

One stage to the north of Yazd was Anjirah, 'Fig Village,' then at the second stage Khazanah (often incorrectly printed Kharanah), a large village with farms and gardens, defended by a fortress on a neighbouring hill; and at the third stage, on the desert border, lay Saghhand. This last, according to Ibn Hawk'al, was a village with a population of 400 men, defended by a castle, and its lands were well irrigated by underground water channels. The three towns of Maybud, 'Ukdah, and Neyin lie to the northwest of Yazd, one beyond the other along the desert border, and are generally accounted dependencies of Yazd, though many authorities give Neyin to Isfahán. Neyin according to Mustawfi was defended by a castle, and the circuit of its walls was 4000 paces. Our authorities, however, give no details about any of these places, merely mentioning their names.

1 Ist. 129. I. H. 196. Muk. 437, 457. F. N. 846, 846. Mst. 174, 175, 180, 200. J. N. 266. The phenomenon of the roofless tomb is also described by Ibn Ba'ttah (ii. 113) as a characteristic of the shrine of Ibn Hanbal in Baghdād, and Professor Goldziher has some interesting remarks on this curious superstition in his Muhammadanische Studien (i. 257).

About 75 miles south of Yazd, and half-way between that city and Shahr-i-Bābak, is the town of Anār, from which Bahramābād is 60 miles distant in a south-easterly direction, and both towns are now included in the Kīrmān province. During the middleages, however, the whole of this district formed part of Fārs and was known as Ar-Rūdhān, of which the three chief towns were Abān (now Anār), Adhkān, and Unās (near Bahramābād)\(^1\).

Unās, the chief town of the district, was, according to Ištakhri, of the size of Abarkūh, and Muḥaddasi speaks of a fine mosque here, approached by steps from the market street, also baths, and well-irrigated gardens, though all round the town lay the sands of the desert. The fortress of Unās was very strong, and had eight gates, which Muḥaddasi enumerates, for he had visited the place. The place, too, was famous for its fullers, who lived within the town, for there were no suburbs. The Rūdhān district is said to have extended over 60 leagues square. Originally, as at the present day, it had been included in Kīrmān, but in the 4th (10th) century it was added to Fārs, and according to the Fārs Nāmah this arrangement continued down to the time of Alp Arslān the Saljūk, who, after conquering all these regions in the middle of the 5th (11th) century, finally re-annexed Rūdhān to Kīrmān\(^2\).

Between Rūdhān and Shahr-i-Bābak is the small town of Dīh

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\(^1\) Our authorities state that Abān was 25 leagues from Fahraj (which is five leagues S.E. of Yazd); the town of Ar-Rūdhān lay 18 leagues beyond Abān, and Unās was one short march or two post-stages (Bardā) from Ar-Rūdhān. Further, Unās lay one long march and two leagues (or one Barl) from Bīmānd, which last was four leagues west of Strān; and from Ar-Rūdhān to Shahr-i-Bābak was three days' march, the first march being to Kāriyat-al-Jamlāl, 'Camels' Village.' These distances, plotted out, show that the positions of modern Anār and Bahramābād respectively coincide with medieval Abān and Unās; while the town of Ar-Rūdhān, which is presumably the place elsewhere called Adhkān, must have stood between the two, near the modern village of Gulnābād. Ist. 135, 168. I. K. 48. Muk. 457, 473. Yāḵūt confuses the matter: he mentions (iii. 923) the town of Anār as though it were identical with Unās, which from the distances given above is impossible; Anār is here probably merely a clerical error for Unās, which in another passage (i. 367) he counts as of Kīrmān.

\(^2\) Ist. 100, 126. Muk. 437, 438, 462. F. N. 646. Yak. ii. 830. Anār is still most fertile and produces a considerable surplus of grain, which is exported.
Ushturân or in Arabic Ḍariyat-al-Jamâl, 'Camels' Village,' where, Muḵaddasî relates, there was a tall minaret to the mosque, and fine gardens lying on a stream below the town. Shahri-Bâbak, the city of Bâbak or Pâpak, father of Ardâshîr, the first Sassanian monarch, was a town often counted as of Kirmân. The place still exists, and it is mentioned by Iṣṭakhrî, Muḵaddasî, and others, who however give us no details. Mustawfl includes it in Kirmân, and says that corn, cotton, and dates grew here abundantly. Two stages west of Shahri-Bâbak, on the road to Iṣṭakhr, is the small town of Harât, which the Fârs Nâmah couples with Šâhik (already mentioned, p. 278). Iṣṭakhrî speaks of Harât as being, in the 4th (10th) century, larger than Abarḵûh; it exported much fruit, according to Muḵaddasî, chiefly apples and olives, and had excellent markets, with streets round its mosque, and a fine stream of water traversed its gardens. Harât had but one gate; and Muḵaddasî names the little town of Far'â as of its neighbourhood. Writing in the 7th (13th) century Kazvînî states that the Ǧhubayrâ plant (possibly the penny-royal) grows abundantly in the gardens of Harât, and when the flowers are in bloom the women of this town were wont, he says, to become wildly excited. To the south-east of Šâhik, on the borders of the Dârâbjîrd district, is the town of Kûtîruh, still a place of some importance, where, according to the Fârs Nâmah and Mustawfl (who spells the name Kadrû), there were excellent iron mines 1.

1 Major Sykes (Ten thousand Miles in Persia, p. 78) found the ruins of a fire-temple near Shahri-Bâbak. Ist. 102. I. H. 182. Muk. 52, 423, 424, 425, 436, 437, 455. F. N. 66 a, 68 a. Yak. i. 75, 178. Mst. 175, 182. Kaz. ii. 186. The name of Harât village is identical in spelling with Herât, the famous city of Khurâsân.
CHAPTER XX.

FÂRS (continued).


The Dârabjîrd Kûrah was the easternmost of the five districts of Fârs, and it almost exactly corresponded with the province of Shabânkârah, which, under the Mongol dominion, was divided off from Fârs and formed a separate government. The Shabânkârah according to the author of the Fârs Nâmah (who, however, does not apply this name to the Dârabjîrd district) were a tribe descended from the Faqlûyah, a family of Daylamite origin, and they had been of the Ismailian sect of the Shî‘ahs. In Saljûk times they and the Kurds had waged successful war against the Atabeg Châûll, and after the decay of Saljûk power the Shabânkârah took possession of the eastern region of Fârs, to which they gave their name. The Shabânkârah province is mentioned by Marco Polo, under the form of Soncara, as the seventh out of the eight ‘kingdoms’ into which he divides Persia; the name, however, has again fallen out of use, and this territory is now known as Dârabjîrd.

1 The Book of Ser Marco Polo, Sir H. Yule, London, 1874, 2nd ed., i. 84. Shabânkârah appears in the chronicle of Ibn-al-Athîr (x. 362) spelt Ash-Shawânkârah. The chiefs of the tribe who opposed Atabeg Châûll in the beginning of the 6th (12th) century were Fadlûh and his brother Khasrû. This last name is probably that more correctly written  Hasûyah (possibly for Hasanûyah) in the Fârs Nâmah.
The capital of the district, under the Caliphate, was the city of Dārābjird or Dārābgird, which Iṣṭakhri describes as a walled town with a water-ditch, having four gates, and in the midst of the town stood a rocky hill. Muḥaddasi states that the city was circular and measured a league across in every direction, its gardens were very fruitful, its markets well supplied, and water ran in channels through the town. Near Dārābjird was the celebrated Kubbat-al-Muḥimyā, 'the Bitumen or Naphtha Dome,' closed by an iron door and only opened once a year, when an officer of the Sulṭān went in and gathered in a box the twelve months' accumulation of the precious Muḥimyā, which was then sealed up and despatched to Shīrāz for the royal use. At the beginning of the 6th (12th) century, according to the Fārs Nāmah, Dārābjird city was then mostly in ruins, though there was a strong fortress in its midst. Round about extended the famous meadow lands (Marghzār) of Dārābjird, and in the neighbourhood was a hill where rock salt, of seven colours, was dug out. According to Mustawfī there was a strongly fortified pass near Dārābjird, commanded by a great castle, known as Tāng-i-Zināh.

Under the Shabānkārah, the capital of the Dārābjird province was removed to Dārkan (or Zarkān), to the north of which stood the fortress of Ḫū (or Avīg). The Arab geographers of the 4th (10th) century mention these, writing the names Ad-Dārkan or Ad-Dārkān and Ḫū, and Iṣṭakhri says there was a mosque in his day in both these places. Mustawfī, who generally spells the name Zarkān, and refers to the castle as the Kāl′ah Avīg, says that the surrounding district was very fertile, growing cotton, corn, dates, and other fruits. According to him the castle of Avīg had been first fortified in Saljūk times by the Khasūyah tribe, and Yākūt adds that fruit from here was exported even as far as to the island of Kīsh (Ḵays).

To the north-east of Ḫū are the town and district of Nayriz (or Nīrīz) at the eastern end of Bakhtigān; to which lake, at times, it has given its name. Muḥaddasi speaks of the Great Mosque of Nayriz in the market street, and the ruins of this building, bearing

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1 Iṣt. 123, 155. Muk. 428. F. N. 68 b, 81 a, 86 b. Mst. 181. The Bitumen Dome, or one similar, is stated by Ibn-al-Faḳīh (p. 199) to have been near Arrajān; see p. 269.
the date 340 (951) still exist. Close to the shore of the lake stands the town of Khîr (spelt also Khayîr and Al-Khayrah), which is mentioned, from the 4th (10th) century onwards, as a stage on the road along the south side of Lake Bakhtigân going from Shiráz to Kirmân. Mustawfi and the Fârs Nâmâh name the district round Khayrah Mishkânât; it was famous for its raisins (kishmiš), and both Niriz and Khayrah were protected by strong castles 1.

Half-way between Khayrah and Íg lies the town of Ištâhabânât, a name which the Arab geographers also spell Al-Ištahbânân or sometimes Al-Işbahânât, which is shortened by the Persians into Ištahbân. Mustawfi describes it as a town buried in trees, with a strong castle in its vicinity. It had been laid in ruins by the Atabeg Châûlî, who had, however, subsequently caused it to be rebuilt; and the castle in the 8th (14th) century was occupied by the Khasûyah tribe.

The town of Fasâ, pronounced Pasâ by the Persians, was in the 4th (10th) century the second city of the Dârâbjiîrîd district, being almost of the size of Shiráz. It was well built, much cypress-wood being used in the construction of the houses, and was very healthy. The markets were excellent, there was a ditch round the town, which was further defended by a castle, and large suburbs stretched beyond the city gates. Dates, nuts, and oranges in abundance came from its gardens. Mukaddasi states that the Great Mosque, built of burnt brick and with two courts, rivalled that of Medina for splendour. The Fârs Nâmâh speaks of Fasâ as being almost of the size of Isfahân. The Shabânkârah had ruined it, but the city had been rebuilt by the Atabeg Châûlî. Mustawfi adds that anciently the city was called Sâsân, and it had been built triangular in plan. Its water-supply, which was abundant, was taken from underground channels, for there were no wells. Shaḵḵ Mîskâhân and Shaḵḵ Rûdbâl (or Rûdbâr) were of its dependencies, and in the neighbourhood stood the strong castle of Khwâdân, where there were great cisterns for storing water 2.


The town of Kurm lies some miles north of Fasâ, on the road to Sarvistân, and is given thus in the Itineraries. According to the Fârs Nāmah its district and that of Rûnz (or Rûbanz) belonged to Fasâ; the latter district forming part of the Khasū territory, which Muğaddasi marks as lying one march south-west from Dârâbjird on the road to Juwaym of Abu Aḥmad (see above, p. 254). The earlier geographers give the form of the name as Rûnj (or Rûbanj), and it is probable that this town is identical with the present Khasū (or Kusū). Mustawfî speaks of Kurm and Rûnz as two towns enjoying a warm climate with an abundant water-supply; and according to Muğaddasi the Khasū (or Khashû) territory extended far to the eastward, for besides Rûnj it included the towns of Rustâk-ar-Rustâk, Furg, and Târum. Mustawfî counts Khasū as belonging to Dârâbjird 1.

Due south of Rûnz is the small town of Yazdikhwâst, which is mentioned by Muğaddasi and Yâkût as of the Dârâbjird dependencies, and south of this again is the city of Lâr. Lâr is not mentioned by any of the earlier Arab geographers, nor does the name occur in the Fârs Nāmah, which dates from the beginning of the 6th (12th) century. Mustawfî, in the earlier part of the 8th (14th) century, is our first authority to speak of Lâr, as the name of a district (vilâyat) by the sea, most of its population, he adds, being merchants who were given to sea voyages. Corn, cotton, and dates were grown here. His contemporary Ibn Baṭûtah visited Lâr city about the year 730 (1330), and describes it as a large place, with many gardens and fine markets. Under Shâh Shujâ’ of the Muẓaffarîd dynasty at the close of the 8th (14th) century, and later under the Tîmûrid princes, Lâr became a mint city, which proves it to have been in those days a place of some size and importance.

1 I. K. 52. Ist. 108, 116, 132. Muk. 427, 423, 454, 455. F. N. 69 b. Mst. 181. The pronunciation Rûbanj, adopted in the text of Muğaddasi, is apparently on the authority of Yâkût (ii. 828), who carefully spells the word letter for letter. The mss. of the Fârs Nāmah and Mustawfî almost invariably give Rûnz (for an older form Rûnj), which is still the name of a district in these parts. It seems probable therefore that Rûbanj, as printed in İstakhrî and Muğaddasi, is a clerical error, and that by a shifting of the diacritical points we should everywhere read Rûnj, or Rûnz, in the place of Rûbanz and Rûbanj.
Furg, which lies three marches south-east of Dārabjird, is still a considerable town. Muḥaddasī, who spells the name Furgj, states that beside it lay the twin city of Burk, but the two names would appear merely to be variants of the original Persian place-name. The city called Burk stood on a hillock, 'like a camel-hump,' two leagues from the mountains; it possessed a mosque in the market street, was a fine place and an agreeable residence. Its neighbour, Furg, had a castle on a hill, was not in the 4th (10th) century a large town, but had its own mosque and many baths, water being plentiful in both cities. Very naturally the names of the two cities were often confounded, one replacing the other. The Fārs Nāmah writes the name Purk or Purg, and says that its castle was impregnable, being built of stone and very large. Mustawfī adds that both corn and dates were grown in Burk (as he writes the name) most abundantly. Rustāḳ-ar-Rustāḳ is described by Muḥaddasī as a small town with good markets, lying in the midst of a fertile district measuring four leagues across in every direction. It lies one march to the north-west of Furg, on the road to Dārabjird.¹

The town of Tārum, also spelt Tārum, like the district of this name in the Jībāl province (see above, p. 225), lies two marches east of Furg, on the road to the coast. Muḥaddasī refers to its mosque, and praises the markets, gardens, and palm-trees, for a stream ran through the town. Much honey was produced here, and according to the Fārs Nāmah it was nearly the size of Furg, and had a strong castle well supplied with cisterns. From Tārum the caravan road went almost due south to the coast, where lay the port of Sūrū, or Shahrū, over against the island of Hurmuz. Mustawfī names the port Tūsār, but the reading is uncertain. The Arab geographers speak of Sūrū as a village of fishermen, having no mosque, and dependent for the water-supply on wells dug in the neighbouring hills. There was, Muḥaddasī adds, much trade with 'Omān across the gulf, and the place, which he speaks of as a small town, lay exactly on the Kirmān frontier.²

¹ Muk. 428, 454. note n. F. N. 69 a, 83 a. Mst. 181. Yak. ii. 560. i. B. ii. 240. The town of Burk appears to be identical with the old fort of Bahman, with a triple wall and ditch, which lies about a mile south of the present town of Furg. Stack, Persia, i. 736.

The trade and manufactures of the province of Fârs, in the 4th (10th) century, are carefully described by both Ištâkhrî and Muḵaddasî. At this time, as already stated, the chief port of Persia, on the gulf, was Sirāf. This place distributed all imports by sea, and to it were brought rare and precious Indian goods, such as were known collectively in Arabic under the name of Barbahâr. Ištâkhrî gives the imports of Sirāf as follows:—aloes-wood (for burning), amber, camphor, precious gems, bamboos, ivory, ebony, paper, sandal-wood, and all kinds of Indian perfumes, drugs, and condiments. In the town itself excellent napkins were made, also linen veils, and it was a great market for pearls.

At all times Fârs has been celebrated for the so-called attar of roses (‘Aṭar or ‘Itr in Arabic signifies ‘a perfume’ or ‘essence’), which, of divers qualities, was more especially made from the red roses that grew in the plain round Jûr or Firûzâbâd. The rose-water was exported, Ibn Ḥawkâl writes, to all parts of the world, namely, to India, China, and Khurāsân, also to Maghrib or Northwest Africa, Syria, and Egypt. Besides the essence of roses, Jûr also produced palm-flower water, and special perfumes distilled from southernwood (in Arabic kaysûm, the Artemisia abrotanum), saffron, lily, and willow flowers. The city of Shāpûr and its valley produced, according to Muḵaddasî, ten different kinds of perfumed oils, or unguents, made from the violet, water-lily (Nīnûfar), narcissus, palm-flower, common lily, jasmine, myrtle, sweet-marjoram, lemon, and orange flowers, and these oils were exported far and wide over the eastern world.

The carpets and embroideries of Fârs have in all times been celebrated, and in the East, where robes of honour have always been the mark of distinction, specially brocaded stuffs were manufactured for the sole use of the Sulṭân, on which his name or cypher was embroidered. These were known as Ṭarâz, and the town of Tawwaj was famous for their manufacture, as was also Fâsâ, where peacock-blue and green stuffs, shot with gold thread, were embroidered for the royal use.

The remaining products of Fârs may best be grouped under the cities producing them. The looms of Shîrâz produced a variety of fine cloths for making cloaks, also gauzes and brocades,
and stuffs woven of raw silk (kass). Jahram was famous for long carpets and woollen rugs, hangings for curtains, and small prayer-carpets, such as were carried to and from the mosque. Besides the scented oils already mentioned, Shâpûr exported various medicaments, as well as sugar-canies, shaddocks, nuts, olives, and other kinds of fruit, and osiers. Kâzirûn and Darīz produced linen stuffs and fine gauzes, an imitation of the Egyptian brocades known by the name of dabīk, and fringed towels. Ghundljân, the capital of Dasht Bârîn, produced carpets, curtains, cushions, and the Țarâz embroideries for the Sultân’s use. Arrajân was famous for a kind of syrup, made from raisins, which was called dibs, or dūshâb. Good soap was also manufactured here, also thicker woollens and napkins, and the town was an emporium for Indian goods (Barbahâr). The neighbouring port of Mahrubân exported fish, dates, and excellent water-skins. At Sinîz the special kind of gauze known as kassâb was made, also linen stuffs, for which Jannâbah was also famed.

Iṣṭakhîr manufactured stuffs for veils, while the towns of the Rûdhân district produced excellent cloth, a particular kind of sandal called Shimshîk, water-skins, and divers condiments. Yazd and Abarkûh yielded cotton stuffs.

In Dârâbjîrd were manufactured all kinds of cloths, fine, medium, and coarse in texture, also embroideries, fine carpets, and matting. Jasmine-oil and perfumes and the aromatic grains found wild here were exported. The Mûmiyâ or bitumen, from Arrajân and Dârâbjîrd, has already been mentioned. Iṣṭakhîr describes a boneless fish, said to be excellent eating, which lived in the moat of Dârâbjîrd. Furg produced much the same commodities, together with dibs-syrup; and the like came from Țârum, where various kinds of water-skins were manufactured and very serviceable buckets. Fasâ was especially known for its goat-hair, and raw-silk stuffs, also carpets, rugs, towels, napkins, and silk embroidered hangings, particularly of the famous peacock-blue and green colour, shot with gold thread. Cardamums and dye-stuffs came also from Fasâ, and much felt was made, the tents of this material known as khargâh being largely exported. Lastly in Fârs, according to Ibn Hawâkal, there were silver mines at Nâyîn; iron and quicksilver were found in the hills of
Ištakhr, besides lead, copper, sulphur, and naphtha in divers regions. No gold-mine was known. Dye-stuffs of various kinds were common throughout Fārs, so that the land, he says, was full of dyers and their dye works.

The high roads of Fārs are described in detail by a long list of authorities, both Arab and Persian, and the distances in these itineraries are generally given in leagues (farsakh). Unfortunately Ya'qūbī, one of our best authorities for the Road Books, is entirely wanting for Fārs, and Ibn Rustah also for the most part fails us, but beginning with Ibn Khurdādbih and Kūdāmah in the 3rd (9th) century, we have Ištakhri and Muḳaddasī in the 4th (10th) century, and in the first years of the 6th (12th) century the roads of this province are all minutely given by the Persian author of the Fārs Nāmah, whose description is for the geography of this period an immense gain which unfortunately is lacking to us for the rest of Persia. Mustawfī, also a Persian authority, registers in the 8th (14th) century the changes effected by the Mongol conquest, and at the close of this century ‘Alī of Yazd describes in detail the march of Tīmūr from Ahwāz to Shīrāz, which lay along one of the trunk roads.

In this province the roads all radiated from Shīrāz, and it will be convenient first to describe those leading down to the coast. Shīrāz, Kays island, and lastly, Hurmuz island, each in turn became the chief port of the Persian Gulf, and the high roads went down to these, just as at the present day the caravan and post road goes down to Bushire which has now succeeded to the supremacy of Hurmuz. The easternmost of the roads to the coast leads to the port over against the island of Hurmuz, whence also by coasting Hurmuz city on the mainland was reached. Both of these places will be described in Chapter XXII. Leaving Shīrāz this road went by Sarvistān and Fasā to Dārābjaīrīd, Furg, and Ţarum, whence turning due south it struck the coast, in early times at Sūrū, or Shahrū, or, as Mustawfī calls it, Tūsar. Not far from here, in Safavid days, the port of Bandar ‘Abbās which still exists was founded, as will be noted later. Of this road we have five separate accounts.

The next road, running almost due south from Shiráz, went in early times to Sírāf. After the ruin of this port caravans followed a branch to the south-east at a point half-way down to the coast, the new road leading to the port opposite the island of Kāys, and this is the route described by Mustawfi. Mukaddasī also gives an important by-road, going south-west from Dārābjird, on the Hurmuz route, to Sírāf, and this cuts across the road from Shiráz to Kāys island given at a later date by Mustawfi. Starting from Shiráz all these routes went by Kavār to Jūr or Firūzābād. Here the older road branched to the right, going down to Sírāf. The road given in the Fārs Nāmah turned to the left at Firūzābād, going by Kārzin to Lāghir, whence, through Kurān, Sírāf was reached. The route given in Mustawfi leaves the city of Firūzābād a few leagues to the eastward, and goes down like the Fārs Nāmah road to Lāghir, where, branching south-east and to the left, it passed through Fāryāb and the desert to Huzū, the port opposite Kāys island. Unfortunately this road from Lāghir to Huzū is only found in Mustawfi, and the mss. give most uncertain readings for the names of the various stages. Apparently, too, no modern traveller has gone by this road, so that we are at a loss for corrections, our maps being here a blank. The cross-road from Dārābjird, given by Muḥaddasī, goes by Juwaym of Abu Aḥmad to Fāryāb or Bārāb, a stage on Mustawfi’s route, and then to Kurān, on the Fārs Nāmah route, whence it led direct to Sírāf³.

The western road to the coast followed in its upper section the present track from Shiráz to Bushire, for it passed by Kāzirūn and Dariz to Tawwaj, the important commercial town of the 4th (10th) century, and thence to the port of Jannābah. The Fārs Nāmah gives an important variant to this route, going by the Māsaram country to Jirrah, and thence by Ghundijān to Tawwaj; at Ghundijān, however, a branch turning off south went down to the port of Najīram, which lies some distance to the west of Sírāf. Mustawfi only gives the road westwards from Shiráz as far as Kāzirūn, in his day Tawwaj was in ruins, and at that time the chief port on the Persian Gulf was Kāys island⁴.

¹ Ist. 128, 129. Mük. 454, 455. F. N. 86 a, b. Mst. 200, also v. supra, p. 257, note 1.
The most fully detailed of all the roads in Fârs is that going from Shîrâz, north-west, to Arrajân and Khûzistân, for we have no less than eight separate accounts of it, though they vary as to some of the stages; the last being that given by 'Ali of Yazd describing in the reverse direction the march of Timûr in 795 (1393) from Ahwâz through Bibbahân to Shîrâz, when, on his way, he stormed the great White Fortress of Kal'ah Safid. Leaving Shîrâz, the high road to Khûzistân, as described in the Road Books, goes north-west by Juwaym (Goyun) to Nawbanjân, and thence through Gunbadh Mallaghân to Arrajân, whence by the great bridge over the Tâb river it reached Bustânak on the frontier of Fârs. Muşaddasi and the earlier geographers add the distances from Arrajân to the port of Mahrubân, and thence south-east along the coast to the port of Sinz and on to Jannâbah.¹

From Shîrâz to Isfahân there were three separate routes in use during the middle-ages. The westernmost turned off to the right, at Juwaym, from the Arrajân road, going to Baydâ in the Marvdasht plain, and thence by Kûrad and Kallâr to Sumayram and Isfahân. This route is described by Ibn Khurdâdbih and Muşaddasi. The middle route is the summer road through the hill country, which goes from Shîrâz to Mâyin, and thence by Kûshk-i-Zard and Dîh Girdû through Yazdikhwâst to Isfahân. This road, with some variants in the names of the stages, is given by the earlier Arab geographers and also by the later Persian authorities. The easternmost of the three roads (the winter or caravan road, through the plains) went from Shîrâz north-eastward to Iştîkhr and thence to Dîh Bid. Here a main route went off to the right going by Abarkûh to Yazd, while the road to Isfahân turned to the left, and passing through Surmak and Abâdah village joined the summer road at Yazdikhwâst, whence by Kûmishah Isfahân was reached. This winter road, which at the present time is the usual post-road from Shîrâz to Isfahân, is given by Muşaddasi and the Fârs Nâmah: the stages to Yazd are enumerated by nearly all our authorities.²

The roads from Shiráz to Shahr-i-Bâbak and thence on to Sirjân, one of the capitals of Kirmân, followed two routes, one to the north of Lake Bakhtigân, the other passing along the southern shore of the lake. The northern route went first from Shiráz to Išţakhr (Persepolis), and from here to Shahr-i-Bâbak we have two roads, one direct by Harât village, the other by Abâdâh city to Şâhik, where it joined the road along the southern shore of the lake. This last left Shiráz, going eastward by the northern side of Lake Mâhalû to Khurramah, whence by the southern shore of Bakhtigân it reached Khayrah. From here the Fârs Nâmah gives the distances of a branch road to Nirîz and Kûtruh. The main road went from Khayrah to Great Şâhik, where, as already said, it was joined by the route from Išţakhr along the northern lake shore, and from Great Şâhik it crossed a desert tract, going north-east to Shahr-i-Bâbak. Both by the northern and the southern shore of Lake Bakhtigân full itineraries exist in the Arab and Persian authorities, but the names of some of the intermediate stages are uncertain, namely of villages that no longer exist at the present day, for the whole of this country has gone out of cultivation and become depopulated since the close of the middle-ages.


CHAPTER XXI.

KIRMÂN.

The five districts of Kirmân. The two capitals. Sirjân, the first capital, its position and history. Bardasîr, the second capital, now Kirmân city. Mâhân and its saint. Khâbîš. Zarand and Kûhbinân, Cobinan of Marco Polo.

The province of Kirmân, as Ištâkhri writes, is for the most part of the hot region, only a quarter of the country being mountainous and producing the crops of a cold climate, for the larger part of the province belongs to the Desert, the towns lying singly, and separated one from another by broad stretches of uncultivated land, and not standing clustered in groups as was the case in Fârs. Yâkût states that under the Saljûqs Kirmân had been most populous and flourishing, but already in the 7th (13th) century, when he wrote, ruin had set in, lands going out of cultivation. Finally this evil state was rendered permanent by the devastation which resulted from the invasion of Tîmûr at the close of the 8th (14th) century.

Mu’âdhasî in the 4th (10th) century divides the province of Kirmân into five Kûrahs or districts, called after their chief towns; namely (i) Bardasîr, with the sub-district of Khâbîš to the north; next (ii) Sirjân, on the Fârs frontier; then (iii) Bam and (iv) Narmâsîr on the desert border to the east; and lastly (v) Jîrûf to the south, running down to the sea-coast of Hurmuz. On the north and east the frontier was the Great Desert, on the south-west the sea-coast, while on the west the Kirmân frontier, round about Sirjân, ran out ‘like a sleeve’ into the lands of the Fârs province, as
Ištakhri puts it, and according to some early accounts Shahr-i-Bâbak was herein included as of the Kirmân province.  

The present capital of the province is the city of Kirmân, the province and its chief town being of the same name, as is so often the case in the East. During the middle-ages, however, the Kirmân province had two capitals, namely Sîrjân and Bardasîr, of which the latter town is identical with the modern city of Kirmân, standing near what is still known as the Bardasîr district.

Sîrjân, the older Moslem capital of Kirmân, was already the chief city under the Sassanians. The Arab geographers always write the name As-Sîrjân or Ash-Shîrjân (with the article), and though no town of the name now exists, the district of Sîrjân still occupies the western part of the Kirmân province, with Saʿîdābâd for its chief town. The recently discovered ruins at Kalʿah-i-Sang, on a hill spur some 5 miles to the east of Saʿîdābâd, on the Bâft road, are evidently the site of Sîrjân, the ancient capital, for they are those of a great city, and the distances given in the medieval itineraries show that these ruins exactly occupy the position of Sîrjân city; and though the modern Sîrjân district covers but a portion of the older Kûrah, it has preserved for us the ancient name. After the Arab conquest Sîrjân continued to be the capital of the Moslem province until the middle of the 4th (10th) century, when all southern Persia came under the power of the Buyids. The governor they sent to Kirmân was a certain Ibn Ilyâs, and he for an unknown reason changed his residence to Bardasîr (the modern Kirmân city), and later, with the transference of all the government offices thither from Sîrjân, this last fell to be a place of secondary importance. When Ištakhri wrote, however, Sîrjân was still the largest city of Kirmân. He states that there was little wood used

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1 Ist. 158, 163, 165. Muk. 460, 461. Yak. iv. 263.
2 Kalʿah-i-Sang, otherwise known as Kalʿah-i-Baydâ (the Stone or the White Fort), occupies a limestone hill rising some 300 feet above the plain, and egg-shaped, being about 400 yards in length. The ruins, still surrounded by a low wall of sun-dried brick, built on older foundations, were discovered and first visited by Major Sykes, in 1900, who has described them in detail, p. 431 of Ten Thousand Miles in Persia (London, 1902).
in its houses, since these were all built with vaulted roofs. Muḵaddasi describes the place under the Buyid rule as larger and more populous than Shīrāz. It had two chief markets, the old and the new, and both were full of goods, especially clothes and stuffs for making them, for which it was famous. The streets were well built, and most of the houses had gardens. The city was closed by eight gates (Muḵaddasi cites their names, some of which however are uncertainly written in the mss.), and near that called Bāb Ḥakīm, ‘the Physician’s Gate,’ ‘Aḏud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, had built a great palace. The Friday Mosque stood between the old and the new market, its minaret had been erected by Aḏud-ad-Dawlah, and the water of the town was derived from two underground channels that had been dug in the 3rd (9th) century by Amr and Ẓāhir, sons of Layth the Ẓaffārid.

Ŷāḵūt, who states that when he wrote — 7th (13th) century — Sirjān was the second city of Kirmān and contained forty-five mosques, large and small, asserts that the town in his day was known under the name of Al-Ḵāshrān, ‘the Two Palaces,’ but he gives no explanation. The name of Sirjān frequently occurs in the chronicles of Ibn-al-Aṯīr and Mīḵhwând, when relating the history of the Buyids and Saljūḵs. Mustawfi, after the Mongol conquest, described it as having a strong castle and its lands grew both cotton and corn. Sirjān afterwards passed into the possession of the Muẓaffarid princes, who reigned in Fārs at Shīrāz, but conquered all Kirmān from the Karakhitay dynasty at the beginning of the 8th (14th) century. In the year 789 (1387) Tīmūr marched into Fārs, appeared in force before Shīrāz, received the submission of the Muẓaffarid princes, and was induced when he left Fārs to conquer Irāḵ, to reinstate some of them as tributaries. Left to themselves, however, they fomented rebellion, and in 795 (1393) Tīmūr again entered Fārs, overthrew the Muẓaffarid forces in a pitched battle, and appointed his own son Prince ‘Omar Shaykh governor of Fārs and Kirmān.

Many districts, however, especially in Kirmān, refused to submit to Tīmūr, and Gūdarz, the governor of Sirjān, held out in the name of the Muẓaffarids, so that Prince ‘Omar Shaykh at last had to send troops to lay formal siege to that stronghold. According to the account given by ‘Alī of Yazd, the Ḥal‘ah (castle) of
Sirjān had been recently repaired, so that the place was very strong, and after the lapse of a year, as the siege operations were making no progress, 'Omar Shaykh set out for Sirjān in person, to bring matters to a crisis. He was however at this moment recalled by his father, and met his death by mischance while travelling through Kūrdisṭān to join Tīmūr at the royal camp before Āmid in Upper Mesopotamia. This was in 796 (1394) and for another two years Sirjān still held out, the garrison ultimately yielding to famine rather than to force of arms; and by order of Tīmūr, when Gūdarz at length did surrender, he and his few remaining soldiers were all massacred in cold blood, as a warning to the disaffected throughout the province. Sirjān was left a ruin, and though Hāfīz Abrū, writing in the reign of the successor of Tīmūr, still speaks of Sirjān as the second city of Kirmān (second to Bardasr), with a strong castle crowning a high rock, the name of Sirjān after this date disappears from history, and its exact site has only quite recently been discovered in the ruins of Kāl‘ah-i-Sang, as already said.

As mentioned above, the modern capital of the province is Kirmān city, and this, though not the first Moslem capital, appears to have been an important town from early Sassanian

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1 Ist. 166. Muk. 464, 470. Yak. iv. 106, 265. Mst. 182. Hfs. 140.a. A. Y. i. 618, 667, 784. Mīrkhwānd, pt. iv. 170; pt. vi. 48, 69. The position of Sirjān is given by the Arab geographers in marches from various known places, often with an equivalent total in farsaks or leagues. Unfortunately in the Kirmān province the stage-by-stage itineraries, with details of places passed (as we have for the Jibāl province, and the whole of Fārs), are lacking. The following, however, is a summary of the distances recorded, and they agree with the position of Kāl‘ah-i-Sang for Sirjān city. From Shahr-i-Bābak on the north-west, where the high roads coming up from Shīrāz and Iṣṭākhr united, Sirjān was distant 24 and 32 leagues by different roads, and it was 38 to 46 leagues, or three long marches, from Great Šāhik. From Rustāk-ar-Rustāk (one short day’s march north-west of Furg) Sirjān was four marches, and from Nīrīz five and a half marches distant. Going east and south-east, the road from Sirjān to Jīrulf measures six marches or 54 leagues; while to Rāyīn it was five marches, and to Sarvestān (to the south-east of Rāyīn) 45 or 47 leagues. Finally, from Sirjān to Māhān was counted as three marches, and to Bardasr (Kirmān city) two marches. The authorities for these distances are as follows:—I. K. 48, 49, 53, 54. Kud. 195, 196. I. F. 206, 208. Ist. 131, 135, 168, 169. Muk. 455, 464, 473.
times. In regard to its origin, we have it stated by Ḥamzah of Isfahān, an historian of the 4th (10th) century, that King Ardashīr, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, built a city called Bih-Ardashīr, meaning ‘the good place of Ardashīr’; this name the Arabs corrupted in their pronunciation to Bihrāsīr (or Bihdasīr) and Bardasīr (or Bardashīr); while the Persians, as Muḳaddasī informs us, pronounced it Guwāshīr, from Wīh-Artakhshīr the more archaic form of Bih-Ardashīr. Yāḳūt adds that the name was in his day spelt Juwāshīr, Juwāshīr, or Gawāshīr, these being all equivalent to, and used indifferently with, the Arabic form Bardasīr.

This city of Bardasīr, which became the new capital of the Kirmān province under the Buyids, is without doubt identical in every respect with the modern city of Kirmān, as is proved by its position as given in the Itineraries, and from the description by the Arab geographers of various buildings in Bardasīr, and natural features, all of which still exist, and are to be recognised in Kirmān city. The Arab and Persian chronicles, it will be seen, fully bear out the identification, for after the 4th (10th) century Bardasīr, indifferently called Guwāshīr, becomes in their narratives the capital of Kirmān, and these names are in time replaced by ‘the city of Kirmān,’ or briefly Kirmān, the province—as is so often the case—giving its name to the capital.

Muḳaddasī, writing at some length upon Bardasīr, describes it, at the time when the Buyid governor had made it the new capital, as a well-fortified though not a very large city. Outside the town was a great castle (Ḵal‘ah) standing high up on a hill with gardens, where there was a deep well, dug by the governor Ibn Ḫiyās, and hither the aforesaid Ibn Ḫiyās was accustomed to ride up every night to sleep on the height. At the town gate was a second fortress (Ḫiṣn) surrounded by a ditch, which was crossed by a bridge; and in the centre of the town was a third castle (Ḵal‘ah) overlooking the houses, alongside of which

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1 Ḥamzah, 46. Muk. 460, 461. Yak. i. 555; ii. 927; iv. 265. The pronunciation Yazadshīr sometimes given is merely a clerical error, from a mis-setting of the diacritical points in the Arabic writing. At the present day Bardasīr is the name of the small district lying to the south-west of modern Kirmān city, of which the chief town is Māshīr. As the name of a town Bardasīr is unknown. For another instance of Bih or Wīh in Persian place-names, see above p. 262, note.
stood the Great Mosque, a magnificent building. The city had four gates, the first three being called after the towns whither their roads led, namely, Bāb Māhān, Bāb Khabīṣ, and Bāb Zaran; the fourth was the Bāb Mubārik, 'the Blessed Gate,' or possibly so called after somebody of the name of Mubārik, or Mubārak. Muḥaddasī adds that the place was full of gardens, wells were common, and underground channels gave an abundant water-supply.

From the time when Ibn Ilyās in the reign of 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah removed the government offices (Divān) to Bardasr, this town, as already said, remained the chief capital of Kirmān, and followed the fortunes of the province, which, as a rule, was annexed by whoever was the ruler of Fārs. In the early part of the 5th (11th) century, the Buṭids fell before the rising power of the Saljūḳs, who were masters of the Kirmān province from 433 to 583 (1041 to 1187). Under them, though Sirjān is one of their chief cities, Bardasr continued as the 'Dār-al-Mulk' or official capital of this governorship. In the Saljūḳ chronicle written by Ibn Ibrāhīm the name of the capital is given sometimes as Bardasr, sometimes as Guwāshīr; while in the corresponding chapters of the Rawḍat-as-Ṣafā, Mirkhwānd invariably refers to the Saljūḳ capital as 'the city of Kirmān,' or more briefly as Kirmān, and the name Bardasr is nowhere mentioned by him. The two names, therefore—Bardasr and Kirmān—were for a time used indifferently to denote one and the same place. Ibn-al-Athīr, for example, under the year 494 (1101), relates how Iran Shāh the Saljūḳ was expelled 'from the city of Bardasr, which same is the city of Kirmān'.

In 583 (1187) the province of Kirmān was overrun by the

1 Muk. 461.
2 Ibn-al-Athīr, x. 219. This passage has a fallacious appearance of being conclusive evidence that Bardasr was later Kirmān city. But though the fact is beyond doubt from both history and topography this passage is no real proof of it, for 'the city of Kirmān' (Madinah Kirmān) merely means the capital (city) of Kirmān (province), and is ambiguous. In an earlier volume, Ibn-al-Athīr (iii. 100) relating how, under the Caliphate of 'Omar, Sirjān was first taken by the Arab armies, adds the words 'which same is the (capital) city of Kirmān' (Madinah Kirmān), though Sirjān certainly is not the modern city of Kirmān, as might be inferred at first sight from this passage.
Ghuzz Turkomans, who plundered and half-ruined Bardasîr, and temporarily made Zarand the capital of the province. The power of the Saljûks was then on the wane, and in 619 (1222) all Kirmân passed under the sway of the short-lived dynasty generally known as the Kârâkhitay. Kutluq Khan, the first prince of this line, is described by Mirkhwând as taking possession of 'the city of Kirmân,' and later it is stated that he was buried in the Madrasah, or college, which he himself had caused to be built 'in the quarter called Turkâbâd, outside the city of Kirmân.' On the other hand, both Mustawfi in his Guzidah, and Ibn Ibrâhim in the Saljûk chronicle, state that Kutluq Khan, in the year 619 (1222), took possession of 'the city of Bardasîr' (or Guwashir as the Guzidah has it), thus becoming ruler of all the Kirmân kingdom. Lastly the contemporary authority of Yakût gives Bardasîr as the name at this time (13th century A.D.) of the capital of Kirmân.  

The Mongol conquest of Persia did not materially affect Kirmân, and the daughter of the last prince of the Kârâkhitay in the first years of the 8th (14th) century married the Mu'azzafarid ruler of Fârs, who afterwards took over the province of Kirmân, under Mongol overlordship. Mustawfi, speaking of the capital Guwashir, otherwise Bardasîr, describes the Old Mosque as dating from the close of the 1st century of the Hijrah, and the reign of the Omayyad Caliph 'Omar II, who died in 720 A.D. He also speaks of the garden laid out by the Buyid governor Ibn Ilyâs, called Bâgh-i-Sirjânî, namely, 'the garden of him who came from Sirjân,' which when he wrote in 730 (1330) was still flourishing. Ibn Ilyâs, Mustawfi adds, had also built the castle on the hill, already recorded as having been described by Mu'kaddasî, and within the town there was the mosque called the Jâmi'i-Tabarzî, founded by Tûrân Shâh, the Saljûk, and the celebrated shrine over the grave of the saint Shâh Shujâ' Kirmânî. A somewhat later authority, Hâfiz Abrû, states that Turkhân Khâtûn, daughter of Kutluq Khan of the Kârâkhitay, in the year 666 (1268), erected a magnificent Jâmi'i (Friday Mosque) in

Kirmân, besides other mosques and colleges, one of which will be noticed presently; and the same author, writing in 820 (1417), refers to the city indifferently under the two names of Bardasîr (or Guwâshîr) and Kirmân.

These descriptions of Bardasîr given by our various authorities, from Muqaddasî in the 4th (10th) century down to Ḥâfîz Abrû in the early part of the 9th (15th) century, clearly refer to many of the buildings that still exist, mostly in ruin, in the present city of Kirmân. Thus, as we have seen, Muqaddasî mentions the three fortresses or castles for which the city was famous, and in the Saljûk chronicle frequent reference is made by Ibn Ibrâhîm to the castle on the hill (Kâlah-i-Kûh), to the old castle, and to the new castle,—which are evidently identical with the three places described by Muqaddasî. In modern Kirmân we find that there is, in the first place, an ancient fortress crowning the hill near, and to the east of the city, now generally known as the Kâlah-i-Dukhtar or the ‘Maiden’s Fort,’ which is attributed to King Ardashîr in the popular belief. Next, still further to the south-east, is a second hill, fortified of old with walls and towers, now crumbling to ruin, which is known as Kâlah Ardashîr, and this must be the fortress ‘outside the city gate’; while, lastly, the older fortress, within the town, doubtless stood on the site of the present governor’s palace.

The mosque of Tûrân Shâh, mentioned by Mustawfî, still exists under the name of Masjid-i-Malik; while another building, connecting Kirmân city with the time when it was still called Bardasîr, is the magnificent green (or blue) dome, the Kubbat-i-Sabz, which, until quite recently, covered the tomb of Turkhân Khâtûn, the daughter of Kutluğ Khân, already mentioned, of the Kârâkhitay. This princess, as history relates, some time after her father’s death, ousted her brother from the throne, and then during twenty-five years remained virtual ruler of Kirmân, governing in the name of her husband—a nephew of Kutluğ Khân—and of her two sons, whom in turn she allowed nominally to succeed to the throne. Mirkhwând states that she died.

1 Mst. 182. Hbz. 139 b, 140 a.
2 A plan of Kirmân city is given by Major Sykes (p. 188), also a view of these two ancient forts (p. 190), in Ten Thousand Miles in Persia.
in 681 (1282) and was buried under the dome of the Madrasah-i-Shahr, or city college. The green dome within which her tomb was placed bore an inscription on its walls, giving the names of the architects, with the date 640 (1242) when the building was completed, namely during the nominal reign of the son of Kutluğ Khan, whom his sister Turkhân Khâtûn afterwards set aside.

Of other towns in the Bardasîr district the Arab geographers give on the whole but meagre accounts; groups of villages, so common in Fars, did not exist, and generally in Kirman each town was separated from its neighbour by a wide stretch of desert country. A score of miles to the south-west of Kirman city lies Baghîn, and a like distance beyond this Mâshîz, both on the road from Kirman to Sirjân. At the present time these are the only towns in this quarter, and both are frequently mentioned by Ibn Ibrâhîm, in the Saljuq chronicle, when relating events of the latter half of the 4th (10th) century. It is curious therefore that neither Baghîn nor Mâshîz should be mentioned by any of the earlier Arab geographers, nor by Mustawfi, nor, apparently, by any of the Persian authorities who have described the campaigns of Timur. Two short marches to the south-east of Kirman city lies the town of Mâhân, at the present day celebrated for the shrine at the tomb of Ni'mat-Allah, the Sufi saint and 'Nostradamus' of Persia, whose prophecies are still current throughout Moslem Asia. He died in 834 (1431) aged over a hundred years, and is said to have been a friend of the poet Ḥâfiz. In the 4th (10th) century Muḥaddasî describes Mâhân as a town chiefly inhabited by Arabs. The mosque was near the fortress, which, surrounded by a ditch, stood in the middle of the town; and for a day's march around the land was covered with gardens which were irrigated from a stream of running water.

1 The Kubbat-i-Sabz was completely ruined by an earthquake in 1896. It is described by Major Sykes, who gives an illustration (Persia, p. 264) representing the building as he saw it before the earthquake. Major Sykes gives a description of it, p. 194, as also of the mosque of Tûrân Shâh, who reigned from 477 to 490 (1084 to 1097). Ibn Ibrâhîm, 28, 34, 177, 187, 189, 190, 194. Mirkhwând, part iv. 129, 130. See also Stack, Persia, i. 202, 204. Schindler, 'Reise in Persien,' Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde (Berlin), 1881, pp. 329, 330.
Ghubayrā and Kūghūn, two towns lying one league apart, of which apparently no trace remains at the present day, were to the south of Māhān, being one march west of Rāyīn (which still exists). In the 4th (10th) century Muṣṭaddāsī describes Ghubayrā as a small town surrounded by villages, with a fortress in its midst, while outside was the market recently built by the Buyid governor Ibn Iyās, already many times mentioned. Both this place and Kūghūn had fine mosques and the water was from underground channels. Some fifty miles east of Kirmān, and on the borders of the Great Desert, lies Khabīs, which was counted as three marches distant from Māhān. The level was low, for the desert is here far below the plateau of central Persia on which the city of Kirmān stands, and Khabīs, as Iṣṭakhri remarks, is very hot, and the date palm was consequently much grown. Muṣṭaddāsī adds that there was a fortress here, and the town had four gates. It was very populous, much silk was manufactured, for the gardens were celebrated for their mulberry-trees, being watered by a stream that passed through the town. Excellent dates, too, were exported.¹

Two marches to the north-west of Kirmān is the city of Zarand, and half-way between the two, during the middle-ages, lay the town of Janzarūd, of which apparently no trace remains. Muṣṭaddāsī describes Janzarūd as possessing a mosque standing in the market, where abundance of fruit was sold, for the town was on a river, the Janz. Zarand still exists, and Muṣṭaddāsī speaks of the castle near by, which Ibn Iyās, the governor, had recently built. Zarand was in the 4th (10th) century a place of considerable size, it had six town gates, and the mosque was in the Maydān or public square, which was surrounded by market streets. Here a kind of fine gauze, used for linings and called bitānah, was made. These Zarandī gauzes were largely exported to Fārs and 'Irāk, and in the 4th (10th) century were in great repute.

¹ Ibn Ibrāhīm, 66, 108, 109, 121. Ist. 234. Muk. 462, 463. Col. C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, p. 11. Major Sykes (Persia, p. 41) found a grave-stone in Khabīs dated 173 (789), also the ruins of a building that appears to have been a Christian church, or some non-Moslem shrine. As of the Khabīs sub-district Muṣṭaddāsī (p. 460) mentions the four towns of Nashk, Kashtl, Kūk, and Kathrawā, but no details are given of position, and apparently all trace of them is now lost.
Fifty miles north of Zarand lies Râvar on the border of the Great Desert, and west of this is Kûbinân, which was visited by Marco Polo. Both towns are described by Muğaddasî, who says that Râvar in the 4th (10th) century was larger than Kûbinân, and had a strong fortress, which served to protect the frontier. Kûbinân or Kûhbanân he speaks of as a small town with two gates, and a suburb where there were baths and caravanserais. The mosque was at one of the town gates, and was surrounded by gardens which stretched to the foot of the neighbouring mountains. In the vicinity is the town of Bihâbâd, a name which Muğaddasî writes Bihâvadh, and he couples it with Kâvâk, a populous hamlet, which lay three leagues distant, both places being of the cold region and possessing many gardens. Bihâbâd still exists, but Kâvâk no longer appears on the map. Yâkût in the 7th (13th) century states that both Kûhbanân and Bihâbâd were in his day celebrated for the tuttiyâ or tutty (an impure oxide of zinc), which was manufactured and exported hence to all countries. Mustawfi in the next century also refers to Kûhbinân, which Marco Polo, his contemporary, calls 'the city of Cobinan,' and the Venetian traveller carefully describes the manufacture here of the tutty, 'a thing very good for the eyes.' Already in the 4th (10th) century this was one of the notable exports of the Kirmân province, and Muğaddasî states that because it came out of the crucible in finger-like pieces, it was commonly known as Tûtiyâ Murâzibiyy, 'cannular tutty.' These bunches of 'pipes,' he says, were separated one from another by water being poured over the hot mass, and it was purified by being roasted in long furnaces which he himself had seen built on the mountain side, near where the ore was extracted. The same was done also in the case of iron.

1 Ist. 233. I. H. 224, 292. Muk. 462, 470, 493. Yak. i. 767; iv. 316. Mst. 183. See The Book of Ser Marco Polo, Yule, i. 127—130, for the description of the manufacture of tutty, which Major Sykes (Persia, p. 272) saw made in Kûhbanân at the present time, and in the identical manner above described. The name of Râvar is often miswritten Zâvar by a clerical error; and similarly Kûhbanân appears under the forms of Kûhâyân and Kûhbayân from a misplacing of the diacritical points. Banân is the Persian name for the wild pistachio, Kûhbanân therefore signifying the mountain where this tree grows.
Some fifty miles west of Kuhbanan, and on the edge of the desert half-way between that town and Yazd, lies at the present day the hamlet of Bafk. There are in the Kirmán province two towns of very similar names, Bafk aforesaid, and Bâft or Bâfd, the latter lying 80 miles south of Kirmán city, and 200 miles distant from the northern Bafk. The confusion is worse confounded by the fact that (northern) Bafk is often now pronounced Bâfd, and hence is identical in name with the town south of Mâshîz, for dialectically the change of the dotted š into ç or ç is common in Persian. A town of Bâfd is mentioned by Yakût as a small city of the Kirmán province, lying on the road to Shirâz, and of the hot country. Ibn Ibrâhîm in the Saljûk chronicle mentions the names of both Bâft and Bafk, but neither by him nor by Yakût are details afforded sufficient to identify the places.

CHAPTER XXII.

KIRMĀN (continued).

The Sīrjān district. Bam and Narmakrā district. Rīgān. Jlruf and Kama-
dīn, Camadī of Marco Polo. Dilsarid. The Bāriz and Kafṣ mountains.
Rūdhkān and Manūjān. Hurmuz Old and New, Gombroon. The trade
of the Kirmān province. The high roads.

The Sīrjān district—of which Sīrjān city, the older capital of
the Kirmān province, which has already been described in the
previous chapter, was the chief town—lay to the west of the
Bardasār district, and on the frontier of Fārs. Muḥaddasī
mentions a number of towns in this district which now, unfortu-
nately, no longer appear on the map, though their positions in
relation to the site of Sīrjān city are known.

Four leagues west of Sīrjān, and close to the Fārs frontier,
was Bīmand, described in the 4th (10th) century as an impreg-
nable fortress, having iron gates. It was a place of importance
too, as being the point of junction of the three high roads—
from Shahr-i-Bābak (north), from Rūdhān (north-east), and from
Sāhik (west)—whence these all converged on Sīrjān. Muḥaddasī
describes Bīmand as having a Great Mosque standing in the middle
of its market street, and its water was from underground channels.
Then one day’s march to the east of Sīrjān, on the road to Rāyīn,
was a place called Shāmāt, a town with many gardens and
vineyards, exporting much fruit to outlying villages, and with a
Friday Mosque standing in its midst. The town also bore the
alternative name of Kūhistān. One march again east of Shāmāt
was Bahār, and another day’s march led to Khannāb, both places
growing many dates. Beyond Khannāb lay Ghubayarā, already
described as of the Bardasir district. Two days' march to the south-east of Sirjân, on the road to Jiruft, stood a town the name of which is written either Vâjib or Nâjat (with some other variants). Muğaddasi describes it as a very pleasant and populous place with many gardens, the water being supplied by underground channels, and the Great Mosque standing in the midst of its market streets.

The district of Bam (or Bamm, as the Arab geographers write it), surrounding the town of this name, lies to the south-east of Mâhân, at the border of the Great Desert, on the eastern frontier of Kirmân. Ibn Hawkâl describes Bam in the 4th (10th) century as larger and healthier than Jiruft, the town being surrounded by palm-groves. Near by stood the celebrated castle of Bam, held to be impregnable, and there were three mosques, the Masjid-al-Khawârij, the Mosque of the Clothiers (Al-Bazzâzîn), and the Castle Mosque. Cotton stuffs were largely manufactured here and exported; also napkins, the cloths for turbans, and the scarfs for head-wear known as Taylasân. Muğaddasi records that the city wall, which made a strong fortification, had four gates, namely, Bâb Narmâsir, Bâb Kûskân, Bâb Asbîkân, and Bâb Kûrjîn. There were great markets both within the city and outside in the suburbs, while on the river which passed by the castle was the market of the Jarjân bridge. A celebrated bath-house stood in the Willow street (Zuṣkâk-al-Bîdh). A league distant from Bam was the mountain called Jabal Kûd, where there were mills, surrounded by a large village, and where much cloth was manufactured. Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century still refers to the strong castle of Bam, and speaks of its climate as rather hot.

Râyín, lying due south of Mâhân, and about 70 miles northwest of Bam, is described by Muğaddasi as a small town, with its

1 I. K. 49, 54. Ist. 168, 169. Muk. 464, 465. For Nâjat Ibn Hawkâl reads Nâjita, and Bâkhtah, Fâkhtah, or Kâkhtah, are the variants in Ibn Khurdâbîbâh; all of which may possibly be merely clerical errors for Bâft, the town mentioned in the last chapter (p. 310), which still exists approximately in the position indicated.

2 The ancient fort of Bam, which stands at the present day, is described by Major Sykes (Persia, pp. 216, 218). The ruins of the medieval town are on the river bank at Guzårân, about a mile distant from the fort.
mosque standing in the market-place, and gardens extending all round the habitations. At one-third of the way from Ṛayyín to Bam stood the neighbouring towns of Avārik and Mihrkird (or Mihrjirjird), of which the former still exists, the name being now pronounced Abârik. Between the two, in the 4th (10th) century, stood a castle built by the Buyid governor, Ibn Ilyâs. The water-supply was from a river, and the houses were clay-built. Between Abârik and Bam stands Daharzin, which Muḥaddasî writes Dârzin, other spellings being Dârjîn and Dayrûzin. It had a fine Friday Mosque, and was a pleasant place, surrounded by gardens irrigated from a neighbouring stream.

The Narmâsîr district (in Persian Narmâshîr) lay south-east of Bam and on the desert border; its capital, the city of Narmâsîr, stood half-way between Bam and Fahraj. Fahraj still exists and in the 4th (10th) century, Narmâsîr was an important town; Muḥaddasî speaks of its many fine palaces, and of its numerous population. Merchants from Khurâsân trading with ʿOmân lived here, for Narmâsîr stood on the Pilgrim road from Sîstân to Mecca and was a mart for Indian goods. Narmâsîr was then smaller than Sirjân, but fortified, and it had four gates, Bâb Bam, Bâb Sûrkhân, the Gate of the Oratory (Muṣallâ), and lastly the Gate of the Kiosque (Kûshk). The Friday Mosque was in the midst of the markets. To its gate was an ascent of ten steps of burnt-brick stairway, and a fine minaret, famous in all the country round, towered above. The castle was known as the Kalʿah Kûsh-va-Rân (the name unexplained), and at the Bam gate were three forts called Al-Akhwât, ‘the Sisters.’ Palm-groves and gardens surrounded the town. At the present day no town of Narmâsîr appears on the map, but the ruins at the site called Chugukâbâd, ‘Sparrow-town,’ lying on the right bank of the sluggish river which winds through the Narmâsîr plain, must be the remains of the great medieval city. The place is now a complete wilderness, though as late as the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi still refers to Narmâsîr as a populous city.

Twenty miles due south of Fahraj is Rîkân (also spelt Rîkân or Rîghân), the fortifications of which Muḥaddasî describes. The

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Great Mosque stood near the town gate, and outside were palm gardens. Mustawfi refers to it as a very hot place, where dates and corn were grown abundantly. Between Rīghān and Bam stands Kurk, which Muḥaddasī couples with the neighbouring town of Bāhar (not to be confused with the differently spelt Bahār of Sirjān, see p. 311), and both were populous towns in the 4th (10th) century, being surrounded by palm-groves. The town of Nisā was also of the Narmāṣir district, but its position is unknown. It is stated that it had gardens in the plain, and a mosque in its market-place, and it was watered by a river 1.

The whole of the southern half of the Kirmān province, and down to the coast, was included in the district of Jīruft. Jīruft (or Jayruft) during the middle-ages was a city of much importance, and past it ran the only river which the Arab geographers mention by name in this province. The ruins of Jīruft (the name is now preserved in the Jīruft district only) are those now known as the Shahr-i-Dakhiyānūs, 'the City of the Emperor Decius,' who figures as a proverbial tyrant in the East, for in his reign the Seven Sleepers entered the Cave, as mentioned in the Kurān (chapter xviii, v.-8, and see above, p. 155), the story being amplified of course in the popular legends. Near these ruins runs the stream now known as the Khalil Rūd (or Ḥallīl Rūd), which the Arab and Persian geographers name the Dīv Rūd, 'the Demon Stream,' from its swiftness. It is an affluent of the Bampūr river, and drains east to the Hāmūn or swamp.

In the 4th (10th) century Ibn Ḥawḵal describes Jīruft as a great city, measuring two miles across, 'the mart of Khurāsān and Sijistān,' lying in a fruitful neighbourhood where the crops of both the hot and the cold regions were grown. The chief exports of the city were indigo, cardamoms, sugar-candy, and the dūshāb or raisin syrup. The surrounding district was called Al-Mizān (Ištakhri writes Al-Mījān), where the numerous gardens produced dates, nuts, and oranges. Snow came from the neighbouring hills, and water was supplied by the Dīv Rūd, which made a great

1 I. K. 49. Muk. 463, 464. In Mustawfi (p. 182) for Māshīṣ as given in the lithographed edition, 'Narmāṣr' must be read, according to all the best mss., confirmed by the Turkish text of J. N. 257. For Chugukābād, see Sykes, Persia, p. 220.
noise flowing over the rocks. There was water-power here for
turning from twenty to fifty mill-wheels. Provisions were also
brought into the city from the neighbouring valley of Darfārīd,
and according to Muḥaddasī the sweet melons from here and
the narcissus flowers, from which a perfume was made, were
both celebrated. The town itself, which had a fortified wall,
was closed by four gates, namely, Bāb Shāpūr, Bāb Bam, Bāb
Sirjān, and Bāb-al-Muṣallā, 'the Oratory Gate.' The Great
Mosque, built of burnt brick, was near the Bam gate, at some
distance from the market streets. Muḥaddasī adds that Jīrufūt
was in his time a larger city than Iṣṭakhr, and that its houses
were mostly built of clay bricks on stone foundations.

Yāḵūt states that the fertile district round Jīrufūt was called
Jirdūs, and Mustawfī refers to the lion-haunted forests which
had originally surrounded the town, but which in his day had
given place to immense palm-groves. Ibn Ibrāhīm in the Saljūḵ
chronicle during the 6th (12th) century frequently refers to
Kamādīn, 'a place at the gate of Jīrufūt where foreign merchants
from Rūm (Greece) and Hind had their warehouses and where
travellers by sea and land could store their goods'; and in
another passage he mentions the 'precious goods from China,
Transoxiana, and Khitāy, from Hindustān and Khurāsān, from
Zanībār, Abyssinia, and Egypt, also from Greece, Armenia,
Mesopotamia, and Adharbāyjān,' which were all to be found for
buying and selling in the storehouses of Kamādīn. The Persian
Kamādīn is the place mentioned by Marco Polo under the name
of Camadi, or the 'city of Camadi.' It had been formerly
'a great and noble place,' but when Marco Polo visited it 'was
of little consequence, for the Tartars in their incursions have
several times ravaged it.' This explains why both Jīrufūt and
Kamādīn, after the close of the 7th (13th) century, disappear
from history, and the map no longer bears these names. Round
Jīrufūt was the Rūdhbar district, mentioned by the Arab geographers, which reappears in Marco Polo under the name of
'Reobarles'.

1 For the ruins of Shahr-i-Dakīyānūs, lying on the right bank of the Halīl
Rūd, a short distance to the west of modern Sarjāz, see Keith Abbott in J.R.G.S.
1855, p. 47; and Sykes, Persia, p. 267. Ist. 166. I. H. 222. Muk. 466,
One march to the north-east of Jiruft, and half-way to Darjin, lay the large hamlet of Hurmuz-al-Malik (‘of the King,’ so called to distinguish it from the port of Hurmuz), which was also known as Kariyat-al-Jawz, ‘Nut Village.’ According to Idrisi—but it is not clear whence he got his account—this was an ancient city founded by the Sassanian king Hurmuz in the third century A.D., and it had been the chief town of the province of Kirmân, until, falling to ruin, the administration had been transferred to Sirjân, which remained the capital of the province under the later Sassanians. The position of Hurmuz-al-Malik is indicated by Muğaddasi and other early geographers, but they give no details; Idrisi adds that in his day (or more probably in the time of the unknown author from whom he takes his account) this Hurmuz was a handsome though small town, inhabited by a mixed population, having abundant water, and good markets with much merchandise. It lay, he says, one march distant from Bam.

A day’s march to the north of the ruins of Jiruft lies Dilfarid, which Muğaddasi calls Darfanî, and Ibn Hawkal Darfarid. It lay in a fruitful valley producing crops of both the hot and cold regions, and, as already stated, was the granary of Jiruft. One march to the north-west of this again was the Jabal-al-Ma‘adin—‘Hill of Mines’—where silver was found, more especially in a gorge that ran up into the Jabal-al-Fuđđah or ‘Silver Hill’.

To the eastward of Jiruft was the hill country called Jabal Bâriz, described as clothed with great forests in the 4th (10th) century, and here at the time of the first Moslem conquest the hunted Magians had found safe refuge from the troops sent against them by the Omayyad Caliphs. This country was only brought under the Moslem yoke by the Şaffârid princes; it was afterwards famous for its iron mines. Nearer the coast, and to

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470. Yak. ii. 57. Mst. 182. Ibn Ibrâhîm, 48, 49, 83. Schindler, J.K.A.S. 1898, p. 43; and The Book of Ser Marco Polo (Yule), i. 98.

1 Ist. 161, 189. I. H. 219, 225. Muk. 473. Idrisi, Joubert, i. 423, and text in Paris mss. Arapes, No. 2221, folio 157 b; No. 2222, folio 104 a. Yak. ii. 151. Major Sykes (Persia, p. 444) would identify Hurmuz-al-Malik (which no longer exists under this name) with Carmina omnium mater of Ammianus Marcellinus.

2 Ist. 165, writes the name, probably merely by a clerical error, Durbây. I. H. 221, 222. Muk. 467, 471. A. F. 335.
the south-east of Jiruft, lay the hilly region known as Jabal-al-Kufṣ, the outlying regions of which, in the 4th (10th) century, were inhabited by mountain folk, while the Baluṣ (or Balûch) tribes wandered on their eastern borders, towards the lower limits of the Great Desert. Of the robber tribes of the Kufṣ mention will be made later when describing the Great Desert. Part of this outlying country was known as Al-Khawâsh, namely of the tribes called Al-Akhwâsh. These were camel-men, who lived in a valley where by reason of the heat much sugar-cane was grown for export to Sijistân and Khurâsân—this being the tract of mountainous country which intervenes between the southern end of the Great Desert and Makrân. In these highlands were seven separate mountains, each ruled, it was said, by its own chief, and ‘Ajud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, in the 4th (10th) century, had made an expedition to conquer them. These people then had no horses, they were regarded as of the Kurds, for they owned flocks and herds, lived in hair-tents and possessed no cities. The date palm flourished abundantly in the lower regions of this country¹.

Some fifty miles south-west of Jiruft lies Gulâshkird, which Muḥaddasi writes Valâshgird, stating that it was a strongly fortified town protected by a castle known as Kûshah, and with its gardens irrigated by underground watercourses. Maghûn, a town with many gardens growing orange-trees and the indigo plant, lay one march north of Valâshgird towards Jiruft; its ruins are probably those now known as Fariyâb or Pariyâb². Fifty miles south of Valâshgird was the important town of Manûkân, now called Manûjân, which Muḥaddasi refers to as ‘the Baṣrah of Kirmân’ to mark its commercial importance. The town consisted of two opposite quarters, divided by the dry gorge called Kalân; one quarter was called Kûnin, the other Zâmân, and a fort, which still exists, stood between the two, with the mosque known as the

¹ Khwâsh is now the chief town of the Sarhad, a mountainous district described by Major Sykes (Persia, pp. 130, 353), which lies to the east of Narmâshir. Ist. 163, 164, 168. I. H. 220, 221, 224. Muk. 471. Yak. iv. 148, where for Al-Karîn we should read Al-Bâriz.

² Major Sykes (Persia, p. 269) refers to Fariyâb, which ‘was once a great city, and was destroyed by a flood, according to local legend.’
Jâmi‘ Sayyân. One march from here, in the sandy plains nearer the coast, was the town of Darahkân; no trace of which, however, now appears to exist. There was a mosque in the town, and its gardens produced much indigo, water being procured by underground channels.

Between Valâshgird and Manûjân runs a river with many tributaries, now known as the Rûdkhânah-i-Duzdî; it is mentioned by Ištâkhri as the Nahr-az-Zankân, and by Yâkût as the Râghân river. Muḳaddasi refers to the populous town of Rûdhkân, which probably stood on its course, as surrounded by gardens growing date palms and orange-trees. To the north-east of Manûkân, and on the road to Rîgân, being three marches from the port of Hurmuz, stood the twin cities of Bâs and Jakin, each with its mosque and market. Nahr or Jûy-Sulaymân (Solomon’s Brook), a populous town, one march west of Rîgân, is referred to by Muḳaddasi as of the Jiruf district. Its fertile lands were watered by a stream which ran through the town, in the centre of which stood a mosque and a castle. Lastly, in the northern part of the mountainous district of Jabal-al-Ḳufs, Muḳaddasi mentions the town of Ḳûhistân, for distinction called after a certain Abu Ghânîm. It was very hot, and palm-groves grew all round the town, in the midst of which was a castle beside the mosque.

Old Hurmuz, or Hurmuz of the mainland, lay at a distance of two post-stages, or half a day’s march, from the coast, at the head of a creek called Al-Jîr, according to Ištâkhri, ‘by which after one league ships come up thereto from the sea,’ and the ruins of the town are still to be seen at the place now known as Minâb, vulgarly Minao. In the 4th (10th) century Old Hurmuz was already the seaport for Kîrmân and Sîjistân, and in later times, when New Hurmuz had been built on the island, this place supplanted Ḳays, just as Ḳays had previously supplanted Sirâf, and became the chief emporium of the Persian Gulf. Ištâkhri speaks of the mosque and the great warehouses of (Old) Hurmuz, many of the latter being in the outlying villages, two leagues from the town. Palm-groves were numerous and dhurrah was cultivated, also indigo, cummin, and the sugar-cane. Muḳaddasi praises the markets of Hurmuz, its water was from underground

1 Ist. 169. Muk. 466, 467. Yak. iv. 330.
channels, and its houses were built of unburnt brick. On the sea-shore, half a day's march distant, was Al-'Arṣah, 'the Camp,' presumably at the entrance of the Hurmuz creek.

The adjacent island is mentioned by Ibn Khurdâdbih, in the middle of the 3rd (9th) century, under the name Urmûz (which Mustawfi spells Urmûs), and this is doubtless the later island of Jirûn. At the beginning of the 8th (14th) century—one authority gives the year 715 (1315)—the king of Hurmuz, because of the constant incursions of robber tribes, abandoned the city on the mainland, and founded New Hurmuz on the island aforesaid called Jirûn (or Zarûn), which lay one league distant from the shore. At this period New Hurmuz was visited by Ibn Baṭūṭah, and it is described by his contemporary Mustawfi, who notes the abundance of the date palms and sugar-cane growing here. Ibn Baṭūṭah states that Old Hurmuz in his day was known as Mūghistân, and the new town had taken the name of the island, being called Jirûn. It had a Friday Mosque, and fine markets, where goods from Sind and India were brought for sale.

At the close of the 8th (14th) century, Timûr ordered an expedition against the coast towns near Old Hurmuz, and seven castles in its neighbourhood were all taken and burnt, their garrisons escaping to the island of Jirûn. These seven castles, as enumerated by 'Alî of Yazd, were, Ḑal'ah-Mûnâ, 'the Castle of the Creek,' at Old Hurmuz, Tang-Zandân, Kushkak, Ḍişâr-Shâmil, Ḑal'ah-Manûjân (the town already mentioned), Tarzâk, and Tâziyan. In 920 (1514) Hurmuz, more generally called Ormuz, was taken by the Portuguese under Albuquerque, and their port of landing on the mainland became celebrated under the name of Gombroon. This is the place which a century later Shâh 'Abbâs renamed Bandar 'Abbâs; it is the present harbour for Kirmân, and probably occupies the position of Sûrû or Shahrû mentioned above in the chapter on Fârs. The name Gombroon is said to be a corruption of Gumruk (from the Greek Κόμμερκι), which became the common term for a 'custom-house' throughout the East. In the Turkish Jahân Numâ it is referred to as 'Gumrû, the port of Hurmuz, whence to the city of Lâr (in Fârs) it is four or five days' march.'

Commercially Kirmān stood far behind Fārs, and the Arab geographers give us no detailed account of the trade of the province. Kirmān as a whole, Muḵaddasī states, grew dates and dhurrah as food-stuffs; dates were exported to Khurāsān, and indigo to Fārs, while the cereal crops raised in the Valāshgird district were taken down to Hurmuz, and thence shipped to more distant countries.

The geographers of the 3rd and 4th (9th and 10th) centuries give far less detail concerning the high roads of Kirmān than is the case when they are treating of the Fārs province. Further, as a rule, only the inexact measurement of the day's march (marḥalāh) is given, and for most of the roads the reckoning from stage to stage in leagues (farsakh) is wanting.

The roads from Fārs into Kirmān converged on Bīmand, which, as already said, lay four leagues to the west of Sirjān. From the north-east, one road from Unās and the Rūdhān district came down to Bīmand (given by both Iṣṭakhrī and Muḵaddasī); while from Great Sāhik to Bīmand (and Sirjān) we have two roads, both measured in farsakh, one by Shahr-i-Bābak (given by Ibn Khurdādbih only), and another leading directly across the desert to Bīmand, to which there are two alternative routes, one (Ibn Khurdādbih) by Ḵariyat-al-Milḥ, 'Salt Village,' the other by Rubāṭ-Puṣht-Kham, 'Crook-back Guard-house' (Kudāmah and Iṣṭakhrī). Further, Muḵaddasī gives the road from Nīrīz (in marches) to Bīmand and Sirjān; while both he and Iṣṭakhrī describe the route from the south-west which came up from Rustāk-ar-Rustāk in somewhat over four days' march, going direct to Sirjān.

From Sirjān to Bardasīr (Kirmān city) it was two days' march. Mustawfī says 20 leagues, but no halting-place or town is

Mst. 182, 232. I. B. ii. 230. A. F. 339. A. Y. i. 789, 809, 810. J. N. 258, 260. The name of the king who transferred the capital to the island is variously given as Shams-ad-Dīn, Kutb-ad-Dīn, or Fakhr-ad-Dīn. The island of Hurmuz was taken by the English in 1622; for its present state see Stiffe, Geographical Magazine, 1874, i. 12, and J.R.G.S. 1894, p. 160. The name is spelt indifferently Hurmuz, and Hūrmūz.

1 Muk. 470.
mentioned in between, although, as already remarked, both Mâshîz and Baghîn must have been near the road followed, and both these places are frequently mentioned as existing in the 4th (10th) century by Ibn Ibrahim, who wrote in the 11th (17th) century. From Bardasîr (Kirmân) it was two marches to Zarand, Janzarûdîh lying half-way between the two. From Sirjân to Mâhân it was three days' march, and thence three more to Khâbis, but the intermediate stages cannot be identified.¹

From Sirjân, eastward, the great caravan road towards Makrân went through a number of towns that no longer exist, coming to Râyîn, thence on by Darzin, Bam, and Narmâsîr to Fahraj on the desert border. The stages along this road are given in farsakhs (leagues) by both Ibn Khurdâdbih and Kudâmâh, besides the stations by the day's march (marâhâlîh) in two of our other authorities².

From Sirjân south-east to Jîrufs, in spite of the route being described in leagues by Ibn Khurdâdbih, and in marches by Ištâkhri, none of the places mentioned, except Darfârid, can be surely identified; for, possibly with the exception of the southern Bâft, none of them are found on the map, and the true reading of the many variants in the mss. is by no means certain. From Jîrufs the road turned south, and passing through Valâshgîr and Manûkân, came to the coast at (Old) Hurmuz. According to Ištâkhri, at Valâshgîr a branch struck off westward to the frontier of Fârs, passing through a series of towns or villages that have now entirely disappeared, and unfortunately even the terminus of this road on the Fârs frontier cannot now be fixed.³

From Old Hurmuz, up to Rigân and Narmâsîr, Muqaddāsî gives the route in marches, passing through the towns of Bâs and Jakîn; while going south from Râyîn to Jîrufs the distances through Darjîn and Hurmuz-al-Malîk are given in marches by Ištâkhri.⁴

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¹ Ist. 169. Muk. 473. Mst. 201.
³ I. K. 54. Ist. 169.
⁴ Ist. 169. Muk. 473.
CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GREAT DESERT AND MAKRÂN.


The Great Desert of Persia stretches right across the high plateau of 伊朗, going from north-west to south-east, and dividing the fertile provinces of the land into two groups; for the Desert is continuous from the southern base of the Alburz mountains, that to the north overlook the Caspian, to the arid ranges of Makrán, which border the Persian Gulf. Thus it measures nearly 800 miles in length, but the breadth varies considerably; for in shape this immense area of drought is somewhat that of an hour-glass, with a narrow neck, measuring only some 100 miles across, dividing Kirmân from Sistân, while both north and south of this the breadth expands and in places reaches to over 200 miles.1

The medieval Arab geographers refer to the Desert as Al-Mafâzah, 'the Wilderness,' and carefully define its limits. On the west and south-west it was bounded by the Jibâl province, by the

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1 The general outline of the Great Desert is given in Map I (p. 1), details of the northern portion are shown in Map V (p. 185), of the lower part in Maps VI (p. 248), VII (p. 323), and VIII (p. 335). At the present day the Desert, as a whole, is known as the Lût or Dasht-i-Lût (Desert of Lot); the saline swamps and the dry salt area being more particularly known as the Dasht-i-Kavîr, the term Kavîr being also occasionally applied to the Desert as a whole. The etymology of the terms Lût (the Arab form of the Biblical Lot) and Kavîr is uncertain; see Major Sykes, Persia, p. 32.
district of Yazd (originally counted as part of Fārs) and by Kirmān, south of which it spread out among the ranges of the Makrān coast. To the east and north-east lay Khurāsān with its dependent and adjacent provinces; namely Kūmis to the north of the Desert, and next a corner of Khurāsān proper; then Kūhistān, and below this Sijistān at the narrow part opposite Kirmān, Sijistān being coterminous with what is now known as the Balūchistān desert, which in the middle-ages was considered as a part of Makrān.

Both Ibn Hawḵal and Muḵaddasi write of the Desert from personal experience, for each had crossed its wastes on more than one occasion. Ibn Hawḵal briefly describes it as a No Man’s Land, belonging to no province, where robbers from every district found shelter, and where permanent villages, except in three instances, were conspicuously absent. Muḵaddasi enters into the matter in some detail, and of his remarks the following is a summary:—The Desert was, he writes, like the sea, for you could cross it in almost any direction, if you could keep a true line, and pick up the tanks and domes, built above the water-pits, which in the 4th (10th) century were carefully maintained along the main tracks at distances of a day’s march. He, Muḵaddasi, had once been 70 days on the passage across, and he speaks from experience of the countless steep passes over the ever-barring ranges of hills, the fearful descents, the dangerous salt swamps (sabkḥah), the alternate heat and bitter cold. He notices too that there was but little sand, and there were palm-trees and some arable lands hidden away in many of the minor valleys.

At that date the Desert was terrorised by roving bands of the Balūṣ (Balūchī tribesmen), whose fastnesses were in the Kufs mountains of the Kirmān border, ‘a people with savage faces, evil hearts, and neither morals nor manners.’ None could escape meeting them, and those they overcame they would stone to death ‘as one would a snake, putting a man’s head on a boulder, and beating upon it, till it be crushed in’; and when Muḵaddasi enquired why they so barbarously put men to death he was answered that it was in order not needlessly to blunt their swords. ‘Aḏud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, in Muḵaddasi’s day, had in part curbed these Balūch brigands, by carrying off a tribe of them to
Fārs as hostages, and caravans were after this tolerably safe, if they had a guide and letters of protection from the Sultan. These Balūs, Muḥaddasi adds, went mostly on foot, but possessed a few dromedaries (jamāz). Though nominally Moslems, they were more cruel to True Believers than either the Christian Greeks or the heathen Turks, driving their prisoners before them for twenty leagues a day barefoot, and fasting. Their own food was from the nut of the Nabḵ, or Sidr (Lotus) tree, and the men were famous for their power of bearing without complaint both hunger and thirst.

About half-a-century after the time of Muḥaddasi, namely in the year 444 (1052), Nāṣir-i-Khusraw crossed the northern part of the Desert on his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca. He gives no special name to the Great Desert, referring to it merely as the Biyābān, 'the waterless land,' but he notes its two chief characteristics and dangers, namely the moving sands (Rig-ravān) and the salt swamps (Shūristān), the latter often as much as six leagues across. He travelled from Nāyin in the Jībāl province to the central oasis at Jarmāḵ, and thence on to Taḵas in Kūhistān, by the route which will be mentioned presently. His description of the road, however, is vague and adds little to our information. He speaks of the Amir Gilaki, of Taḵas, as in his day keeping such order throughout the Desert that the Kūfī robbers, whom he calls the Kūfāj, were powerless to molest travellers; and he mentions that every two leagues along the road he travelled there were cupolas (gumbad) over water-tanks, which marked the safe track to be followed, and relieved the wants of the traveller. He remarks that if the tanks were only kept in order, the passage of the Desert could always be effected without much hardship, except for fear of robbers; and his account in this matter is confirmed by the numerous caravan roads, crossing the waste in more than one direction and sufficiently supplied at each stage by water in pits, which are detailed in the itineraries given by Ibn Hawḵal and Muḥaddasi.

Three far-separated oases were found along the central line of the great waste, and to these naturally the various roads crossing from west to east converged. In the middle-ages these oases

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were known as Jarmak, Nâband (still so called), and Sanij; this last according to Muqaddasi being the only town that the Desert could boast as possessing within its compass.

In the very centre of the upper expansion of the Desert, half-way across from Isfahân to Tabas in Kûhistân, is the oasis now called Jandak or Biyâbânak, which in the middle-ages was known to the Arabs as Jarmak, and in Persian was written Garmah. It consisted of three hamlets called Jarmak (or Garmah), Biyâdâk (or Piyâdah in Persian), and Arâbah. Ibn Hawkal names the whole settlement Sihdih, ‘Three Villages’; and Nâṣīr-i-Khusraw says there were from ten to twelve hamlets here in the 5th (11th) century. At Piyâdah also there was a small fort, garrisoned by the Amir Gilaki, for the safe control of the Desert routes. In this oasis there were palm-trees, and arable fields of some extent where cattle thrrove; and the three chief settlements, Ibn Hawkal says, all lay within sight of water, the population in the 4th (10th) century numbering over 1000 men. Later authorities add nothing to these details, and in fact down to the time of Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century the accounts are almost identical, all copying Ibn Hawkal.

Nâband, the second oasis, still bears this name, and it lies at the northern end of the narrow part of the Desert, between Râvar in Kirmân and Khûr in Kûhistân. Ibn Hawkal describes Nâband as possessing a Rubâṭ or guard-house, with a score of houses round it, water being plentiful, enough indeed to work a small mill. Palms grew here, and many springs irrigated the fields; and two leagues distant from the place was an outlying spring, surrounded by palms, where there was a domed tank, of evil fame as a noted hiding-place for robbers.

The third oasis lay somewhat further to the south again, and at the very narrowest part of the Desert, at the half-way stage on the road from Narmâsir in Kirmân to Zaranj, the capital of Sijistân. Here there is a small valley with springs, which is now known to the Persians as Naṣratâbâd, but which the Balûchis still call Ispî or Isfî. This name is identical with the reading Isbidh for this oasis, which is otherwise called Sanîj, or Sanîg, by Muqaddasi. He counts it as a town of Sijistân, while according to Ibn Hawkal it belonged rather to Kirmân. It was,
as already said, the only city in the Desert according to the Arab geographers, and Muṣḥaddasī speaks of it as having a considerable population, with much arable land, watered by underground channels; but all around and close up to the houses was the waterless wilderness.

The roads across the Desert are given in detail by the geographers of the 4th (10th) century. From the western side, starting from Isfahān and from Nāyīn, two roads converged on Jarmāḵ; the first (given by Muṣḥaddasī) is in eight stages, while from Nāyīn it was five stages to Jarmāḵ, and there were water-tanks and domes all along the way at distances of a few leagues apart.

From Jarmāḵ, Muṣḥaddasī is our authority for a direct road due north to Dāmghān in Kūmis; the distance was 90 leagues, it being 50 leagues across to a place called Wandah, and thence 40 on to Dāmghān. From Jarmāḵ, going eastward, it was four days' march to a place called Naw Khānī, or Nawjāy, with water-domes all along the route at every three or four leagues. At Nawjāy the roads bifurcated, going north-east to Turshīz, and south-east to Tābās, both in the Kūhistān province. The distance from Nawjāy to Turshīz was four stages, the half-distance being at Bann Afrīdūn (now known as Dīn Nāband, a place not to be confused with the oasis of Nāband, just described); and from Jarmāḵ to this Bann Afrīdūn, Muṣḥaddasī also gives a route across the Desert direct, in seven days' march, with a tank (ḥawḍ) at each stage. From Nawjāy, going south-east, Tābās was reached in three marches. The distances between Tābās and Turshīz via Bann Ibn Khurdaḏbīh gives in leagues; elsewhere, and as a rule on the Desert routes, only the stages by the day's march (marḥalāḥ) are given.

From Yazd to Tābās, direct, the way went by Anjīrāh and Khazānān to Sāghand on the Desert border, places already men-

1 I. H. 289, 293. Muk. 488, 494, 495. N. K. 93, 94. Mst. 183. Yak. iii. 170. The oasis of Biyāhānāk (otherwise Jandak or Khur) is mentioned by Tavernier (Voyages, i. 769, La Haye, 1718) in the 17th century, and it was visited in 1875 by Col. Macgregor (Khorasan, i. 91). Both Nāband and Isfi, or Naṣratābād, have been visited lately by Major Sykes (Persia, pp. 36, 416).

tioned as of Fârs (see p. 285). From Sâghand Ibn Khurdâdbih gives the six stages in leagues to Ṭabas, an itinerary which is duplicated by Ibn Hawḳal and Muḳaddasî, but going by the day's march, and following a not quite identical route. Two stages from Sâghand was the guard-house called Rubâṭ Ḍab-Shuturân, 'of the Camel-stream,' the water coming from an underground channel, and flowing into a pool. Muḳaddasî describes the guard-house as a fine building of burnt brick, with iron gates, and it was well garrisoned. It had been built by Nâṣir-ad-Dawlah Ibn-Simjûr, a famous general of the Buyids, who was governor in these regions during the middle of the 4th (10th) century. Three marches beyond this guard-house the Desert ended; and here the road, as described by Ibn Ḥawḳal (repeating Iṣṭakhri), leaves Ṭabas aside, going in a single march from the stage one march south of this town, to the stage one march north of it, on the road to Bann.

The next passage of the Desert starts from the village of Birah, of the district called Shûr, meaning 'the Salt-water,' which was on the frontier of Kirmân near Kûhbanân. From here the passage was made in seven or eight stages—each halt at a watering-place—to Kuri, a village on the Desert border of Kûhistân, situated a few miles to the south-east of Ṭabas. On this, which was known as the Shûr route, Iṣṭakhri states that at one point about two leagues to the north of the track there might be seen curious stones, doubtless fossils, in the likeness of various fruits, to wit, almonds, apples, nuts, and pears, while the forms of men and trees were simulated by the rocks here, with likenesses of other created things. In addition to the foregoing route, Muḳaddasî states that there was a road direct from Kûhbanân to Kuri, in 60 leagues, with water in tanks at every second march.

Râvar, as described in Chapter XXI, lies some leagues east of Kûhbanân on the Kirmân frontier, and from this place a road went in five marches to Nâband, the oasis mentioned above, and thence in three marches on to Khûr in Kûhistân. There were the usual water-tanks at every three or four leagues along this

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route also. The town of Khabis, three marches from Mâhân on the Kirmân border, was already almost within the Desert limits (see p. 308); and from here a road is given which reached Khawst (modern Khûsf) in Kûhistân in ten marches. The frontier of Kûhistân was reached two marches before Khawst, at the village of Kûkûr, where the Desert ended; and on this road, at a place where was the tomb of a certain Al-Khârîji, there were to be found curious white and green pebbles, 'as though of camphor and glass,' while at another place, about four leagues off the road, was a small black boulder of very remarkable appearance.

Lastly from Narmâsîr in Kirmân to Zaranj, the capital of Sistân, the way crossed the narrow part of the Desert, going by the oasis of Sanîj or Ispi, which has been described above. The first stage of this route was to Fahraj on the Desert border, and in four stages it brought the traveller to Sanîj. Ibn Khurdâdbhâh gives each stage of this route in leagues, Iṣṭakhri mentioning the day's march only, but the latter gives also a second route to Sanîj by what he calls 'the New Road,' but this was a longer way. From Sanîj it was seven or eight days' march to the city of Zaranj, the frontier of Sistân being crossed at Gâvnîshak, which was not far from Kundur, a place that is still marked on the map. Between Gâvnîshak and Kundur, and three or four stages south of Zaranj, was a Rubâţ or guard-house, built by 'Amr the Šaffârid in the 3rd (9th) century, which according to Iṣṭakhri was known as Kânţarah Kirmân, 'the Kirman Bridge'; although, as he is careful to remark, no actual bridge existed here. This place marks an important point, for in the middle-ages the Zarah lake had its borders as far south as this, as will be noticed in the following chapter.

Sir F. Goldsmid, Eastern Persia, i. 256.
The province of Makrân.

The arid ranges of the Makrân coast are, in their general physical features, a prolongation of the Great Desert, and though during the earlier middle-ages the country appears to have been more fertile and populous than it is now, Makrân was never a rich, or, politically, an important province. The chief product of Makrân was the sugar-cane, and the particular kind of white sugar, known to the Arabs as Al-Fânidh (from the Persian Pânid), and made here was largely exported to neighbouring lands.¹

The earlier geographers name many towns as in Makrân, but give scant descriptions of them. The chief commercial centre was the port of Tīz on the Persian Gulf, and the capital of the province was Fannazbûr or Bannajbûr, which lay inland, at the place now known as Panj-gûr. Bannajbûr, according to Muḳaddasî, had in the 4th (10th) century a clay-built fortress, protected by a ditch, and the town was surrounded by palm-groves. There were two city gates, Bāb Tīz opening south-west on the road to the gulf port, and Bāb Tûrân opening north-east on the road to the district of that name, of which the capital was Kuzdâr. A stream brought water to the city; and the Friday Mosque stood in the market-place, though, according to Muḳaddasî, the people were really only Moslem in name, being savage Balûṣîs (Balûchis) whose language was a jargon.²

The ruins of the great port of Tīz lie at the head of what was a fine harbour for the small ships of the middle-ages. Muḳaddasî describes Tīz as surrounded by palm-groves, and there were great warehouses in the town, and a beautiful mosque. The population


² Kannabûr, or Kannajbûr, as the name has often been printed, is merely a clerical error for Fannazbûr, by a doubling of the diacritical points over the first letter. Ist. 170, 171, 177. I. H. 216, 232. Muk. 478. Panj-gûr, 'Five Tombs,' is so called after the five martyred warriors of the first Arab conquest. It lies one march west of Kal‘ah Nâghah, and the surrounding district is also called Panj-gûr. Sykes, Persia, p. 234.
was of all nations, as is usual in a great seafaring port; and in the 6th (12th) century the place had, in large measure, acquired the trade of Hurmuz, which had fallen to ruin. Of other towns in Makrān the Arab geographers give only the names, and no descriptions. The names of the well-known town of Bampûr, and Fahraj its neighbour, occur in Muḥaddasi as Barbûr (for Banbûr) and Fahl Fahrah, Yâkût giving the last under the form Bahrah. The town of Kašārkan, north of Tiz, is still a place of some importance; and Kaj, some distance to the east of this, is mentioned as Kij or Kiz. The names of Jâlûk and Dazak also occur; and Khwâsh or Khwâs, which is probably the modern Gwasht, lying to the east of Khwâsh in the Sarhad district (already mentioned, p. 317). Râsk was, in the middle-ages, a town of some note on account of its fertile district called Al-Kharûj, but, from the Itineraries, there is doubt whether it can be identical with the present township of this name. Armabîl and Kanbalî were two important towns, on or near the coast, about half-way between Tiz and Daybul at the Indus mouth. Iṣṭakhri describes these as cities of considerable size, lying two days’ march apart, and one of them was situated half a league distant from the sea. Their people were rich traders, who had dealings chiefly with India.

1 Muk. 478. Yak. i. 907. For the present ruins of Tiz see Sykes, Persia, 101, 110, also Schindler, J.R.A.S. 1898, p. 45. See also the history of Afjal Kirmâni, Houtsma, Z.D.M.G. 1881, pp. 394 and 402.

2 Fahraj a few miles to the east of Bampûr in Makrân, and Fahraj a few miles to the east of Narmâsîr in Kirmân, must not be confused. There was also Fahraj near Yazd.

3 Iṣṭ. 170, 171, 177, 178. I. H. 226, 232. Muk. 475, 476. Yak. i. 769; iv. 332. The spelling Armayîl for Armabîl is a frequent clerical error of the mss. The ruins of Armabîl are probably at Lus Bela, and those of Kanbalî at Khayrokot. Sir T. Holdich, J.R.G.S., 1898, p. 400. The earlier Arab geographers in point of fact knew little about Makrân, and the later ones add nothing worth mentioning. Yâkût only repeats what his predecessors of the 4th (10th) century have said. All that Kazvînî (i. 181) has to tell us of this province is that there was a wonderful bridge there, crossing a river, and formed of one single block of stone. He adds,—‘he who crosses it vomits up the contents of his belly, so that naught remains therein, and though thousands should pass over the bridge this always happens to each one. So when any man of that country requires to vomit he has only to cross this bridge.'
The present work does not pretend to deal with medieval India, and indeed the Arab geographers give no systematic account of that country. The Indian port best known to them, beyond the eastern end of the Persian Gulf, was Daybul, then a fine harbour at the principal mouth of the Indus. This was in the Sind province, of which the capital was Al-Manṣūrah, called Brahmanâbâd by the Indians, a great city lying on one of the canals or branches of the lower Indus. The Indus was known to the Arabs as the Nahr Mihrân, and many of the towns along its banks are named, more especially Al-Multân, the great city far up the affluent of the Indus called the Sindarûdh, where there was a famous idol temple. Ištakhri, who compares the Indus with the Nile for size and importance, notices that the Indian river also had crocodiles like those of Egypt. The sources of the Indus, he says, were in the great mountains to the north, and near the origin of the Oxus. Of the Sind province were the people known to the Arabs under the name of Az-Zuṭṭ, called Jat by the Persians, who are now generally held to be identical with the forefathers of the Gipsies¹.

On the north-eastern frontiers of Makrân, and close to the Indian border, the Arab geographers describe two districts; namely, Ṭūrân, of which the capital was Kuṣdâr, and Budahah to the north of this, of which the capital was Kandâbîl. Kuṣdâr, also spelt Al-Kuzdâr, is mentioned among the earlier conquests of Sultan Mahmûd of Ghaznah. Ibn Ḥawkâl describes it as standing on a river (wâdi), and having a fortress in its midst. The plain around the town was very fertile, producing vines and pomegranates with other fruits of a cold climate. Muṣâdâsî adds that the city lay in two quarters, on either side of the dry river-bed; on one side was the palace of the Sultan and the castle,

¹ Ist. 171, 172, 173, 175, 180. I. H. 226, 227, 228, 230, 234, 235. Muk. 476, 479, 482, 483. The ruins of the port of Daybul, now lying far inland, exist some 20 miles south-west of Thatta, and 45 miles east-south-east of Kurâchî. Manṣūrah is on an old channel of the Indus delta, about 40 miles north-east of Hyderabad. Sind is of course only the old Persian form of the name Hind, but the Arabs used it vaguely to denote the great province to the east of Makrân, which is now in part called Balûchistân and in part is included in modern Sind. Sindarûdh is the River of Sind.
on the other, which was called Būdin, dwelt the merchants, whose shops in the market were much frequented by the Khurāsān folk. Muḥaddasi adds that the houses were clay-built, and there were underground channels for the water-supply, but this was bad in quality and scanty.

Ṭūrán, the name given to the Kuṣdār district, was often held to include the lands to the north, known as the Budahah district, of which the chief town, Kandābil, has been identified with the present Gandava, lying south of Sibī and east of Kelat. Kandābil is described by Ibn Hawkal as a large city, standing solitary in a plain, and no date palms grew here. Of its dependencies was the town of Kizkānān, or Kikān, which from its position in the Itineraries is to be identified with modern Kelat. Both these towns were often described as of Ṭūrán, some others being also named which it is impossible now to identify, for no sufficient description is given of them, and the readings of the mss. vary considerably as to orthography. To the north of these districts was Bālis, or Wālishtān, with the towns of Sibī and Mastanj; but these were held by the early geographers to be included in Sijistān, and will therefore be noticed in the next chapter.

The routes across Makrān are in continuation of the roads of the Great Desert already described, and their ultimate point is India. They are unfortunately as a rule only given in a summary way, so many days' march from one town to another, and the distances cannot be considered as reliable. Ibn Khurdādbih, however, gives the detail of one route in leagues, and stage by stage, though it is impossible now to identify the exact line across the Desert. Starting from Fahraj on the Desert border east of Bam and Narmāsīr in Kirmān, he gives the 14 stages to Fannazbūr, the capital of Makrān; and thence, eastward, the names of three halting-places on the road to Kuṣdār. An almost parallel route, but in the contrary direction, is given by Muḥaddasi, from Kuṣdār to Juy or Nahr Sulaymān, which lay 20 leagues east of Bam, but this road keeps north of Fannazbūr, passing by Jālk and Khwāṣ.

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From the port of Tiz it was five marches to Kiz, and then two marches on to Fannazbūr, to which city a road also came in from Ḫaṣarḵand, but by an indirect route. From Kiz, and from Ḫaṣarḵand, it is given as six marches to Armabil, then two to Ḫanbalī, and thence four on to Daybul at the mouth of the Indus¹.

It was reckoned as fourteen marches from Fannazbūr to Daybul. The distances in round numbers are given from Ḫuṣdār to Ḫandābīl, and to Kīzkānān (Kelat), also from these places on to Sībī and Mastanj in Walīshtān; and the Itineraries close by a summary of the number of days’ march that it took to reach Multān and Maṃṣūrah, the cities on the Indus, from Ḫuṣdār and from Ḫandābīl, and from the frontiers of Walīshtān beyond Sībī².

¹ Ist. 178. I. H. 233. Muk. 485.
² Ist. 179. I. H. 233, 234. Muk. 486.
CHAPTER XXIV.

SIJISTĀN.


Sistān, which the earlier Arabs called Sijistān from the Persian Sagistān, is the lowland country lying round, and to the eastward of, the Zarah lake, which more especially includes the deltas of the Helmund and other rivers which drain into this inland sea. The highlands of the Қandahār country, along the upper waters of the Helmund, were known as Zābulistān. Sistān was also called Nimrūz in Persian, meaning ‘mid-day,’ or the Southern Land, a name said to have been applied to the province in regard to its position to the south of Khurāsān. Iṣṭakhri describes the Sijistān province as famous for its fertility; dates, grapes, and all food-stuffs were grown here abundantly, also assafetida, which the people were wont to mix with all their dishes.1

It is to be borne in mind that the Zarah lake was, in the middle-ages, far more extensive than it has come to be at the present day. Besides the Helmund, a great river of many affluents, three other considerable streams drained into the lake, namely, the Khwâsh river, the Farah river, and the river from the neighbourhood of Asfuzār (Sabzivâr of Herât), which is now known as the Hârûd. In Persian legend, Sistān and Zābulistān

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1 Ist. 244. I. H. 301.
were famous as the home of Zâl, the father of the national hero Rustam, whose exploits are still current among the people. In the times of the early Abbasid Caliphate, Sîstân further became known to fame as the place of origin of the Šaffārid Amirs, who in the second half of the 3rd (9th) century governed most of southern and eastern Persia, being virtually in the condition of independent princes.

The capital of the province, during the middle-ages, was the great city of Zaranj, destroyed by Timûr, of which the ruins still remain, covering a considerable area of ground. The name of Zaranj, however, has now entirely disappeared, and even in the later middle-ages had dropped out of use, the capital of the province being known to the later Arab-geographers merely as Madinah Sijistân, 'the City of Sijistân,' the Persian form being the equivalent, Shahr-i-Sîstân, which was in use when Timûr finally laid the town in ruins¹. Under the Sassanian kings Zaranj was already a great city, and at the time of the first Moslem conquest, in the year 20 (641), it is more than once mentioned. It was situated near the Sanârûdh canal, a great branch from the Helmund, which flowed out to the westward, and in flood-time reached the Zarâh lake.

Ya‘kûbî, in the 3rd (9th) century, describes Zaranj as four leagues in circumference, and in the next century we have a detailed notice of the city by Ibn Hawkal. It was then strongly fortified, consisting of an inner town surrounded by a wall having five gates, beyond which lay the suburbs of the outer

¹ The ruins of Zaranj lie round the modern villages of Zâhidân and Shahristân, along the old bed of one of the chief canals from the Helmund, which since the middle-ages has become dry. For the modern condition of these, and other ruined sites, see Sir H. Rawlinson, J.R.G.S. for 1873, pp. 280, 283, 284; Sir F. Goldsmid, Eastern Persia, i. 301; Sykes, Persia, pp. 375, 382, 383. A sketch plan of the chief ruin is given by A. H. Savage Landor in Across Coveted Lands, ii. 228. Near Zâhidân is still seen the remains of a tower about 80 feet high, called the Mîl-i-Zâhidân, having a spiral staircase, and two partly legible Kufic inscriptions. This tower, tradition says, was destroyed by Timûr; see G. P. Tate, in J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 171. Naṣrâbâd, the modern capital of Sîstân, lies a few miles to the south of these ruins; it was known at first under the name of Naṣirâbâd, which name, however, has now gone out of use. According to Mr Savage Landor it is at the present day also known as‘Shahr-i-Nâsirîyah.
town, enclosed by the outer wall, which had thirteen gates, these latter opening across a great moat filled with water from springs and from the overflow of the canals. The five gates of the inner town were all of iron. Two, close by one another, opening to the south-east towards Fârs, and known as the Fârs gates, were individually called the Bâb-al-Jadîd and the Bâb-al-‘Atîk, ‘the New Gate’ and ‘the Old Gate.’ To the north, towards Khurâsân, was the Bâb Karkûyah, called after the neighbouring town of Karkûyah; the Bâb Nishak was on the eastern road, toward Bust; while the Bâb-at-‘Tâ‘âm, ‘the Victuals Gate,’ which was most in use of all the five, opened on the road leading south through the markets and the gardens lying outside Zaranj.

The Great Mosque, Masjid-al-Jâmi, was in the outer town, standing near the two south-western gates, on the Fârs road, and the prison stood near it, beside the old Government House. Between the Nishak and the Karkûyah gates, in the north-east part of the town, was the ark or citadel containing the treasury, which had been erected by ‘Amr, the second Šaffârid prince. His elder brother Ya’kûb, the founder of the dynasty, had built himself a palace, which subsequently became the new Government House, in that part of the inner town lying between the two south-western gates and the Bâb-at-‘Tâ‘âm. Near this was also the palace of ‘Amr; and these, like all the other houses of the town, were constructed of clay bricks and vaulted, since no beams could be used here for roofing, all woodwork rapidly perishing from the damp climate, and from being bored through by worms. In both the inner and the outer town were many hostels (fândûk), and in the outer town or suburb were the Government offices. The markets of the inner town stood near the Great Mosque. Those of the outer town were extremely populous, and especially famous was that called Sûk ‘Amr, built by the second Šaffârid prince, the rents from which, amounting every day to over 1000 dirhams (£40), were divided between the Great Mosque, the town hospital (Bimaristân), and the Mecca sanctuary.

In the outer town the markets extended for nearly half a league in length, with a continuous line of shops going from the two Fârs gates of the inner wall, to the gate of the outer suburb wall. Throughout Zaranj water was plentiful, being brought from.
the Sanārūd by a series of minor canals or watercourses, which entered the inner city at three points—the New Gate, the Old Gate, and the Gate of Victuals. The three together had water- power 'sufficient to turn a mill,' and they flowed into two great reservoir tanks near the mosque, whence the water was distributed throughout the inner town. The houses of the outer town were also well provided by channels with running water, which was an indispensable convenience in this hot climate; and each house had a Sardūb, or cellar-room, for living in during the hot season, when the heat of Zaranj was most oppressive. Round the town lay the sabkhah, or salt marshes, where date palms grew, environed by the desert sands. Here violent winds blew continually, moving the sands about in a dangerous way and often overwhelming whole villages and devastating the cultivated districts. The ceaseless wind was used by the people to turn their windmills, which were a feature peculiar to this country. The 'moving sands,' however, were a continual source of danger, and Ibn Ḥawkāl gives a long account of how, in the year 360 (970) and odd, the Great Mosque of Zaranj became quite choked up with sand.

Such was Zaranj in the 4th (10th) century, and this description is repeated by Muḥaddasī. He refers also to the riches and the learning of the inhabitants, notes the strongly fortified castle (Kal'ah), and the two famous minarets of the Great Mosque, one of which had been built by Ya'qūb the Ṣaffārid. The city continued to flourish for many centuries, and even during the Mongol invasion of the year 619 (1222), when Changiz Khān sent his hordes to ravage Sistān, the capital seems to have escaped devastation, and it was for some time after this date under a Mongol governor. In the early part of the 8th (14th) century, Mustawfi speaks of Zaranj (the name of which the Persians pronounced Zarang) as very flourishing; and the city, he says, was protected from the 'moving sands' of the neighbouring desert by a great dyke (Band), stated to have been originally built by the ancient king Gurshāsf, and to have been afterwards restored by King Bahman, son of Isfandiyār. Mustawfi praises the gardens of Zaranj, which produced excellent and abundant fruit, these gardens being irrigated from the Black Canal (Siyāh Rūd) which
was taken from one of the branches of the Helmund river. At the end of the century, however, in 785 (1383), Timūr appeared with his armies before the city, which, as already said, was then known as Shahr-i-Sistān (Sistān city), and its fate was not long left in doubt. Timūr had already taken and destroyed the neighbouring fortress, called the Kal'ah or Hisār Zarah, which probably stood to the north of Zaranj, near the borders of the lake. The capital of Sistān closed its gates, and declined to surrender. After a short siege it was taken by storm, all its inhabitants who could be found were massacred, its walls were then razed and its houses destroyed. Since that time Zaranj has come to be a nameless ruin.

The Zarah or Zirrah lake (Buḥayrah Zarah), as already said, in medieval times had permanently a far greater extent than is now generally the case; but at all times its area is noted as fluctuating in size, according as the rivers were in flood or drought. It is described by Ibn Ḥawkal in the 4th (10th) century as having a length of 30 leagues (100 miles), counting from a place called Kurin in Kūhistān to the Sijistān frontier post near Ḵanṭarah Kirmān, at the third stage on the road from Zaranj to Narmāsīr (see above, p. 328). The lake was reckoned as the equivalent of a day’s journey (marḥalā; about 30 miles) across. It was of sweet water and full of reeds, and was plentifully stocked with fish; its borders, except on the desert side, were dotted with many farmsteads and populous villages, where the fish were caught and dried for export.

The chief water-supply of the Zarah lake came from the great river Helmund, which Yāḵūt rightly characterises as ‘the

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2 A number of sketch maps, showing the present condition of the Helmund delta and the lake, are given by Major Sykes, Persia, pp. 364, 372. At its southern extremity the great lake basin is in connection with an immense channel—some 50 miles in length, and averaging 350 yards broad, with cliffs 50 feet high—which is called the Shela. This runs in a south-easterly direction into the Gawd-i-Zarah, or ‘Hollow of Zarah,’ a second lake bed, lying due south of the bend in the lower Helmund, and this Gawd, or hollow, in seasons of flood, receives the overflow of the lake. The Gawd-i-Zarah has an area measuring 100 miles from east to west by about 30 miles across. Sykes, Persia, p. 365.
river of the thousand affluents.' He spells the name Hindmand, Hindmand being a common variant probably due to clerical error, also Hirmand (or Hirmid), and by this name Mustawfi describes the river, which he also calls the Âb-i-Zarah, or Stream of the Zarah (lake). Helmund is the more common modern form. The great river rises in the mountain range lying between Ghaznah and Bâmiyân, which now forms part of Afghanistân, but which, in the middle-ages, was known as the district (or kingdom) of Ghûr. Taking a south-westerly course it passed down through the broad valley known as the Zamîn-Dâwar to the city of Bust, where it was joined on its left bank by the Kandahâr river, which watered the country called Rukhkhaj. Bust was the first city the river came to of Sijistân proper, and from here the Helmund began its great semicircular bend, flowing south, then west, and then north to Zaranj, whence turning west again its waters were discharged into the Zarah lake.

When one march, or some 30 miles distant, from Zaranj the Helmund was checked by a series of great dams, which had been built to hold up its waters for irrigation needs, and at this point the greater volume of the main stream was drawn off into five great canals flowing out towards Zaranj and the lake. The first or southernmost of these was the Nahr-aṭ-Ṭa‘âm, 'the Victuals Canal,' which irrigated the lands and farms outside the Bâb-aṭ-Ṭa‘âm, the gate of Zaranj already mentioned, which lands in part were of the Nishak district. The next canal was called the Nahr Bâshṭ Rûdh; and the third was the Sanârûdh, which, starting from the main stream of the Helmund one league from Zaranj, was the waterway to the capital, so that, as Ibn Hawkal remarks, in flood-times a traveller could go by boat all the way from Bust to Zaranj. The fourth canal, which irrigated some thirty villages, was called the Nahr Sha‘bah, and the fifth was the Nahr Milâ. Beyond this what was left of the main stream of the Helmund entered the channel known as the Nahr Kazak, where its waters were again dammed back for irrigation purposes, except in the flood season, when the overflow escaped direct to the Zarah lake¹.

¹ Ist. 242—244. I. H. 300, 301. Muk. 329. Yak. i. 514; iv. 272, 992, 993. Mst. 216, 226. Mukaddasî refers to the lake under the name of Buḥayrah-aṣ-Ṣanâṭ, but this possibly is merely a clerical error.
Zaranj, according to the earlier Arab geographers, had not been originally the capital city of Sijistân under the ancient Persian kings. Their capital had stood at Râm Shahrîstân, otherwise called Abrashahriyâr, a city that had already in the 4th (10th) century been swallowed up by the desert sands, but of which the ruins, with parts of houses, still remained standing, and visible at that date. The situation of this ancient capital is given vaguely as lying three marches from Zaranj, on the left hand of one going from that city towards Kirmân, 'near Darâk and over against Râsak,' two unknown places. It is stated that in older days the main branch canal from the Helmund had brought water to this place, by which all the surrounding lands were fully irrigated. The dam across the great river which fed this canal had, however, suddenly burst, and the waters, pouring down another channel, became permanently diverted. As a result the whole region round the older city lapsed to the state of a desert, and the inhabitants, migrating in a body, founded the city of Zaranj.

At some distance to the west of the Zarah lake, on the Kûhistân frontier and close to the border of the Great Desert, is the town of Nih, or Nîh, which is named by earlier Arab geographers as belonging to Sistân. Mu’kaddasi mentions it as a strongly fortified town, the houses of which were built of clay, water being brought down from the hills by underground channels. Nih is also referred to by Yâkût and Mustawfi, who, however, add no details, except to state that it was founded by King Ardashir Bâbâgân, though at the present day the remains of great fortifications, and the immense ruins found here, would seem to prove that in the middle-ages it had been a place of much importance.

Of the rivers flowing into the Zarah lake from the north that which comes down from Asfuzâr (Sazvîvâr of Herât), and is now known as the Hârûd, does not appear to be mentioned by the

1 Ist. 242. I. H. 300. Muk. 306. Yak. iv. 871. Mst. 183. The position of Râm Shahrîstân is not certain. Sir H. Rawlinson (J.R.G.S. 1873, p. 274) would place it at Râmûd, near the beginning of the Shela, where there are extensive ruins. These ruins, which apparently at the present day are known as Shahr-i-Rustam, Rustam’s city, are described, and a sketch plan given, by A. H. Savage Landor in Across Coveted Lands, ii. 270. The ruins of Nih are described by Major Sykes, Persia, p. 413.
Arab geographers. They notice, however, the Farah river, which takes its rise in the mountains of the Ghûr district. This, the Wâdi Farah, after leaving the hill country, soon entered the province of Sijistân, and came to the city of Farah, which Ibn Hâwâkal speaks of as lying in a plain, being a large place of clay-built houses, and with sixty dependent villages having many farms where much fruit was grown, more especially dates. Muâkaddasî adds that the city of Farah was in two quarters, occupied respectively by the orthodox Moslems, and by the Khârijite sectaries. One stage south of the city was the bridge over the river called the Қanârârâr Farah (Pûl-i-Farah, in Persian), where the high road down to Zaranj crossed from the right bank to the left. This bridge, where there was also a town, was four days’ march above Juwayn, and about half-way between the two (according to Ibn Rustah) was a place called Kahan. Near Kahan, one league away to the westward, was a remarkable sand-hill, with strange acoustic properties; for if water, or any small object, were thrown on the sand of this hillock ‘a great noise was heard, like a buzzing sound, and very terrible to listen to.’ This wonderful sand-hill is also mentioned by Birûnî, writing in the 5th (11th) century, and similar acoustic properties of ‘the moving sand’ have been remarked at the present day in the hillocks of the dunes forming the desert between Sijistân and Kâhistân. The modern double town of Lâsh-Juwayn, at the present time a place of much importance, is mentioned by Muâkaddasî, under the form Kuwayn (for Guwayn), as a small city, strongly fortified, in which there was no Friday Mosque, for its inhabitants were all Khârijite sectaries; but except as a stage on the high road, no medieval authority other than Muâkaddasî describes the place, and the name Lâsh is not found.

About half-way between Juwayn and Zaranj the high road crossed the chief overflow canal of the Helmund by a bridge, and a few leagues south of this stood the important town of Karkûyah. This last was one stage north of Zaranj, and gave its name, it will be remembered, to the northern city gate. Karkûyah was peopled by Khârijites, according to Yâkût, and many ascetics lived here, but it was chiefly remarkable for its great fire-temple, so much venerated by all the Magians of Persia. Kazvini, writing at the
close of the 7th (13th) century, gives a long account of this building, which he says was covered by two domes, said to date from the mythical times of the national hero Rustam. Each dome was surmounted by a horn, the two horns curving apart one from the other like the two horns of a bull, and these were relics of the aforesaid hero. Under the twin domes stood the fire-temple, where the sacred fire had never been allowed to become extinguished. A priest, who was at stated times relieved by his fellows, served this temple; and he was wont to stand twenty ells away from the fire, having a veil before his mouth, lest his breath should defile the fire, and he fed the flame continually with span-long logs of tamarisk wood, which he laid on with silver tongs. Kazvīnī adds that this was one of the most venerated of the fire-temples of the Magians. Not far from Karkūyah, and three leagues from Zaranj, was the town of Kurunk, which Yāḵūt says was commonly pronounced Kurūn, and under this last name it still exists. It was, Yāḵūt adds, a pleasant place, full of good things, with a population of Khārijites and weavers.

The Khāsh, Khwāsh, or Khuwāsh river flows down to the Zarah lake between the Farah river and the Helmund. It is called by Ibn Hawḵal the Nahr Nīshak, Nīshak being the name of the populous district lying due eastward of Zaranj, which gave its name, as already stated, to the eastern gate of the capital. This river also took its rise in the Ghūr mountains, and the town of Khwāsh lies on its banks, being about one day's march from Zaranj. Ibn Hawḵal describes Khwāsh as the largest town of this district,

1 I. K. 174; and with regard to the acoustic sand-hill see Birūnī, Chronology of Ancient Nations, translated by C. E. Sachau, p. 235 (Arabic text, p. 246). For an example, at the present day, of a sand-hill that gives sounds like ‘an Aeolian harp,’ see Sir F. Goldsmid (Eastern Persia, i. 327), who visited this extraordinary hill, which is at the shrine of Imām Zāyid, five miles west of Kāl’ah-i-Kāh. Ist. 244. I. H. 303, 304. Muk. 306, 319. Mst. 215. Kaz. ii. 163. Yak. iii. 42, 888; iv. 263, 269. The site of Karkūyah probably is to be sought among the immense ruins to the south of Pishāvarān. There is an old bridge here, of two arches, called Takht-i-Pūl; cf. Sir F. Goldsmid, Eastern Persia, i. 315. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 118. The fire-temple was known to the Zoroastrians as the Mainyo Karko.

2 There were in this region at least three places of this or a similar name; viz. the present river and town of Khāsh, then the town of this name in the Jabal-al-Ḵūf (see p. 317), lastly, Khwās of Makrān (see p. 330).
and famous for its date palms. When Yākūt wrote the name had already come to be more generally pronounced Khāsh, as at the present day. The most famous city of the district, but a smaller place than Khwāsh, was Ḫarnīn or Al-Ḫarnīn, the birthplace of the Šaffārid princes Yaʾkūb and ‘Amr, sons of Layth, the famous coppersmith. Ḫarnīn was situated out in the desert plain to the north-west of Khwāsh, and one march from it on the road to Farah. They showed here, Ibn Khurdādbih remarks, the relics of the stall of Rustam’s horse. Muḥaddasi speaks of Ḫarnīn as a small place, but well fortified, having a stream going through the town, which had a Friday Mosque, and possessed suburbs. Mustawfī also refers to it, adding that both corn and fruit were grown in the neighbouring lands, which were very fertile.

Half-way between Ḫarnīn and Farah stood the little town of Jizah, about equal to the former in size, which Ibn Ḩawkāl describes as possessing many villages and farms, for it stood in a very fertile country, amply irrigated by underground watercourses. The buildings of the town were of sun-dried bricks; and Yākūt adds that in his day the people pronounced the name Gizah. The whole district along the Khwāsh river, known as Nishak, was, as already said, extremely populous in the 4th (10th) century. Ḥarūrī, ‘a populous village belonging to the Sultan,’ which still exists, lies on the river bank below Khwāsh, where the high road coming in from Bust crossed the Khwāsh river by a bridge of burnt brick. The village of Sarīzān was the next stage on the way to Zaranj, and between these two was situated Zānbāk, a strongly fortified hamlet, which Muḥaddasi ranks for size with Juvayn.

One day’s journey north of Zaranj, but its exact position is not given in the Itineraries, lay the important town of At-Tāk, ‘the Arch.’ It was very populous, and Muḥaddasi records that grapes in abundance were grown here and in the adjacent farmsteads. Abu-l-Fidā in the 8th (14th) century, quoting from Ibn Saʿīd, states that this place, which he names Ḥisn-ṭāk (the Fortress of the Arch), crowned a high hill at a bend of the Helmund, where, after throwing off the canals to Zaranj, the main stream finally turned westward and flowed out to the Zarah lake; and the town is mentioned, together with the fort of Zarah (Ḳalʿah
or Ḥišār-i-Zarah), as having been captured by Timūr immediately prior to his attack on Zaranj. In the days of the first Moslem conquest another fortress is mentioned as of this region, namely, Zālik, which is given as lying five leagues from both Karkūyah and from Zaranj. Nothing further, however, is known of it, and in later times the place is not referred to 1.

Bust, approximately, lies in the same latitude as Zaranj, and the direct road from Zaranj thither goes due east by Ḥarūrī as already described, and across the desert. The course of the Helmund, however, doubles the distance by making its semicircular sweep to the south, and half-way along its course stands the town of Rūdbār. This place is apparently mentioned by Baladhuri, at the time of the first Moslem conquest, for he speaks of a town called Ar-Rūdbār of Sijistān as lying in the direction of Kandahār; and near this Ar-Rūdbār was Kishsh (or Kiss), which appears to be the place called Kāj, or Kuhīch, at the present day. Rūdbār is elsewhere only incidentally mentioned by the Arab geographers; possibly it is identical with the Rūdbār described by Ištakhrī as of the Firuzkand district near Bust. This place had many fruitful fields and farms, but the chief export is said to have been salt. Another place of this neighbourhood is Az-Zālikān, otherwise spelt Šalakān, or Jālikān. It is described by Ibn Hawkal as one march from Bust, but in which direction is not stated, and the name does not occur in the Itineraries. It was a town mostly inhabited by weavers, but surrounded by extensive and fruitful lands, well watered by streams, and in the 4th (10th) century it was of about the size of Kārnīn.

Bust (or Bast) on the Helmund, at the junction of the river from the Kandahār district, has always been an important place. Ištakhrī mentions that at its gate was the great bridge of boats, 'like those used in Irāḵ,' across which the high road came in from Zaranj. Bust was the second largest city of Sijistān in the 4th (10th) century, the people were in easy circumstances, and are described as dressing after the fashion of the men of 'Irāḵ, and as being for the most part merchants who traded with India. The neighbouring lands were extremely fertile, growing dates and

grapes; and Bust was accounted the chief town of all the mountainous country of eastern Sijistán, which included the two great districts of Zamin-Dâwar and Rukkhkaj. Muğaddasî states that the city and its fortress, surrounded by great suburbs, stood one league above the junction of the river Khardarûy (the modern Argandâb) with the Hirmand (Helmund). It possessed a fine mosque, and the markets were well stocked. Half-a-league distant, on the Ghaznah road, was Al-‘Askar, ‘the Camp,’ built like a small city, where the Sultan had his residence. In the 7th (13th) century Yaḵūt writes that Bust was almost entirely a ruin, and he notices the heat of the climate, while mentioning the abundance of its gardens. At the close of the 8th (14th) century the place and its neighbourhood were devastated by Timûr, who marched hither from Zaranj, destroying on his way one of the great dams across the Helmund, known as the Band-i-Rustam, that kept up the head of water which served to irrigate all the western lands of Sistân.

The broad valley, down which the Helmund flows from the mountains of Hindū Kush to Bust, still bears the name, Zamin-Dâwar, by which the Arab geographers refer to the district. This is the Persian form of which the Arabic equivalent is ‘Arđ-ad-Dâwar or Balad-ad-Dâwar, the meaning being the same, namely, ‘the Land of the Gates,’ or passes, into the mountains. During the middle-ages this was a fertile and very populous district, with four chief towns, namely, Dartall, Darghash, Baghnin and Sharwân, with numerous great villages and farmsteads. The chief town of the district was Dartal, Dartall, or Tall as Ištakhri writes the name, which appears to be identical with the city of Dâwar described by Muğaddasî. It was a fine large town, with a fortress, garrisoned by horse guards, who in the 4th (10th) century, held this as the frontier post on the road towards the Ghûr mountains. It lay on the bank of the Helmund river, three marches above Bust, and in the account of the first Moslem conquest it is stated that near here was the mountain, Jabal-az-Zûr, where the great idol called Zûr, or Zûn, had been taken as

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booty by the Arabs, this idol being all of gold, with eyes of corundum (yâkût).

One march yet higher up the Helmund, and on the same bank as Dartall, was Darghash, while Baghnîn lay one march to the westward of Dartall, in the country held by the Turkish tribes known as the Bishlank, among whom abode the tribe of the Khalaj. These Khalaj Turks afterwards emigrated westward, but Ibn Ḥawkal in the 4th (10th) century describes them as then living very contentedly in the Zamîn-Dâwar country, 'after the Turk fashion.' A fifth town of the Zamîn-Dâwar was Khwâsh (spelt like the place on the river of that name, just mentioned), which Iṣṭakhri describes as an unwalled city, but protected by a castle. Unfortunately its position is not given, but some authorities count it as belonging to Kâbul.

Between Bust and Dartall, and one march south of the latter town, being apparently not situated on the Helmund river, stood the city of Sarwân or Sharwân, which Ibn Ḥawkal describes as of the size of Қarzin, but more populous and prosperous. Great quantities of fruit, dates and grapes especially, were exported from its district, and that of Fîrûzkand, which latter lay south of the Sharwân district and one march to the eastward of Bust.¹

The Rukhkhaj district, occupying the country round about Қandahâr, lay to the eastward of Bust along the banks of the streams now known as the Tarnak and the Argandâb. The capital of Rukhkhaj in the middle-ages was Banjaway, the Arabic form of Panj-wây, 'Five Streams,' which is still the name of the district west of Қandahâr, near the junction of the two rivers Tarnak and Argandâb. The Rukhkhaj district was immensely fertile during the middle-ages, and wool was exported thence in large quantities, bringing in a good revenue to the treasury. The site of Banjaway city is difficult to fix. It lay on the high road four marches from Bust, at the point where the ways bifurcated, one road going north in 12 marches to Ghaznah, the other east in six marches to Sibi. It probably was not far from Қandahâr,

¹ Baladhuri, 394. Ist. 244, 245, 248. I. H. 302, 304. Muk. 305. Yak. ii. 541; iv. 220. None of these towns of the Zamîn-Dâwar now exist, but Dartall, the capital, must have occupied approximately the site of modern Girishk.
but the distance between the two cities is nowhere given. One league to the west of Banjaway city was the fortress of Kūhak, ‘the Hillock,’ with a town lying round the fort. Banjaway itself had good fortifications, as well as a fine mosque. It got its water from the neighbouring river.

One stage from here, on the Sībī road, lay the town of Bakrāwâdh (for Bakrābād, which Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawāl give as Takinābâdh, probably from a clerical error), where there was a Friday Mosque in the town market-place; and this town too stood upon a stream that joined the Kandahâr river.

The city of Kandahâr (or Al-Kunduhâr) is frequently mentioned in the accounts of the first Moslem conquests of the places near the Indian frontier. Balâdhurî says it was reached from Sijistān after crossing the desert, and the Moslems, he adds, attacked the place in boats from the river, destroying the great idol Al-Budda, doubtless a statue of Buddha. After this period only incidental mention of Kandahâr occurs—generally as of Hind or the Indian frontier—in Muḥaddasi, Ibn Rustah, and Yaḵūbi. Unfortunately no early Itinerary takes us to Kandahâr, and in the systematic accounts of the province by Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawāl the name is altogether wanting. Possibly Banjaway replaced it during the earlier middle-ages, for Yāḵūt gives no description of the town, and the name only reappears in history when it is spoken of as being devastated first by the Mongols in the early part of the 7th (13th) century, and then again by Timūr at the close of the next century.

The district round Sībī was known to the Arab geographers as Bālis, otherwise Bālish, or Wālishtān. The capital city according to Iṣṭakhri was Sībī, spelt Sivi or Siwhah, but the governor generally resided at Al-Kaṣr (the Castle), a small town situated one league distant from Asfanjāy, or Safanjāvī, the second city of the district, the exact site of which has not been identified, but which lay two marches north of Sībī on the road to Banjaway of Rukhkhaj. The town of Mastang, or Mastanj, is also mentioned by Iṣṭakhri and Muḥaddasi, who name a number of other villages of this

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district, which was said to include in all some 2200 hamlets, but no description is given of any of these places.

Ghaznah, or Ghaznayn, became famous in history at the close of the 4th (beginning of the 11th) century as the capital of the great Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, who at one time was master both of India on the east and Baghḑād on the west. Unfortunately no adequate description has come down to us of Ghaznah at the time when it was rebuilt and adorned by Maḥmūd with all the plunder of his Indian raids. A generation before this Iṣṭakhri describes the place as like Bâmiyân, with fine streams but few gardens. He adds that no city of this countryside was richer in merchants and merchandise, for it was as the ‘port’ of India. Mukaddasi gives a long list of the names of its districts and towns, most of which, however, it is impossible to identify at the present day. He writes the name Ghasnayn, in the dual form, but to what the ‘Two Ghaznahs’ has reference is not stated, though Ghaznayn in later times is more generally used than the form Ghaznah. Mukaddasi adds that all the country between this and Kâbul was known as Kâbulistân.

It was about the year 415 (1024) that Maḥmūd had rebuilt Ghaznah, on his return home laden with the spoils of India, and the city then reached its greatest splendour, which lasted for over a century. The Ghûrid Sultan ‘Alâ-ad-Din, surnamed Jahân-sûz, ‘world incendiary,’ to revenge his brother’s death at the hands of Bahrâm Shâh the Ghaznavid, took Ghaznah by storm in 544 (1149), and afterwards both sacked and burnt the city, which never recovered from this calamity. The tomb of the great Maḥmūd in the mosque nevertheless appears to have been spared, or else it was restored, for Ibn Baṭṭâlah saw it here in the 8th (14th) century. He describes Ghaznah as then for the most part in ruins, though formerly, he adds, it had been an immense city. His contemporary Mustawfî speaks of it as a small town, with a very cold climate on account of its great elevation, but he gives no details of any importance.

1 Iṣt. 179. 244. I. H. 301. Muk. 297.
Unfortunately ‘Utbi, in his History of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, gives no detailed
As we have seen, the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmund and the Kandahar rivers was known to the Arabs as Zabulistan, a term of vague application, but one which more particularly denoted the country round Ghaznah. On the other hand Kâbulistân was the Kâbul country, lying more to the north on the frontiers of Bâmiyân; and this is the division found in the accounts of the conquests of Timūr. Already in the 3rd (9th) century Ya'qūbî describes Kâbul as much frequented by merchants, who brought back from this country the Kâbuli Ahlilaj, or myrobalan of the larger sort. Ya'qūbî says the chief city was then known as Jurwas, while Iṣṭakhri in the next century gives the name as Ṭâbân. Kâbul, however, appears also to have been the name in common use, but more especially for the district.

There was here a famous Kuhandiz or castle, and the town which was approached by only a single road was well fortified. It was the great emporium of the Indian trade, indigo (nil) being brought here for export to the value of a million gold dinârs yearly (about half-a-million sterling); further, most of the precious stuffs of India and China were warehoused here. As early as the 4th (10th) century the Moslems, the Jews, and the idolaters, had each a separate quarter in Kâbul, where the suburbs, the markets, and the merchants’ warehouses were alike famous. Muṣā'id' mentions, too, a wonderful well in the castle; and for him Kâbul is especially the country of the myrobalan. He counts Kâbulistân as an outlying region of Sijistân. Ḥāzwini, in the 7th (13th) century, states that Kâbul was then famous for the breed of she-

description of the capital. See the article on Ghaznah by Sir H. Yule in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.), x. 560, where a plan is given.

1 Myrobalan was a name applied during the middle-ages to certain dried fruits and kernels of astringent nature, imported from India, which had a high reputation in the concoction of the medicines of those days. The name is of Greek origin, the Indian fruits used in the manufacture of this condiment are of a variety of species, and one of the best known kinds of myrobalan was that called Chebulic, namely, that from Kâbul. The Arabs named the drug (for this it came to be) Ḥâltalaj or Hâltalaj, and Ibn Baytâr in his *Dictionary of Drugs* (translated by Dr J. Sonthimer, i. 163; ii. 572) has two articles about it; see also Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, s.v. Iḥtâlaj, and *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms*, by Yule and Burnell, s.v. Myrobalan.
camels, known as Bactrian (Bukhti), the best in all central Asia. Ibn Baṭūṭah, who visited Kābul in the next century, says that it had then sunk to be a mere village, inhabited by the tribe of Persians known as Afghans (Al-Afghān).

The Kābul river is an affluent of the Indus, and is formed by the junction of two streams coming down from the Hindū Kush range, the mountains to the north of Kābul. At the eastern source are the celebrated silver mines, known to the Arabs as Banjahir (for Panj-hir, or ‘Five Hills,’ in the dialect of the country), from which large quantities of the precious metal were obtained, and Banjahir became a mint city under the Ṣaffārid princes in the 3rd (9th) century, the dirhams, of course, bearing the name also of the Abbasid Caliph. Banjahir city is described by Ibn Hawkal as standing on a hill, and inhabited by 10,000 miners, who were an unruly folk, much given to evil living. Jārbāyah was a neighbour town, also lying on the Banjahir, or Kābul river, which thence flowed out towards the plains of India, past Farwān, a large town with a mosque. Muḥaddasi further mentions the town of Shīyān in the district of Askimasht, where there was a wondrous spring, and a fine mosque built by the Arab general Kūtaybah-ibn-Muslim, who had commanded the troops at the time of the first Moslem conquest. Yākūt gives us a long account of these silver mines with their population of riotous miners. He says that the whole mountain side was hollowed out in caverns, where men worked in the bowels of the earth by torch-light. The people were given over entirely to a species of gambling, men found themselves rich one day and paupers on the morrow; they would recklessly spend 300,000 dirhams (£12,000) in the mere digging of a new shaft. The ruin of the place was due to Changiz Khān; and when Ibn Baṭūṭah, who speaks of the blue waters of the neighbouring stream, came here in the 8th (14th) century, he found no silver mine, but only the disused tunnels of the former workings.

1 Hindū Kush, in Persian, means (the Mountain that) ‘kills the Hindus.’ Ibn Baṭūṭah, (iii. 84) is one of the first to give this name, which is unknown to the earlier Arab geographers. He explains that the range was so called because many Indian slaves died in crossing it when journeying to Persia.
The products of Sijistân were few in number; and all that Muğaddasi records is that date-baskets, called zanahil, were made here for export, also ropes of palm-fibre and reed-mats\(^1\).

The high roads in Sijistân all centred in Zaranj, to which in the first place led the desert road from Narmâsîr via Sanij, which has been described in the last chapter. From Zaranj northwards, a road went to Herât, passing through Karkûyah, and thence by a bridge over the Helmund overflow to Juvayn on the Farah river. From Juvayn Farah city was reached by a road up the river bank, which crossed the river by the bridge of Farah (mentioned p. 341), beyond which was Farah city. Three marches north of Farah lay Asfuzâr (or Sabzivâr of Herât), the first town in Khurâsân. The distances in leagues along this road unfortunately are not given, only the stages of each day’s march, for which Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawkâl are the chief authorities\(^2\). Moreover a good deal of uncertainty exists in the spelling of the names of many of the halting-places.

From Zaranj the road east went to Harûrî on the Khwâsh river, whence taking a straight line across the desert the city of Bust was reached in five marches. At Bust the roads bifurcated, one going to the Zamin-Dâwar country of the upper Helmund, and another to Banjaway of Rukhkhaj, in the neighbourhood of Kandahâr. At Banjaway there was again a bifurcation of the roads, one going north-eastward to Ghaznah, and a second to Sibi, through the town known as Asfanjây. On these routes too it is to be noted that the distances are again given merely in marches, many of the names of the stages being most uncertain\(^3\).

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\(^1\) Ykb. 290, 291. Ist. 278, 280. I. H. 327, 328. Muk. 297, 303, 304, 324. Yak. i. 473; ii. 904, 905; iii. 454. Kaz. ii. 162. A. Y. i. 558. I. B. ii. 85, 89. Mst. 188.


CHAPTER XXV.

KÜHISTAN.


The province of Kūhistān, like Sijistān, was generally held to be a dependency of Khurāsān by the Arab geographers. Kūhistān means 'the Mountain Land,' and the province is thus named in accordance with its distinguishing physical features, the hills here being contrasted with the lowlands of Sijistān, lying to the east of Kūhistān on the Helmund delta. Kūhistān, as Ibn Ḥawkāl remarks, has for the most part a cold climate from its elevation, and the date palm only grew at Ţabas Gilaki on the edge of the Great Desert. In the 4th (10th) century the nomad inhabitants of the country were Kurds, who possessed great flocks of sheep and camels. Without doubt this province is identical with the 'Tunocain kingdom' of Marco Polo, who took the names of its two chief cities (Tūn and Kāyin) to be the designation of the whole country.

The chief town of Kūhistān was Kāyin, which Ibn Ḥawkāl describes as protected by a strong fortress, surrounded by a ditch; and the governor's house stood here, also the Friday Mosque.

1 Ist. 273, 274. I. H. 324, 325. Muk. 301. Marco Polo, Yule, i. 87, 131. The name is spelt Kūhistān by the Arabs (with dotted ١), and Kūhistān in Persian, where Kūh means 'mountain,' but the first vowel in the name is as often as not written short (Kuhistān or Kūhistān).
Water was supplied by underground channels, but the gardens were not very fruitful or numerous, for the cold was severe in winter. The city had three gates, and its merchants carried on a considerable trade with Khurâsân. Ibn Hawkal adds that at a place two days' march from Kâyin, on the Nishâpûr road, a kind of edible clay, called țin Najâhî, was found, and this, he says, was exported to all the neighbouring lands and largely eaten by the people. Kâyin was visited in 444 (1052) by Nâṣir-i-Khusraw, who describes the inner town as forming a fortress of great strength. The Great Mosque here had in its sanctuary (Makṣûrah) the largest arch to be seen in all Khurâsân, and the houses of the town, he says, had all domed roofs. Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century notes in the first place the central position of Kâyin, which was, he says, just 20 leagues distant from every other important place in Kûhistân. It was a fine city: all the houses were supplied with water by channels below ground, and had cellar-rooms for the hot weather. The crops matured here very rapidly, and the harvest was early. Corn, fruit, and especially saffron were grown largely in the neighbourhood, and the cattle pastured on these lands quickly put on fat. Mustawfî adds that the population were remarkably dark-skinned.

The city of Tûn lies rather over fifty miles to the westward of Kâyin, and a little to the north. Mu'addasi speaks of it as a populous place, smaller than Kâyin, protected by a castle and possessing a fine mosque. Woollen goods were manufactured here, and Nâṣir-i-Khusraw praises its carpets, 400 looms being at work at the time when he passed through the town. Much of the city, however, was in his day in ruin, though the great fort remained. In the eastern suburbs were many fine gardens where pistachios were cultivated. Mustawfî states that Tûn had originally been built 'on the plan of a Chinese town,' but he does not further explain the matter. He speaks of the great castle with its deep dry-ditch; this was surrounded by the streets and bazaars of the outer town. The neighbouring lands were very fertile, for he says that the people had the art of building dykes or dams (band) to collect the rain-water and prevent it from flowing away, and on these lands they raised water-melons, noted for their sweet flavour. Much corn and fruit was grown,
and silk was produced here abundantly, for the climate of Tūn was temperate, and the underground watercourses very numerous. In the north-west corner of Kūhistān is the district of Būsht, Pūsht, or Busht-al-‘Arab, of which the chief towns were Turshīz and Kundur. In the Arab geographers the older form of the name is given as Ṭurayythīth, or Ṭurthīth, later spelt Turshish and Turshīs, and it was sometimes counted as of the Ḥawmān or domain of Nishāpūr. Ibn Ḥawkāl speaks of Turshīz as a very populous city, with fertile lands, and in the Pūsht district there were seven other townships with Friday Mosques. Muḥaddasi describes the mosque of Turshīz as in his day rivalling that of Damascus for magnificence; there was also a famous water tank, and the markets were renowned, so that Turshīz was considered the ‘store-house of Khurāsān,’ where merchandise was exported and imported, to and from Fārs and Isfahān. The neighbouring town of Kundur almost equalled Turshīz in wealth, and in the district immediately round it were 226 large villages.

According to Ibn-al-Athīr in 520 (1126) the Wāzīr of Sultan Sanjar the Saljūk besieged and plundered Turshīz; which had lately come into the possession of the Ismā‘īlīs, or Assassins; for the ‘Old Man of the Mountain’ had recently conquered most of the strong places in the neighbourhood, building many fortresses to overawe all this part of Kūhistān. Yāḵūt places the advent of the Ismā‘īlīs as occurring in the year 530 (1136), and relates that the governor of Turshīz had called in the Turkish tribes to aid him against the heterodox Mulāḥids or Ismā‘īlīans, but they had failed to fight the enemy, and had themselves pillaged the country, thus bringing Turshīz to ruin. In the middle of the


2 The district of Turshīz exists at the present day, but no town of that name. The small town of Kundur is still marked on the map, and according to Iṣṭakhri the city of Turshīz lay one march to the westward of it, which would place the site of Turshīz at the Firūzābād ruins, near the present village of ‘Abdulābād. In any case the medieval city of Turshīz cannot be identified with Sultānābād, the modern capital of the Turshīz district, for this lies east of Kundur.
7th (13th) century Hûlây Khân, the Mongol, destroyed the power of the Assassins, and his troops, it is stated, conquered seventy of their castles in the Kûhistân province. After this Turshîz quickly recovered its importance; and less than a century later it is described by Mustawfi as one of the chief cities of Kûhistân, though still partly in decay. He mentions the four famous castles in the neighbourhood of the place—namely, Ka'lâh Bardarûd, Ka'lâh Mîkâl (or Haykâl), Muhammadâbab (the Champion's Home), and Atishgâh (the fire-temple)—which doubtless had been those of the Ismâ'îllans. He praises the abundant crops of Turshîz, which he says were exported to all the northern districts round Nishâpûr. At the close of the 8th (14th) century Turshîz was deemed impregnable from its high walls; but when Tîmûr appeared before it he soon undermined these, and after the sack nothing but ruins remained standing. This was in 783 (1381) and since that time Turshîz has disappeared from the map.

Mustawfi states that at the village of Kishmar, near Turshîz, had stood the celebrated cypress-tree, originally planted by Zoroaster as a memorial of the conversion of King Gushtasp to the Magian religion. This tree grew to be larger than any other cypress that had ever been, and according to the Shâh Nâmâh it sprang from a branch brought by Zoroaster from Paradise. Such too was its power that earthquakes, which frequently devastated all the neighbouring districts, never did any harm in Kishmar. According to Kâzvînî the Caliph Mutawakkil in 247 (861) caused this mighty cypress to be felled, and then transported it across all Persia, in pieces carried on camels, to be used for beams in his new palace at Sâmarrâ. This was done in spite of the grief and protests of all the Guebres, but when the cypress arrived on the

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1 I. H. 295, 296. Muk. 317, 318. Yak. i. 628; iii. 534; iv. 309. Mst. 183. A. Y. i. 344. Ibn-al-Athîr, x. 445. The representative of the Old Man of the Mountain, at the present day (as was proved in the English law courts), is Âkâ Khân, chief of the Khûjah community at Bombay, and it is curious to find that some of the Ismailian sect still linger in Kûhistân, who now pay their tithes to Âkâ Khân, as their predecessors did to the chief at Alâmît. At the village of Sihdîh, to the south of Kâyîn, Major Sykes (Persia, p. 409) found nearly a thousand families of these modern Ismailians, who yearly transmitted a considerable sum to their religious head in India. Marco Polo, Yule, i. 145.
banks of the Tigris, Mutawakkil was dead, having been murdered by his son 1.

To the east of the Turshiz district is that of Zâvah. The Zâvah district, or part of it, was also known as Rukhkh, and the chief town was called Bishak or Zâvah city. The name Rukhkh, when Yâkût wrote, was more commonly pronounced Rikh. In the 7th (13th) century Zâvah town became celebrated as the abode of a very holy man, Ḥaydar by name, who dressed in felt, in summer was wont to enter the fire, and in winter to stand in the snow, and who founded a sect of Darvishes known as the Ḥaydariyâh. He was alive at the time of the Mongol invasion of the country in 617 (1220), and was afterwards known as Shaykh Ḵuṭb-ad-Dîn (Pole of Religion). When Ibn Baṭûṭah visited Zâvah in the 8th (14th) century, he describes the votaries of the Shaykh as having iron rings fastened for penance in their ears, hands, and other parts of the body, and this the people took to be a proof of their sanctity. Mustawfi describes Zâvah as a fine town, standing in a rich district, with some 50 dependent villages. It had a strong castle built of clay bricks. The irrigation was abundant; corn, cotton, grapes, and much fruit grew here, and silk also was produced. He speaks, too, of the shrine of the Shaykh as greatly venerated in his day. At the present time Zâvah is more commonly the name of the district, the town being generally known as Turbat-i-Ḥaydarî, or 'the Tomb of Ḥaydar,' and the shrine is still a place of pilgrimage 2.

To the east of the Zâvah district, and in the north-east corner of Kûhistân, near the Herât river, was the district of Zám or Jâm, of which the chief town was in the 4th (10th) century known as Bûżjân. This was a considerable city, and 180 villages were of

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1 Mst. 183. Shâh Nâmah, Turner Macan, iv. 1067, eight lines from below. Kaz. ii. 297, where the name is by mistake printed Kishm. The account in Kazvinî (13th century A.D.) of course only represents the tradition. There is nothing about the Kishmar cypress in Ṭabarî or apparently in any of the earlier Arab chronicles. An amplified version of the story will be found in the Dâhisân, a work of the 16th century A.D. (transl. by Shea and Troyer, i. 366—309). The cypress of Zoroaster is reckoned to have been 1450 years old. It is possibly the origin of Marco Polo’s 'Arbre Sol which we Christians call Arbre Sec.' Yule, Marco Polo, i. 131.

its dependencies. The name Bûzjân was pronounced Bûzkân by the Persians, and in later times it was written Pûchkân. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfî describes it, under the name of Jâm, as occupying a most fruitful and well-watered district, yielding much silk, for the mulberry-trees grew abundantly. The town was celebrated for the number of its shrines, for many holy men had been buried here, and Ibn Baṭûtah specially names the saintly Shihâb-ad-Din Aḥmad-al-Jâmi, whose descendants had come to own much land in the neighbourhood. The saint indeed was so celebrated that Timûr, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, visited his shrine in person, and at the present day the town, which is still a flourishing place, is commonly known as Shaykh Jâm.

The district of Bâkharz, or Guwâkharz, lies to the south of Jâm, and to the westward of the Herât river, which here takes its northern course. The chief town of Bâkharz was Mâlin, which from the distances in the Itineraries would appear to have been identical in position with the modern city of Shahri-Naw, ‘New Town,’ and in the 4th (10th) century it was already a populous place. From here both corn and grapes were exported, and cloth-stuffs were also manufactured. Yâḵût explains that the name Bâkharz had originally, in Persian, been Bâd-Harzah, ‘the place where the wind blows,’ and he mentions Jawdhaḵân as among its chief villages, of which 128 might be counted round and about Mâlin. Mustawfî, who gives the name of the chief town as Mâlân, expatiates on its fertility, and especially refers to the ‘long melon’ of this country, which was famous throughout Khurâsân.

South-west of Bâkharz is the district of Khwâf (earlier Khwâb), surrounding the chief town of the same name. Khwâf in the 4th (10th) century was famous for its raisins and pomegranates. Salûmak, later written Salâm, had in early times been the largest town of the district, of which Sanjân (or Sankan) and Kharjird were two other important cities. Under the form Kharkird the
latter town is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawkal, who also names Farkird (written Farjird or Faljird by Yāḵūt) as lying one march to the east of it, while Kūsūy or Kūsūyah was nearer the Herāt river, and to the north of Farkird. Of these three towns Kūsūy was the largest, being a third of the size of the neighbouring city of Būshanj in Khurāsān, to be described later, to which province many authorities count all three places to belong. The town of Kūsūy possessed many good houses of unburnt brick, and the other two towns, though small, had fine gardens and abundant irrigation. Yāḵūt also mentions Sirāwand and Lāz as places of importance in his day in the Khwāf district, but their position is unknown. Mustawfī praises the grapes, melons, pomegranates, and figs of Khwāf, and states that much silk was produced in the district. He names the three towns of Salām, Sanjān, and Zawzan (or Zūzan) as the chief centres of population in the 8th (14th) century. Zūzan when Muḵaddasī wrote was already famous for its wool-workers, and it was an important point in the road system, for it communicated with Kāyīn, Salām (Salūmak), and Farjird. Yāḵūt calls Zūzan 'a little Baṣrah' for its trade, and refers to it as a shrine of the Magians. Around it lay 124 important villages.

In this central part of Kūhistān, Mustawfī, writing in the 8th (14th) century, mentions a number of places which are still found on the map, but which do not occur in the works of the earlier Arab geographers. He refers to the district of Zirkūh, 'Foot-hills,' as most fertile, producing corn and cotton, which with its silk manufactures were largely exported. This is still the name of the hill country south of Zūzan and east of Kāyīn, and Mustawfī mentions its three chief towns, Shārakh, Isfād, and Ištind, which exist to this day. To the north-west of Kāyīn is the district the name of which is written Dasht-Biyāḍ, meaning 'the White Plain,' which the Persians at the present day pronounce Dasht-i-Piyāz. Its chief town was Fāris, and Mustawfī, who praises its nuts and almonds, says it was the Yaylāḵ, or summer quarters, of the people of Tūn and Junābād.

1 Ist. 267. I. H. 313, 319. I. R. 171. Ykb. 278. Muk. 298, 308, 319, 321. Yak. ii. 486, 938; iii. 910; iv. 341. Mst. 188. For the present condition of these places see C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sīstan, 128, 129.
This last place, now generally called Gunâbâd, is a considerable town lying to the north-east of Tûn. It is named by Ibn Hawâl Yunâbidh, and by Muţaddasi Junâwad, and there are some other variants. It was a large place in the 4th (10th) century, with clay-brick houses, and the 70 villages round it were well watered by artificial irrigation. Yâkût gives the name as commonly pronounced Gunâbidh, for Junâbidh. Mustawfî records that its two strong castles, each on a hill, and on either hand of the town, were called Kâl'âh Khwâşhir and Kâl'âh Darjân respectively, and from their heights the neighbouring villages, and the desert beyond them, were clearly seen. The sand here, he remarks, did not blow into and invade the garden lands of Gunâbâd, as was the case elsewhere in Kûhistân. The water-supply was from underground channels, described as often four leagues in length, coming from springs in the hill-flank, and the terminal shafts or wells at the fountain-head, were, he avers, sometimes as much as 700 ells (gez) in depth. Much silk was manufactured here, and corn was exported. Some thirty miles to the north-west of Gunâbâd, and a like distance due north of Tûn, is the small town of Bajistân, which appears to be first mentioned by Yâkût, who speaks of it as a village in his day; and to this Mustawfî adds that it resembled Tûn, but gives no further details.

There were, and still are, two towns called Ţabas in Kûhistân, and for this reason the name often appears in the Arab geographers under the dual form of Ţabasayn. Moreover the name Ţabasayn, in error, is sometimes applied to one or other of these two towns, the dual form for the single place. The Arab geographers, however, clearly distinguish between the two towns, calling one Date Ţabas, the other Ţabas of the Jujube-tree, or Ţabas-al-'Unnâb.

Ţabas of the Date—Ţabas-at-Tamr—was on the border of the Great Desert, where many of the roads crossing it came in, and

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1 Dasht-Biyâd, or Dasht-i-Piyâz, is a composite name, Persian and Arabic, very unusual in the nomenclature of Persia. If the last word be really the Arabic Biyâd it seems likely that the Persians soon forgot its meaning 'White,' and took it to be a proper name. I. H. 325. Muk. 319, 320, 322. Mst. 183, 184. Yak. i. 497; ii. 120; iv. 206. Fâris at the present time is generally known as Kâl'âh Kuhnâh, 'the Old Castle.' Bellew, Indus to Tigris, p. 329.
hence Balâdhu′rî names it 'the Gate of Khurâsân.' According to Ibn Ḥawkâl, the town was in the 4th (10th) century a somewhat smaller place than Kāyin, and it had strong fortifications. The chief feature of the district was the forest of date palms that grew here, for being on the desert border the climate was very hot, and the water-supply from underground channels was abundant. Muḥaddasî speaks of its fine mosque, and of a great tank for storing the drinking-water. There were also excellent hot baths. 'It is (he adds) the only place in Kūhistân where there are trees and a running stream; and for the distance of a day's journey thence I passed through villages and palm-groves with running water-courses.'

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, who passed through Ṭabas in 444 (1052), speaks of it as a fine, populous town, unwalled, but enclosed in its gardens and palm-groves. It was then governed with a strong hand, so that all the neighbourhood was perfectly safe, by a certain Abu-l-Hasan ibn Muḥammad Gîlâki—'the native Gîlân'—and to distinguish this from the other Ṭabas, it appears in later days to have been called Ṭabas Gîlâki, after this famous governor, who, from what Nāṣir writes, must have been known far and wide for the vigour of his rule. In the second half of the 5th (11th) century Ṭabas passed into the hands of the Ismâʿîlîan heretics, and in 494 (1102) the town was besieged and in part destroyed by the army sent against the Assassins by Sultan Sanjar the Saljûk. Yāḵūṭ and Mustawfi both refer to Ṭabas of the Date as Ṭabas Gîlâki, and the latter authority notices the place both in his account of the Great Desert, and when describing Kūhistân. Besides dates, both lemons and oranges flourished here as they did nowhere else in all Khurâsân, and the water of the neighbouring spring flowed in sufficient abundance to turn two mills. A strong fortress protected the town and the numerous villages lying around the place.

On the desert border north of Ṭabas, and about half-way to Turshīz, was the village of Bann, possessing a population of 500 males when Ibn Ḥawkâl wrote, and this place was apparently identical with the stage of Afridûn mentioned by Ibn Khur-

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dâdbih. Ibn Hawkhal apparently mentions in his itinerary another village called Bann (Bann Ukhrâ), but by the distances given the two stages, if not identical, must have had reference merely to two neighbouring villages of the same name. At the present day Bann is represented by Dih Nâband (not to be confounded with the oasis in the desert of that name described on p. 325). It was an important point where one of the desert roads from Jarmak entered Kûhistân1.

Some three leagues to the south-east of Čabas, on the edge of the desert where the Shûr road from Kûhbanân came in, was Kûrî or Kurîn, which Balâdhûrî mentions as one of the two fortresses of Čabas, which it would appear might justify the name of Čabasayn being given to Date Čabas alone. Ibn Hawkhal describes Kûrî as a meeting point of many roads, where stood a village of a thousand men with many farms. Kurîn, as Muqaddasi spells the name, was a smaller place than Čabas; and of its dependencies—being 12 leagues from Čabas and 20 from Tûn—was the village of Ar-Rakkhah. This last place, when Nasir-i-Khusraw visited it in 444 (1052), had grown to be a fine town, with a Friday Mosque surrounded by numerous well-irrigated gardens. About three marches to the south-east of Čabas were the two towns of Khûr and Khawst, which respectively were the terminal stages of the two roads across the desert from Râvar and Khabis in Kirmân (see pp. 327, 328). Khûr, according to Ibn Hawkhal, was smaller than Čabas, but had a Friday Mosque; the water-supply was scanty and there were hardly any gardens. The place, too, according to Muqaddasi, was unfortified.

Khawst on the other hand, though in the 4th (10th) century it had no Friday Mosque, was a place of greater importance. It was well fortified, with a castle to defend it, and the clay-brick houses of the town were surrounded by small gardens, though here too the watercourses gave but a poor supply. Muqaddasi says the town was larger but less populous than Tûn; there were but few trees, and behind it rose the arid hills of Kûhistân. Yâkût by mistake generally spells the name Jûsf, this being a clerical error for Khûsf or Khûsb, which is the modern form of the name, first given by Mustawfi. Yâkût, it is true, acknowledges his

1 I. K. 52. Ist. 231, 236. I. H. 295.
ignorance and uncertainty of the true pronunciation of the name, which he says is sometimes written Jūzf: but in one passage he rightly gives Khawst, when quoting from Muṣaddasi. As just stated the modern spelling first appears in Mustawfī, who describes Khūṣf as a small town, with some dependencies, watered by a stream which irrigated its lands, so that excellent crops were produced¹.

About 20 miles east of Khūṣf lies Birjand, which at the present day has taken the place of Kāyin as the capital town of Kūhistān. Birjand is not mentioned, apparently, by any of the Arab geographers before Yâḵūt, who in the 7th (13th) century speaks of it as one of the finest villages of this province. Mustawfī in the following century refers to it as an important provincial town, surrounded by many fruitful farms and villages, where, in addition to grapes and other fruits, an abundance of saffron was cultivated. Corn, however, grew badly here. A day's journey to the east of Birjand, is the mountain district still known as Mūminābād—'the Believer's Home'—which Mustawfī mentions as dominated by a strong fortress that had formerly been in the hands of the Assassins. This district included many fine villages; and Mustawfī especially mentions Shākhin, on a stream called the Fashā Rūd, which still exists some three days' march to the south-east of Kāyin².

About 50 miles due east of Birjand is the second town of Ta'bas, known to the Arab geographers as Ta'bas-al-'Umnāb, 'of the Jujube-tree,' which the Persians called Ta'bas Masinān. This town Ibn Ḥawqal describes in the 4th (10th) century as larger than Yunābidh (Gunābdād, north-west of Kāyin); its houses were built of clay bricks, but the fortifications were then in ruins, and there was no castle. Muṣaddasi speaks of the numerous jujube-trees growing here. Kāzvīnī in the 7th (13th) century states that on the summit of a neighbouring hill was the village called Irāvah, where there was a fine castle, and gardens with trees, for many

² Yak. i. 783. Mst. 184. Sykes, Persia, pp. 305, 306. Major Sykes, who spells the name Shakhkin, speaks of an ancient fort near this, possibly that mentioned as formerly held by the Assassins.
streams flowed near the place. Mustawfi remarks of Ṭabas Masínân that the water-supply of the town lands during a drought would hold out for 70 days, while the outlying districts only had sufficient water for seven days. He relates that there was here a pit or well, at the bottom of which the earth was poisonous, so that if anyone by chance swallowed thereof even as much as a grain of millet seed, he forthwith died; hence the water from this well had been carefully closed off. There was another pit or well here which in winter swallowed up all inflowing water, and in summer gave forth continuously enough water to irrigate all the neighbouring lands; and there was also a third well, he says, where, when anyone looked down into it, the image of a fish could be seen. At the present day Ṭabas Masínân, still bearing this distinctive name, is an important place, being also known as Sunnî-khânah (the House of the Sunnis), for it is now inhabited almost exclusively by Afghân Sunnis. About 60 miles south of Ṭabas of the Jujube-tree, is the village of Duruh, where there is an ancient fortress on the neighbouring hill-top. Duruh is apparently not mentioned by the earlier geographers. It is first described by Mustawfi, who speaks of Kāl'ah Duruh as being a very strong place, with a spring of water welling up within the castle precincts. Jujube-trees and corn grew abundantly in the vicinity, with grapes and other fruit in less profusion.

The products of Kūhistân were few in number. Muḥaddasî states briefly that these highlands were famous for their carpets and prayer rugs, also for white cloth-stuffs, similar to those that were made in Nishāpûr.

What is known about the high roads crossing Kūhistân will be more conveniently dealt with in a later chapter in connection with the roads through Khurâsân. Muḥaddasî and other authorities mention the total distances, by the day's march, between the various towns in Kūhistân: but the stages in leagues are not given; and there appear to have been few direct routes crossing this mountainous province.

CHAPTER XXVI.

KÜMIS, TABARISTĀN, AND JURJĀN.


The small province of Kūmis stretches along the foot of the great Alburz chain of mountains which will be described below, and these heights bound it to the north, its fertile lands forming a narrow strip lying between the foot-hills and the Great Desert to the south. The Khurāsān road traverses the province from end to end, going from Ray in the Jībāl province to Nīshāpūr in Khurāsān, and the chief towns of Kūmis are, so to speak, strung along this line. At the present day the name Kūmis is become obsolete. The province is included for the most part within the limits of modern Khurāsān, while its extreme western end forms an outlying district of Ray or modern Tīhrān.

The capital town of the province was Dāmghān, which the Arabs wrote Ad-Dāmghān, and which in accordance with their usage is often referred to as Kūmis (sc. Madīnah Kūmis, ‘the

1 For the map of these provinces see p. 185, Map v. Muk. 353. Yak. iv. 203. Mst. 191. The Arab spelling was Kūmis (with dotted k), the Persian form is Kūmis; Mustawfl, however, calls it Diyār Kūmis, ‘the Lands of Kūmis.’
City of Kūmis'), the capital thus taking to itself the name of the province. Dāmghān, according to Ibn Ḥawkāl, had a paucity of water-supply, and hence little cultivation, but the inhabitants manufactured excellent cloth-stuffs which were largely exported. Muḥaddasi reports Dāmghān to have fallen much to ruin at the end of the 4th (10th) century; but it was well fortified, and had three gates, of which he names two, the Bāb-ar-Ray and the Bāb Khurāsān. He says that there were two markets, the upper and the lower; and a fine Friday Mosque stood in the main street, with water tanks 'like those of Marv.' The extraordinary windiness of the town is mentioned by all the later authorities. Yāḳūt and others state that there was a ceaseless wind blowing down from a neighbouring valley, so that the trees of Dāmghān were always waving about. Within the city was a great building, dating from the days of the Chosroes, which divided the waters flowing to Dāmghān into 120 channels for irrigation purposes. Excellent pears were grown in the town gardens. The walls of Dāmghān, Mustawfī reports, were 10,000 paces in circuit. Yāḳūt adds that one day's journey from Dāmghān (three leagues according to Mustawfī) up in the mountains, and visible from the town, was the great castle of Gird-kūh, which had been a celebrated fortress of the Assassins. This, writes Mustawfī, was called Diz Gunbadān, 'the Domed Fort;' and its district, which was very fertile, was known as Manṣūrābād. Mustawfī further speaks of a gold mine in the hills near Dāmghān at Kūh Zar (Gold Mountain), but the situation of the place is not given1.

The second town of Kūmis, for size, was Bištām (or Baštām, now Busṭām), which Ibn Ḥawkāl states to have been situated in the most fertile region of the whole province. Its gardens produced abundant fruit, and Muḥaddasī refers to its magnificent Friday Mosque, which stood 'like a fortress' in the market-place. Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, who visited the town in 438 (1046), appears to regard it as the capital of the province, for he calls it the City of Kūmis. He refers to the tomb here, already celebrated, of the great Šūfī Shaykh Abu Yazīd, more generally known as Bayazīd Bištāmī, who had died and was buried here in 260 (874),

and whose shrine is still at the present day greatly venerated. Yāḵūt, speaking from personal experience, praises the apples of Bīstām, and says that on a neighbouring hill-top stood a great castle with strong walls, said to date from the days of the Chosroes, having been built by Shāpūr Dhū-l-Aktāf (Sapor II). Yāḵūt also commends the markets of the city, and its general air of prosperity, and Ibn Baṭṭūtah who visited it in the 8th (14th) century confirms this account, referring also to the shrine over the tomb of the Sūfī saint.

Four leagues from Bīstām, on the road towards Astarābād, was the town of Khurkān, a place of some importance in the 7th and 8th (13th and 14th) centuries. Mustawfī refers to it as a village, with a good climate and plentiful water-supply, and it was famous for the tomb of the local saint Abu-l-Hasan Kharkānī. About 50 miles south-east of Bīstām, and on the edge of the Great Desert, is the little town of Bīyār, ‘the Wells,’ which is now called Bīyār-Jumand. Muḥaddasī describes it in the 4th (10th) century as a small town with no Friday Mosque, but possessing a castle, good markets, and fertile fields, where grapes and other fruits were produced. Camels and sheep were also numerous. A small mosque for daily prayers stood in the inner castle, and the town was fortified, having three iron gates in its walls, with a single gate leading to the castle precincts. Mustawfī speaks favourably of the temperate climate and excellent corn crops. Less than half-way between Dāmghān and Ray is the city of Samnān, or Simnān, on the Khurāsān road, of which Muḥaddasī notices the fine Friday Mosque standing in the market-place, with its great water tanks. Mustawfī mentions the pistachios of Samnān as famous, and a varied abundance of fruit was grown. He also mentions Āhūvān, a small town lying between Samnān and Dāmghān, noteworthy for several tombs of holy men, and for the plentiful crops of both corn and fruit that were raised in its neighbourhood.

1 I. H. 271. Muk. 356. N. K. 3. Yak. i. 623. I. B. iii. 82. The city of Shāhrūd, a couple of miles south of Bīstām, which is at the present time the centre of trade and population in these parts, is not mentioned by any of the Arab or Persian geographers, so that the Ṣanṭ-ād-Dawlah confesses he could not discover when it was built. Mīrīt-al-Buldān, i. 210.

The westernmost town of Kūmis, also on the Khurāsān road, and the first important place east of Ray, was Khuvār, written Al-Khuwār by the Arabs, which Ibn Hawqal in the 4th (10th) century describes as a pleasant little town, a quarter of a mile in diameter, very populous, with streams that came down from the great Damāvand mountain flowing through its lands. Khuvār, he adds, was the coldest place of all Kūmis, but its fields were very fertile. Kazvīnī says that much cotton was grown here for export; and Mustawfī records that the place was also famous for its corn and 'Shaltūk,' or rice in the husk. To distinguish this from the town of the like name in Fārs (see p. 279) it was generally spoken of as Khuvār of Ray, and it is thus mentioned in the campaigns of Timūr. Mustawfī, further, says that this Khuvār was also known as Maḥallah-i-Bāgh—'the Garden Place'—in Persian.

Of the products of Kūmis, Muḳaddasi states that a peculiarly valuable kind of cotton napkin was made in this province. These famous napkins (mandil) were woven large and small, plain and ribbed, with a coloured border, and of so fine a texture as to fetch 2000 dirhams (about £80) apiece. Kūmis also produced woollen stuffs for robes, and the head-veils called taylasān.

As we have seen, the province of Kūmis was traversed in its length by the great Khurāsān road, and this is given in all the Itineraries, from Ibn Khurdādbih down to Mustawfī. Leaving Ray the road goes in three marches to Khuvār, one march beyond which was Kaṣr or Kārīyat-al-Mīlḥ (Salt Castle or Village), in Persian called Dīh Namak, as given by Mustawfī, which is its present name. The next stage, according to all the Itineraries, was Rās-al-Kalb, 'Dog's Head,' a name not now found on the map, but the situation is that of the strange fortress-town of Lāsgird (a name wanting in all the medieval is the pronunciation given by Kazvīnī; the name is identical in form (without vowels) with Kharrakān in the Jībāl province, with which it must not be confounded.

1 I. H. 270. Muk. 367. Kaz. ii. 243. Mst. 191, 196. A. Y. ii. 212. The site of Khuvār is occupied at present by the town of Aradūn, but the surrounding district still preserves the older name, Khuvār, of its former chief city.
geographers) which now crowns a bluff overlooking the desert plain. Samnân is one long march beyond this, and Dâmghân (which the earlier Itineraries give as Kûmis) again one long march to the eastward. One march beyond Dâmghân was Al-Haddâdah (the Forge), which in Mustawfi is given under the alternative name of Mihmân-Dûst ('Guest Friend'). From here it was a day's march up to Bistâm; or keeping the lower road the stage was at the post-house, lying two leagues from that city, which was, and is still, known as the village of Badhash, from which you enter the province of Khurâsân, going by the post-road to Nîshâpûr. Further, Mukaddâsî gives the road, in 3 days' march, from Bistâm to Biyâr, and from Biyâr it was 25 leagues across the desert back west to Dâmghân.

Tabaristân or Mâzandarân.

The region of high mountains,—for the most part occupied by what is, at the present day, known as the Alburz chain[2] lying along the south coast of the Caspian Sea, being to the east and


2 Alburz, now generally pronounced Elburz, is the name at the present time given to the great mountain range dividing the high plateau of Persia from the lowlands of the Caspian Sea. This name, however, appears in none of the earlier Arab geographers, who give no single appellation to the range. Alburz is Persian, and according to Vullers (Lexicon Persico-Latinum, s. v.) is derived from two Zend words signifying 'High Mountain.' Mustawfi (p. 202), who is perhaps the first authority to mention the name, used it in a very vague sense. In his chapter on the mountains of Persia he says that Alburz is a high range that runs continuous with the mountains of Bâb-al-Abwâb (i.e. the Caucasus): 'they are indeed the great mountains which are continuous, and form a chain, extending for over a thousand leagues, from Turkestân (in Central Asia) to the Hijâz (in Arabia), so that many consider them to be the (fabled) mountains of Kaf (which encircled the earth) and on the west they adjoin the mountains of Gurjestân (Georgia).’ For the Alburz peak of the Caucasus see above, p. 181.
to the north of Kūmis,—was called Tābaristān by the earlier Arab geographers. Tābar has the signification of ‘Mountain’ in the local dialect, whence Tābaristān would mean ‘the Mountain Land.’

In the 7th (13th) century, about the time of the Mongol conquest, the name of Tābaristān appears to have fallen into disuse, being replaced by Māzandarān, which since that date has been the common appellation of this province. Sometimes also Māzandarān was held to include the neighbouring province of Jurjān. Yāḵūt, who is one of the first to mention the name Māzandarān, writes that he does not know exactly when it came into use; and, though never found in the older books, it was in his day already generally current throughout the country. Practically the terms Tābaristān and Māzandarān were then synonymous, but while the former name was applied primarily to the high mountains, and only included in a secondary use the narrow strip of lowland along the sea-shore running from the delta of the Sāfīd Rūd to the south-eastern angle of the Caspian, Māzandarān appears in the first instance to have denoted these lowlands, and then included the mountain region as subsidiary thereto. The name Tābaristān is at the present day obsolete.

During the earlier period of the Caliphate this province was politically of little importance, and it was in fact the last portion of the Sassanian kingdom to accept Islām. For more than a century after the Arab conquest of the rest of Persia the native rulers—called the Ispahbads of Tābaristān—were independent in their mountain fastnesses, and until the middle of the 2nd (8th) century their coinage continued to be struck with Pahlavi legends, and the Zoroastrian faith was dominant throughout the forests and fens of the great mountain range. In the 4th (10th) century, according to Muḥammad, garlic, rice, and flax, with waterfowl and fish, were the chief products of the country, which, unlike the rest of Persia, had an abundant rainfall. At a later date, according to Kāzvīnī, sericulture flourished, silk being plentifully exported. Wool-stuffs, carpets, veils, napkins, and cloth-stuffs were also largely manufactured, and various woods were cut in the forests, especially box-wood and that called Khalanj, of which arrows, bowls, and other utensils, were made. The houses in Tābaristān were built of wood and reeds, for, as Ibn Ḥawḵal
remarks, the rains were heavy, both summer and winter. They were built with domed roofs for the like reason.

The capital of Tabaristan under the later Abbasids was Amul, though the Tahirid governor, in the 3rd (9th) century, had generally resided at Sariyah. Amul, according to Ibn Hawkal, was in his day a larger place than Kazvin and very populous. Mukaddasi describes the town as possessing a hospital (Bimaristan) and two Friday Mosques—one, the Old Mosque, standing among trees on the market-place, the New Mosque being near the city wall. Each mosque had a great portico. The merchants of Amul did much trade. Rice was grown plentifully in the country round, and a large river which ran through the town was used for the irrigation of the fields. To this description Yaqut adds no new details, but Mustawfi, remarking on the hot, damp climate, says that dates, grapes, nuts, oranges, shaddock, and lemons grew here abundantly, and the fragrant essences made in the city were celebrated far and wide. The port of Amul, where its river flowed out into the Caspian, was the small town of Ayn-al-Humm, a name which Yaqut writes Ahlum, and describes as of no great size. Timur ravaged Amul at the close of the 8th (14th) century, destroying the three castles of Mahannah Sar, which lay four leagues distant from the city towards the sea-coast.

The second, and the earlier, capital of Tabaristan was Sariyah, now called Sari, which lies to the eastward of Amul. Mukaddasi describes Sariyah as a populous place where much cloth was manufactured, and its markets were famous. There was a small castle with a ditch, and a Friday Mosque where a fine orange-tree grew, also an immense fig-tree on the town bridge. The bridges of boats here were renowned. Of Sariyah in later times little is reported; it suffered much in the 7th (13th) century during the Mongol invasion, and when Mustawfi wrote was almost a complete ruin, though its lands produced an abundance of grapes and corn, and silk was still manufactured from the produce of the worms reared here.

The great mountain of Damāvand dominates the whole of Ṭabaristān, and its snow-capped summit is visible from the plains of Persia a hundred miles and more to the south of Tihrān—Mustawfī even says from a hundred leagues distant, and he notes that the peak was always covered with snow. In Persian legend Dunbāvand, as the name is written by the earlier authorities, figures as the home of the Simūrg, the fabulous bird which nursed and protected Zāl, the father of Rustam, and Mustawfī relates a number of romantic stories in connection with the national hero. According to Ibn Ḥawkāl the great mountain was visible from Sāvah, ‘rising up like a dome in the midst of the other high mountains,’ and he was of opinion that no one had ever climbed to the summit, from which, he adds, smoke was always seen to issue. Magicians much frequented it, and many legends were told of it, relating more especially how that ancient tyrant of Persia, Aḍ-Ḍuḥḥāk (Zuhāk), still lived in its recesses.

Damāvand gave its name both to a small town lying on its southern spurs, which Mustawfī writes was also called Pishyān, and to the broad fertile district spreading round its flanks. Of this district, in the 4th (10th) century, the chief town was Wimah, which with the neighbouring town of Shalanbāh, are described by Ibn Ḥawkāl as places famous for their corn lands and vineyards. Yāḵūt, who had passed through Wimah (or Waymah) and found it a ruin, states that the castle of Firūzkūh was visible from it. This latter castle he had also visited, and Mustawfī records that it took its water from the head of the stream that flowed out to the plain through Khuvār of Ray in Ḳūmis. Firūzkūh was one of the castles of Māzandarān which are mentioned as having been besieged and taken by Timūr. Another equally famous fortress on the slopes of Damāvand was the castle of Uṣṭūnāvand, or Ustunābād, which, according to Ḳazvīnī, had never been taken for 3000 years, till in 613 (1216) the Mongols stormed it. Yāḵūt, who says it was also called Jarhud and lay 10 leagues distant from Ray, describes it as having been the stronghold of the ancient Magian ruler of the country, the Ispahbad. The last of the line, he adds, was overthrown here by Yaḥyā the Barmecide, who carried captive the daughters of the Persian chief to Baghdad, where one of them, called
Bahriyyah, married the Caliph Maṇṣūr and became the mother of Mahdi, the father of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. At a later date this great fortress, which had been restored in 350 (961) by Fakhrid-Dawlah the Buyid, fell into the hands of the Assassins.¹

The medieval geographers mention the names of many fortresses and towns in Ṭabaristān which are no longer to be found on the map, having been brought to ruin either in the Mongol invasion of the 7th (13th) century, or else stormed and destroyed by Timūr, who ravaged Māzandarān more than once at the close of the 8th (14th) century. Moreover, the names of most of these lost towns and fortresses not occurring in the Itineraries, it is impossible to mark their position, even approximately, on the map. Ibn Ḥawkāl in the 4th (10th) century describes three mountain districts, well wooded and very fertile, which lay south of Sāriyah, about a day's march from this town, and stretching westward towards the frontier of Daylam, in the province of Gilān. The first of these was the Jabal Fādūsbān, the Mountains of Bādūsbān (in the Persian form of the word), this being the name of the ruling family, who as semi-independent chiefs held these districts for nearly 800 years, namely from the time of the Moslem conquest down to the Mongol invasion. The whole of this mountain district was covered with villages, of which the largest was named Ḫariyat Maṇṣūr, 'Maṇṣūr's Village,' and another was Uram Khāst or Uram Khāstah with an upper and a lower village, these places all lying about a day's march from Sāriyah, but throughout the mountain side there was no town of sufficient size to have a Friday Mosque.

Adjoining Fādūsbān was the mountain district called the Jabal Ḫārīn after the famous family of this name, which it is said was of Parthian origin; in any case the names of nobles of the Ḫārīn occur in the history of the Sassanians, and in Moslem times they still governed this district. The great fortress stronghold of the Ḫārīns, which they had held since Sassanian times, was at Firrim, and the chief centre of population was at the town of Sīhmār (or Shīhmār) where there was the only Friday Mosque.

of all this region. The position of Firrim, unfortunately, is not exactly given in any of the Itineraries. It is mentioned by Yâkút, and also in the 8th (14th) century by Mustawfi, who speaks of it as lying on the borders of Kûmis. The third mountain region was the Jabal-ar-Rúbanj, lying north of Ray, and therefore nearer to the Daylam frontier. Of this no towns or villages are mentioned, but it is said to have been extremely fertile and well watered, the mountain slopes being covered with trees and thickets.

One day's march, or five leagues, to the west of Âmul, in the plain near the coast, was the town of Nâtil or Nâtilah, and a like distance further to the west of this was Sâlûs, or Shâlûs, which Muqaddasi describes as a city having a castle built of stone, with a Friday Mosque adjoining. The name was also spelt Sâlûsh, and near it lay two other towns, namely Al-Kabîrah and Kajjah. In the accounts of the campaigns of Timûr Shâlûs is written Jâlûs, and all this country appears to have been permanently ruined during his wars, together with the mountainous region to the south, namely Rûyân and Rustamdâr.

The city of Kalâr, which Yâkút seems to think was identical with the above-mentioned Kajjah, was one march from Shâlûs, but in the mountains—and from Kalâr it was one march on to the Daylam frontier. There is some confusion in the names, but Kalâr, Kajjah, and Rûyân appear all to refer to neighbouring towns, if not to one and the same town, and Rûyân further was the name of one of the great districts in the mountains on the

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1 Ist. 205, 206. I. H. 268, 269. Yak. i. 212; iii. 324, 890. Mst. 191. For Fâdûsbân the reading Kâdûsiyân has been wrongly printed in the texts of Ištakhri and other geographers by a shifting of the diacritical points, and hence these people have often been supposed to represent the ancient Cadusii of Strabo; see Nödke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, p. 151, note 2, who explains that under the Sassanians the Bâdûsbân were the civil governors of the district, as against the Ispahbads, who were the military commanders of this, the frontier province. See also Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, p. 156, s.v. 'Karen,' and p. 245, s.v. 'Patkospan.' For the list of the Bâdûsbân chiefs in Moslem times see G. Melgunof, Das südliche Ufer des Kasposchen Meeres, p. 50, and for the Kârin chiefs, idem, p. 52.

2 I. H. 275. Muk. 359. I. F. 305. Yak. iii. 13, 237, 504; iv. 726. A. Y. i. 391. Shâlûs is said to be only eight leagues from Ray, but this must be a mistake if it lay on or near the shore of the Caspian.
western border of Tabaristan. Abu-l-Fidā says that the city of Rūyān was also known as Shāristān, and that it crowned the summit of the pass 16 leagues from Қазвин. According to Yākūt Rūyān was the capital city of the mountain district of Tabaristan, just as Âmul was of the lowland plains; it had fine buildings and its gardens were famous for their productiveness. Near Rūyān (or Kalār) was the little town of Saʿīdābād.

The great fortress of Ṭāḵ (the Arch) on the frontier of Daylam, and the last refuge of the Ispahbad prince of Tabaristan who was conquered in the time of the Caliph Mansūr, must have been situated in this district of Rūyān. The place is described at some length both by Yākūt and Қazvini, who quote older writers. Ṭāḵ was deemed an impregnable stronghold, and had existed since the days of the Sassanian kings of Persia. It was situated high up in the mountains, and was only reached by a tunnel a mile long (it is said) which had been pierced through the encircling cliffs. The tunnel led to an open valley surrounded by precipices in which were many caverns, and from one of these a powerful spring gushed out, and after flowing a short distance disappeared into the depths of a neighbouring cave. Yākūt adds a long account of the wonders of this place.

At the head-waters of the great Shāh Rūd—the eastern affluent of the Safid Rūd (see above, p. 170)—lay the district of Rustamdār, which Mustawfi describes as comprising near 300 villages, and this country, which was watered by the numerous tributaries of the Shāh Rūd, thus lay between Қazvīn and Âmul, and to the eastward of the Rūyān district. On the Shāh Rūd, as already described in Chapter XV, p. 221, were the chief castles of the Ismailians or Assassins, and probably in this Rustamdār district also was Kalām, described by Yākūt as an ancient fortress of Tabaristan, which had been in the hands of these sectaries, and was destroyed by Sultan Muḥammad, son of Malik Shāh the Saljūḵ.

Two leagues to the eastward of Âmul, and on the coast road, lay the town of Milah, and three leagues beyond this Barji, which was one march from Sāriyah. The city of Mamṭir or Māmaṭir,

one march from either Âmul or Sâriyah, and six leagues from the coast, is identical with the later Bârfarûsh. It had a Friday Mosque, Yâkût says, and much fertile land lay adjacent to the city. Near Sâriyah, and probably to the eastward, were the towns called Nâmiyâh (or Nâmishah), with a fine district, 20 leagues from Sâriyah, and Mihrâwân, 10 leagues from Sâriyah, where there was a Friday Mosque and a garrison of 1000 men, but unfortunately the exact position of these two places is quite uncertain. On the eastern frontier of Ŭabaristân, and three marches from Sâriyah, on the road to Astarâbâd, from which it was one march distant, lay the town of Tâmis, or Tâmisah, standing on the great causeway across the marshes which, according to Yâkût, had been built to carry the high road by King Anûshirwân the Just ¹.

At the south-east angle of the Caspian is the Bay of Ashurâdâh, as it is now named, where a long spit of sand stretches out eastward till it almost reaches the Jurjân coast. This bay with its island or peninsula is described by Mustawfî under the name of Nîm Murdân. The settlement here was very populous in the 8th (14th) century, and was a harbour for ships from all parts of the Caspian. The port was but three leagues distant from Astarâbâd, and the town behind it which carried on a brisk trade was called Shahrâbâd. The neighbouring district, which produced a great deal of silk, and where corn lands and vineyards abounded, was known as Kabûd Jâmah. It had been a very rich country, but was entirely ruined by the wars of Tîmûr at the close of the 8th (14th) century. The city of Rû‘ad, or Rûghad, which is also mentioned as passed by Tîmûr on his march into Mâzandarân, was probably of the Kabûd Jâmah district. It was, says Mustawfî, a fair-sized town, being 4000 paces in circuit, and it stood in the midst of many fertile lands, where much corn and cotton, besides various fruits, were grown in abundance.

Of the products of Ŭabaristân, besides the commodities already

¹ I. H. 275. Yak. iii. 503, 504, 547; iv. 398, 642, 699, 733. The earliest mention of Bârfarûsh, under the form Bārah Farûsh Dîh ('the Village where Loads are Sold'), occurs in Hast îlîm of Ahmad Râzi, a work of the 10th (16th) century; see Dorn, Muhammedanische Quellen, iv. p. 99 of the Persian text.
referred to on page 369, Muḵaddasi mentions fine cloth for robes, and stuffs for the taylasān veils, also coarse linen cloths that were woven largely for export. Of natural products the Khalanj wood already named was cut and sent away in the rough to be made into bowls and other utensils by the craftsmen in Ray. The Khalanj is described as a tree that produced a variegated and sweet-smelling wood, of which the beads of chaplets were sometimes made, and the best kind grew only on the Țabaristân mountains.

Jurjân.

The province of Jurjân, or Gurgân, as the Persians pronounced the name, lying at the south-eastern corner of the Caspian, consisted for the most part of the broad plains and valleys watered by the two rivers Jurjân and Atrak. In earlier days it was always held to be a province by itself, though dependent on Khurāsān, but after the changes brought about by the Mongol conquest, it was annexed politically to Māzandarān. Like other districts near the southern shore of the Caspian it was overrun and devastated by the Mongol hordes in the 7th (13th) century, and then again by Timūr at the close of the 8th (14th) century.

Jurjân, as Muḵaddasi writes, being rich in streams, its plains and hills were covered with orchards producing dates, oranges, and grapes in abundance. The most important river of the province was that generally called by its name, the Jurjân river, which Muḵaddasi in the 4th (10th) century states was then known as the river Ţayfūrī. The river Atrak he does not name. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi gives the name as the Āb-i-Jurjân, and says that the Jurjân river rose in the valley of Shahr-i-Naw (New Town), whence, passing through the plain of Sulṭān Darīn, it reached the city of Jurjân, past which it flowed, and thence entered the Caspian, near the island of Abaskūn in the bay of Nim Murdān. Throughout its course the stream was deep, almost

1 Muk. 367. Mst. 190, 191. J. N. 339, 341. A. Y. i. 349. The forms of Ashurādah Bay and of the peninsula have of course changed greatly since the 14th century, when Mustawfi wrote, and the exact sites of the town and port are unknown.
unfordable, so that travellers were often drowned in crossing it; and in flood-time its waters were carried off by channels and used up in irrigation, though much always ran to waste.

The river Atrak is a longer stream than the Jurjân, and rises in the plains of Khurâsân, between Nisâ and Khabûshân, near the sources of the Mashhad river, which latter flows off south-east, and in the opposite direction. The Atrak is very deep and like the Jurjân mostly unfordable, as Mustawfi writes, and flowing along by the Dihistan frontier, on the northern side of the Jurjân province, reaches the Caspian after a course of nearly 120 leagues. The name Atrak is said to be merely a plural form of the word Turk, and the River of the Turks was so called from those who once lived on its banks. No name, however, appears to be given to this stream by any of the earlier Arab geographers, and Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century is one of the first to call it the Atrak, by which appellation it is still known.

The capital of Jurjân is the city of the same name, at the present day called Min Gurgân, which Ibn Hawkâl in the 4th (10th) century describes as a fine town, built of clay bricks, enjoying a far drier climate than Æmul, for less rain fell in Jurjân than in Tabaristân. The city consisted of two parts, one on either side of the Jurjân river, which was here traversed by a bridge of boats, and Jurjân was more properly the name of the eastern half of the town. On the west side lay Bakrâbâd, the suburb, and the two parts of the city together, according to the description of Ibn Hawkâl, who had been here, were nearly as large as Ray. The fruit from the gardens round was abundant, and silk was produced in great quantities. The main quarter of Jurjân, that on the east bank, Muqaddasi calls Shahrastân; it had fine mosques and markets, where the pomegranates, olives, water-melons, and egg-plants, with oranges, lemons, and grapes of the neighbouring gardens were sold cheaply, and were all of superexcellent flavour. The town was intersected by canals, crossed by arched bridges or by planks laid on boats. A Maydân, or public square, faced the

1 Muk. 354, 367. Mst. 212, 213. J. N. 341. Hfz. 32a. The name Atrak is written (and pronounced) with the second vowel short, while the plural of Turk is Atrak; hence the usual explanation of the name is probably erroneous.
governor's palace, and this quarter of the town had nine gates. The defect of Jurjân was the great heat of its climate, and the flies were numerous, as well as other insects, especially bugs of a size so large as commonly to be known as 'the wolves' (Gurgân). Bakrâbâd, as Muâddasî spells the name, was also a populous city with its own mosques, and the buildings extended back for a considerable distance from the river, and for some distance along its western bank.

When Kâzvînî wrote in the 7th (13th) century Jurjân was famous among the Shî'âhs for the shrine called Gûr-i-Surkh, 'the Red Tomb,' said to be that of one of the descendants of 'Ali, whom Mustawfi identifies as Mu'âammad, son of Ja'far-âs-Šâdîk, the sixth Imâm. Mustawfi reports that the city had been rebuilt by the grandson of Malik Shâh the Saljûk, and that its walls were 7000 paces in circuit. In the 8th (14th) century, when he wrote, the town lay for the most part in ruins, never having recovered the ravages of the Mongol invasion. He praises, however, the magnificent fruit grown here, and besides those kinds mentioned above names the jujube-tree as bearing freely here, so that trees which were only two or three years old gave good fruit, twice in each season. The population were all Shî'âhs in his time, but they were not numerous. In the year 795 (1393) Timûr, who had devastated all Mâzandarân and the neighbouring country, stopped at Jurjân and built for himself here on the banks of the river the great palace of Shâsman, which is especially referred to by Haâfiz Abrû.

The second city of the Jurjân province is Astarâbâd, near the frontier of Mâzandarân. Muâddasî describes it as a fine town in the 4th (10th) century, with the best climate of all the region round. Raw silk was its chief product, and in his day the fortress was already in ruin, for the Buyids had ravaged all this country during their wars against the Ziyârids; and Muâddasî adds that

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1 I. H. 272, 273. Muk. 357, 358. Kaz. ii. 235. Mst. 190. A. Y. i. 578. Hz. 32a. During the 4th (10th) century Jurjân was governed by a native dynasty, the Ziyârids, whose rule extended over Tabaristân and the neighbouring lands. Of these Ziyârids one of the most famous was Kâbûs, who died in 403 (1012) and whose tomb, called the Gunbad-i-âkûbûs, is still to be seen near the ruins of Jurjân city. C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, pp. 239—241.
there was the Friday Mosque built at the time of the first Moslem conquest still standing in the market-place near the city gate. Yākūt and Mūstawfī merely confirm the above account, praising the climate of Astarābād and the abundant supplies, but adding no fresh details. The port on the Caspian of both Jurjān and Astarābād was at Ābaskūn, given as one day’s march distant from either city, but the site would appear to have been engulfed in the sea during the 7th (13th) century, following on the events of the Mongol invasion. Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḵal, writing in the 4th (10th) century, describe Ābaskūn as a considerable market for the silk trade, being the border station at that time against the Turks and Ghuzz, and the chief port for the coasting trade of the Caspian, sailing towards Gīlān. It was protected by a strong castle built of burnt brick, and the Friday Mosque was in its market-place. Muḵaddasī writes of it as ‘the great harbour of Jurjān,’ and the Caspian itself, Yākūt adds, was often called the Sea of Ābaskūn. In history Ābaskūn is celebrated as having been the final refuge of Muḥammad, the last reigning Khwārizm-Shāh, who, fleeing before the Mongol hordes, died here miserably in 617 (1220).

Six days’ journey (or 50 leagues) north of Ābaskūn, and four marches from Jurjān city, was the settlement of Dīhistān in the district of the same name, the outpost in the 4th (10th) century of the Turk frontier. Ibn Ḥawḵal speaks of Dīhistān as lying near the Caspian shore. The only settlements were small villages, with some gardens, but only a sparse population. Adjacent was a shallow bay of the Caspian where boats anchored and much fishing was carried on by the coast people. The chief settlement was called Ākhor, which Muḵaddasī refers to as a city, surrounded by twenty-four villages, ‘and these are the most populous of all the Jurjān province.’ In Ākhor was a minaret, or tower, which could be seen from a great distance away in the neighbouring desert.

To the eastward of Ākhor was Ar-Rubāt, ‘the Guard-house, an important settlement at the entrance of the desert route going

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to Khwârizm. Muşaddâsî speaks of it as having three gates, and though in his time it was for the most part in ruin, it was still populous, with good markets and a few well-built houses, and fine mosques. Of these last, the Old Mosque had been built on wooden pillars, Muşaddâsî says, and it was in his day half underground. Another of the mosques had a beautiful minaret. Yâḳût mentions these and some other places in the Dihistân district, namely the villages of Khârtîr, Farghûl, and Habrâthân, but he adds no details. Mustawfî, who gives the route from Jurjân to Khwârizm across Dihistân, describes this as the frontier between the Moslems and the heathen Turks and Kurds. The district had a warm climate and a stream watered its fields, but there was little fruit grown here.\footnote{The ruins of these towns lying on the border of the Khwârizm desert are still to be seen at Misriyân, near the mountains now called the Kören Dâgh, but all cultivation has long ceased in this district, which is now a waterless desert. I. H. 277, 286. Muk. 358, 359. Yak. i. 59, 500; ii. 418, 633; iii. 880; iv. 949. Mst. 190, 197.}

Four stages from Dihistân on the desert border, where the road started for crossing to Khwârizm, stood the city of Farâvah, which is given by Iṣṭâkhrî as a settlement of the Ghuzz Desert. In the 4th (10th) century it was strongly garrisoned by volunteers, and there was a great Rubâţ, or guard-house, to protect the country lying at the back of it against the Turkish inroads. Its gardens and fields were small in extent and the town or settlement numbered barely a thousand families. Muşaddâsî spells the name Afrâvah, and Yâḳût says that it was a Rubâţ built by 'Abd Allah, the Tâhirid, during the reign of the Caliph Mamûn. From its position there is little doubt that Farâvah is identical with the modern Kızîl Arvat, a corruption of Kızîl Rubâţ, 'the Red Guard-house.' The names only of a number of other places in the Jurjân province are given by Yâḳût, these being the various villages belonging to Jurjân city, or to Astarâbâd. No details, however, are added, their positions are not indicated, and too often the reading of the name is uncertain.\footnote{Ist. 273. I. H. 324. Muk. 333. Yak. iii. 866. Mst. 197. For these villages see for instance sixteen names given by Yâḳût. Yak. ii. 137, 489, 782; iii. 323, 923, 930; iv. 277, 376, 395, 396, 555, 699, 728, 926, 927.}

Muşaddâsî mentions, among the products for which Jurjân
was famous, a particular kind of face-veil woven of raw silk, which was in his day largely exported to Yaman in southern Arabia. An inferior kind of brocade (dibāj) was also largely manufactured, and of fruits Jurjân was especially famous for its grapes, figs, and olives.

The high roads through Taabaristan and Jurjân are not numerous, since in the first-named country the mountains are for roads almost impassable. Išṭakhri (duplicated by Ibn Ḥawḵal) and Muqaddasî give the road from Ray northwards across the great chain to Āmul, passing through Ask and Bulûr (Pulûr), but many of the stages are now difficult or impossible to identify. Travelling westward from Āmul along the coast, Ibn Ḥawḵal and Išṭakhri give the marches through Nâtil and Sâlûs to the frontier of Gilân (Daylam); also eastward from Āmul to Astarâbâd and Jurjân city. From Jurjân city north to Dihistân the stations are given by Muqaddasî, as also by Mustawfî in his account of the road from Bistâm in Kumis to the capital of Khwârizm. Muqaddasî also gives the road from Bistâm to Jurjân city across the mountain pass, through Juhaynah, which is described by Ibn Ḥawḵal as a fine village on a river. Lastly from Jurjân eastward into Khurasân Muqaddasî gives a route in 5 days to Isfarâyin in the Juwayn plain, passing through Ajgh, which is now called Ashk. This district will be described in the following chapter.

1 Muk. 367.
CHAPTER XXVII.
KHURÂSÂN.


In old Persian Khurâsân means 'the Eastern Land,' and in the earlier middle-ages the name was applied, generally, so as to include all the Moslem provinces east of the Great Desert, as far as the frontier of the Indian mountains. Khurâsân, therefore, was taken in this larger sense to include all Transoxiana on the north-east, besides Sîjistân with Kûhistân on the south, and its outer boundaries were the Chinese desert and the Pamîr towards Central Asia, with the Hindû Kush ranges towards India. Later, however, these limits became more circumscribed, and Khurâsân as a province of medieval Persia may conveniently be held to have extended only as far as the Oxus on the north-east, but it still included all the highlands beyond Herât, in what is now the north-western part of Afgânistân. Further, the country of the upper Oxus, towards the Pamîr, as known to the medieval Arabs, was always counted as one of the outlying districts of Khurâsân.

Arab or medieval Khurâsân is conveniently divided into four Quarters (Rubţ), named from the four great cities which at various times were, separately or conjointly, the capitals of the province, to wit Naysâbûr, Marv, Herât, and Balkh. After the first Moslem conquest the capitals of Khurâsân had been at Marv and at Balkh. The princes of the Ťâhirid dynasty, however, shifted the centre of government westward, and under their
sway Naysâbûr became the capital city of the province, being also the chief town of the westernmost of the four Quarters. In modern Persian the name is pronounced Nishâpûr, the Arab form being Naysâbûr, which is from the old Persian Niv-Shahpuhr, meaning ‘the good (thing, deed, or place) of Shâpûr,’ and the city is so called after the Sassanian king Shâpûr II, who had rebuilt it in the 4th century A.D., for Naysâbûr owed its foundation to Shâpûr I, son of Ardashîr Bâbgân. Of the chief towns of the Naysâbûr district, in which was included most of the province of Kûhistân already described, long lists are given by the Arab geographers of the 3rd (9th) century, but these are chiefly interesting for the archaic spelling of some of the names, and many places named cannot now be identified.

In early Moslem days Naysâbûr was also known as Abrashahr, meaning ‘Cloud-city’ in Persian, and as such appears as a mint city on the early dirhams of both the Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphs. The name Irân-shahr—the City of Irân—is also given to it by Muḳaddasî and others, but probably this was merely used officially and as a title of honour. In the 4th (10th) century Naysâbûr was already a most populous place, measuring from half a league to a league across every way, and consisting of the citadel or fortress, the city proper, and an outer suburb. The chief Friday Mosque stood in the suburb; it had been built by Amr the Saffârid, and faced the public square called Al-Mu'askar, ‘the Review Ground.’ Adjacent thereto was the palace of the governor, which opened on another square called the Maydân-al-Ḥusayniyin, and not far from this was the prison—all three buildings standing within a quarter of a league one of the other.

The fortress had two gates, the city four. These last were named Bâb-al-Ḳantarah (the Bridge Gate), next the gate of the street of Ma'kil, then Bâb-al-Ḳuyandiz (the Fortress Gate), and lastly the gate of the Takîn bridge. The suburbs lying beyond

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2 Ist. 258. I. H. 313. I. K. 24. Ykb. 278. I. R. 171. The first syllable of the name Nishâpûr in old Persian was Nîv, or Nîk, which in modern Persian exists in Nîkā, ‘good’; the Arab diphthong Nay(sâbûr) changes in modern Persian to the long vowel, becoming Nishâpûr, for the Arab ɒ is in Persian pronounced ɒ. Nöldeke, Sassaniden, p. 59.
and round both fortress and city, where the great markets were situated, had many gates. Of these the chief were the gate of the domes (Báb-al-Ḳubáb), opening west, and on the opposite quarter the war gate (Báb Jang) towards the Bushtafūsh district; then to the south was the Báb Aḥwaṣābād, and the names of some others are also given. The most famous market-places were those known as Al-Murabba‘ah-al-Kabīrah, and Al-Murabba‘ah-ṣa-Ṣaghīrah (‘the great quadrangle’ and ‘the little quadrangle’), of which the great quadrangle was near the Friday Mosque, already mentioned. The little quadrangle was at some distance from the other, in the western part of the suburbs, near the Maydān-al-Husaynīyīn and the governor’s palace. A long line of streets flanked by shops went from one quadrangle to the other; and a like street of shops crossed this at right-angles, near the great quadrangle, going south as far as the graveyard known as the Maḵābir-al-Husaynīyīn, and extending north to the head of the bridge over the river.

In these market streets were many hostels for the merchants, and every sort of merchandise might be found each in its separate mart, while cloggers, clothiers, bootmakers, and men of every trade were abundantly represented. Every house in the city had its own separate underground water channel, the supply coming from the stream of the Wādī Saghāvar, which flowed down through Naysābūr from the neighbouring village of Bushtarkān. These water channels, which were under the inspection of a special officer within the city, often ran as much as a hundred steps below the ground level. Beyond the city the channels reached the surface, and were here used for the irrigation of the garden lands.

No town in all Khurāsān, says Ibn Hawkal, was healthier or more populous than Naysābūr, being famous for its rich merchants, and the store of merchandise coming in daily by caravan. Cotton and raw silk were its chief exports, and all kinds of stuff goods were manufactured here. Muḵaddasi fully bears out this account, adding some further details. He says that there were forty-two town quarters in Naysābūr, some of which were of the size of half the city of Shīrāz. The main streets (darb) leading to the gates were nearly fifty in number. The great Friday Mosque, which was built in four wards, dated, as already said, from the days of ‘Amr the Ṣaffārid. Its roof was supported on columns of
burnt brick, and three arcades went round the great court. The main building was ornamented with golden tiles, there were eleven gates to the mosque, each flanked by marble columns, and both the roof and walls were profusely ornamented. The river of Naysâbûr, as noted above, came from the village of Bushtankan; it turned seventy mills, and from it the numerous underground watercourses were led off, for the river itself flowed past the place at a distance of a league. Within the city and among the houses there were many wells of sweet water.

Yâkût says that in his day, namely the 7th (13th) century, the name of the city was commonly pronounced Nashâvûr. He declares that in spite of the ruin which had been the result of the great earthquakes in the year 540 (1145), followed by the sack of the place at the hands of the Ghuzz hordes in 548 (1153), he had seen no finer city in all Khurâsân, and its gardens were famous for their white currants (ribâs) and for other fruits. After this Ghuzz inroad, when Sultan Sanjar the Saljûk was carried away prisoner, and the city devastated, the inhabitants for the most part removed to the neighbouring suburb of Shâdyâkh, which was then rebuilt, being surrounded with a wall and enlarged by Al-Mu'ayyad, the governor, who acted in the name of the captive Sultan Sanjar. This suburb of Shâdyâkh, or Ash-Shâdhyâkh, had formerly been a garden, occupied by 'Abd Allah the Tâhirid in the early part of the 3rd (9th) century, when he made Naysâbûr the seat of his government. Round his palace, what had been originally the camp of his troops became the chief suburb of Naysâbûr, which, after the Ghuzz invasion, took the place of the capital. Yâkût, who spent some time at Nishâpûr about the year 613 (1216), lodged in Shâdyâkh, which he describes. Shortly after this, namely in 618 (1221), the capital was taken and sacked by the Mongols under Changîz Khân, as Yâkût himself heard and reports, he having by this time sought safety in Mosul. According to his information the Mongols left not one stone standing upon another.

Nishâpûr, however, must have quickly recovered from the

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effects of the Mongol invasion, for when Ibn Baṭūṭah was here in the 8th (14th) century it was again a populous city, with a fine mosque encircled by four colleges, while the plain round the city was 'a little Damascus' for fertility, for it was watered by four streams coming from the neighbouring hills. They manufactured here, Ibn Baṭūṭah adds, silk velvets called kamkhā and nakkhā, and the markets were much frequented by foreign merchants. Mustawfī, his contemporary, gives a long account of the city of Nishāpūr and of its district. He says that in the days of the Chosroes, as it was reported, the old town of Naysābūr had been originally laid out on the plan of a chess-board, with eight squares to each side. Then under the Šaffāroids Nishāpūr had increased in size and wealth, becoming the chief city of Khurāsān, till the year 605 (1208), when it was almost completely destroyed by earthquakes. It was after this date, according to Mustawfī, that Shādyaḵkh first took its place as the centre of population, this latter city having a wall 6700 paces in circuit. Nishāpūr, however, was forthwith rebuilt, but again destroyed by the earthquakes in the year 679 (1280), when a third city of Nishāpūr was re-founded on a different site, and this was the place which Mustawfī describes. Its walls then measured 15,000 paces in circuit, and it stood at the foot of the hills, facing south. The water-supply was plentiful, for the Nishāpūr river, which rose in the mountains two leagues or more to the eastward, had a sufficient current to turn 40 mills before it came to the town. He relates, further, that most of the houses in Nishāpūr had cisterns for storing water in the dry season.

The present city of Nīshāpūr lies on the eastern side of a semicircular plain, surrounded by mountains, and facing the desert, which is to the south. This plain is watered by many streams coming down from the hills to the north and east, and Mustawfī gives the names of a great number of these, which, after irrigating the lands round Nīshāpūr, become lost in the desert. Five leagues north of the city, at the head-waters of the Nīshāpūr river, was a little lake in the mountains at the top of the pass, called Chashmah Sabz, 'the Green Spring,' from which, according to Mustawfī, two streams running west and east took their rise, the eastern stream flowing
down to the valley of Mashhad. This lake appears to have been in the hill called Kûh Gulshân, where there was a wonderful Cavern of the Winds, and from its depths a draught of air and a current of water perpetually issued, the latter sufficiently strong to turn a mill. The lake of Chashmah Sabz is described as a league in circuit, and many wonders were related of it, for it was reported to be unfathomable, and an arrow could not be shot from one bank to the other.

Four districts of the Naysábûr plain were famous for their fertility, and Muḵaddasî in the 4th (10th) century enumerates these, namely, Ash-Shâmât (‘the Beauty Spots’), Rivand, which still exists to the west of Nîshápûr, Mâzûl, and Bushtafrûsh. The district of Mâzûl lay to the north, and its chief village was Bushtâkân (or Bushtankân), a league from the city, where 'Amr the Šaffârîd had planted a famous garden. The currants of this district were especially renowned. The Bushtafrûsh district, now known as Pusht Farûsh, extended for a day’s journey eastwards from the Jang Gate of Naysábûr, according to Muḵaddasî, and from the gardens of its villages, which Yâkût says numbered 126 in all, apricots were exported in immense quantities. The Shâmât district, Muḵaddasî says, was named Tak-Âb by the Persians, meaning ‘whence waters flow,’ and its fertility was extraordinary. Rivand, a small town in the district of the same name, lay one stage west of Naysábûr; in the 4th (10th) century the town had a Friday Mosque built of burnt brick, and it stood on its own river. Its vineyards were famous and its quinces were in great demand.

One of the main streams of the Nîshápûr district, according to Mustawfî, was the Shûrah Rûd, ‘the Salt River,’ which was joined by the waters of the stream from Dizbâd, and after watering many districts ultimately became lost in the desert. A number of other streams are also mentioned by Mustawfî, but many of their names are misspelt and they are now difficult to identify. Some, however, present no difficulty, as for instance the river of Bushtâkân, rising in the Chashmah Sabz neighbourhood, already mentioned, and the Bushtafrûsh river, both of which in the spring freshets, he says, joined the Shûrah Rûd. Finally, there was the stream named the ‘Atshábâd, or ‘Thirst’ river, which, though in
spring-time it had water enough to turn 20 mills throughout its course of a score of leagues, at other seasons did not give enough to quench a man's thirst, from which cause came its ill-omened name 1.

To the south-east of Nishāpūr the great Khurāsān high road bifurcates at the stage which the Arabs named Kašr-ar-Riḥ, 'Castle of the Wind,' and the Persians Dīzād or Dīh Bād. Its river has been already mentioned among the streams which flowed to the Shūrah river. From here the road to Marv went due east, that to Herāt turning off south-east. On this last, two stages from Dīh Bād, was the village of Farhādān, which is also called Farhādhjird by Yāḵūt. Its district, which was counted as of Naysābūr, Muḵaddasī calls Asfand; in Ibn Rustah the spelling given is Ashbandh, and Yāḵūt writes Ashfand, adding that this district comprised 83 villages. The old name of the district appears now to be lost, but the village called Farajjird (for the older Farhādhjird) is still marked on the maps at the place indicated by the Itineraries 2.

Due east of Nishāpūr, but separated from it by the range of mountains in which most of the streams of the Nishāpūr plain take their rise, lies Mashhad—'the Place of Martyrdom,' or 'Shrine' of the Imām—now the capital of the Persian province of Khurāsān, and a few miles to the north of it may be seen the ruins of Ṭūs, the older city. Ṭūs, in the 4th (10th) century, was the second city of the Naysābūr quarter of Khurāsān, and consisted of the twin towns of Ṭābbarān and Nuḵān, while two post-stages distant was the great garden at the village of Sanābādh, where lay the graves of the Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, who died in 193 (809), and of the eighth Imām ʿAlī-ar-Riḍā, who was poisoned by Mamūn in 202 (817). This village of Sanābādh was also known as Barda', meaning 'a pack-saddle,' or as Al-Muthaḵḵab, 'the Pierced', 3 presumably from the windows of the shrine, or for some other fanciful reason.

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1 I. R. 171. Muk. 300, 316, 317. Yak. i. 630; iii. 228—231; iv. 391, 857, 858. I. B. iii. 80, 81. Mst. 185, 206, 219, 220, 226. J. N. 328. For the Chashmah Sabz lake and the Cave of the Winds, see C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sīstan, pp. 351, 353. Both places are still famous in Khurāsān.


3 Al-Muthaḵḵab was a name given to various fortresses; one near Al-
In the 3rd (9th) century, according to Ya’kūbi, Nūḵān was the greater of the two halves of Tūs, but in the following century Ṭabarān had outgrown it, and was the larger city down to the time of Yāḵūṭ, when Tūs was ruined by the Mongol hordes. In early days Nūḵān was celebrated for its stone jars made of serpentine (Barām), which were largely exported; and there were mines for gold and silver, copper and iron, which were profitably worked in the neighbouring hills. Turquoises, and the stone known as ‘santalum’ (khumāhan), also malachite (bahnaḏ), were all found in the neighbourhood of Tūs, and brought for sale to the markets of Nūḵān. This part of Tūs, however, was rather deficient in its water-supply. The fortress of the adjacent quarter of Ṭabarān was a huge building, ‘visible afar off,’ as Muḥaddasī writes, and the markets of this half of the town were well supplied. Its Friday Mosque was beautifully built and finely ornamented. The neighbouring tombs at Sanābādī were already in the 4th (10th) century surrounded by a strongly fortified wall, and the shrine, as Ibn Ḥawkal reports, was constantly thronged by devotees. A mosque had been built near the tomb of the Imām Riḍā by the Amīr Fāiḵ ‘Amīd-ad-Dawlaḵ, than which, says Muḥaddasī, ‘there is none finer in all Khurāsān.’ The grave of Ḥārūn-ar-Rashid had been made by the side of that of the Imām, and many houses and a market had been built in the vicinity of the great garden.

The description given by Yāḵūṭ adds little to the above, but he mentions, as one of the most famous tombs at Ṭabarān, the shrine of the great Sunnī theologian, the Imām Ghazzālī, who had died in 505 (1111), after having served some years at Baghdād as chief of the Niẓāmiyah college. When Yāḵūṭ wrote, in the 7th (13th) century, the name Tūs was more generally used to denote the surrounding district, where there were, he says, over a thousand flourishing villages. In 617 (1220), however, all this country,

Maṣṣīṣah (Mopsuestia) has been mentioned in Chapter IX, p. 130. The origin of the name Bardaḥ is not explained. Nūḵān, pronounced Nūṅān, is still the name of the north-east quarter and gate of modern Mashhad, leading out doubtless towards Nūḵān of Tūs, and the Sanābād watercourse at the present day supplies the north-west quarter of Mashhad. I. R. 172. I. K. 24. Yak. iv. 414. C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 316, 317.
including the two cities of Tūs, with the shrines at Sanābādhdh (Mashhad), was devastated and pillaged by the Mongol hordes. From the Mongol sack Tūs appears never to have recovered, though the neighbouring shrines under the fostering care of the rich Shi‘ahs soon resumed their former splendour; and Mustawfi, in the 8th (14th) century, is one of the first to refer to the Sanābādhdh village as Mashhad, 'the Place of Martyrdom,' a name that it has since always borne.

The Caliph and the Imām, as Kāzvīnī remarks, lay under one dome, and the latter only was held in honour by the Shi‘ahs, who, however, knew not which tomb to revere, for by order of the Caliph Mamūn (son of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, and the poisoner of ‘Alī-ar-Riḍā), the two graves had been made exactly alike. When Mustawfi wrote, Mashhad had already become a great city, surrounded by immense graveyards with many famous tombs, that of Ghazzālī, just mentioned, lying to the eastward of the shrines, where also was shown the grave of the poet Firdūsī. Around the city lay the fertile plain known as Marghāzār Takān, 12 leagues long by 5 across, where grapes and figs were more especially grown. The people of the Tūs district were, Mustawfi adds, 'a very excellent folk and good to strangers.'

Ibn Baṭūṭah, who visited the Mashhad of Imām Riḍā a few years later, gives a careful description of the shrine. Mashhad, he says, a large city, plentifully supplied as to its markets, and surrounded by hills. Over the tombs was a mighty dome, covering the oratory, and the mosque with a college (Madrasah) stood adjacent. All these were finely built, their walls being lined with tile-work (kāshānī). Above the actual grave of the Imām was a sort of platform, or casing in wood, overlaid with silver plates, many silver lamps being hung from the beams round about. The threshold of the door into the oratory was overlaid in silver, the aperture being closed by a gold-embroidered silk veil, and the floor under the dome was spread with many fine carpets. The tomb of the Caliph was also covered by a casing of wood, on which candlesticks were set, but it was not held in honour, for, says Ibn Baṭūṭah, 'every Shi‘ah on entering kicks with his foot the tomb of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, while he invokes a blessing on that of Imām Riḍā.' The magnificence of the shrine
of the Imám is alluded to by the Spanish envoy Clavijo, who visited the court of Timûr in 808 (1405), and on his way passed through Mashhad. In those days it is noteworthy that Christians might enter the shrine, for the Persian Shi‘ahs were not then as fanatical in this matter as they are at the present time.

Four days’ march due west of Nishâpûr in the district of Bayhaḵ were the two cities of Sabzivâr and Khusrûjird, a league only separating them; Sabzivâr, the chief town, being itself generally known in the middle-ages as Bayhaḵ. The Bayhaḵ district, which extended as far east as Rivand, measuring 25 leagues across in all directions, comprised according to Yâkût 321 villages, and he adds that the name Bayhaḵ was from the Persian Bayyah or Bahâyín, which signified ‘most generous.’ According to the same authority Sâbzavâr was the more exact name of the town, which the common people had shortened to Sabzvar; and Khusrûjird had originally been the chief town of the district, but the pre-eminence in his day was gone over to Sabzivâr. Mustawfî says that the markets of this town were covered by a wooden roof on arches, very strongly built; grapes and other fruits were grown in the district round, and most of the population in the 8th (14th) century were Shi‘ahs.

From Bištâm in the Kûmis province to Nishâpûr there were two roads. The more direct, the post-road, lies along the edge of the desert, going through Sabzivâr. The longer caravan road is to the north, and curves through the great upland plain of Juvayn, which is separated from the Great Desert by a range of hills. This district of Juvayn, which, according to Muḳaddasî, was also called Gûyân, was very fertile in food-stuffs, and its chief town was Azâdhvâr or Azâdvâr. The Isfarâyín district was in its northern part;

1 The name of the Imám is at the present day pronounced Rizâ by the Persians. Ykb. 277. Ist. 257, 258. I. H. 313. Muk. 319, 333, 352. Yak. iii. 154, 486, 569, 561; iv. 824. Kaz. ii. 262. Mst. 186. I. B. iii. 77—79. Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, p. 110 (Hakluyt Society). ‘The ambassadors went to see the mosque, and afterwards, when in other lands people heard them say that they had been to this tomb, they kissed their clothes, saying that they had been near the holy [shrine of] Horazan.’

2 Muk. 317, 318. Yak. i. 804; ii. 441. Mst. 186. For the ruins of Bayhaḵ see C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, p. 398.
while at the western end, on the Kūmis border, was the Arghiyān district round Jājarm. Nearly two hundred villages, according to Yāḳūṭ, were dependencies of Azādhvār, which he describes as a populous town with fine mosques, and outside its gate was a great khān for merchants, for its markets were much frequented. The gardens of its villages stretched continuously all down the valley, and the water for their irrigation was brought by underground watercourses from the springs in the southern hills. In the 8th (14th) century, according to Mustawfī, the capital of the Juvayn district had changed to Fariyūmād, some miles to the south of Azādvār. Khudāshah, a stage east of Azādvār on the caravan road, was also a place of importance, where, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, Ḥājjī Barlās, the uncle of Timūr, was slain, as is mentioned by ‘Ali of Yazd in his history.

The town of Jājarm, also called Arghiyān, which is more particularly the name of its district, had, according to Muḳaddasi, a fine Friday Mosque, and was a well-fortified city, with 70 villages of its dependencies. Yāḳūṭ describes the three towns of Samal-ḵan or Samanḵan, said to lie east of Jājarm, Ar-Rāwanīr (or Rāwansar), and Bān, as being all of the Arghiyān or Jājarm district, but their exact positions are not given. He also mentions Sabanj or Isfanj, which still exists to the south-west of Jājarm on the road to Bistām, and this place Mustawfī calls Rubāṭ Savanj. Mustawfī describes Jājarm as a fair-sized town, which no army could come against, for within the circuit of a day’s journey round it the plain was everywhere covered by a grass poisonous to all cattle. On the other hand, at the foot of its castle, there grew two plane-trees (chinār), whose bark if chewed on a Wednesday morning infallibly cured toothache. Mustawfī adds that this bark was largely exported. The district round was very fertile, growing fruit and corn. The Jājarm river, which ran south and ended in the desert, he names the Jaghān Rūd: it rose by three springs, each of which could have turned a mill, and these after coming

1 Muk. 318. Yak. i. 230; ii. 165. Mst. 186, 196. A. Y. i. 58. There is some confusion between the names of Khudāshah four leagues to the east of Azādvār, and Khurāshah, which is about the same distance to the north of Azādvār. The two names are written much alike in the Arabic character.
together ran for a course over 12 leagues in length, the water being much used for irrigation

The great plain of Isfarâyin (or Asfarayn), Muşaddasi says, grew much rice and fine grapes. Its chief town, of the same name, was very populous, and had good markets. Yâkút states that the town of Isfarâyin was of old called Mihrajân, this, when he wrote in the 7th (13th) century, being still the name of a village near the ruined town, and 51 villages were of its dependencies. The name Isfarâyin, according to Yâkút, was originally written Asbarâyin, and meant 'the shield-bearers,' from asbar, 'a shield.' Mustawfi relates that in the mosque at Isfarâyin was a great bowl of brass, the largest ever seen, for its outer edge measured a dozen ells in circumference. To the north of the city was the Kal'ah-i-
Zar, 'Gold Castle,' and the town took its water from a stream that flowed past at the foot of the castle hill. Throughout the surrounding plain nut-trees abounded; the climate was damp, but grapes and corn were grown plentifully.

In the marshy plain, where the river Atrak takes its rise to flow westward, while flowing in a contrary direction eastward, the river of Mashhad also has its source, lies the town of Kûchân, which in medieval times was called Khabûshân, or Khûjân. Its district the Arab geographers name Ustuvâ, praising it as a very fertile country; the name is said to mean 'the Highland'; and beyond Ustuvâ, eastwards, was the Nisâ district. Yâkút, who states that the name of the chief town was in his day pronounced Khûshân, says that 93 villages belonged to it. In the Jahân Numâ the name appears as Khûchân, and Mustawfi says that though the name of Ustuvâ for the district was still written in the fiscal registers, it was in his day no longer in common use. The surrounding plain he praises for its fertility, and adds that Hûlâgû Khân, the Mongol, had rebuilt Khabûshân in the 7th (13th) century, his grandson Arghûn, the Îl-Khân of Persia, afterwards greatly enlarging the town. About half-way between Khabûshân

1 Muk. 318. Yak. i. 209, 249, 485; ii. 4, 742; iii. 35, 145. Mst. 186, 196, 270.
2 Muk. 318. Yak. i. 246. Mst. 186. The medieval city of Isfarâyin (the plain is still known by this name) is probably to be identified with the ruins called Shahr-i-Bîlîs. C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 378, 379.
and Tūs is Rādkān, which is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal, and described by Yāḵūt as a small town celebrated as the birth-place of Nizām-al-Mulk, the great Wazir of Malik Shāh, the Saljuḵī.

The famous district of Nasā or Nisā is the broad valley now known as Darrah Gaz, 'the Vale of Manna.' The city of Nisā is described by Ibn Ḥawḳal as being a large town, of the size of Sarakhs, having an abundant water-supply from the neighbouring hills. Muḵaddasī praisers its fine mosque and excellent markets. Nearly all the houses, he says, had gardens, and rich villages were dotted about the valley all round the town. Yāḵūt, however, speaks of Nisā as most unhealthy, chiefly on account of the guinea-worm (the 'Medina worm,' he calls it), which in summer could hardly be avoided by those living in the place, and the suffering it caused made life unbearable. Kazvini adds that the town was also called Shahr Firūz, after the ancient Persian king who was reported to have built it.

To the east of Nisā, beyond the mountain ridge and on the edge of the Marv desert, lies Abīvard, the name being sometimes spelt Bâvard. Muḵaddasī says that its markets, in the midst of which stood the Friday Mosque, were finer even than those of Nisā, and more frequented by merchants. Mustawfī praisers the fruit grown here, and he counts as belonging to Abīvard the great guard-house (rubāṭ) at Kūšān, six leagues distant, standing in a village. This guard-house had been built by 'Abd-Allah, the Ţāhirid, in the 3rd (9th) century; it had four gates, and a mosque was built in its midst. The district in which Abīvard stood was called Khābarān, or Khāvarān, of which Mīnḥān, or Mayhanah, was the chief town; further, Yāḵūt names Azjah, Bāḏhan, Khvār-al-Jabal and Shūkān as among the important places of this district; but Mayhanah, when he wrote, was already in ruins.

1 I. H. 313. Muk. 318, 319. Yak. i. 243; ii. 400, 487, 730. Mst. 186. J. N. 323. The present town of Bujnurd, lying north of Isfarāyīn, and about 60 miles to the north-west of Kūchān, was founded a couple of centuries ago, but near it was an older town called Bizhān, the ruined castle of which, known as the Kāl'ah, still exists. C. E. Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 195, 196. Sykes, Persia, 22.

2 Ist. 273. I. H. 324. Muk. 320. Yak. iv. 776. Kaz. ii. 311. The city of Nisā is probably identical with the modern Muḥammadābād, the chief town of Darrah Gaz.
In the following, 8th (14th), century Mustawfi speaks of the many fine gardens of the Khâvarân district—he also gives the name as Khavardân—and he says that in its chief town had resided the poet Anvârî, who flourished in the 6th (12th) century, having been the panegyrist of Sultan Sanjar the Saljûk. ¹

In the mountains, and about half-way between Abivard and Mihnah, lies the huge natural fortress now known as Kilât-i-Nâdir, after Nâdir Shâh, the celebrated king of the Persia of the 18th century A.D., who stored his treasures here. This stronghold does not appear to be mentioned in any of the Itineraries, or by the Arab geographers of the 3rd and 4th (9th and 10th) centuries, and Yâkût does not notice it. The earliest mention of Kilât appears to be by ‘Utbi, in his History of Mahmûd of Ghaznah, and he merely states incidentally that a certain Amir went 'from Nishâpûr to Kilât, which is also in the Arabic fashion written Kal'ah.' Mustawfi gives a succinct description of the place, adding that its chief towns were called Jurm and Marinân; further, Kilât had much water, besides arable lands that produced abundantly, and many villages belonged to it of the surrounding districts. In history it first became famous for the siege of the fortress by Timûr, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, and after it had fallen into his hands he caused its fortifications to be carefully rebuilt and strengthened.²

The city of Sarakhs lies on the direct road from Tûs to Great Marv, and on the right, or eastern bank of the Mashhad river, which is now known as the Tajand. This river does not appear

¹ Muk. 321, 333. Íák. i. 111, 232, 461; ii. 383, 395, 428; iii. 337; iv. 321, 723. Mst. 189. A. Y. i. 382. J. N. 318. The name of Khâvarân stands for the older form Kharvarân, meaning 'the west country' (the opposite of Khurâsân, 'the east country'), and this small district of the foot-hills on the Marv desert thus preserves at the present day the name applied originally to all western Persia that was formerly not counted as Khurâsân, 'the country of the east.'

² ‘Utbi, Kilât-i-Yamînî, Arabic text (Cairo, 1286 A.H.), i. 215. Persian text (Tihrân, 1272 A.H.), p. 151. Mst. 187. A. Y. i. 334, 337. J. N. 323. Kilât or Kalât, in Persian, is equivalent to the Armenian Qalaq, signifying 'a city,' and in Arabic appears under the well-known form Kal'ah, or Kal'at, 'a castle.' Kilât-i-Nâdir was visited by Col. MacGregor (Journey through Khurasan, ii. 51) in 1875 and carefully described.
to be named by any of the medieval geographers; it rises, as already described, in the marshes near Kūchān, and at first flows south-east, passing Mashhad. When it has gone about a hundred miles beyond this city it receives from the south, as a great affluent, the Herāt river, and thence turning north flows to Sarakhs. At some distance further north, in the latitude of Abīvard, its waters spread out and became lost in the desert sands, at a place called Al-Ajmah, 'the Reed-beds,' where there were many tamarisk trees. Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawkāl speak of this river Tajand merely as an affluent of the Herāt river. Ibn Rustah, who regards it in the same light, says that two leagues before coming to Sarakhs the Herāt river (that is, the lower course of the Tajand) throws off a branch canal that goes direct to this city. Other canals too were taken from it to water the Sarakhs district, more especially one named the Khushk Rūd (Dry River), across which had been built a great masonry bridge, but for a great part of the year even the main stream at Sarakhs carried no water.

Sarakhs in the 4th (10th) century was a great city, being half the size of Marv, with a healthy climate. Camels and sheep were numerous in its pastures, though its arable lands were limited for lack of a constant water-supply. Muḥaddasī praises its Friday Mosque and fine markets, adding that throughout the suburbs there were many gardens. Kāzvinī, who speaks of it as very populous, says that they made here, for export, scarfs for turbans, and veils that were most beautifully embroidered in gold thread. In the 8th (14th) century Mustawfī describes the walls of Sarakhs as 5000 paces in circuit and protected by a strongly built fortress. Their drinking water, he says, was from the river 'coming from Ṭūs and Herāt' (he does not name the Tajand), a fine stream, and of very digestible water, which further served to irrigate the fields round Sarakhs, where melons and grapes grew abundantly.²

CHAPTER XXVIII.

KHURĀSĀN (continued).


The second of the Quarters of Khurāsān, that of Marv, lies along the Murghāb, or Marv river. This river flows down from the mountains of Ghūr to the north-east of Herāt, and passing Little Marv turns thence north to Great Marv, where its waters were divided up among a number of canals, after which it became lost in the sands of the Ghuzz Desert, on about the same latitude as the swamps of the Tajand or Herāt river, but some 70 miles to the eastward of the latter.

Besides the various towns lying along the Murghāb, the Marv quarter also included the places on the great Khurāsān road, beyond Marv, north-eastward to the Oxus at Āmul, where the crossing for Bukhārā took place.

The name Murghāb, or Marghāb, is said by Ibn Ḥawqal to have been originally Marv-āb, ‘the Marv-water’; but, says Iṣṭakhri, Murghāb is the name of the place where its streams rise. Muḥaddasī, who calls the Murghāb the river of the Two Marvs, describes it as flowing past Upper (or Lesser) Marv towards Lower (or Great) Marv. One march south of the latter city its bed was artificially dyked with embankments faced by woodworks which kept the river-bed from changing. This embankment in the 4th (10th) century was under the wardship of a specially appointed Amir who acted as water-bailiff, with 10,000 workmen
under him and horse guards, and saw to the up-keep of the dykes, and the regulation of the water-supply. There was on the embankment a measure which registered the flood-height; in a year of abundance this would rise to 60 barleycorns above the low-level, and the people then rejoiced, while in a year of drought the water would only attain the level of six barleycorns.

At a distance of one league south of Great Marv the waters of the stream were dammed back in a great round pool, whence four canals radiated to the various quarters of the city and suburbs. The height of the pool was regulated by sluices, and it was a great festival when at high flood-time the various dams were cut, and the waters were divided off according to rule. These four main canals were called respectively the Hurmuzfarrah canal, flowing towards the west, next to the eastward that of Mâjân, then the Nahr Zarḵ or Ar-Razîk, and finally the Nahr Asʿadî. Of these four the Nahr-al-Mâjân appears to have carried the main stream of the Murghâb, and after passing through the suburbs of the city, where it was crossed by many bridges of boats, it came out again to the desert plain, and flowed on till the residue of its waters were lost in the swamp. Yâḵūt in the 7th (13th) century states that the Murghâb was in his day known as the river Razîk (probably identical with the canal already mentioned), a name which he states was often incorrectly spelt Zarḵ, and the Jahân Numâ adds, as a third variant, Zarbaḵ. These names are also mentioned by Mustawfi, who gives Murghâb as the common appellation in his day, and by this name the great river is still known.

Great Marv, in the middle-ages, was called Marv-ash-Shâhijân, to distinguish it from Marv-ar-Rûd, Little Marv, and Shâhijân is probably merely the Arab form of the old Persian Shâhgân, 'kingly,' or 'belonging to the king,' though Yâḵūt and others explain the term as Shâh-i-Jân to mean 'of the soul of the king.' Marv, as described by Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hawḵal, and Muḵaddasî, consisted of an inner citadel (Ḵuhandiḏ) 'high-built and itself of

1 Ist. 260, 261. I. H. 315. Muk. 330, 331. Yak. ii. 777. Mst. 214. J. N. 328. The place where the Murghâb ultimately became lost in the sands is called Mâyâb by Ḥāfiz Abrû. Hfr. 326. For the places round Marv, see Map x, p. 447. Presumably 60 barleycorns (Shaʿrāh) went to the ell.
the size of a town,' surrounded by the inner city with its four gates, beyond which again were extensive suburbs stretching along the banks of the great canals. The four gates of the inner town were the Bāb-al-Madinah, 'the city gate' (S.W.), where the road from Sarakhs came in; the Bāb Sanjān (S.E.) opening on the Banī Māhān suburb and As‘adī canal; the Bāb Dar Mashkān (N.E.) on the road to the Oxus; and lastly the Bāb Bālin (N.W.). In the 4th (10th) century there were three Friday Mosques in Marv, first the citadel mosque called the Jámi‘ of the Banī Māhān; next the Masjid-al-‘Atīk, 'the Old Mosque,' which stood at the gate opening on the Sarakhs road, the Bāb-al-Madinah; lastly the New Mosque of the Mājān suburb, outside this same gate, where the great markets of Marv were found.

The Razīb canal flowed into the town, coming to the gate called Bāb-al-Madinah and the Old Mosque, after which its waters were received and stored in various tanks for the use of the inhabitants of the quarter. The Mājān canal, flowing to the west of it, watered the great Mājān suburb, which lay round the Maydān, or public square, on which stood the New Mosque, the Government-house, and the prison; all these having been built by Abu Muslim, the great partizan of the Abbasids. To him was principally due their accession to the Caliphate, as history relates, and in a domed house of this quarter, built of burnt brick, the dome being 55 ells in diameter, says Ištakhrī, the place was shown where the first black Abbasid robes had been dyed, that having become the distinguishing colour of the new dynasty.

West of the Nahr Mājān, as already said, was the canal of Hurmuzfarrah, on the limit of the suburbs of Marv, and along its banks were the houses and quarters built by Husayn the Tāhirīd, who had transferred many of the markets to this quarter. Yāḵūt, at a later date, speaking of the great western suburb of Mājān, mentions two of its chief streets, namely, the thoroughfare known as Barārjān (for Barādar-Jān) or 'brother-life' in upper Mājān, and the street of Tukhārān-bih. The Hurmuzfarrah canal ultimately reached the township of that name, near the swamps of the Murghāb, and the town had its own Friday Mosque. One league distant from Hurmuzfarrah was Bāshān, also a town with its Friday Mosque, while the two hamlets of Kharak (or Kharah)
and As-Súsankán, standing a league distant one from the other, lay also on this side of Marv and were likewise of sufficient size for each to have its own Friday Mosque.

One march to the westward of Marv was the town called Sinj (in Muğaddasī spelt Sink), with a fine Friday Mosque, standing on a canal with many gardens, and beyond it, two marches to the south-west of Marv on the road to Sarakhs, lay the important town of Ad-Dandankán. This was small but well fortified, having a single gate, with hot baths (Hammáms) outside the wall. Its ruins were seen by Yākūt in the 7th (13th) century, for it had been pillaged by the Ghuzz in 553 (1158). This was the limit of cultivation of the Marv oasis to the south-west, while Kushmayhan, one march from Marv on the Bukhárá road, was the limit of cultivation on the north-eastern side. This Kushmayhan, or Kushmahán, according to Ya`qubi, was famous for the Zabib Kushmahání, a kind of raisin. The town also possessed a fine Friday Mosque and good markets; it was watered by a great canal, and there were many hostelries and baths here; much fruit being grown in the surrounding gardens.

Immediately outside the Dar Mashkán gate of Marv, which led to the town of Kushmayhan, had stood the great palace of Mamún, where he had lived when he held his court at Marv, previous to setting out for Baghdád to wrest the Caliphate from his brother Amin. The south-eastern gate of Marv, the Báb Sanján, opened on the As`ādi canal, along which lay the Baní Máhán (or Mir Máhán) quarter, with the palace of the Marzubán of Marv, the Persian Warden of the Marches. From this gate the road led up the Murgháb river by Al-Karínayn to Marv-ar-Rūd. Six leagues from the city in this direction was the town of Jiranj (or Kirang, in Muğaddasī) on the river bank, while one league beyond it lay Zark. Here had stood the mill where Yazdajird III, the last of the Sassanian kings, fled for shelter, and was murdered by the miller for the sake of his jewels. According to Ibn Hawkal, it was at Zark township that the waters of the Murgháb were first canalised, channels being led off to irrigate the gardens round Marv. These gardens had at all times been famous for their melons, also for the assafoetida root (ushturgház) grown here, which was exported to other parts of Khurásán.
Silkworms, too, were raised here largely, the silk being manufactured into the stuffs for which Marv was celebrated¹.

In the latter half of the 4th (10th) century, when Muḥaddasī knew Marv, a third part of the suburb was already in ruin, and the citadel was in no better state. In the next century, however, the city gained in size and importance under the Saljūḳs, and here Sultan Sanjar, the last of the great Saljūḳs, was buried in 552 (1157), and the remains of his tomb may still be seen at the present day. Yāḳūt, who was in Marv in 616 (1219), describes the grave of Sultan Sanjar as lying under a great dome covered with blue tiles, so high as to be visible a day's march away over the plain; and the windows under the dome looked into the adjacent Friday Mosque. It had been built in memory of him, Yāḳūt was told, long after the Sultan's death by some of his servants. At the village of Andarābah, two leagues from Marv, which had been the private property of Sultan Sanjar, the remains of his palace were still standing in the 7th (13th) century, the walls being intact, though all the rest had gone to ruin, as was the case also, Yāḳūt adds, with the adjacent village.

Yāḳūt describes Marv as in his day possessing two chief Friday Mosques, enclosed by a single wall, one for the Ḥanafīs, the other belonging to the Shāfīʿīs. He himself lived in Marv for three years, collecting the materials for his great geographical dictionary, for before the Mongol invasion the libraries of Marv were celebrated; 'verily but for the Mongols I would have stayed

¹ Ykb. 280. Ist. 258—263. I. H. 314—316. Muk. 298, 299, 310—312, 331. Yak. i. 534, 827; ii. 610; iv. 507. The town and mill of Zarḵ lay seven leagues from Marv, while the pool where the waters of the Murghāb were divided among the four city canals, of which the Nahr Razḵ was one, lay at a distance of but one league from Marv. The Razḵ canal and the Zarḵ mill, therefore, were probably not adjacent, but from the shifting of the diacritical point there is much confusion between Zark or Razḵ, and Zarḵ or Razḵ. The name of the mill is sometimes given as pronounced, Zurḵ or Zurraḵ, and the Zarḵ canal appears as Zarbakḵ, on whose banks, according to some accounts, King Yazdajird came to his death. See Yak. ii. 777, 925; iv. 508. Muḥaddasī (p. 33) records that some two leagues from Marv, but in which direction is not stated, was a small guard-house in which stood a tomb, popularly said to contain the head of Ḥusayn, grandson of the Prophet, but this is a relic that was also shown in divers other localities, and certainly at the time of Ḥusayn's death his head was not sent to Marv.

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and lived and died there,' he writes, 'and hardly could I tear myself away.' Thus among others he mentions the two libraries of the Friday Mosque, namely the 'Azīzīyah with 12,000 and odd volumes, and the Kamālīyah. There was also the library of Sharaf-al-Mulk, in his Madrasah or college, and that of the great Saljūk Wazīr the Niẓām-al-Mulk. Among the older libraries were those founded by the Sāmānids, and one in the college of the 'Umaydiyah; also that in the Khâtūnīyah college, and that which had belonged to Majd-al-Mulk. Finally, and especially, there was the Ḍumayryih library in one of the Khânjâhs, or Darvish convents, containing only 200 volumes, but each volume, Yâkūt writes, worth two hundred gold pieces (dînârs), for all the books there were unique and beyond price.

At the approach of the Mongol hordes in 617 (1220) Yâkūt sought safety at Mosul in Mesopotamia, and all the glories of the Marv libraries fell a prey to the flames, which followed in the wake of the Mongol sack of this great city, when nine million corpses are said to have remained unburied among the ruins. The tomb of Sultan Sanjar, Ibn-al-Athîr states, was set on fire by the invaders, together with most of the mosques and other public buildings; and Ḥâfīz Abrû adds that they broke down all the great dams and dykes of the Murghâb, which under the early Saljûqs had been increased in number, and carefully seen to, in order thus to regulate the irrigation of the oasis, which now lapsed into a desert swamp. In the 8th (14th) century, when Ibn Baṭûtah passed through Marv, it was still one great ruin.

The account which his contemporary, Mustawfî, gives of Marv deals with its past glories in the 2nd (8th) century, when it was under the government of Abu Muslim, who brought the Abbasids to power, and when the Caliph Mamûn resided at this place previous to marching on Baghdad. Then the Ṣaffârīds had removed the capital of Khurâsân to Nîshâpûr, but the Saljûqs restored the primacy to Marv, and Sultan Malik Shâh built the great wall round the city 12,300 paces in circuit. The crops of the Marv oasis were a marvel of productiveness; Mustawfî reports that seed corn gave a hundred-fold the first year, and from the ungathered overfall some thirty-fold for the second year was obtained, with as much as ten-fold of the original sowing even in
the third year. The climate, however, being damp was unhealthy, and the rishtah, or guinea-worm, was a terrible scourge. The moving sands of the neighbouring deserts had in his day overwhelmed many of the fruitful districts, but excellent water-melons were still grown, which were dried and largely exported, also grapes and pears.

Mustawfi describes the city of Marv as still almost entirely a ruin, though at the close of the 8th (14th) century it must have regained some of its former splendour, for Timur frequently stopped here in the intervals of his campaigns. He generally lived at a place which ‘Ali of Yazd writes Makhân, probably a clerical error for Majân, which as already said had been in earlier days the name of the great western suburb of Marv, though Yakut mentions a place also called Makhân as a village near the city. Marv was in part restored to its former state of greatness under the reign of Shâh Rukh, the grandson of Timur, who rebuilt much of the city in the year 812 (1409), so that in 821 (1418), when Hafiz Abrû wrote, he describes it as once more being in a flourishing condition.

On the left bank of the Oxus about 120 miles to the north-east of Marv, where the great Khurasân road crossed to Bukhârâ and Transoxiana, stood the city of Âmul, and about a hundred miles to the eastward, higher up on the same bank was Zamm, also at a crossing-place. Âmul, which in the later middle-ages was also known as Amûyah, and then came to be called Chahâr Jûy (‘Four Canals,’ a name the place still bears), is described by Ibn Hawâkal as a fertile and pleasant little town, of great importance by reason of the constant passage of caravans going to and coming from the countries beyond the Oxus. All along the road south-west to Marv there were wells at each stage, but otherwise the territory of Âmul was enclosed on all sides by the desert, which here came close up to the river bank. Muqaddasi praises the excellent markets of Âmul. The town, with its Friday Mosque crowning a small hill, lay a league distant from the Oxus among well-irrigated fields, where there were vineyards. Opposite Âmul,

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on the right bank of the river, in the Bukhārā district, was the town of Firabr.

To distinguish this Âmul from the town of the same name which was the capital of Ṭabaristān (see above, p. 370), Yâkūt states that it was known in books as Âmul of Zamm (after the next Oxus passage upstream), or Âmul of the Jayhūn (Oxus), or Âmul-ash-Shaṭṭ (of the Stream), or further as Âmul-al-Mafāzah (of the Desert). In his day, however, in place of the name Âmul the town had come to be called Amû, or Amûyah, by which denomination it is frequently mentioned in the accounts of the Mongol invasion, and of the campaigns of Timūr. It is also known as Kal‘ah Amûyah, or ‘the Amûyah Castle.’ In the 11th (17th) century Abu-l-Ghâzi gives the name as Amûyah when dealing with the marches of Changiz Khân, but speaking of the events of his own day writes of Chahār Jûy, in reference to this Oxus passage, which proves conclusively that the two places are identical. The town of Zamm, also on the Khurāsān bank, as already stated, is the modern Karkhî, and in the middle-ages the town of Akhsisak faced it on the further side, towards Bukhārā. Ibn Ḥawkāl speaks of Zamm as a town of the same size as Âmul, but it was only approached on the Khurāsān side by the road up the Oxus bank in four marches from Âmul; for from Zamm direct across to Marv the waterless desert intervened. From Zamm, eastward, Balkh could be reached, and after crossing the Oxus, Tirmidh. Zamm is also briefly mentioned by Muḵaddasī, who speaks of its Friday Mosque standing in the market-place, so that in the 4th (10th) century it must already have been a place of some importance1.

Coming back now to the Murghâb river, about 160 miles higher up than Great Marv stood Upper, or Little Marv, at that part of the river where, after leaving the Ghûr mountains, it turns north through the desert plains towards Great Marv. Little Marv, or Upper Marv as Muḵaddasī and others call it, is the place known as Bâlâ Murghâb, ‘Upper Murghâb,’ to the Persians. It is now a complete ruin, and has been so since the invasion of Timūr. In the 4th (10th) century, however, Marv-ar-Rûdh, or

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'Marv of the River,' as it was then called, was the largest city of this, a most populous district, which had besides four other towns with Friday Mosques. It lay at a bow-shot from the bank of the Murghâb, in the midst of gardens and vineyards, being three leagues distant from the mountains on the west, and two leagues from those on the east. In the market-place was the Friday Mosque, a building according to Muḥaddasî standing on wooden columns, and Kudāmah adds that one league from Upper Marv (as he calls it) was the castle of Kasr-ʿAmr in the hills, blocking the mouth of a small valley. Yâḳūt states that in his day the name Marv-ar-Rûd was pronounced Marrûd by the common folk. It appears to have escaped the utter ruin which was the fate of Great Marv at the hands of the Mongols. At any rate in the 8th (14th) century Mustawfi describes it as still a flourishing place, with a wall 5000 paces in circumference, which had been built by Sultan Malik Shâh the Saljûk. The surrounding country was most fertile, grapes and melons were grown abundantly, and living was cheap'.

One day's march from Marv-ar-Rûd, on the same bank and down the river towards Great Marv, was the castle called Kaṣr Aḥnaf, after Al-Aḥnaf ibn Ḥāys, the Arab general who in the days of the Caliph 'Othmân, in the year 31 (652), had conquered these lands for Islam. It was a large place, Ibn Ḥawḵal says, with many vineyards round it, and fine gardens, the soil and climate being alike excellent, and Muḥaddasî mentions its Friday Mosque situate in the market-place. At the present day the site of Kaṣr Aḥnaf is marked by the village of Marûchak, or Marv-i-Kûchik (Little Marv) as the Persians call the place. In the middle-ages, four leagues above Marv-ar-Rûd, stood Dizah, a town occupying both banks of the Murghâb, the two parts being connected by a stone bridge. This place too had a fine Friday Mosque, and Yâḳūt adds that it had originally been called Sinvân.

The hamlets of Panj-dīh (Five Villages) lie below Marûchak on the Murghâb, and the place was visited by Nāṣir-i-Khusraw in 437 (1045) on his way to Mecca; Yâḳūt too was there in 616 (1219) and alludes to it as a fine town. The place is also

mentioned in the time of Tīmūr at the close of the 8th (14th) century, when ‘Ali of Yazd says it was known as Pandī (but the reading appears uncertain, and some manuscripts give Yandī). During the earlier middle-ages all the country from Little Marv to Great Marv, along the Murghāb, was under cultivation, and studded with villages and towns. Al-Ḵarīnayn, already alluded to, was four marches above Great Marv, being two below Marv-ar-Rūd; and half-way between Ḵarīnayn and the latter was Lawkar, or Lawkarā, which Muḥaddasī mentions as a populous place, as big as Ḵaṣr Aḥnāf. Above Marv-ar-Rūd, and all up the Murghāb into the mountains of Gharjistān, there are many flourishing districts, as will be noticed in the next chapter, when speaking of Ghūr in the Herāt quarter.

CHAPTER XXIX.

KHURĀSĀN (continued).


The Herāt quarter of Khurāsān lies entirely in what is now known as Afghānistān, and, for the most part, is watered by the Herāt river or Harī Rūd. This river takes its rise in the mountains of Ghūr, and at first flows for some distance westward. In order to irrigate the Herāt valley many canals were here led from it, some above and some below Herāt city, seven in particular being named by Muḥaddasi as serving to water the fruitful districts round the capital.

The Herāt river, flowing from east to west in its earlier course, passes Herāt city several miles from its southern gate, near the town of Mālin. Here there was a bridge over it, unequalled in all Khurāsān for beauty, says Muḥaddasi, it having been built by a certain Magian, and bearing his name on an inscription—'and some say that he afterwards became a Moslem, others that he threw himself into the river, because the Sultan would put his own name upon that bridge.' Mustawfī gives the names of nine of the chief irrigation canals that were taken from the Harī Rūd in the neighbourhood of Herāt. Beyond Herāt the Harī Rūd passed the town of Fūshanj near its south bank, and turning north flowed on to Sarakhs, before reaching which it took up the waters of the Mashḥad river, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter. Beyond, to the north of Sarakhs, its
waters were lost in the desert. According to Ḥāfiz Abrū the Herât river also bore the name of Khajacharân (the spelling, from the shifting position of the diacritical points, and the true pronunciation are alike uncertain), and he asserts that its source was at a spring not far from the place where the Helmund river took its rise 1.

In the 4th (10th) century, as described by Ibn Ḥawkal and Muḵaddasī, Herât (written more exactly Harât) was a great city, with a citadel, surrounded by a wall with four gates. These were, the Bāb Sarāy or ‘Palace Gate’ to the north on the Balkh road; then to the west, towards Naysābūr, the Bāb Ziyād; the Fīrūzābād gate, which Muḵaddasī calls the Bāb Fīrūz, was to the south on the road towards Sijistān; while to the east was the Bāb Khushk towards the Ghūr mountains. These four gates were all of wood, except the Bāb Sarāy, which was of iron, says Ibn Ḥawkal; and the citadel of Herât (called the Kuhandiz or Ḵalʿah) had also four gates of the like names, respectively, to the city gates. The city measured half a league square, and the government house was at a place called Khurāsānābād, a mile outside the town on the western road towards Fūshanj. At each of the four city gates, within the town, was a market; and outside each gate was an extensive suburb. The great Friday Mosque of Herât stood in the midst of the chief market, and no mosque in all Khurāsān or Sijistān was its equal in beauty. Behind it, on the west side, was the prison.

To the north of Herât the mountains lay two leagues distant from the city, and here the land was desert, not being irrigated. These mountains produced mill-stones and paving-stones, and on the summit of one of the hills was an ancient fire-temple, called Sirishk, which was in the 4th (10th) century much frequented by the Magians. A Christian church also stood at a place lying halfway between this fire-temple and the city. To the south of Herât, down to the Mālin bridge over the Hari Rūd, the land was like a garden, well cultivated and profusely irrigated by numerous canals, and divided into many districts. Populous villages lay one after the other, for a day’s march and more, along the Sijistān road.

The prosperity of Herât continued unabated till the inroad of the Mongols; and in 614 (1217) when Yâkût was here, some four years before that disastrous event, he considered Herât to be the richest and largest city that he had ever seen, standing in the midst of a most fertile country. His contemporary Šahīd, who confirms this account, notes that here might be seen many mills ‘turned by wind, not by water,’ which was to him an uncommon sight. Herât, however, must have recovered quickly from the effects of the Tartar inroad, and Mustawfi in the following century bears out the statement of Ibn Baṭūṭah that, after Nishâpûr, it was the most populous city of all Khurâsân. Its walls were then 9000 paces in circuit, and 18 villages lay immediately round the town, watered principally by a canal (Nahrīchah) taken from the Hari Rûd. The grapes of the kind called Fakhri, and the figs were both superlatively excellent. Already in the 8th (14th) century the people of Herât were Sunnî. It was in the 6th (12th) century, during the supremacy of the Ghûrid dynasty according to Mustawfi, that Herât had reached its greatest splendour. There were then 12,000 shops in its markets, 6000 hot baths, and 659 colleges, the population being reckoned at 444,000.

A strong fortress lay to the north of Herât, when Mustawfi wrote, called the castle of Shamîrân, this having been built on the site of the older fire-temple of Sirishk, mentioned by Ibn Hawkât, which was two leagues distant from the city on a hill-top. This fortress also went by the name of the Kal’ah Amkalchah. At the close of the 8th (14th) century, Timûr, after taking possession of Herât, destroyed its walls, and sent most of its artificers to augment the population of his new town of Shahr-i-Sabz in Transoxiana. In the Turkish Jahân Numâ it is stated that at that period, in the year 1010 (1600), Herât had five gates; that called Darvâzah-i-Mulk, ‘the Government Gate,’ to the north, the ‘Irâk gate to the west, that of Firûzâbâd to the south, the Khush gate to the east, and the Kipchâk gate to the north-east—this last being of late origin. The ten Bulûks, or districts, round Herât are also enumerated, but no statement as to the relative positions of these is afforded.  

Two leagues, or half a day's journey, to the south of Herât, and presumably beyond the great bridge that spanned the Hari Rûd, to which bridge it gave its name, was the town of Mâlin, or Mâlan, with the district of the same name lying a day's journey in extent all round it. This Mâlan was called As-Safalkât, and Mâlan of Herât, to distinguish it from the place of the same name in the Bâkharz district of Kûhistân (mentioned in Chapter XXV, p. 357). It was a small town, surrounded by most fruitful gardens, and the produce of its vineyards was celebrated. Yaḵût who had been there, writes the name Mâlin, but adds that the people in his day pronounced it Mâlân. Twenty-five villages belonged to its district, and of these he specially mentions four, Murgháb, Bâshînân, Zandân, and 'Absaḵân.

One march to the north-east of Herât lies Karûkh, or Kârûkh, which Ibn Hawškal says was in the 4th (10th) century the largest town of the Herât district after the capital. Apricots and raisins were exported in great quantities from hence to all the neighbouring districts and cities; the Friday Mosque stood in the quarter of the town called Sabîdân, and the houses were built of sun-dried bricks. Karûkh stood in a mountain valley, 20 leagues in length, the whole of which was under cultivation, many villages and broad arable lands lying on its various streams. Its chief river flowed to the Hari Rûd, and appears to be that which Yaḵût names the Nahr Karâgh.

Eastward from Herât, and lying in the broad valley of the Hari Rûd, a succession of towns are mentioned by the geographers of the 4th (10th) century; namely, Bashân, one day's journey from Herât, then Khaysâr, Astarabâyân, Marabadh, and Awfah, each situated a day's journey beyond the last, and to the east of it; finally two days' journey beyond Awfah was Khasht, a place that was counted as in the Ghûr district. Of these towns, Awfah was almost as large as Karûkh, and only second to it in importance.

mation given by Hâjjî Khalfah, in the Jahân Numâh, is in part taken from the monograph on Herât written by Mu'īn-ad-Dîn of Asfuzâr in 897 (1492). This monograph has been inserted by Mîrkhwând in the Epilogue (Khâtîmah) of the Rawdat-aw Safâh, pt vii. 45—51, and it was translated by M. Barbier de Meynard in the Journal Asiatique, 1860, ii. p. 461; 1861, i. pp. 438, 473; 1862, ii. p. 269. For the present condition of Herât see C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, pp. 25—28.
The other four towns are described in similar terms as being well watered and populous; all were smaller in size than Mālin, each had gardens and fertile fields, and while Astarabyān grew no grapes, being near the hill country, Marabadh was especially noted for its rice, which was largely exported.

One day's march to the west of Herât was the considerable city of Būshanj or Fūshanj, which apparently occupied the site of the present Ghurian, lying a short distance from the left bank of the Hari Rūd, and to the south of it. Ibn Ḥawīkal describes Būshanj as about half the size of Herât in the 4th (10th) century, and, like the latter, it lay in a plain two leagues distant from the mountains. The town was well built, and surrounded by trees, among which the juniper throve amazingly, its wood being largely exported. The town was strongly fortified, and was surrounded by a wall and a ditch. There were three gates, the Bāb 'Ali towards Naysābūr, the Herât gate to the east, and the Kūhistān gate to the south-west. Yakūt, who had seen the town in passing, lying hidden in its wooded valley, gives the name as Būshanj or Fūshanj. He adds that the Persians pronounced it Būshang. Mustawfi describes Fūshanj, in the 8th (14th) century, as famous for its water-melons and grapes, of which last there were 105 different varieties. A peculiarity of the place was that it possessed numerous windmills, their origin or invention being popularly attributed to the Pharaoh of Egypt, of the days of Moses, who had once come during a campaign as far east as this city. In 783 (1381) Fūshanj was stormed and sacked by Timūr, and this in spite of its high walls and deep water-ditch which are especially mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd. For some unexplained reason the name of Fūshanj after this disappears from history, and at a later date the town of Ghurian, which is now a flourishing place, sprang up on the ruins of the city which Timūr had pillaged and destroyed. It is to be added that the three towns of Farjird, Kharjird, and Kūsūy, which have already been described as of the Kūhistān province (see p. 358), are often given as belonging to Fūshanj.

1 Ist. 267, 285. I. H. 318, 334. Muk. 50, 298, 307, 349. Yak. i. 470; ii. 950; iii. 605; iv. 247, 397, 499.
2 Ist. 267, 268. I. H. 319. Muk. 298. Yak. i. 758; iii. 923. Mst. 187.
The Asfuzâr district lies to the south of Herât, on the road towards Zaranj, and in the 4th (10th) century four towns of importance existed here, besides the capital Asfuzâr, namely Adraskar, Kuwârân, Kûshk, and Kuwâshân. Asfuzâr, now the chief town, at the present day goes by the name of Sabzivâr (called Sabzivâr of Herât, to distinguish it from Sabzivâr to the west of Nishâpûr; see p. 391). In early times, however, Kuwâshân was the largest city of the district, which extended for three days' march from north to south with a breadth across of a day's march. According to Ištakhribi there was here a famous valley, called Kâshkân, with many populous villages, and the river which has its head-waters near Asfuzâr (Sabzivâr) is that now known as the Hârûd of Sistân, which flows into the head of the Zarah lake to the west of Juwayn. All these towns of Asfuzâr are described as surrounded by fertile lands and gardens. In the Itineraries Asfuzâr bears the second name of Khâstân (or Jâshân, for the reading is uncertain), and it seems not unlikely that Kuwâshân is merely another form of this name, and therefore really identical with Asfuzâr (Sabzivâr). The town of Adraskar, or Ardsakar, as it is also spelt, still exists to the east of Asfuzâr, the name at the present day being written Adraskan. Yâḵût records Asfuzâr as of Sijistân, and Mustawfî speaks of it as a medium-sized town, with many villages and gardens rich in grapes and pomegranates, where already in the 8th (14th) century most of the people were Sunnis of the Shâfi'ite school. The relative positions of the other towns of the district are, unfortunately, not given in the Itineraries.

The high road from Herât northward to Marv-ar-Rûd crosses the great district of Bâdghîs (Bâdhghîs), which occupied the whole stretch of country lying between the Herât river on the west (to the north of Fûshanj) and the upper waters of the Murghâb on the east, where these issue from the mountains of Gharjistân; and Bâdghîs was itself watered by many of the left-

A. Y. i. 312. The Şanlî-ad-Dawlah states (Mîrât-al-Bulûdîn, i. 298) that he passed near and saw the ruins of Bûshanj when travelling down from Nîshâpûr to Herât, near but not at Ghurian.

bank affluents of the Murghâb. The eastern part of Bâdghîs, beginning some 13 leagues to the north of Herât, was known as the Kanj Rustâk district, and had three chief cities, Baban, Kayf, and Baghshûr, the positions of which can approximately be fixed by the Itineraries. In the remainder of Bâdghîs a list of nine large towns is given by Mu’âddâsi, but unfortunately the positions of none of these can be fixed, for they are not mentioned in the Itineraries, and at the present day the whole of this country is an uninhabited waste, having been ruined in the 7th (13th) century by the Mongol invasions. The numerous ruins scattered throughout the district still attest the former state of prosperity of this well-watered country, but the modern names are not those given by the medieval authorities.

The remains of the city of Baghshûr, one of the chief towns of Kanj Rustâk, appear to be those now known as Kâlah Mawr. In the 4th (10th) century Ibn Hawrâk describes Baghshûr as one of the finest and richest cities of Khurâsân, being of the size of Bûshanî. The governor of the district generally lived at Babnâh or Baban, a larger town even than Bûshanî, while Kayf is described as half the size of Baghshûr. All these places had well-built houses of sun-dried bricks, and were surrounded by fertile gardens and farms, for this district was abundantly irrigated by streams, and from wells. Yâkût, who visited these countries in 616 (1219), confirms the above account of the former riches of Baghshûr and its neighbouring towns, but says that in his day the whole country had gone much to ruin, though this was before the Mongol invasion. Babnâh he names Bavan, or Bawn, and he had himself stayed here; having also visited another town called Bâmiyân, or Bâmanj, which lay at a short distance only from Babnâh. The country round he saw to be most fertile, and pistachio trees grew and flourished here abundantly.

In regard to the southern part of the Bâdghîs district the

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1 I. R. 173. Ist. 269. I. H. 320. Muk. 298, 308. Yak. i. 461, 481, 487, 694; ii. 764; iv. 333. For the present condition of the Bâdghîs country and its ruins, see C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, pp. 67, 68. There are ruined forts and remains at Gulrán, and Sagardân, and Kârâ Bâgh (p. 101), also at Kâlah Mawr (pp. 96, 103), and at Kârâ Tappah, some of which must be those of the towns named by the Arab geographers.
accounts of its former prosperity are as circumstantial as those describing Kanj Rustāḵ, but its towns have now completely disappeared from the map, and the medieval names are difficult to locate, or identify with those given to the existing ruins. The capital by all accounts was Dihistān, the position of which may correspond with the present shrine of Khwājah Dihistān to the north-east of Herāt; and Muḥaddasi mentions seven other great cities, namely Kūghānābād, Kūfā, Busht, Jāḏhāwā, Kābrūn, Kalwūn, and Jabal al-Fiḏḏah or ‘the Silver Hill,’ the positions of which can only be very approximately indicated. Dihistān, the second largest city of Bādghīs, was in the 4th (10th) century a place half the size of Būshanj, and stood on a hill, its houses built of clay bricks, with good underground chambers for use in the summer heats. It had few gardens, but much arable land. The governor of the province lived at Kūghānābād, a smaller place than Dihistān. Jabal al-Fiḏḏah, as its name implied, was a town where there was a silver mine in the neighbouring hill, and it lay on the direct road from Herāt to Sarakhs, and apparently to the north of Kūghānābād. Fire-wood grew abundantly in its district. The town of Kūfā was a larger place than Jabal al-Fiḏḏah, and stood in a plain with excellent gardens; but of the four other towns mentioned by Muḥaddasi no details are afforded, except the fact that they all lay near the road running from Herāt north to Sarakhs.

Yāḵūt, who mentions Dihistān as the capital of Bādghīs, says the name of the district signifies Bād-khīs, ‘where the wind rises,’ on account of its tempestuous climate. The account which Mustawfī gives of Bādghīs is difficult to understand, for the names of placés have been much corrupted in the ms. Dihistān was the capital, and the silver mine is referred to under the Persian form of Kūh Nuḵrah, ‘silver mountain’; a third place of importance was Kāh Ghunābād (for Kūghānābād), where the governor lived; and a fourth town was apparently called Buzurgtarin, but the reading is uncertain. Mustawfī also mentions a town named Kārīz (or Kārīzah), ‘the Watercourse,’ which he adds was the native place of Hakīm Burkāṭ—‘the physician with the face-veil’—commonly known as the Moon-maker of Nakhshab, in other words the Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān, whose revolt in
the 2nd (8th) century gave the Caliph Mahdi so much trouble to suppress.

Other places are also mentioned (with many corruptions in the text), reproducing the list given by Mukaddasi and the earlier Arab geographers, but no details are added. In the 8th (14th) century, according to Mustawfi, Badghis was chiefly remarkable for its pistachio forests; and at the time of harvesting the nuts, great numbers of men assembled here, each gathering what he could carry away, and the nuts being afterwards sold in the neighbouring districts. Such was the abundance of the pistachio trees that Mustawfi adds, 'many make their livelihood for the whole year round by what they can gather here at harvest-time, and it is indeed a wonder to behold.' At the close of the 8th (14th) century the ruin of Badghis appears to have been finally brought about by the passage of the armies of Timur on their devastating march from Herat to Marv-ar-Rud.

To the east of Badghis, at the head-waters of the Murghab river, is the mountainous region known to the earlier Arab geographers as Gharj-ash-Shar. The prince of these mountains had the title of the Shar, and Gharj, according to Mukaddasi, meant 'mountain' in the local dialect, so that Gharj-ash-Shar was equivalent to the 'Mountains of the Shar.' In the later middle-ages this region came to be more generally known as Gharjistan, and as such figures largely in the account of the Mongol invasion. Further, as Yakut remarks, Gharjistan, often spelt Gharshistan or Gharistain, was often confounded with Ghoristan, or the Ghur country, lying to the east of it, which will be more particularly

\[1\] Ist. 268, 269. I. H. 319, 320. Muk. 298, 308. Yak. i. 461; ii. 633. Mst. 187, 188. J. N. 314, 315. A. Y. i. 308. C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, p. 6. The route from Herat to Marv-ar-Rud, given in the Itineraries of the earlier Arab geographers, goes from city to city through Kanj Rustak, and the southernmost stage (Babnai) is two days' march from Herat. Mustawfi (p. 198) gives a rather different road in seven stages, namely, from Herat in 5 leagues to Hangamanabad, thence 5 to Badghis (to be understood doubtless as Dihistan the capital), thence 5 to Bawun (or Babnah), thence 5 to Marghzar Darrah, 'the Valley of the Meadow-lands,' thence 8 to Baghchi Shur (Baghsur), thence 5 to Ursid, or Usurid, and finally, 4 leagues into Marv-ar-Rud. For the ruined caravanserais which still apparently mark this route see C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, pp. 194, 195, 222.
discussed presently. The Shâr, or prince of Gharjistân, had of old been known to the Arabs as Malik-al-Gharjah (the king of the Gharj people), and in the 4th (10th) century this was a rich district, counting ten Friday Mosques as standing in its various towns.

The two chief cities of Gharjistân were called Abshîn and Shurmîn, the exact sites of which are unknown. Abshîn (Afshîn, or Bashîn) lay a bow-shot distant from the eastern bank of the upper Murghâb, and four marches above Marv-ar-Rûd. Round it were fine gardens, and much rice was sent from thence to Balkh. It had a strong castle, and a Friday Mosque. Shurmîn (or Surmîn) lay in the mountains four marches southward of Abshîn, and likewise four marches from Karûkh to the north-east of Herât. From it they exported currants to all the neighbouring places. The prince of the country, the Shâr aforesaid, resided at neither of these places, but at a great village in the mountains called Ballikân (or Barkîyân). Yâḥût gives the names of two other cities of Gharjistân, namely Sinjah and Baywâr, but except that they lay in the mountains, ‘as a man of the country told me,’ he cannot indicate their position.

The great mountain region to the east and south of Gharjistân was known as Ghûr, or Ghûristân, and it stretched from Herât to Bâmiyân and the borders of Kâbul and Ghaznah, also southward of the Herât river. The medieval geographers refer to it as the country of the head-waters of many great rivers, namely of the Hari Rûd, also of the Helmund, the Khwâsh, and the Farah rivers (which drained to the Zarâh lake), while on its Gharjistân frontier rose the Murghâb. The geography of this immense region of mountains is, unfortunately, a complete blank, for the sites of none of the towns and castles mentioned in its history are known. In the 4th (10th) century, according to Ibn Hawâkal, Ghûr was infidel land, though many Moslems lived there. Its

\[1\] Ist. 271, 272. I. H. 323. Muk. 309, 348. Yak. i. 803; iii. 72, 163, 186, 785, 786, 823. Gharjistân of Khurâsân has nothing to do with Gurjistân south of the Caucasus (see Chapter XII, p. 181) now commonly known to us as Georgia, and it is quite a mistake to give the name of Georgia to Gharjistân, as has been done by some writers when describing the Mongol invasion of this region of the upper Murghâb, for there is no Georgia of Afghânistân.
valleys were populous and extremely fertile; it being famous for mines, both of silver and gold, which existed in the mountains towards Bāmiyān and Panj-hūr (see above, p. 350). The richest of these mines was called Kharkhīz. After the fall of the dynasty of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, the Ghūrid chiefs, at first his lieutenants, became independent, and eventually founded their capital at Fīrūzkūh, an immense fortress in the mountains, the position of which is not known.

The Ghūrid princes ruled independently from the middle of the 6th (12th) century to 612 (1215), when they were defeated by the Khwârizm Shâh, and a few years later the dynasty disappeared at the time of the Mongol invasion. Before this, however, in 588 (1192), the Ghūrids had conquered much of northern India, holding all the country from Dehlī to Herât, and after the dynasty had been annihilated by the Mongols the Slave Kings (their Mamlûk generals) continued to rule Dehlī in a long line of Sultans, down to 962 (1554).

Ghūr, or Ghūristān, attained its highest point of splendour and riches between 543 and 612 (1148 and 1215) under the Ghūrid princes of the Sâm dynasty. Yâkūt speaks of their great capital at Fīrūzkūh, or Birūzkūh (Turquoise Mountain), but gives no details; Mustawfir also briefly refers to this fortress, and says that another of its chief towns was Rûd Hangarân, but the reading is very uncertain. In 619 (1222) the whole country was overrun by Changîz Khân, Fīrūzkūh being stormed and left in ruins. Two other great fortresses are named as having given much trouble to the Mongol troops, namely Kalyûn and Fīvâr, lying ten leagues distant one from the other, but the position of neither is known, and both are said to have been entirely destroyed by Changîz Khân. Kažâvin in the 7th (13th) century also names Khûst as one of the great cities of Ghūr, and possibly this is identical with Khasht, the place previously mentioned (p. 410) as near the headwaters of the Hari Rûd. In the time of Tîmûr the only place referred to in Ghūr appears to be the castle called Ka'lah Khaštâr, but, again, nothing is known of its position.


Le S.
The city of Bāmiyān was the capital of a great district of the same name which formed the eastern part of Ghūr, and as its very ancient remains show, was a great Buddhist centre long before the days of Islam. Iṣṭakhrī describes Bāmiyān as half the size of Balkh in the 4th (10th) century, and though the town, which stood on a hill, was unfortified, its district was most fertile, being watered by a considerable river. Muḥaddasi names the city Al-Laḥūm, but the reading is uncertain, and he praises it as 'the trade-port of Khurāsān and the treasure-house of Sind.' It was very cold and there was much snow, but in its favour was the fact that bugs and scorpions were conspicuously absent. The city had a Friday Mosque, and rich markets stood in the extensive suburbs, while four gates gave egress from the town. In the 4th (10th) century the Bāmiyān territory included many large cities, the sites of which are now completely lost. The three chief towns are said to have been called Basghūrfand, Sakīwand, and Lakhirāb.

Yākūt in the beginning of the 7th (13th) century describes in some detail the great sculptured statues of Buddha still to be seen at Bāmiyān. High up in the mountain side, he writes, there was a chamber supported on columns, and on its walls had been sculptured the likenesses of 'every species of bird that Allah had created—most wonderful to see.' Without the chamber-entrance are 'two mighty idols cut in the live rock of the hill-side, from base to summit, and these are known as the Surkh Bud and the Khing Bud [the Red and the Grey Buddha] and nowhere else in the world is there aught to equal these.' Ḫażvīnī speaks of a 'Golden House' at Bāmiyān, and likewise describes the two great statues of Buddha; further he mentions a quicksilver (ṣibāḵ) mine and a sulphur spring as of this neighbourhood. The ruin of Bāmiyān and all its province, even as far east as the Panj-hīr mines, as already mentioned, was due to the wrath of Changīz Khān, whose favourite grandson Mūṭūkīn, son of Jaghātay, was killed at the siege of Bāmiyān. The Mongol troops were ordered to level with the ground the town walls and all the houses, and Changīz forbade any to build or live here ever again, the name of Bāmiyān being changed to Mav Balīḵ, which in the
Turki dialect means 'the accursed city.' Since that time Bāmiyān has been an uninhabited waste.¹

CHAPTER XXX.

KHURÂSÂN (continued).


Balkh—‘Mother of Cities’—gave its name to the fourth Quarter of Khurâsân, which, outside the district of the capital, was divided, west and east, between the two great districts of Jûzjân and Tukhâristân.

In the 3rd (9th) century Ya’kûbî speaks of Balkh as the greatest city of all Khurâsân. It had had of old three concentric walls, and thirteen gates, and Muḥaddasî adds that it had been called in early days the equivalent, in Persian, of Balkh-al-Bahiyyah, ‘Beautiful Balkh.’ Outside the town lay the famous suburb of Naw Bahâr, and the houses extended over an area measuring three miles square. There were, says Ya’kûbî, two score Friday Mosques in the city. Iṣṭakhri remarks that Balkh stood in a plain, being four leagues from the nearest mountains, called Jabal Kû. Its houses were built of sun-dried bricks, and the same material was used in the city wall, outside which was a deep ditch. The markets and the chief Friday Mosque stood in the central part of the city. The stream that watered Balkh was called Dahâs, which, says Ibn Ḥawkal, signifies ‘ten mills’ (in Persian); the river turns these as it runs past the Naw Bahâr gate, flowing on thence to irrigate the lands and farms of Siyâhjird on the Tirmid road. All round Balkh lay gardens producing oranges, the Nilûfar lily, and the sugar-cane, which, with the produce of its
vineyards, were all exported in quantity. Further, its markets were much frequented by merchants.

The city possessed seven gates, namely Bâb Naw Bahár, Bâb Raḥbah (the Gate of the Square), Bâb-al-Ḥadid (the Iron Gate) Bâb Hinduwân (the Gate of the Hindus), Bâb-al-Yahûd (the Jews' Gate), Bâb Shast-band (the Gate of the Sixty Dykes), and Bâb Yahyâ. Muḥaddasi describes in general terms the beauty, splendour, and riches of Balkh, its many streams, its cheap living, for food-stuffs were abundant, the innumerable broad streets, its walls and its Great Mosque, also its many well-built palaces; and in this state of prosperity Balkh flourished till the middle of the 6th (12th) century, when it was laid in ruins for the first time by the invasion of the Ghuzz Turks in 550 (1155). After their departure the population came back, and rebuilt the city in another but closely adjacent place. In part Balkh before long recovered its former splendour, and thus is described by Yâkût in the early part of the 7th (13th) century, immediately before its second devastation at the hands of the Mongols.

Of the great suburb of Balkh called Naw Bahâr, where according to Masʿûdî had stood, in Sassanian days, one of the chief fire-temples of the Guebres, Yâkût has a long account, which he quotes from the work of Ṭmar-ibn-al-Azraḳ of Kirmân, and a similar description is found in Ḥazvînî. Of this fire-temple at Balkh the chief priest had been Barmak, ancestor of the Barmercides, and in Sassanian days his family had been hereditary chief-pontiffs of the Zoroastrian faith in this city. The account given of Naw Bahâr, briefly, is that it was originally built in imitation of, and as a rival to, the Kaʿabah of Mecca. Its walls were adorned with precious stones, and brocaded curtains were hung everywhere to cover these, the walls themselves being periodically unguedent with perfumes, especially in the spring-time, for Naw Bahâr means 'First or Early Spring,' the season when pilgrimage was made to the shrine. The chief building was surmounted by a great cupola, called Al-Ustûn, a hundred ells and more in height, and round this central building were 360 chambers, where the priests who served had their lodgings, one priest being appointed for each day of the year. On the summit of the dome was a great silk flag, which the wind blew out at
times to a fabulous distance. This principal building was full of figures or idols, one of which in chief the pilgrims from Kâbul, India, and China prostrated themselves before, afterwards kissing the hand of Barmak, the chief priest. All the lands round Naw Bahâr for seven leagues square were the property of the sanctuary, and these brought in a great revenue. The great Naw Bahâr shrine was destroyed by Aḥnaf ibn Șayṣ, when he conquered Khurâsân in the days of the Caliph ‘Othmân, and converted the people to Islam.

The Mongols in 617 (1220) devastated Bâlkh, and according to Ibn Baṭṭuṭah, Changiz Khân ruined the third part of its Great Mosque in his fruitless search for hidden treasure. When Ibn Baṭṭuṭah visited this district in the earlier half of the 8th (14th) century Bâlkh was still a complete ruin, and uninhabited, but outside the walls were a number of tombs and shrines that were still visited by the pious pilgrims. In the account of the campaigns of Timûr, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, Bâlkh is often mentioned, and by this date must have recovered part of its former glory. Timûr restored the fortress outside the walls called Қaľ’ah Hinduwân, the Castle of the Hindus, which became the residence of his governor, and at a later date he also rebuilt much of the older city.

Bâlkh at the present day is an important town of modern Afghanistan, and is celebrated for its great shrine, called Mazâr-i-Sharif (the Noble Tomb), where the Caliph ‘Ali—known as Shâh-i-Mardân, ‘King of Men’—is popularly supposed to have been buried. According to Khwândamîr this, supposititious, grave of the martyred ‘Ali was discovered in the year 885 (1480), when Mirzâ Baykârâ, a descendant of Timûr, was governor of Bâlkh. For in that aforesaid year a book of history, written in the time of

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1 Vkb. 287, 288. Ist. 275, 278, 280. I. H. 325, 326, 39. Muk. 301, 302. Mas. iv. 48. Yak. i. 713; iv. 817, 818. Kaz. ii. 221. The curious passage about Naw Bahâr will be found translated, in full, by M. Barbier de Meynard in his Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse, p. 569. The presence of the idols, great and small, and the (sacred) flags, suggested to Sir H. Rawlinson the idea that Naw Bahâr had been originally a Buddhist shrine, and the name he explained as Naw Vihârah, ‘the New Vihârah,’ or Buddhist Monastery. See J. R. G. S. 1873, p. 510.
Sultan Sanjar the Saljūk, was shown to Mīrzâ Baykārā, in which it was stated that 'Āli lay buried at the village of Khwājah Khayrān, a place lying three leagues distant from Balkh. On the governor forthwith going there and making due search a slab was discovered bearing the inscription in Arabic, 'This is the tomb of the Lion of Allah, and His saint, 'Āli, brother [for cousin] of the Apostle of Allah.' A great shrine was therefore built over this grave, and ever since this has been highly venerated by the people of central Asia, and is still a notable place of pilgrimage.

Jūzjān (Al-Jūzajān or Juzjānān) was the western district of the Balkh quarter, through which the road passed from Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh city. During the middle-ages this was a most populous district, possessing many cities, of which three only now exist under their old names, though the positions of most of the other towns mentioned by the Arab geographers can be fixed from the Itineraries. Though the names are changed, ruins still mark their sites. The whole district was extremely fertile, and much merchandise was exported, especially hides, which were tanned here and carried to all parts of Khurāsān.

Three marches distant from Marv-ar-Rūd, towards Balkh, was the city of Tālikān, the name of which is no longer found on the map, but the ruins and mounds of brick near Chāchaktū probably mark its site. Already in the 3rd (9th) century Tālikān was a town of much importance, and Yaḵūbī says that the Tālikān felts made here were celebrated. The town lay among the mountains, and there was a magnificent Friday Mosque here. Iṣṭakhrī in the following century stated that Tālikān was as large as Marv-ar-Rūd, and its climate was more healthy. Its houses were built of sun-dried bricks. Near by was the village of Junduwayh, where, according to Yaḵūt, in the 2nd (8th) century, the great battle had been fought and won by Abu Muslim at the head of the Abbasid partizans against the Omayyad troops. Shortly after the time when Yaḵūt wrote, in 617 (1220), Tālikān was stormed after a siege of seven months by Changiz Khān, and

2 Ist. 271. I. H. 322. Muk. 298. Yak. ii. 149.
all the population were massacred, its castle being razed to the ground.

In the mountains—with a situation at the foot of hill-spurs and gulleys that, it was said, resembled Mecca—was the town of Jurzuwân, where the governor of the Jûzjân district passed the summer heats. The name of Al-Jurzuwân, as the Arabs called it, the Persians pronounced Kurzuwân or Gurzuvân, and it was also written Jurzubân or Gurzubân. It lay between Țâliḳân and Marv-ar-Rûd, in the district towards the Ghûr frontier, and, Yâḳût says, was very populous and full of rich folk. No place of this name now exists on the map, but the ruins at Kal'ah Wâllî most probably mark its site.¹

The city of Maymanah, which lay two marches beyond Țâliḳân on the Balkh road, still exists as a flourishing town. In the earlier middle-ages it was called Al-Yahûdân, or Al-Yahûdiyâh, 'the Jews' Town,' and was often counted as the capital of Jûzjân. Its Friday Mosque, Ibn Ḥawkal says, had two minarets. Yâḳût, who gives the name also under the form Jahûdân-al-Kubrâ, 'the Great Jewry,' says that it was first settled by the Israelites whom Nebuchadnezzar sent hither from Jerusalem. The name was changed to Maymanah, meaning 'the Auspicious Town,' for the sake of good augury, since 'Jew-town' to the Moslems was a term of reproach, and as Maymanah it exists at the present day. Maymanah is apparently also mentioned by Mustawfî, who speaks of it, in the 8th (14th) century, as a medium-sized town of the hot region, growing corn, fruit, and dates, and taking its water-supply from the neighbouring river. There is, however, possibly some confusion between this Maymanah of Jûzjân, and Maymand for

¹ Ykh. 287. Ist. 270. I. H. 321, 322. Yak. ii. 59, 129; iii. 491; iv. 258. A. G. 114. C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, 157, 194, 195, 196, 211. The ruins at Châchaktû (Țâliḳân) are 45 miles as the crow flies from Bâlû Murghâb (Marv-ar-Kûd), which would be an equivalent of the three days' march, in a mountainous country, from this last place to Țâliḳân. The name of Châchaktû (written Jîjaktû) is mentioned by 'Alli of Yazd (i. 806; ii. 593) in his accounts of the campaigns of Timûr, but Țâliḳân is not mentioned by him. The ruins at Kal'ah Wâllî (probably Gurzuwân) lie 27 miles from Bâlû Murghâb. An alternative site might be found at the considerable remains existing near Takht-i-Khâtûn. Either of these places may be Gurzuwân, which it is to be noted was a mint city under the Khwârizm Shâhs.
Maywand in Zâbulistân, half-way between Girishk and Kandahâr; and this confusion reappears in the pages of Yâkût, who writes of Maymand (or Mîmand) of Ghaznah, and says it ‘lay between Bâmiyân and Ghûr,’ evidently meaning Maymanah or Yahûdiyyâh. One march from Yahûdiyyâh or Maymanah was the town of Kandaram, also written Kandadram, the residence, according to Ya‘qûbî, of the governor of Jûzjân. It was a city of the mountains, Ištakhri writes, rich in vineyards and nut-trees, and abundantly irrigated by running streams.

One of the most important towns of Jûzjân during the middle ages was Al-Fâryâb, the name of which has completely disappeared from the map, but from the position given by the Itineraries the ruins of Fâryâb may be identified as those now known as Khayrâbâd, where there is an ancient fort surrounded by mounds of brick. Al-Fâriyâb, as Ibn Hâwkâl spells the name, was in the 4th (10th) century a smaller town than Tâlikân, but more fertile and with finer gardens. It was very healthy, and much merchandise was to be found collected here. It had a fine Friday Mosque, which however possessed no minaret. Yâkût, who also spells the name Fîryâb, gives its position in regard to Tâlikân and Shaburkân, but adds no details. In 617 (1220), shortly after his time, Fâryâb was completely ruined by the Mongols, and it is only incidentally mentioned by Mustawfî. Between Al-Yahûdiyyâh and Al-Fâryâb, according to Ibn Hâwkâl, there stood the city of Marsân, nearly of the size of Al-Yahûdiyyâh in the 4th (10th) century; and possibly this is identical with the village of Nariyân which Yâkût mentions as in a like position. Of this mountain region also was the small city of Sân which Ibn Hâwkâl describes as having many fruitful gardens growing grapes and nuts, for its streams brought water without stint.


2 Ist. 270. I. H. 321, 322. N. K. 3. Yak. iii. 840, 888; iv. 775. Mst. 188. C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, 233. Fâryâb of Jûzjân is called Dîh Bârîb by Nâsîr-i-Khusraw, who passed through it going from Shaburkân to Tâlikân. It is also given as Bârâb in the Jâhân Numâ (p. 324), and it is not to be confused with Fârâb, also called Bârâb, which is Otrâr on the Jaxartes, as will be mentioned in Chapter XXXIV.
Shaburkân, spelt variously Ashbûrkân or Ushburkân, also Shubûrkân or Sabûrghân, which still exists, had in the 3rd (9th) century been once the seat of government of the Jûzjân district, which afterwards was removed to Yahûdiyâh (Maymanah), at that time its equal in size. Its gardens and fields were wonderfully fertile, and large quantities of fruits were exported. Yâkût, who spells the name Shubrukân or Shusrukân and Shabûrkân, says that in 617 (1220), at the time of the Mongol invasion, it was a very populous town, with much merchandise in its markets. A century later Mustawfi speaks of it in similar terms, coupling Shubûrkân and Fâryâb together, also adding that corn was abundant and cheap here.

One day to the south of Shubûrkân, and the same distance eastward of Yahûdiyâh, was Anbâr, otherwise written Anbir, which Ibn Hawkal says was larger than Marv-ar-Rûd. * Here the governor of the district had his residence in the winter. No town of this name now exists, but by position Anbâr is probably identical in site with Sar-i-pûl, on the upper part of the Shubûrkân river, still a place of some importance. The town was surrounded by vineyards and its houses were clay-built. It was often counted as the chief city of Jûzjân, and is probably the town which Našir-i-Khusraw visited on his road to Shuburghân, and which he calls the city (or capital) of Jûzjânân. He speaks of its great Friday Mosque, and remarks on the wine-bibbing habits of the people. Out in the plain, to the north-west of Shubûrkân, lies the town of Andkhuy, the name of which in the earlier geographers is spelt variously Andakhud, Addakhûd, and An-Nakhud. Ibn Hawkal speaks of it as a small town out in the desert, with seven villages lying round it, and, in the 4th (10th) century, for the most part inhabited by Kurds, who possessed many sheep and camels. Yâkût mentions it, but adds no details; the name also frequently occurs in the accounts of Timûr’s campaigns1.

The great district of Țukhâristân lay to the eastward of Balkh, stretching along the south side of the Oxus as far as the frontiers

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of Badakhshan, and bounded on the south by the mountain ranges north of Bāmiyān and Panj-hir. It was divided into Upper Tūkhāristān, east of Balkh and along the Oxus, and Lower Tūkhāristān which lay further to the south-east, on the frontiers of Badakhshan. Many towns are mentioned as of Tūkhāristān by the medieval geographers, but they add few details concerning them, so that excepting in the case of those given in the Itineraries, and those which still exist, it is now impossible to identify the greater number of them.

Two days' march to the east of Balkh is Khulm, described by Muṣaddasi as a small city surrounded by many large villages and districts, with a good climate. Two days' march again from Khulm lay Siminjān and Rūb, two towns near together, which probably are represented at the present day by Haybak, south of Khulm, on the upper course of the Khulm river. Muṣaddasi speaks of Siminjān as a larger town than Khulm; it had a Friday Mosque, and excellent fruit was grown, and Yaḵūt describes it as lying in a maze of valleys, which were, or had been, peopled by Arabs of the Tamīm tribe. Mustawfi mentions Siminjān as a large town, already ruined in the 8th (14th) century, but where corn, cotton, and grapes were much cultivated; and under the spelling Saminkān it is mentioned by ‘Alī of Yazd in describing the march of Timūr from Khulm to the Indian frontier.

Beyond, south-east of Siminjān, was Baghlān, Upper and Lower, and in the latter district, according to Muṣaddasi, was the capital with a Friday Mosque in the 4th (10th) century. Baghlān, or Baklān, as the name of the district is spelt by ‘Alī of Yazd, apparently lay along the road to Andarābah, otherwise Andarāb, which is described by Muṣaddasi as having fine markets, being situated among valleys clothed by verdant forests. These valleys, which were on the northern slopes of the Panj-hir range, had many silver mines in their recesses, according to Ibn Hāwkāl, who speaks of two rivers, the Nahr Andarāb, and the Nahr Kāsān, as flowing down through this district. Yaḵūt, who gives no additional details, spells the name Andarāb or Andarābah1.

1 Ist. 279. I. H. 326. Muk. 296, 303. Yav. i. 372; ii. 827; iii. 147, 518. Mst. 188. A. V. ii. 19. C. E. Yate, Afghanistan, 317. For the relative positions of these places see Map 1, p. 1.
The Khulm river does not flow into the Oxus, but is lost in marshes a few miles to the north of the ruins of the old town. At the nearest bend of the Oxus to Khulm, there was in the 4th (10th) century a strongly fortified guard-house, called Rubâṭ Milah, where the road coming in three marches from Balkh crossed the great river into Transoxiana and the Khuttal country. Two marches to the eastward of Khulm was Warwâlîz, or Warwâlîj, which Ibn Ḥaw̲ḳal and others describe as a large city in the 4th (10th) century. No town of this name now exists, but by its position in the Itineraries it must have stood very near the site of Ḫunduz. Yâḵūt, who apparently by a clerical error gives the name as Wazwâlîn, adds no details, and neither he nor any of the earlier geographers mention Ḫunduz, which is doubtless an abbreviation for Ḫuhandiz, the common name for ‘fortress’ in Persian, and as such possibly applied to the old castle of Warwâlîz.

Two days’ march to the east of Warwâlîz lay Ṭâyīkân, or Ṭâliḵān of Ṭukhâristân, which still exists (not to be confounded with Ṭâliḵān of Jûzjân, described above, p. 423), and which in the 4th (10th) century was one of the most populous towns of the district. At-Ṭâliḵān, as Muḥaddasī spells the name, though At-Ṭâyīkân is the better form, had a large market; it stood in the plain a bow-shot from the hills, and was in the 4th (10th) century about a third the size of Balkh. Its lands were watered by an affluent of the Oxus, called Khuttalâb (sometimes written Ḩaylâb); and the Watrâb river (or Tarâb, for the readings of these two names are doubtful) appears to have been one of its branch streams, which joined the Khuttalâb above Ḫunduz. The neighbourhood was extremely fertile, and it was a pleasant country; corn and much fruit, according to Muṣṭawfī, were grown, and in the 8th (14th) century, most of the population were weavers. It then possessed a strong fortress, and was surrounded by well-cultivated districts, where grapes, figs, peaches, and pistachios grew abundantly. ‘Ali of Yazd frequently mentions Ṭâyīkân when relating the campaigns of Timūr, and according to the older geographers seven days’ march east of this was Badakhshân, which will be noticed in the following chapter.”

1 Ist. 279. I. H. 326, 332. Muk. 296. Yak. iii. 518; iv. 926.
The most famous exports of Khurásán, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, were the silk and cotton stuffs of Naysábûr and Marv. Both sheep and camels were to be had here cheap, and Turkish slaves—a boy or girl slave, he says, fetching as much as 5000 dinârs (about £2500)—and all food-stuffs were plentiful. Mūkaddasi enters into further details. Naysábûr was the chief manufacturing centre. Various white cloths were made here; and stuffs for turbans woven in the straight, or across, or diagonally. Veils, thin lining materials, woollens and raw silks, brocades of silk and of silk mixed with cotton, and various linen stuffs and cloths of goat’s hair; all these were famous products of Naysábûr. Here, too, were made cloaks, fine thread, and tabby silks in all varieties. Ironware was forged here, as well as needles and knives. The gardens of Naysábûr were renowned for their figs, truffles, and rhubarb, and from the mine in the hills of the Rîwand district came the famous turquoises (ṣīrāsāf) of Nishápûr.

The towns of Nisâ and Abîvard were noted for their raw silk stuffs, and the cloth that the women wove in these districts. Fox-skin pelisses also were made up here. Nisâ in particular had a special breed of falcons, and produced much sesame seed. From Tûs came great cooking pots, a speciality of the town, also mats, and most of the cereals were largely exported. Excellent belts and cloaks were likewise manufactured. Herât produced brocade stuffs of all kinds, preserves made of raisins and pistachios, and divers syrups. Steel, too, was admirably forged in Herât. From the mountainous country of Gharj-ash-Shâr came felts and carpets, saddle cloths and cushions. Gold was found here, and horses and mules were exported largely.

Marv was a great place for all loom work in silk, mixed cotton and silk, and pure cotton, of which veils and all sorts of cloth were woven. The districts round the city produced oil of sesame, condiments and aromatics, and manna. Brass pots were made in Marv, and its bakers produced a variety of excellent cakes. The neighbourhood of Balkh- yielded sesame, rice, almonds, nuts, and raisins. Its soap-boilers were famous, and the

472. Yak. iii. 501; v. 24. Mst. 188, 189. A. Y. i. 82, 179. The name is spelt (with or without the article) Ṭâyikân, or Ṭâyikân, and, finally, Ṭâlikân, like the town in Jûzjân.
confectioners here made divers kinds of the so-called 'honey' from grapes and figs, as well as a preserve of pomegranate kernels. Syrups and clarified butter were largely exported; and in the neighbourhood were mines of lead, vitriol, and arsenic. The incense of Balkh too was famous, and its turmeric, unguents, and preserves. From it came hides and cloaks, and from Tirmidh, across the Oxus, soap and assafoetida. As coming from Warwâlîj towards Badakhshân, Muكشفی gives a long list of fruits, such as nuts, almonds, pistachios, and pears. Rice and sesame too were largely traded, also various cheeses and clarified butter, and finally horns and furs, more especially fox-skins.

The high roads through Khurásân and Kûhistân were as follows. The great Khurásân road entered Khurásân beyond Bishtâm (in Kûmis, see p. 365), and from this place to Naysâbûr there were two routes. The northern, or caravan road went from Bishtâm to Jâjarm, and thence by Ázādvâr through the plain of Juvayn down to Naysâbûr. This is the road especially given by Mustawfi, and only in sections by Ištâhri and Ibn Ḥawkâl. The southern, shorter route is the post-road to Naysâbûr, which started from Badhash, already mentioned (p. 368) as two leagues from Bishtâm. This road keeps along the skirts of the hills with the desert on the right hand, and coming to Asadâbâd, next passes through Bahmanâbâd or Mazînân, where a branch went north to Ázādvâr. Continuing eastward through Sabzivâr, the post-road finally reaches Naysâbûr, and this is the route described by Ibn Khurdâdbih and in all the earlier Itineraries. From Asadâbâd going south-east, Muكشفی says there was a track across this corner of the Great Desert, in 30 leagues, to Turshiz in Kûhistân, while from Naysâbûr to Turshiz, the route is given by both Ibn Khurdâdbih and Muكشفی. From Naysâbûr north to Nisâ the stages are also given by Muكشفی.

One stage beyond Naysâbûr at Kaşr-ar-Rîh or Dizbâd (Castle of the Wind) the Khurásân road bifurcated. To the right, south-east, the way went down to Herât, and this will be noticed in the succeeding paragraph. From the Castle of the Wind, turning left

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and north-east, the road went to Mashhad and Takht, and from here by Mazdarān to Sarakhs, at the crossing of the Tajand river. From Sarakhs the desert was crossed to Great Marv, and thence by the desert again the road reached the Oxus bank at Āmul (or Chahār-Jūy), whence, after leaving Khurāsān, Bukhārā was the terminus. This stretch of the Khurāsān road from Naysābūr to Āmul of the Oxus passage is given with but slight variations by nearly all the Itineraries, and most of its stages still exist at the present day under the old names.

As already said, the Khurāsān road branched to the right, one stage beyond Naysābūr, whence Herāt was reached. At Sarakhs and Marv there were also bifurcations to the right, these roads both going to Marv-ar-Rūd, and to this city also a road led north from Herāt. From Marv-ar-Rūd the main road then led north-east to Balkh, beyond which it crossed the Oxus to Tirmidh. Taking first the Herāt road, from the bifurcation at the Castle of the Wind, it was four stages to Būzjān, and a like distance on to Būshanj, whence to Herāt was a day’s march. This road is given by Ibn Rustah and the geographers of the 4th (10th) century, also by Mustawfī. From Būzjān and from Būshanj roads respectively went off to the south-west and west, which centred in Kahin, and the distances between the various cities of Kūhistān are given by Īṣṭakhrī and others. At Kahin also centred the roads coming from Tabas and Khūr on the borders of the Great Desert.

From Herāt southwards the road went down to Zaranj, passing through Asfuzār, and crossing the Sijistān frontier between that town and Farah (see above, p. 341). This road is given by Ibn Rustah and the three geographers of the 4th (10th) century. From Herāt eastward, up the valley of the Hari Rūd to the Ghūr frontier, the names of the towns one day’s march apart are given by the same three authorities. From Herāt through Karūkh the distances are also given by the geographers of the 4th (10th) century, in days’ marches to Shurmin and Abshīn in Ghurjistān, whence down the Murghāb Marv-ar-Rūd was reached. And to Marv-ar-Rūd or Kašr Aḥnaf (Marūchak) the roads are given

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across Bâdghis (going by Baghshûr, the capital) in Ištâkhrî, Ibn Ḥawkal and Muḳaddasi, as also by Mustawfî in the 8th (14th) century.

From Sarakhs, and from Great Marv, respectively, two roads converged on Marv-ar-Rûd, the first crossing the desert between the two great rivers, the last coming up the Murghâb through the fertile lands and towns on its bank. The desert route, passing by a number of successive Rubâts, or guard-houses, is only given by Muḳaddasi, being merely copied by Mustawfî, and in the Turkish Jahân Numâ. The road from Great Marv up the Murghâb is given by Ibn Khurdâdbih and Ḳudâmah, also by Muḳaddasi, but by a different route.

From Marv-ar-Rûd to Balkh, through the Jûzjân district, Ibn Khurdâdbih and the earlier Itineraries give the road by Ṭâlikân and thence on, either by Fâryâb and Shaburḳân, or by Yahûdîyah (Maymanah), and Anbår, to Balkh. Ištâkhrî and Muḳaddasi give the distances by the number of marches. Mustawfî has a somewhat different route from Marv-ar-Rûd to Balkh, which passed to the westward of both Ṭâlikân, which lay six leagues off the road to the right, and Fâryâb, which lay two leagues away likewise on the right hand, reaching Shaburḳân, and eventually, by the Jamûkhîyân bridge Balkh. This route is copied in the Jahân Numâ. From Balkh the Oxus was reached opposite Tirmidh in two stages, passing through Siyâhjîrûd.

East from Balkh the road went by Khulm and Ṭâyîkân to the frontiers of Badakhshân, a branch road going south-east from Khulm to Andarâbah and the Panj-hûr mines north of Kâbul. Ištâkhrî and Muḳaddasi also give skeleton routes from Balkh across the mountains to Bāmîyân, and thence south by Ghaznah to Ḳusdâr, with a branch from Ghaznah eastward to the Indian frontier, but in these routes the stages are uncertain, for the places named are elsewhere unknown.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE OXUS.


The Oxus of old was held to be the boundary line between the Persian-speaking folk and the Turks, between Īrân and Tûrân; and the provinces north, beyond it, were known to the Arabs as Mâ-warâ-n-Nahr, 'Those beyond the River' (Oxus, understood), or otherwise as the Hayṭal. The Hayṭal, in the 5th century A.D., had been the chief enemies of the Sassanian monarchy, and were identical with the Ephthalites of the Byzantine authors, commonly known as the White Huns. To the medieval Arabs, however, the name Hayṭal had come to be employed loosely to mean all the Tûrânian peoples and lands lying beyond the Oxus, and as such it is used by Muḥaddasī.

These lands may conveniently be divided into five provinces. The most important was Sughd, the ancient Sogdiana, with its two capitals Bukhârâ and Samarkand. To the west of Sughd was Khwârizm, now generally known as Khivah, comprising the Oxus delta; and to the south-east Ṣaghâniyân, with Khuttal and the other great districts on the upper Oxus; to which also belonged Badakhshân, though this lay on the left or south bank, being almost encircled by the great bend of the river beyond Ṣukhâristân. Lastly, the two provinces of the Jaxartes were Farghânah on the upper river, and the province of Shâsh (now Tâshkand) with the
districts to the north-west, running down to the outflow of the Jaxartes into the swamps of the Aral Sea.

The medieval Arabs knew the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes under the names, respectively, of Jayhûn and Sayhûn, which like the Tigris and Euphrates, the legend said, were the rivers of Paradise. The origin of these names is not quite clear, but apparently the Arabs took them from the Jews, Jayhûn and Sayhûn being corrupted forms of two of the rivers mentioned in Genesis ii. 11, 13, to wit the Gihon and the Pison.\(^1\)

In the later middle-ages, about the time of the Mongol irruption, the names Jayhûn and Sayhûn to a great extent went out of use; the Oxus was then more generally called the Amûyah, or Amû Daryâ, while the Jaxartes, as will be seen in a later chapter, came to be known as the Sir Daryâ. The origin of the term Amûyah, or Amû, is also not quite clear. According to Hâfiz Abrû this is explained to be merely the name of the town and district on the Khurasân bank of the Oxus originally written Amul (at Châhâr Jûy, see above, p. 403). Possibly, however, the case is inverted, and the true explanation may be that Amul city came to be called Amûyah or Amû from a local (Persian) name of the great river, which, coming into common use, supplanted the more classical (Arabic) name Jayhûn. It is further to be observed that, with the Arabs, rivers were very commonly named from the great cities on their banks; hence the Oxus or Amû Daryâ, the River of Amû, also was often called the Balkh river, although that city stands some miles distant from its southern bank. The name Oxus, by which the Greeks knew the great river, is preserved in Wakhsh-âb, the Wakhsh river, which is one of its upper affluents.

\(^1\) Ist. 286, 287, 295. I. H. 335, 347, 348. Muk. 261—268. As has been already mentioned (p. 131), the same names, under the slightly altered forms of Jayhân and Sayhân, were given to the Pyramus and Sarus respectively, the two frontier rivers of Cilicia, over against the Greek lands. As to the etymology of these names, it would seem that being taken from a foreign language, and their meaning unknown, the name Sayhân was brought into a jingling rhyme with Jayhûn; and this is the case with many other borrowed names, e.g. in the Kurân and Tradition, Kâbit, Hâbit, for Cain and Ábel; Tâlat, Jâlat, for Saul and Goliath; Yâjûj, Mâjûj, for Gog and Magog. See Sir H. Yule, in Capt. J. Wood, The Oxus (1872), p. xxii.
but by the Arabs the name Wakhsh does not appear ever to have been applied to the main stream.

The sources of the Oxus, as Ibn Rustah and other early geographers rightly state, were from a lake in Little Tibet (At-Tubbat) and on the Pamir (Fāmir). Iṣṭakhrī, who is copied by most subsequent writers, gives the names of four among the many upper affluents of the Oxus. These are not in every case easy to identify, but the following appears to be clearly indicated. The main stream of the upper Oxus was the Nahr Jaryāb, at the present day known as the Panj river, which reached Badakhshān from the east, coming through the country known as Wakhkhān, and the Jaryāb was also known as the Wakhkhāb river. This main stream of the Oxus, coming down from the eastern highlands, makes an immense sweep round Badakhshān, flowing north, then west, and finally south before reaching the neighbourhood of Khulm, and in this course of three-quarters of a circle it receives many great affluents on its right bank. The first of these is the Andījārāgh, with the town of the same name near its junction with the Oxus; and this appears identical with the present Bartang river. Next there joined the Nahr Fārghar (also written Farghār, Farghān, or Farghi) flowing down from the Khuttal country, which must be identical with the Wanj river of to-day. Below came in the Nahr Akhshawā (or Akhsh), almost equalling the main stream of the Oxus, on which stood Hulbuk, the chief town of Khuttal. One of its head-streams was the Nahr Balbān, or Barbān, and these united rivers at the present day are known under the Turkish name of Ak-Șū or White River. These, therefore, are the four upper affluents of the Oxus as named by Iṣṭakhrī, and he states that their various places of junction were all above the ford, or passage of the main stream at Ārhan.

Also above this ford, but on the left bank, the Badakhshān river, now called the Gukchah, flowed into the Oxus, being known as the Nahr Dirghām. Below the Ārhan ford the Oxus received its great right-bank affluent, namely the Wakhshāb or Wakhsh river, from which the Greeks, as already said, took their name Oxus; and this divided the countries of Khuttal and Wakhsh on the east, from the districts of Ḳubāḏhiyān and Ṣaghāniyān on the west. The Wakhshāb is the river now known
as the Surkháb, or Red River. Where the Oxus, after curving round three sides of Badakhshán, finally takes its course westward, it receives on its left, or southern bank the rivers of Táyikan and Kunduz from Türkaráristán. These Ibn Rustah calls the Nahr Khuttaláb, and the Nahr Watrab, respectively, as has been noticed in the previous chapter (p. 428). The two rivers of Kubádhiyán and Şaghâniyán—the latter, which flows past Tirmidh, named the Nahr Zámil by Ibn Rustah—joined the Oxus on its northern or right bank, and had their sources in the Buttán mountains, which here to the north divided the Oxus watershed from that of the Zarafshán in Sughd. These are the last of the affluents of the great river, for west of Bálkh the Oxus receives no other stream, and takes its course through the desert, west and north-west, direct to its delta south of the Aral Sea¹.

The country of Badakhshán lay to the eastward of Türkaráristán, surrounded on three sides, as we have seen, by the great bend of the upper Oxus. Íṣṭakhri describes this province as very populous and fertile, with refreshing streams and numberless vineyards. The capital was of the same name, but the Badakhshán (or Gukchah) river was, as already said, known as the Dirghám by the Arabs. For the position of Badakhshán city no Itinerary that has come down to us gives information; but it seems probable, seeing the inaccessible nature of most of the country, that it stood in the valley where the present capital of the country, Fayzábád, now stands.

Badakhshán was from the earliest times famed for its precious stones, especially for the balas rubies and for the lapis-lazuli found at the Lázward mines². Muḥaddasi in the 4th (10th) century states that at the jewel mines was a fort, built by Zubaydah, the wife of Hárūn-ar-Rashid, and called after her. Besides the ruby, the balas, and lapis-lazuli, the pure rock crystal of Badakhshán was famous, also the bezoar stone. Asbestos was also found here, called by the Arabs Ḥajar-al-Fatilah, ‘wick-stone,’ for,

¹ I. R. 92, 93. I. K. 33. I. F. 324. Ist. 277, 296. I. H. 348. Muk. 303. I. S. 25 a, 44 b. Yak. ii. 171; iii. 469. In Ḥazvíní (i. 177) Ḡarbáb is for Ḡaryáb and (ii. 353) Ḡaryún; both clerical errors.
² Lázward, or Lázūrd, the name of the mine and mineral, is the origin of the word ‘azure.’
being unconsumable, it was used for lamp-wicks. Muṣṭaddaṣi adds that of this asbestos fibre they wove mats for table-covers at meals, and when these got soiled by grease, all that was needed was to bake them for a time in an oven, when they became again perfectly clean. In like manner the asbestos lamp-wicks, when clotted with oil, were made as good as new by being put in the fire for an hour, nor, he adds, did they become consumed thereby. Further Muṣṭaddaṣi mentions a luminous stone, which in a dark room lighted up all things near it, probably some kind of phosphorescent fluor-spar.

Many of these details are repeated by Kāzvīnī, who, among the other precious stones found in Badakhshān, mentions the garnet, ‘a stone like a ruby,’ and states that in his day the asbestos stone was supposed by the common people to be formed of the petrified plumes of birds. The chief mines of the Balkhash, or balas ruby, were situated near the city of Yamkān; in the neighbourhood were silver mines, and Abu-l-Fidā mentions the city of Jirm, which ‘Allā of Yazd gives as the name of the Badakhshān river. When Timūr invaded Badakhshān in the latter part of the 8th (14th) century the capital was at Kishm, where the king of Badakhshān resided; and one of the chief towns was called Kalāḵān, but no description is given of these places, and their positions are uncertain.

East of Badakhshān, along the upper Oxus, lay Wakhkhān, described by Ibn Ḥawkal as on the road into (Little) Tibet, whence came musk. These were infidel lands, and they adjoined the countries called As-Saḵinah and Karrān (or Karrām); and beyond these again towards Kashmir was the Bulūr country, ‘where for three months you never see the sun for snow and rain.’ The silver mines of Wakhkhān were famous in the 4th (10th) century, and gold was found in the beds of its streams. The slave caravans from central Asia came down through this country bringing captured slaves to Khurāsān for the Moslem markets of the West.¹

As already said, the largest affluent of the Oxus was the Wakhshāb, coming in on the right bank from the north, and the

great mountainous tract lying in the angle between the Wakhshāb and the Oxus was known as Khuttal, a name that was also vaguely applied to all the infidel lands east and north of Khurāsān.\footnote{1} Khuttal included the country called Wakhsh, lying in its northern parts, where the Wakhshāb took its rise. It was, Iṣṭakhri writes, very fertile, and famous for its fine horses and sumpter beasts; having many great towns on the banks of its numerous streams, where corn lands and fruit orchards gave abundant crops.

In the 4th (10th) century the capital of Khuttal was Hulbuk, where the Sultan lived (probably near the site of modern Khulāb); but the two cities called Munk and Halāward were larger than Hulbuk. Other considerable towns were Andijārāgh (or Andājārāgh) and Farghān (or Fārghar), lying respectively on the rivers of these names; also Tamliyat and Lāwakand, which last was on the Wakhshāb below the Stone Bridge (near modern Kurgān Tappah). Muḥaddasi describes Hulbuk, the capital, as having a Friday Mosque in its midst, and standing on the Akhshawā river, from which it took its water. The town of Andijārāgh lay near the Oxus bank, where the affluent of the same name came in, and it probably occupied the site of the present Kāl‘ah Wamar. Munk, the largest city of the province, lay to the north of Hulbuk, and east of Tamliyat; while Halāward, on the Wakhshāb, was, according to Muḥaddasi, a finer town than Hulbuk the capital. Tamliyat lay between Munk and the Stone Bridge of the Wakhshāb, and is probably identical with the present Baljuwān; Baljuwān being already mentioned by ‘All of Yazd when describing the campaigns of Tīmūr\footnote{2}.

The celebrated Stone Bridge (Ḵanṭarah-al-Ḫijārah) over the Wakhshāb still exists. It is described by Ibn Rustah, Iṣṭakhri,

\footnote{1} There is much confusion in the naming of this country; we have indifferently Khuttal and Khutlān or Khuttalān. According, however, to Šāfī (ii. 322) Khuttalān was the name of a town of the Turks, lying in a gorge between the mountains, the position of which he does not indicate. \footnote{2} ‘All of Yazd (i. 464, and elsewhere), in describing the campaigns of Tīmūr, generally writes Khutlān. The name Khuttal (with its variants) appears in fact to be the same word as Haytal, by which name the Arabs knew the Ephthalites or White Huns of Sassanian and Byzantine times.
and many late authorities as crossing the Wakhshāb on the road from Tamliyāt to the town of Wāshjird in Kubādhiyān. To the north of this lay the country called Bilād-al-Kamīdīh by Ibn Rustah, beyond which again was the Rasht district at the headwaters of the Wakhshāb. The Stone Bridge, according to Ištakhrī, spanned a deep gorge of the Wakhsh river, at a place where, by reason of the great volume of the stream, more water, it was said, was hemmed in by narrows than at any other known spot on any other river. Kāzvīnī and other writers give a like account, and ‘Alī of Yazd also refers to the bridge, giving both the Persian form, Pūl-i-Sangīn, and the Turkish, Tāsh Kūpruk. The place has more than once been described by modern travellers.

To the westward of the Wakhsh river, and bounded on the south by the Oxus, lay the district the Arabs named Šaghāniyān, which in Persian is written Chaghāniyān. The eastern part of the district was more particularly known as Kubādhiyān, from the city of this name which stands on the first river joining the Oxus to the westward of the Wakhshāb. Kubādhiyān, or Kuwādhiyān, is described by Ibn Ḥawkāl as a smaller town than Tīrmīdīh, and it was known also under the name of Fazz. It was famous for its madder, which was exported to India. The Kubādhiyān river, on which the town lay, is of considerable length, and according to Muḥaddasī there were several important towns in this district, one of which was Awzāj or Ūzaj, probably the present Aywaj, on the northern bank of the Oxus above Tīrmīdīh, and below Rubāṭ Mīlah of the left bank. Yāḵūt adds that the fruits of this district were famous.

On the upper waters of the Kubādhiyān river, and west of the Stone Bridge, lay Wāshjird, a town according to Ištakhrī that almost equalled Tīrmīdīh in size; and some distance to

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1 I. R. 92. Ist. 297. I. H. 348. Kāz. ii. 353. A. V. i. 83, 452. Sir H. Yule in Wood, The Oxus, p. lxxxi; Mayef in Geographical Magazine for 1875, p. 337, and 1876, p. 328. At the present day the Stone Bridge is described as only ten paces in length, and is abutted on two projecting rocks. The Surkhāb flows below it, hemmed in by lofty and precipitous cliffs, which afford hardly thirty paces' interval for the passage of the stream, which pours down the narrow gorge with a tremendous roar.
the south of it was the great fortress of Shûmân, or Ash-Shûmân. In all this district round Shûmân much saffron was grown for export. Shûmân is referred to by Mukaddasî as extremely populous, and the town was well built; Yâkût adding that its population was ever in revolt against their Sultan, and that in his day it was a frontier fortress against the Turks. 'Ali of Yazd, describing the conquests of Tîmûr, frequently mentions it as Hisâr Shâdmân, and more shortly as Hisâr, or Hisârar, and at the present day it is also known as Hisâr'.

Şaghâniyân city is probably identical with the modern town of Sar-i-Asyâ, on the upper part of the Şaghâniyân river, which was also called the Nahr Zâmil. It was, Ištâkhri writes, a larger city than Tîrîmidh, in the 4th (10th) century, though the latter was more wealthy and populous. Şaghâniyân city was defended by a great Kuhandiz, or fort, and it stood on both banks of the river. Mukaddasî likens it to Ramlah in Palestine, and there was a great Friday Mosque in its market-place. Wild-fowl abounded in its neighbourhood, and 6000 villages were counted in its districts, excellent bread being cheap throughout the neighbourhood. The small town of Bâsand, with a great public square and many gardens, lay two marches from Şaghâniyân city, among the mountains higher up the river. Lower down the Zâmil, about half-way between Şaghâniyân and Tîrîmidh, lay Dârzanji, where there was a great guard-house, according to Ibn Hawkâl. Excellent wool-stuffs were produced here, and there was a great Friday Mosque in the market-place. South of this again, also near the Zâmil river, was the town of Şarmanji or Şarmanjân, likewise with its great guard-house. The place had been famous in the 4th (10th) century for a dole of bread, of the daily value of a dinâr (10 shillings), which was given by its governor, Abu-l-Hasan, son of Hasan Mâh.

The most important town, however, of the Şaghâniyân district was Tîrîmid (or At-Tîrîmidh), north of the passage of the Oxus coming from Balkh, and at the place of junction of the Zâmil river. In the 4th (10th) century it was defended by a great fortress, where

the governor lived, and a suburb lay round the town which was enclosed by an inner wall, while a second wall surrounded the suburb. A Friday Mosque of unburnt brick stood in the marketplace of the town, but the market buildings were built of kiln-bricks, and the main streets were also paved with the same material. Tirmidh was the great emporium of the trade coming from the north for Khurásán. The city had three gates, and according to Mu'addasí was strongly fortified. In the year 617 (1220) it was sacked by the Mongol hordes as they passed south into Khurásán. After this a new town—as large as the old one, according to Ibn Batūtah, who visited it in the following century—was built two miles above the deserted ruins, and this was soon surrounded by gardens which grew excellent grapes and quinces.

On the right bank of the Oxus, some distance below Tirmidh, was Nawidah, where those who went from Balkh to Samarkand direct crossed the river. Nawidah had a Friday Mosque in the midst of its houses, and was counted as the last town in Șaghāniyān on the Oxus. One march north-west of Tirmidh, on the road to Kish and Nakhshab in Sughd, was the town of Háshimjird, a place of some importance in the 4th (10th) century; and two marches north of this the road passed through the famous Iron Gate.

This defile in the mountains was described by the Chinese traveller, Hwen Thsang, who as a Buddhist pilgrim visited India in 629 A.D.1 The Arab geographers speak of a town here, and Ya'kūbī names it the City of the Iron Gate (Madinah Bāb-al-Hadīd), of which he also gives the Persian form, Dar Āhanī. Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hawkāl, and Mu'addasī all name the Bāb-al-Hadīd in their itineraries, but add no details. Under the name, in Persian, of the Darband Āhanī the Iron Gate became famous from the time of Timūr, and it is mentioned by 'All of Yazd also under the Turkish appellation of Kuhlughah. He gives, however,

1 For a translation of Hwen Thsang's description see Sir H. Yule in Wood, The Oxus, p. lxix. The Chinese pilgrim states that in his day the passage was 'closed by folding gates clamped with iron, and to the gates were attached a number of iron bells.' All later accounts omit any mention of gates, which apparently had been removed before the time of Iṣṭakhri.
no description of the place. This remarkable defile was traversed
by Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador to the court of Timür, in
August, A.D. 1405. He states that the ravine looked 'as if it
had been artificially cut, and the hills rise to a great height on
either side, and the pass is smooth, and very deep. In the centre
of the pass there is a village, and the mountain rises to a great
height behind. This pass is called the Gates of Iron, and in all
the mountain range there is no other pass, so that it guards the
land of Samarkand in the direction of India. These Gates of
Iron produce a large revenue to Timür, for all merchants who
come from India pass this way.'

The Oxus below the Şaghâniyân district took its course through
the desert, receiving no important affluents on either bank, and
finally reached its delta on the south shore of the Aral Sea, where
lay the province of Khwârizm, which will be described in the next
chapter. In the stretch of desert several cities lay upon its right
and left banks—generally in couples—at the points where the
great river was crossed by roads going from Khurásân to the
Turk country, and most of the towns on the Khurásân side have
already been mentioned in the preceding chapter. The town of
Kâlif or Kaylif, on the north bank (which still exists), was in the
middle-ages faced by its suburb on the Khurásân side, surrounding
the guard-house called Rubâṭ Dhi-l-Kîfî; and Kâlif was therefore
at that time counted as occupying both banks of the Oxus,
Muḵaddasî likening it to Baghdaḍ and Wâṣîṭ. On the northern
side was the guard-house called after Alexander the Great, Rubâṭ
Dhi-l-Ḵarnayn. Yâḵût states that Kâlif had a fine castle, it was
counted as 18 leagues from Bâlkh, and was on the road thence to
Nakhshab in Sughd. Mustawfî speaks of a great hill near Kâlif,
eight leagues in circumference, all of black earth, with water and
fine grazing lands on its summit, and he adds that Kâlif in the
8th (14th) century was a large and very strong place.

Below this and opposite Zamm, which has already been

1 Ykb. 290. Ist. 298, 337. I. H. 349, 350, 400, 401. Muk. 283, 284,
291, 292, 347. I. B. iii. 56. A. Y. i. 49, 59; ii. 593. Clavijo, Embassy,
p. 122. Geographical Magazine, 1875, p. 336; and see 1876, p. 328, for the
description of the Iron Gate by Mayef.
described (see p. 404), was the town of Akhsisak, whence a high road went to Nakhshab. Ibn Hawkal describes Akhsisak as a small city, its inhabitants going over to Zamm for the Friday prayers, for there was no mosque in their town. The surrounding lands, enclosed on all sides by the desert, were extremely fertile, and the pasture for sheep and camels excellent. Near the right bank of the Oxus, lower down again, and opposite Àmul or Amûyah, stood Firabr, on the road to Bukhârâ, likewise surrounded by a fertile district, and many populous villages. Muqaddasî writes that Firabr was a league distant from the north bank of the Oxus, and that it was protected by a fortress with guard-houses. The Friday Mosque stood at the town gate towards Bukhârâ, and there was a Muşallâ, or praying station, with a hostelry outside this where travellers were entertained and a dole given. The grapes of the place were famous. Firabr was also known as Kariyat 'Ali, or Rubât Tâhir ibn 'Ali, the village or guard-house of these persons.

After passing between Firabr and Amûyah, the Oxus held its course for about 140 miles, still through the desert, till it reached Tâhirîyah, where the cultivated lands of the delta began. From this point the great river took its course to the Aral Sea, throwing off for nearly 300 miles many irrigation canals which watered the rich province known as Khwârizm during the middle-ages. Since the date of the first Arab conquest the Oxus, in these delta lands, has of course frequently shifted its bed, and the bursting of the great dykes at the time of the Mongol invasion in the 7th (13th) century caused a change in its lower course which will be described later. From the description of the earlier Arab geographers, however, it is still possible roughly to reconstruct the map of Khwârizm in the 4th (10th) century, and it is evident that the Oxus in those days followed a single channel, navigable for boats, down to the swamps on the southern shore of the Aral, which sea the Arabs called the Lake of Khwârizm (Buhayrah Khwârizm).

The Aral, which was shallow and full of reeds, appears not

to have been considered navigable; it received on its north-eastern shore the waters of the Jaxartes, but no traffic passed from the Oxus by water to the sister river. The land bordering the eastern coast of the Aral, between the mouths of the Oxus and Jaxartes, was in the 4th (10th) century, and later, known as the Desert of the Ghuzz Turkomans, a name more often given to the Marv desert of eastern Persia. To the earlier Arab geographers the wonder of the Oxus and Jaxartes was the fact that both these rivers froze over in winter, so that caravans of heavily laden beasts could cross on the surface of the river ice, which remained fast frozen, they reported, for from two to five of the winter months, the thickness of the ice reaching five spans and more. Қазвіні explains further how in winter the people of Khwārizm had to dig wells through the ice with crowbars till the water below was reached, and the cattle were brought up to drink at these holes, water being carried home to the houses in great jars. Ӿstąkhrī mentions a hill called Jábal Jaghrághaz, on the Aral Lake shore, below which the water remained frozen all the year through.

The Aral Sea, especially in its southern part and near the creek of Khaliján where the Oxus flowed in, was famous as fishing ground, but there were no villages or even houses bordering on the lake shore. As already said, all down the course of the Oxus through the delta, great and small canals branched from the right and left bank of the river, and many of these canals were also navigable; their waters finally serving to irrigate the delta lands. On one or other of these canals most of the great towns of Khwārizm had been built, rather than on the Oxus bank, which from the constant shifting of its bed was a source of ever recurring danger. The Oxus was navigable for boats throughout the whole of its lower course, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah says that during the summer months the passage down stream from Tirmidh could be accomplished in ten days, cargoes of wheat and barley being thus brought for sale to the Khwārizm markets. The ice in winter made the navigation dangerous or impossible, and Yāḵūt relates how in Shawwāl 616 (December 1219), when going from Marv to Jurjānīyah, part of his voyage being by boat on the Jayḥūn, he
and his companions came near perishing from the intense cold and the sudden freezing of the river. They were hardly able to land and get up the bank, which was deeply covered with snow, and Yakut lost the beast he was riding, he himself barely escaping with his life.

CHAPTER XXXII.

KHWĀRIZM.

The province of Khwārizm. The two capitals: Kāth and Jurjānīyah. Old and new Urganj. Khvah and Hazārasp. The canals of Khwārizm: towns to the right and left of the Oxus. Lower course of the Oxus to the Caspian. Trade and products of Khwārizm.

Khwārizm, in the earlier middle-ages, had two capitals, one on the western or Persian side of the Oxus called Jurjānīyah, or Urganj, and the other on the eastern or Turkish side of the stream called Kāth, which in the 4th (10th) century was held to be the capital in chief of the province.

Kāth still exists, but the great medieval city probably stood some miles to the south-east of the modern town. In the earlier part of the 4th (10th) century Kāth came to be in part destroyed by the flood of the Oxus, which at this spot was two leagues in width. The city stood some distance back from the right bank of the main stream, being on a canal called the Jardûr, which ran through the town—the market, for about a mile in length, bordering this canal. Kāth, in these earlier times, had also possessed a fortress (Kuhandiz), which the floods had completely destroyed, and here had been the Friday Mosque and the prison, also the palace of the native chief known as the Khwārizm-Shāh. All this quarter of the town, however, had been rendered uninhabitable by the floods when Ibn Ḥawkāl wrote, and a new town had recently been built to the eastward, at a sufficient distance from the Oxus to be safe from the encroachments of the river.

The new city, which Muṣaddasī states was known as the
Shahristân—'the Capital'—by the Persians, was almost, he says, of the size of Naysábûr in Khurásân. In its market-place stood the Friday Mosque, built with columns of black stone, each of a man's height, and above came wooden pillars supporting the beams of the roof. The governor's palace was rebuilt in the new town, the old fortress being left a ruin. Numerous small canals traversed the streets, which says Mu'âddasi were infamously filthy—worse than Ardabil in Adharbâyjân, for the people used the roadway for their commodity, and even brought the foulness of the gutters into the mosque on their feet when they came to prayers. The markets, however, were rich and well-stored with all kinds of merchandise, and the town architects were very skilful in their buildings, so that Kâth was outwardly a magnificent city. Soon after the close of the 4th (10th) century, however, it appears to have rapidly lost its position as the chief capital of Khwârizm; probably by reason of the recurrently destructive Oxus floods, which ever and anon threw down different quarters of the city; and eventually it sank to be a town of secondary rank.

Coming down to the beginning of the 7th (13th) century, Kâth does not appear to have suffered much during the Mongol invasion, and in the 8th (14th) century Ibn Ba'tûtah, who writes the name Al-Kât, passed through it on his way from Urganj to Bukhârâ, and describes it as a small but flourishing place. There was here a tank, and this at the time of his visit being frozen over, he describes the boys of the town as playing on its surface. At the close of the 8th (14th) century Timûr almost destroyed Kâth, but afterwards caused its walls to be rebuilt, and the place is frequently mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd as still in his day an important town'.

The second capital of Khwârizm which, after the decay of Kâth, became the chief city of the province, was Gurganj, by the Arabs called Al-Jurjânîyah, and at a later date known as Urganj. The chronicles of the Moslem conquest relate that in the year 93 (712), when the Arabs under Kutaybah invaded Khwârizm, the capital city which they conquered was called Al-Fil, 'the Elephant,' a name which was forthwith changed

\[^{1}\text{Ist. } 300, 301. \text{ I. H. } 351, 353. \text{ Muk. } 287, 288. \text{ I. B. iii. 70. A. Y. i. } 237, 263, 449.\]
to Al-Mansūrah, meaning ‘the City of Victory.’ This city is said to have stood on the further side of the Oxus, and over against the later Jurjāniyāh, but the Oxus flood before long overwhelmed Mansūrah, and Jurjāniyāh succeeded to its place.

Jurjāniyāh in the 4th (10th) century—though at that time only the second city of the province, Kāth being still the capital—was already the chief centre of trade, and the meeting-place of caravans coming from the Ghuzz country, which exchanged goods with those from Khurāsān. Jurjāniyāh lay a bow-shot to the westward of a great navigable canal coming from the Oxus and running a nearly parallel course, and the houses were protected from danger of flood by an immense dyke, with wooden piles to strengthen the embankment. Muḥaddasī in the 4th (10th) century states that the city had four gates, and that it was every day increasing in size. At the Bāb-al-Hujjāj, ‘the Pilgrims’ Gate,’ stood a fine palace built by the Caliph Mamūn, with a second palace fronting it, built by Prince ‘Alī his son, both overlooking a sandy square, like the famous Rīgīstān of Būkhārā, where the sheep-market was held. With the decay of Kāth, Jurjāniyāh soon became the first, and then the sole capital of the Khwārizm province, and in later times it is generally referred to under the name of Khwārizm—‘City’ being understood.

In the year 616 (1219) Yākūt was at Jurjāniyāh, or Gurganj as he also calls it, shortly before the place was devastated by the Mongols under Changiz Khān; and he writes that he had never seen a mightier city, or one more wealthy or more beautiful. In 617 (1220) all this was changed to ruin. The great canal dykes having been broken down, the waters of the Oxus flowed off by a new course, as will be shown later, and the whole city was laid under water. The Mongol hordes when they marched away left nothing, according to Yākūt, but corpses and the ruined walls of houses to mark the place of the great city. The capital of Khwārizm, however, in a few years rose from its ruins, rebuilt in a neighbouring spot. This, according to the contemporary chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr, was in 628 (1231), when New Khwārizm was founded ‘in the vicinity of Great Khwārizm.’ Before the

1 The position of Fīl is most uncertain; its name occurs as a mint city on the coins of the Omayyad Caliphs, one example being dated A.H. 79 (698).
Mongol invasion there had existed, according to Yākūt and others, a town known as Little Gurganj, by the Persians called Gurganjak, lying at a distance of three leagues from the capital, Great Gurganj, and it seems probable that Little Gurganj was the spot chosen for New Khwārizm.

New Khwārizm soon took its place as the capital, and is described by both Mustawfi and Ibn Baṭūtah in the 8th (14th) century. Қазвіні, who wrote in the latter half of the previous century, states that (New) Gurganj was then famous for its skilful blacksmiths and carpenters, also for its carvers of ivory and ebony bowls and other utensils, like those produced by the people of Ťarк near Isfahān. Further, the women here made famous embroideries, and the tailors were renowned. The water-melons of Khwārizm, he relates, were beyond compare, and this latter fact is confirmed by Ibn Baṭūtah.

Mustawfi, who gives the common name of the city as Urganj, otherwise New Khwārizm, says that it lay ten leagues (probably a mistake for miles) from Old Urganj. Ibn Baṭūtah, his contemporary, found Khwārizm (as he calls the place) a fine town, well-built, with broad streets, and a teeming population. The market was a magnificent building, like a caravanserai, and near it was the Friday Mosque with its college. Also there was a public hospital, attended, when Ibn Baṭūtah was here, by a Syrian physician, a native of Saḥiyūn. Near the close of the 8th (14th) century this city of Khwārizm was again almost completely destroyed by Timūr, after a siege lasting three months. Timūr, however, caused it afterwards to be rebuilt, and the work was completed in 790 (1388). Abu-l-Ghāzl, the prince of Khwārizm, whose account of the lower Oxus course will be given presently, held his court at the beginning of the 11th (17th) century in this city, which he generally names Urganj, and speaks of as a fine place with many gardens; but after this date the town of Khīvah gradually replaced Urganj, becoming the new capital of the province. The ruins of this Urganj, the town built after the Mongol invasion, are those now known as Old Urganj (Kuhnah Urganj).¹

¹ Anthony Jenkinson was at Urgence (as he spells the name) in 966 (1558), half-a-century before the time of Abu-l-Ghāzl, and describes it as a fine town
Khiwah—which under the Uzbek chiefs after the time of Timur gradually eclipsed Urganj and became the capital of Khwârizm, giving its name in time also to the whole province—is more than once mentioned as a small town by the Arab geographers of the 4th (10th) century. The older spelling of the name was Khivaq, and this form was in common use down to the time of Yâkût. Muḥaddasī describes Khiwah as lying on the border of the desert, but watered by a great canal which was brought to it from the left bank of the Oxus. It had a fine public square, also a Friday Mosque, so that in the 4th (10th) century it must already have been a place of some importance. Yâkût, who says the name was also pronounced Khayvak, speaks of its castle. In the 7th (13th) century its people were all Sunnis of the Shâfi‘ite sect, the rest of the population of Khwârizm following the Ḥanafite ritual.

At this date Khiwah was already celebrated as the birth-place of the great Shaykh Najm-ad-Din, surnamed Al-Kubrâ. He played a foremost part in the defence of Urganj against the Mongols, who put him to death, and his tomb became a place of pious visitation near Urganj, as is described by Ibn Baṭûtah in the century after his martyrdom. Khiwah is mentioned by ‘Alî of Yazd, and he describes an adventure here of Timur, when a young man, who at a later period caused the walls of Khivak (as the name was then spelt) to be rebuilt. The city in the 11th (17th) century is frequently mentioned by Abu-l-Ghâzi, who sometimes lived here, as also at Kât (or Kâth), when not in residence at Urganj; and since his day, and down to the present time, the place has continued to rise in importance, being now the capital of the province called after it.

Hazârasp (meaning ‘Hundred-horse’ in Persian) on the same latitude as Khiwah, but standing nearer to the left bank of the Oxus, is a place of importance that has kept its name unchanged from


the Moslem conquest to the present time. Muğaddasi in the 4th (10th) century describes it as of the same size as Khivah, the town having wooden gates and being surrounded by a ditch. Yâkût, who was here in 616 (1219), speaks of it as a strongly fortified and rich town, with excellent markets, where many opulent merchants had their warehouses. Hazârasp was almost surrounded by the waters of its canals, and was only to be reached by a single road, along a causeway coming from the Urganj direction across the level plain which stretched away from the Oxus bank.

About half-way between Tâhiriyah, where the cultivation of the delta began, and Hazârasp, the stream of the Oxus passed through a narrow gorge, now known as the Deveh Boyun, 'the Camel's Neck,' where high and precipitous cliffs hemmed in the current to a third of its normal breadth. Ištakhrî calls these narrows by the name of Abû Kshah, or Bûkshah, adding that the Oxus boatmen feared the spot greatly, on account of the whirlpool and the cataract at the exit of the passage. Mustawfi, who calls this place Tang-i-Dahân-i-Shîr, 'the Narrows of the Lion's Mouth,' says the opposite cliffs were barely 100 gez (yards) apart, and there was a guard-house here, on the left bank. Below this, according to him, the Oxus passed by an underground course for a couple of leagues, being completely hidden from sight.

Between Tâhiriyah and Hazârasp, on the left bank of the Oxus, there were three towns of some importance during the middle-ages. One march below Tâhiriyah, and on the high road, stood Jikarband, surrounded by gardens, with trees growing along its canals. A fine mosque, according to Muğaddasi, stood in the midst of its market. A march further north, near the narrows of the Oxus, was the city of Darghân, which Muğaddasi describes as almost of the size of Jurjânîyah. Its Friday Mosque was magnificently ornamented with precious marbles, and the town was two leagues across, being surrounded by nearly five hundred vineyards. Darghân was the first great town in Khwârizm on the road from Marv. Yâkût, having been here in 616 (1219), describes it as standing on an elevation like the spur of a hill, with its gardens and arable fields stretching between the town and the Oxus bank, which was two miles distant. At the
back of the town the desert sands were not far distant. Between Darghân and Hazârasp lay Sadûr on the river bank, a fortified town with a Friday Mosque in its midst, and surrounded by suburbs.¹

The first of the great canals of Khwârizm was taken from the right or eastern bank of the Oxus at a spot opposite Darghân, and was called Gâvkhuvârah, or Gâvkhwârah, the 'Cattle Feeder.' This canal, which was navigable for boats, being two fathoms deep and five fathoms across, went northwards, and irrigated all the lands up to the level of Kâth. Five leagues beyond its point of origin a small canal branched off from it, called the Karîh canal, and this too watered many districts. Four towns of some importance are mentioned by Muğaddâsi as of this eastern bank of the Oxus, each standing about a day's march one from the other, in the fertile districts south of Kâth. The most distant from Kâth was called Nûkfâgh, it stood in the midst of canals, was a fine town, and lay near the desert border. Nearer to Kâth was Ardhakhîvah, which is probably identical with the place called Hisn Khîvah by Yâkût, and which he says was 15 leagues distant from Khîvah of the west bank. Ardhakhîvah was a fortress standing under a hill at the beginning of the desert, and having but a single gate. Wâyikhân, also a fortress, surrounded by a ditch and with catapults at its gate, lay one march again to the northward; and then came Ghârdamân, one march from Kâth, a well-fortified place with two gates, encompassed by a great water ditch two bow-shots in width.

From the west, or left bank of the Oxus a number of canals were also taken, the first of which was that which was led past Hazârasp to irrigate its district. This also was navigable for boats, though it was only half the size of the Gâvkhuvârah canal; and it led backward, curving round in a direction that, if continued, would have reached the city of Ámul. Two leagues north of Hazârasp the Kardûrân-Khâsh canal branched from the Oxus, flowing past the town so named, which stood half-way between Hazârasp and Khîvah. This canal was larger than that which served Hazârasp, and the town of Kardûrân-Khâs (as Muğaddâsi

writes the name) was surrounded by a ditch and had wooden gates. Further north again was the Nahr Khīvah, a still larger canal, by which boats went from the Oxus to that city. A fourth canal, flowing a mile to the northward of the Khīvah canal, was the Nahr Madrā, which is described as twice as large as the Gāykhūwārah of the east bank. The town and neighbourhood of Madrā were watered by it.

Kāth, the eastern capital, as already said, stood back from the Oxus on a canal called the Jardūr, which was taken from the main stream some distance to the south of the city. Two leagues north of Kāth, but from the left or western bank of the Oxus, the great Wadhāk (also Wadāk or Wadān) canal branched off, which was navigable up to the neighbourhood of Jurjānīyah, the western capital of Khwārizm. The point of origin of the Wadāk canal was about a mile to the northward of that of the Madrā canal, and further north again another canal called the Nahr Buwwah (Būh or Būyah) left the Oxus, its waters rejoining those of the Wadāk beyond to the north-west, a bow-shot distant from the village called Andarastān, and about one day's march to the southward of Jurjānīyah. The Wadāk canal was larger than the Būh, but both were navigable as far as Jurjānīyah, where a dam prevented boats proceeding further northward; and a great dyke, as already said, had originally been built along its bank to keep the city from inundation.

The high road north from Khīvah to Jurjānīyah, in the middle-ages, passed through several large towns of which now no trace exists. One march from Khīvah was Ardhakhushmithān, or Rākhushmithān, which Yākūt, who stayed here in 616 (1219), records as being a large city, with fine markets and much merchandise. It was, he says, more populous and more extensive than the city of Naṣibbin, in Upper Mesopotamia, but it appears to have been ruined by the Mongol invasion. North of this was Rūzvand, a medium-sized town according to Muḥaddasī, well fortified and surrounded by a ditch. It had excellent springs of water, and the Friday Mosque stood in its marketplace. After passing the village of Andarastān, lying at the

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junction of the Wadāk and Būh canals, the town of Nūzvār was reached, one march south of Jurjānīyah. Mūkaddasī describes Nūzvār as a small well-fortified city, having two iron gates, and surrounded by a ditch crossed by drawbridges, which were taken up at night, being laid on boats. There was a Friday Mosque in its market-place; and without the west gate was a fine bath-house. It is apparently the same town which Yāḵūt calls Nūzḵāth, meaning, he says, ‘New Kāth,’ or ‘New Wall,’ and which was utterly destroyed, shortly after he left it, by the Mongol hordes.

Zamakhshar lay between Nūzvār and Jurjānīyah, and in the 4th (10th) century this town had also drawbridges at its gates. There was a Friday Mosque here, and a strong prison, and it was fortified, having iron gates and a ditch. Yāḵūt in the 7th (13th) century speaks of this place as a village, and it became famous as the birth-place of one of the great commentators of the Kurān, Az-Zamakhsharī, who was born here in 467 (1075) and died in 538 (1144). Ibn Baṫūṭah, who visited his tomb here in the 8th (14th) century, speaks of Zamakhshar as lying four miles from New Urganj. To the north of Urganj was the shrine of Najm-ad-Dīn Kubrā already spoken of, and beyond this again, five leagues from Jurjānīyah on the desert border, under the tall cliffs to the west of the Oxus, stood Jīth or Git, a place often mentioned by the earlier geographers. It was a large town with considerable lands round it, lying at some distance from the left bank of the river, being opposite Madhminīyah at four leagues from the right bank. Jīth appears to be identical in position with the later town called Wazīr (or Shahr-i-Wazīr), which probably replaced it, after the troubulous times of the Mongol invasion and the campaigns of Timūr. Wazīr is frequently mentioned by Abūl-Ghāzī, and the name occurs in the Jahān Numā. This Shahr-i-Wazīr, moreover, is probably the town visited and described by Anthony Jenkinson under the somewhat altered form of Sellizure, or Shaysure, when he was travelling across Khwârizm in the 10th (16th) century.¹

On the right bank of the Oxus, some four leagues north of Kāth, the first of four canals led off, flowing northward, and

after a short distance this was joined by three other small streams, their united waters forming the Kurdar canal. It was said that this, which was of the size of the Wadâk and Bûh canals of the west bank, had originally been an arm of the Oxus, and had flowed out to the north-east into the Aral. The district in the angle between the main stream of the Oxus and the Kurdar canal was called Mazdâkhgân (or Mazdâkhkân), and it was watered by numerous minor channels taken from the right bank of the Oxus. The district is said to have comprised twelve thousand villages, and Kurdar was its chief town. This is described by Muḳaddasi as a large place and very strong; surrounded by numerous villages, with broad pasture lands for cattle. Two days' march from it, on the north-eastern border of Khwârizm, was the great village called Ҡariyat Barâatakîn (or Farâtagîn), near which were the hill-querries producing the stone used in the buildings throughout Khwârizm. Barâatakîn in the 4th (10th) century had excellent markets, and a well-built Friday Mosque. To the westward of this place was the city of Madhmîniyâh, four leagues from the right bank of the Oxus, opposite Jîth; and from hence down to the shore of the Sea of Aral there were no more cultivated lands, only swamps and reed beds lying at the mouth of the great river. 

In the 4th century B.C., when Alexander the Great made his conquests in western Asia, the Oxus is described as flowing into the Caspian, and the Greek geographers apparently knew nothing of the Aral Sea. When the change of course from the Caspian to the Aral took place is not known, but though at the present day the Oxus, like the Jaxartes, flows into the Sea of Aral, its old bed to the Caspian still exists, is marked on our maps, and has been recently explored. In the earlier middle-ages the course of the Oxus, as described by the Arab geographers of the 4th (10th) century, is, in the main, that of the present day; but the old bed of the river leading to the Caspian is mentioned by Muḳaddasi, who reports that in former times the main stream had flowed down to a town over against Nisâ in Khurâsân, called Balkhân (or Abu-l-Khân). Later, some two and a half centuries after the time of Muḳaddasi, it seems certain that the Oxus once

again resumed its older course. This we learn from the contemporary Persian authors. Hence there appears to be unimpeachable evidence that, from the early part of the 7th (13th) century to near the close of the 10th (16th) century, the Oxus, except for a moiety of its waters which still passed into the Aral by the canals, reached the Caspian along the old bed of the time of Alexander the Great, though at the present day, and since the end of the 10th (16th) century, this channel is once more disused and for the most part dry.

As has been mentioned above the chronicle of Ibn-al-Athir states that the Mongol hordes in 617 (1220), in order finally to capture Urganj, after a five months' siege broke down the dykes and overwhelmed the city with the waters of the Oxus and its canals, which hitherto had flowed by divers channels to the eastward of the town. The whole country was laid under water, and the overflow after a time began to drain off to the south-west, filling the old bed of the Oxus, and following the line of depression to the Caspian at Mânikshîlâgh. The latter Yâ'qût, a contemporary of these events, speaks of as a strongly fortified castle standing on the shore of the Sea of Ṣabaristan (the Caspian), into which, he says, the Jayhûn (the Oxus) flowed. This evidence from incidental notices is further fully corroborated by Mustawfi in the 8th (14th) century, who, in describing the course of the Oxus, states that though a small portion of its waters still drained off through canals from the right bank to the Aral Sea, the main stream after passing Old Urganj turned down the passage called the Steep of Ḥalam, where the noise of its cataract could be heard two leagues away, and thence flowing on for a distance of six days' march, had its exit in the Caspian (Bâhr Khazar) at Khalkhâl, a fishing station.

The position of the ‘Aṣabah or Steep of Ḥalam, which the Turks, Mustawfi says, called Kurlâvah (or Kurlâdî), is given by him in his Itinerary, for the town of New Ḥalam stood about half-way between Old Urganj, destroyed by the Mongols in the previous century, and New Urganj which had taken its place. In his article on the Caspian Mustawfi further adds, when speaking of the port on the Island of Ābaskûn (see p. 379), that this island had in his time disappeared beneath the sea “because
the Jayḥūn, which formerly did flow into the Eastern Lake [the Aral] lying over against the lands of Gog and Magog, since the time of the Mongol invasion has changed its course and now flows out to the Sea of Khazar [the Caspian]; and hence, this latter sea having no outlet, the dry land [of the Ābaskūn island] has now become submerged in the rising level of its waters.'

All the above is confirmed by the account of the Oxus written in 820 (1417) by Ḥāfiz Abrū, who was a government official of Shāh Rukh, son and successor of Timūr, and who must have been well acquainted with the geography of this region from personal knowledge. In two distinct places he writes that, in the year just mentioned, the Oxus, which of old had discharged into the Lake of Khwārizm (the Aral), having taken a new channel, now flowed down by Kurlāvū, otherwise called Akranchah, to the Sea of Khazar (the Caspian), adding that the Aral Sea in his time had come almost to disappear. And again, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijc, the Spanish ambassador who visited these regions in 808 (1405) some years before Ḥāfiz Abrū wrote his account, confirms this by his statement that the Oxus 'flows into the Sea of Bākū,' which can only mean the Caspian. It must be admitted, however, that Clavijo here spoke from hearsay only.

What caused the Oxus once more to discharge into the Aral Sea is unknown, but this great change must have taken place before the close of the 10th (16th) century, for Abu-l-Ghāzi, a native of Urganj, refers to it as, though it had become an accomplished fact in 984 (1576), namely some thirty years before, Abu-l-Ghāzi, was born. The Oxus had, he says, at that date already made itself a new channel, and turning off below Khast Minārahē (the Tower of Khast), took its way direct to the Aral Sea, thus changing the lands lying between Urganj and the Caspian into a desert for lack of water. And in another passage of his work speaking of former times, among events of the years 928 to 937 (1522 to 1531), he describes how all the way from Urganj to Abu-l-Khân on the Caspian there were arable fields and vineyards along what was still then the course of the lower Oxus. Apparently, however, Abu-l-Ghāzi places the change of bed rather too late, for already in 966 (1558), when Anthony Jenkinson travelled through Russia to Khivah, he speaks of the Oxus as
flowing ‘not into the Caspian Sea as it hath done in times past,’
for when he saw it the great river already took its course to the
Aral Sea, ‘the Lake of Kithay,’ direct¹.

The chief products of Khwârizm were food-stuffs, cereals, and
fruits. The land was extremely fertile and grew large crops of
cotton, and the flocks of sheep gave wool. Great herds of cattle
pastured on the marshlands near the Aral, and many kinds of
cheese and curds were exported. The markets of Jurjânîyah
were famous for the various costly furs, brought here from the
Bulghâr country of the Volga, and a long list of these is given by
Muṭaddâsî and others. This list comprises the following skins;
marten, sable, fox, and beaver of two kinds, as well as the furs of
the squirrel, ermine, stoat and weasel, which were made up into
pelisses and short jackets; also artificially dyed hareskins and
goatskins, and the hide of the wild ass.

¹ Muk. 285. Yak. iv. 670. Mst. 197, 213, 225. J. N. 360. Hfz. 27 b,
32 b. A. G. 205, 291. Clavijo, Embassy, p. 118. Hakluyt, Principal Navi-
gations, ii. 461, 462; ‘Voyage of Anthony Jenkinson.’ Professor De Goeje in
Das Alte Bett des Oxus (Leyden, 1875) seeks to discredit the statements of
the Persian geographers, and holds that during all the middle-ages the Oxus, as at
the present day, flowed into the Aral. The evidence showing that a portion,
at any rate, of the Oxus current flowed down the old bed to the Caspian,
during more than three centuries, appears to be irrefutable; and it may be
added that the late Sir H. C. Rawlinson, who had studied the question as
a practical geographer, and knew at first hand the writings of the Arab and
Persian authorities, always maintained the opinion that during those several
centuries the Oxus did undoubtedly flow into the Caspian. It should be stated
that some confusion has arisen from the divers names by which the Moslem
geographers denote the Caspian and the Aral. The Caspian is generally
referred to as the Sea of Khazar (Baḥr Khazar), from the tribes of the Khazars
who inhabited its further shores, but it was also known as the Sea of Šabaristân
or of Mázandarân, or of Šâbaskûn, or of Jurjân, from the names of the various
well-known provinces or districts on its shores. Quite incorrectly the Caspian
appears sometimes as the Daryâ Ŋulzum, but Ŋulzum was the name given to
the Red Sea. The Aral was generally known as the Buḥayrah Khwârizm, or
Lake of Khwârizm, and also as the Lake of Jurjânîyah (the capital of Khwârizm),
and this last name being easily misread Jurjân has more especially caused
confusion between the Caspian (Baḥr Jurjân) and the Aral (Buḥayrah Jurjânîyah).
The Aral was also known to the Persian geographers as the
Daryâ-i-Shark, ‘the Eastern Sea.’ All this, however, does not invalidate the
facts clearly recorded by Mustawfi, Ḥâfîz Abrû, and Abu-l-Ghâzl.
Among natural and manufactured products were wax, the bark of the white poplar, called Tûz, used for covering shields, fish-glue, fish-bones, amber, khalanj-wood, honey, and hazel-nuts, swords, and cuirasses and bows. Khwârizm also was celebrated for its falcons. Grapes, currants, and sesame were largely grown, and in the looms carpets, coverlets, and brocades of mixed cotton and silk were woven. Cloaks and veils of both cotton and silk stuffs were exported, and various coloured cloths. Locks were of the smith-work of the towns, and they had boats hollowed out of a single tree-trunk, which were used in the navigation of the numerous canals. The chief industry of Khwârizm, however, in the 4th (10th) century, as latterly, was the slave-trade; for Turkish boys and girls were bought or stolen from the nomads of the steppes, and after being educated and made good Moslems, were despatched from here to all the countries of Islam, where, as history relates, they often came to occupy high posts of command in the Government.

1 Ist. 304, 305. I. H. 354. Muk. 325.
CHAPTER XXXIII.

SUGHD.


The province of Sughd, the ancient Sogdiana, may be taken as including the fertile lands, lying between the Oxus and Jaxartes, which were watered by two river systems, namely the Zarafshân, or Sughd river, on which Samarkand and Bukhârâ stood, and the river which flowed by the cities of Kish and Nasaf. Both these rivers ended in marshes or shallow lakes in the western desert towards Khwârizm. More properly, however, Sughd is the name of the district surrounding Samarkand; for Bukhârâ, Kish, and Nasaf were each counted as separate districts.

Sughd was accounted one of the four earthly paradises, and had attained its greatest splendour in the latter half of the 3rd (9th) century under the Sâmânîd Amîrîs; in the following century, however, it was still a province fertile and rich beyond compare. Of the two chief cities, Samarkand and Bukhârâ, it may be said that the former was rather the political centre, while Bukhârâ was considered to be the religious metropolis, but both were equal in rank, and held to be the capitals of Sughd.

Bukhârâ was also known under the name of Nûmîjkath. In


2 This, or Numûjkath, is the true reading of the name which (by an error of the diacritical points) is often wrongly written Bûmîjkath. Muk. 267, note b. The true pronunciation is fixed by the Chinese pilgrims, who mention Bukhârâ under the name of 'Numî.'
the 4th (10th) century it was a walled city measuring a league across in every direction, which stood in the plain a short distance south of the main arm of the river of Sughd. There were no hills in the neighbourhood, and round it lay many towns, palaces, and gardens, gathered into a compass measuring 12 leagues in length and breadth, and enclosed by a Great Wall that must have been over a hundred miles in circuit. Through this great enclosure passed the Sughd river, with its numerous canals.

The city proper of Bukhārā, outside the wall and to the north-west, had adjacent to it the fortress, which itself was like a small city. It was the residence of the governor and held the prison and the treasury. Beyond and round the town also were great suburbs, extending as far as the main arm of the river, and along its southern bank. Of the suburbs the chief were those lying to the east, namely the thoroughfares (darb) of Naw Bahār, of Samarḵand, and of Rāmīthanah, with others too numerous to mention, whose position cannot now be exactly fixed. The town wall had seven iron gates; Bāb-al-Madīnah (the City Gate), Bāb Nūr (or Nūz), Bāb Ḥufsrah, the Iron Gate, the Gate of the Fortress, Bāb Mihr or the Banī Asad Gate, and lastly the Gate of the Banī Saʿd. How these were situated is unknown, but the Gate of the Fortress (Bāb-al-Ḵuhandiz) must have been to the north-west, opening on the Rigistān, the great sandy plain or public square of Bukhārā which has ever been famous.

The two gates of the fortress were the Bāb-ar-Rigistān, or Bāb-as-Sahl, ‘the Gate of the (Sandy) Plain,’ and the Bāb-al-Jāmiʿ, this last opening on the Great Mosque, which also stood on the Rigistān, at the city Gate of the Fortress above mentioned. The suburbs were traversed by ten main thoroughfares, each of which ended in its gateway, and these are all carefully named by both Iṣṭakhri and Muḥaddasī. Further there were several gates in the streets shutting off the various quarters of the suburbs one from another, many of these gates being of iron. The Great Mosque was near the fortress, and there were numerous smaller mosques, with markets, baths, and open squares beyond count, and at the close of the 4th (10th) century the Government House stood immediately outside the fortress in the great square called the
Rigistân. Ibn Ḥawkal gives a detailed account of the chief canals which, starting from the left bank of the Sughd river, watered Bukhârâ and the gardens in the plain round the city, becoming finally lost in the desert towards the south-west, near Baykand on the Âmul road, for none of them reached the Oxus. The lower course of the river here was known as the Sâm Khâs, or Khwâsh.¹

The ruins of Old Bukhârâ of pre-Islamic days lie some miles to the north-west of the Moslem city, and near the river bank. They were known by the name of Riyâmîthan, and Muqaddasî describes them in the 4th (10th) century as still showing immense remains of the ancient city. Within the circuit of the Great Wall round the plain of Bukhârâ there were five flourishing cities. Of these Khujadah, or Khujâdâ, stood one league west of the high road going down from Bukhârâ to Baykand, and three leagues distant from the capital. Muqaddasî describes it as a large and pleasant town, with a Friday Mosque and a castle. The town of Maghkân was beyond this, being five leagues from Bukhârâ, and three from the high road, close to the western circuit of the Great Wall. Maghkân had a Friday Mosque, was fortified, and had suburbs, besides many villages lying round it, for its lands were amply irrigated.

Tumujkath, or Tumushkath (often by a clerical error written Bumujkath, and Bûmijkath), was a small town to the north-west of Bukhârâ, four leagues distant, and half a league off the high road to the left of one going to Ṫawâwis. 阿森-Ṫawâwis (as the name was often written) means ‘Peacocks,’ and this was the largest of the five cities within the Great Wall. The town had a flourishing market and was much frequented by merchants from all parts of Khurâmân, its cotton stuffs being exported to ‘Irâk. It was well fortified and had a castle, and the Friday Mosque stood in the market-place. The last of the five inner towns was Zandanah, which still exists at the present day. It is described as lying four leagues distant from Bukhârâ, to the north. It was well fortified, had a Friday Mosque in the town, and a populous suburb beyond its walls; and Yâkût adds that the stuffs made here, and called from the town the Zandaji cloths, were widely celebrated.

Two leagues outside the Great Wall, and five from Bukhārā on the road down to the Oxus at Firābr, was the city of Baykand, which still exists. In the 4th (10th) century Baykand possessed but one gate, and was strongly fortified; it had a Friday Mosque in its midst, ornamented with precious marbles and with a finely gilded Mihrāb (or niche showing the Mecca point). There was a market held in the suburbs of Baykand, but no villages surrounded the town; only numerous guard-houses which are reported to have numbered a thousand all told. Beyond the town lay the sandy desert bordering the Oxus.

Throughout the earlier middle-ages Bukhārā retained its pre-eminence; but in 616 (1219) came the Mongol invasion, and the city was pillaged and utterly ruined. For a century and more it did not recover from this devastation, and in the early part of the 8th (14th) century when Ibn Baṭṭūtah visited the place, lodging in the suburb called Fatḥ-ābād, the mosques, colleges and markets were still for the most part in the state of ruin in which they had been left by Changiz Khān. It was indeed only at the close of the 8th (14th) century, under the rule of Timūr, who made Samarkand his capital, that Bukhārā, the sister city, regained some of her former splendour.1

Samarkand was up stream, and about 150 miles due east of Bukhārā; being situated at a short distance from the southern bank of the Sughd river, and occupying high ground. The city, which was encircled by a wall with a deep ditch, was protected by a fortress, also on the height, and below, near the river bank, were great suburbs. All round Samarkand were orchards, and palaces with their gardens, irrigated by canals innumerable, and cypress trees grew here magnificently. Within the fortress had stood the governor's palace, also the prison, but when Ibn Hawḵal wrote this stronghold was mostly in ruins; according to Yāḵūt it had double gates of iron. The city proper had four gates; namely, Bāb-as-Sīn, 'the China Gate,' to the east, to which steps ascended from the lower level, and from it the river was overlooked; the Bukhārā Gate to the north; to the west the Bāb-an-Naw Bahār,
also on the height; and to the south the Bāb-al-Kabīr, ‘the Great Gate,’ also known as the Kish Gate.

The city, according to Yākūt, was 2500 jarbs in extent (about 750 acres), and within its circuit were many markets and bathhouses. These, with the private houses, had their water brought in by leaden pipes, communicating with a leaden main, which entered the city by the Bāb Kish, the water coming from the canals outside, where it was taken along a great dyke above ground, and in the market-place the leaden channels are described as resting on stone supports. The great market-place of Samarqand was called the Rās-aṭ-Tāḵ, ‘the Head of the Arch,’ and was a fine square. The Friday Mosque, with the later Government House, stood immediately below the fortress. The houses in the town were built of both wood and clay bricks, and the city population was extremely numerous.

The suburbs of Samarqand lay along the river bank, on the lower level, and a semicircular wall, two leagues long, surrounded them on the land side, the river to the north, as the chord of the arc, completing the line of defence. This suburb wall was pierced by eight gates, to which the various thoroughfares led, and these were named as follows: first the Bāb Shadāwad, then the Ashbask gate, then those of Sūkhshin and of Afshinah, next the Bāb Kūhak, or ‘Gate of the Mound,’ opening on the height where the city and fortress were situated, after which came the Warsanīn gate, the Rivdad gate, and finally the Bāb Farrukhshīd. The market streets of the suburb all converged on the square of the Rās-aṭ-Tāḵ in the city, and all the roadways were paved with stone flags. The markets in the suburb were the centre of trade, being full of merchants and merchandise from all parts, for the city was the great emporium of Transoxiana. Among other goods the paper of Samarqand was especially famous throughout the East, the art of making it having been introduced from China. The climate of the place was damp, and every house in both city and suburb had its garden, so that viewing Samarqand from the fortress height it appeared as one mass of trees. To the south rose the hill of Kūhak, a spur from the mountains beyond which lay within a day’s march of the city.
The temporary ruin of Samarkand, as of all Transoxiana, was due to the Mongols, who almost destroyed the city in 616 (1219); so that, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭah visited it in the following century, he describes it as without walls or gates, with but a few inhabited houses standing in a maze of ruins. The river here (or possibly he refers to the canal from the Sughd river) he names the Nahr-al-Keşsarīn, ‘the Fullers’ River,’ and on this stood many waterwheels. The glory of Samarkand, however, revived shortly after this, at the close of the 8th (14th) century, when Timur made it his capital, rebuilding the town, and founding the great mosques and caravanserais which were seen here by the Spanish ambassador Clavijo in 808 (1405), some of which remain to the present day. The Friday Mosque in particular, according to ‘Ali of Yazd, Timur founded on his return from the conquest of India, and its splendour was due to the treasures brought back from this campaign. Clavijo describes Samarkand at this time as surrounded by an earthen wall; and he states that the city was a little larger than Seville in his native country.\footnote{Ist. 316—318. I. H. 365—368. Mok. 278, 279. Kaz. ii. 359. Yak. iii. 134. I. B. iii. 52. A. Y. ii. 195. Clavijo, Embassy, 169.}

The districts round Samarkand, lying principally to the eastward and south, but also to the north of the Sughd river, were all extremely fertile. Nine leagues to the east of Samarkand, and likewise on the south side of the river, was the town of Banjikath (existing at the present day as Penjakant), surrounded by fertile orchards, producing more especially almonds and nuts, with corn lands stretching along its canals. Between this and Samarkand was the great village of Waraghsar, with its district, where most of the canals watering the lands round Samarkand had their origin from the river. On the south side of the capital was the Māyμurgh district, with the village of Rīvdād, one league from Samarkand, and contiguous was the Sanjafaghan district. None of the lands round Samarkand surpassed Māyμurgh in fertility, it was famous for its splendid trees, and throughout its length and breadth were innumerable villages. To the south of this lay the hill country called the Jībāl-as-Sāvdār, the healthiest region of the province. Here, according to Ibn Ḥawkal, at a place called Wazkard was a church belonging to the Christians—probably Nestorians—\footnote{Le S.}
which was much visited, and which enjoyed great revenues. The mountain valleys were most fertile, each well watered by its stream, on which stood the farmsteads; and every kind of crop was produced abundantly. The neighbouring district of Ad-Dargham consisted mostly of pasture lands, but grapes grew here abundantly, and on its borders was the Afsar, or Abghar district, with many populous villages, each with pasture lands two leagues across where great herds of cattle were reared. This was the last of the districts to the south of Samarkand and the river.

On the north bank of the Sughd river, towards the Ushrusanah province, was the Buzmajan, or Buzmajaz district, of which the chief town was Bârkath, or Abârkath, four leagues or one day's march distant from Samarkand to the north-east. Four leagues further to the north lay Khushufaghan, an important village, in later times known as Râs-al-kan'tarah (Bridge Head). Beyond this again was the Bûrnamadh, or Fûrnamadh district, near the frontier of Ushrusanah, and next to it the Yârkath district, the furthest to the north; both being famous for their pasture lands.

Seven leagues due north of Samarkand was the town of Ishtikhân, with a strong castle and outer suburbs, standing on canals from the Sughd river. Its corn fields were renowned, and Ištakhri calls it 'the Heart of Sughd' for its fertility. Seven leagues further north, again, was Kushâniyâh, or Kushâni, described as a most populous city of Sughd; and its people were all rich or of easy circumstances. Further, as of the north bank, and according to Yâkût lying only two leagues distant from Samarkand, was the district of Kabûdhanjakath, with the city called Lanjûghkath, and adjoining it Widhâr, in the hill country, the chief town being of the same name, where celebrated stuffs were made. Lastly the district of the Marzubân—or Warden of the Marches—Ibn Tarkasfit, one of the Sughd Dihkâns, or provincial nobles, and this lay beyond Widhâr.

The Sughd river or Zarafshân ('Gold Spreader'), as it is now called, had its head-streams in the mountain range called the Jabal-al-Buttam, which formed the watershed between the rivers of Sughd on the one hand, and those of Şaghâniyân and the

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1 Ist. 321—323. I. H. 371—375. Muk. 279. Yak. i. 277; ii. 447, 890; iv. 234, 276, 944.
Wakhshāb on the other, both, as described in Chapter XXXII, being right-bank affluents of the Oxus. The slopes of the Jabal-al-Buttam, though high and steep, were covered with villages, and there were gold and silver mines here, as well as workings that produced iron, quicksilver, copper, lead, naphtha, and bitumen, while from the district came rosin, turquoises, lignite for burning, and especially sal-ammoniac. This last, which was largely exported, was collected from the deposit of fumes which issued from a cavern. A chamber had been built over the vents, with windows and doors to close at need; and there were here subterranean fires also, according to Iṣṭakhri, for the sal-ammoniac vapour which appeared as smoke by day was by night visible as a mighty flame. He describes how the fumes were condensed in the chamber, the sal-ammoniac being periodically taken out by men, who, clothed in wet felts, hastily entered and ran out again, by reason of the great heat which otherwise would have burnt them up. The sal-ammoniac fumes, Iṣṭakhri adds, also issued from many crevasses in the adjacent rocks, and these were enlarged to become new artificial vents. The fumes were only held to be noxious when confined for the purpose of condensation in the chambers, otherwise the vents in the hill sides could be approached with impurity.

The source of the Sughd river was at a place called Jan, or Jay, where there was a lake surrounded by villages, the district being known as Wurghar, or Barghar. From the lake the river took its course through mountain valleys, until it reached Banjikath, after which it came to the village of Waraghser already mentioned, the meaning of which, in the local dialect, was ‘the Dam Head,’ for here the waters were divided up and the canals were led off that irrigated both the lands round Samarkand and the districts on the north bank of the river. Of the canals flowing to Samarkand two were sufficiently large to carry boats; and Ibn Hawkal gives in a list the names of these various water-courses, and the districts irrigated by each, with their villages.

At Samarkand the river was crossed by a masonry bridge called Kuntarah Jard, which in flood seasons was sometimes entirely submerged. Below Samarkand many canals also branched

1 Ist. 312, 327. I. H. 362, 382.
off to the various districts round Dabûsiyah and Karmîniyâh which will be described presently, and then the Sughd river came to the neighbourhood of Bukhârâ. Here the main stream was commonly known as the Bukhârâ river, and already outside the Great Wall of the Bukhârâ district canals began to be led off for the irrigation of the city lands within the wall, and for the district beyond. The names of all these are also enumerated by Ibn Hawâkal, with their various villages. Some canals formed a network, flowing back to the main stream, while others were lost in irrigation channels to the south-west. The chief canals leading to Bukhârâ city are described as having been large enough to carry boats.

Between Bukhârâ and Samarkând, on the south side of the Sughd river, there were three important cities in the 4th (10th) century, namely Karmîniyâh (which still exists), Dabûsiyah, and Rabinjan. Karmîniyâh lay one stage east of Tâwâwîs, and outside the Great Wall; it was larger than this latter place, very populous and surrounded by villages and fertile lands, which were irrigated by canals from the Sughd river. Yâkût speaks of its magnificent trees. One stage to the east, again, was the large town of Ad-Dabûsiyah, likewise on a canal from the south bank of the Sughd river, but it had no large villages or dependencies round it.

The small town of Khudîmankan lay one league distant from Karmîniyâh, and a bow-shot distant north of the high road. On the north bank of the Sughd river one league above Khudîmankan was the great hamlet of Madhyâmajkâth, while Kharghânkâth was one league lower down, also on the northern bank and opposite Karmîniyâh, from which it was but a league distant. These three hamlets were of sufficient size in the 4th (10th) century for each to have had its Friday Mosque, and Yâkût reports that Khudîmankan was famous for divers traditionists born here. Arbinjan, or Rabinjan, lay one stage to the east of Dabûsiyah, and was a larger town than this last; to the east again, at the half-way stage between Rabinjan and Samarkând and seven leagues from this capital, was Zarmân. As of the neighbourhood of Bukhârâ, Mâkah-

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dasī names and describes a large number of other small towns, but unfortunately no distances are given to mark their positions.

To the southward, running parallel with the Sughd river and like it ending in marshy lakes, is the shorter stream now known as the Kushkah Daryā, on which stand Shahr-i-Sabz and Қarshi. Shahr-i-Sabz, ‘Green City,’ was in the earlier middle-ages known as Kish (Kishsh), and is described by Ibn Ḥawkāl as having a castle, the town itself being strongly fortified, with a great suburb lying beyond its gates. Further, beyond the suburb, was a second township, probably that now known as Kitāb, named Al-Muṣallā, ‘the Praying Place,’ where stood the hostelries and the palace of the governor. Great markets were found in the suburb, but the Friday Mosque with the prison were in the inner city. This covered a square mile of ground, and its houses were built of wood and unburnt bricks. The neighbouring lands were extremely fertile; all the fruits of the hot region were grown here and exported to Bukhārā. The inner city of Kish had four gates, called respectively, the Iron Gate, the Gate of ‘Ubayd Allah, the Butchers’ Gate (Bāb-al-Қaṣṣābīn), and the Inner City Gate. The outer city, or suburb, had two gates, the Bāb Baraknān, so called after a neighbouring village, and the Outer City Gate (Bāb-al-Madinah-al-Khārijah).

The main stream of what is now known as the river Kushkah, was, in the 4th (10th) century, called the Nahr-al-Қaṣṣārīn, ‘the Fullers’ River’; its sources were in the Jabal-Sayām, and it passed Kish on the south side. To the north ran the Nahr Asrūd, and, one league beyond, the road towards Samarqand was crossed by the river called the Jāy Rūd. To the south, one league from Kish on the road to Balkh, was the Khushk Rūd, ‘the Dry River,’ and the Khuzār Rūd lay eight leagues beyond this again. These streams, after irrigating the various districts round Kish, flowed together, and became a single stream, which passed by the city of Nasaf. The Kish territory is described as four days’ journey across in every direction, and as famed for its extraordinary fertility. In the neighbouring mountains salt was found, also the manna called Taranjubīn, and various simples which were

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exported to Khurāsān. In later times Kish attained fame as the birth-place of Timūr, who in the latter part of the 8th (14th) century rebuilt the town, where the White Palace—Āk-Saray—became his favourite place of residence. It was at this period that Kish took the name, which it still retains, of Shahr-i-Sabz, 'the Green City'.

Rather more than a hundred miles down the river below Kish, and to the westward, is the city now known as Karshi, which the medieval Arabs called Nasaf, and the Persians Nakhshab. In the 4th (10th) century Nasaf had a strong castle, and extensive suburbs lay outside the city, which was surrounded by a wall having four gates, namely the Bāb-an-Najārīyah, the Samarkand Gate, the Kish Gate, and the Bāb Ghūbadhīn. Nasaf stood on the river which, as already said, was the main arm formed by the junction of many streams from the Kish district. On its bank was the palace of the governor, at the place called Rās-al-Ḵaṭrah, 'the Bridge Head.' The prison lay adjacent to the governor’s palace, and the Friday Mosque near the Ghūbadhīn Gate, the great market streets lying in between. Just within the Najārīyah Gate was the oratory, Al-Muṣallā. Muḵaddas, who praises the excellent grapes of Nakhshab, speaks of its fine markets; the town was surrounded by fertile fields and orchards, but had no great outlying dependencies like those surrounding Kish.

In history Nasaf, or Nakhshab, was famous as the place where in the latter half of the 2nd (8th) century Al-Muḵanna— the celebrated Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān—had first arisen and done miracles. From a well in Nakhshab, night after night, at his command the moon, or its semblance, rose to the wonder of all beholders. To the Persians Muḵanna was generally known as Māḥ-sāzandah, or 'Moon Maker,' and, as history relates, the revolt of his followers for many years gave great trouble to the generals of the Caliph Mahdī. As regards Nakhshab city, after the times of the Mongol invasion in the 7th (13th) century, a certain Kapak Khān built himself a palace at a place some two leagues distant from the older town, and 'a palace' in the Mongol language is called Karshi, which name was subsequently given to the settle-
ment that sprang up and replaced the older Nasaf or Nakhshab. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah sojourned here in the early part of the 8th (14th) century, and describes Қаrshī as a small town surrounded by gardens. At the close of the century Timūr frequently passed his winters at Қаrshī, and he afterwards built near it the Ḥiṣār or fortress.¹

There were two towns near Nasaf, in the 4th (10th) century and later, each of which had its Friday Mosque. One of these, the smaller, was Bazdah, or Bazdawah, a strong castle, situate six leagues to the westward of Nasaf on the road to Bukhārā. The other and larger town was Kasbah, four leagues from Nasaf, also in the Bukhārā direction, where there were excellent markets according to Yāḳūt. Further, between Nasaf and Kish, one stage west of the latter city, was the town or large village of Nawkad Қuraysh; while one stage south-east of Nasaf, on the road to the Iron Gate (see p. 441), was Sūnaj, a large village, with Iskifghan lying one league from it, both these towns being watered by the Khuzār river already mentioned.²

The products, natural and manufactured, of Sughd were numerous. The melons of Bukhārā were famous all the world over, and its looms produced carpets and prayer rugs, fine cloth for clothes, and coarse carpets such as were spread in great guest-chambers. In the prisons they made saddle-girths; and hides were well tanned, while various sorts of grease and oil were manufactured for export. Samarkand was above all famous for its paper, and the looms produced red cloth and cloth of silver, with brocades and raw-silk stuffs. Here, too, the copper-smiths made brass pots of a very large size, and other artificers produced stirrups, martingales, and girths, also various sorts of jars and goblets. From the neighbouring districts were exported immense quantities of filberts and walnuts. Karmīniyāh, between Bukhārā and Samarkand, produced napkins, and from Dabūsīyāh came various kinds of cloth and brocade. Rabinjan exported red felts, prayer carpets, and tin cups; also

² I. H. 376—378. Muk. 283. Yak. i. 604; iii, 197; iv. 273, 825.
hides, hemp cordage, and sulphur. Moreover winter rice was
grown in this district\(^1\).

As already said in Chapter XXX (p. 431) the great Khurāsān
road crossed the Oxus beyond Āmūyā to Firābr, and thence
proceeded by Baykand and through the gate in the Great Wall
to Bukhārā. From this capital the road went up the left bank
of the Sughd river to Samarkand, passing through the chief towns
of the district, and this part of the highway is given with but little
variation by all the earlier authorities, Ibn Hawkal and Muḥaddasī
adding the distances between the outlying towns of the
Bukhārā and Samarkand districts\(^2\).

The high road which passed through Khurāsān to Balkh (see
p. 432) crossed the Oxus to Tirmidh, from which branched various
roads north through Ṣaghāniyān and Kubâdhiyān to Wāshjird,
whence by the Stone Bridge the Wakhsht and Khuttal districts were
attained. North-west from Tirmidh another road went up to the
Iron Gate, and at Kandak, one stage beyond this, bifurcated.
Running due north, the road on the right hand went by Kish,
and thence on to Samarkand; while to the north-westward the
highway on the left hand led to Nakhshab; whence a branch
road turned eastward back to Kish, while the main road crossed
the tract of desert to Bukhārā. These routes, mostly in short
distances, are given by Iṣṭakhri and in part by Muḥaddasī\(^3\).

The delta lands of the Oxus in the Khwārizm province were
reached from Āmul on the Khurāsān side by a road going up the
left bank to Ṭāhīryāh, where cultivation began, and thence on to
Hazārāsp. Here one way went to the left by Khīvāh to Jurjānīyāh
(Urganj), while another turned off to Kāth, and the towns on the
right bank of the Oxus. These roads are given by Iṣṭakhri
and Muḥaddasī; also the way crossing the desert direct, south-
east, from Kāth to Bukhārā. Further, Mustawfi, in the 8th (14th)
century, gives two routes from the south converging on Urganj,
one going across the desert north from Farāvah (now Kīzīl Arvāt,
see p. 380) to Urganj; the other going from Marv, also across the

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\(^{1}\) I. H. 364. Muk. 324, 325.
\(^{3}\) Ist. 337—341. I. H. 399—403. Muk. 342—344.
desert, and in many places passing the moving sands, and ultimately reaching Ţâhirîyâh on the Oxus. This last road is also given in the Jahân Numâ, and from Hazârasp it follows almost identically the road given by the Arab geographers to the capital of Khwârizm at Jurjânîyâh¹.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PROVINCES OF THE JAXARTES.


The province of Ushrūsanah—also written Usrūshanah, Surūshnah and Sutrūshnah—lay to the east of Samarkand, between the districts along the right bank of the Sughd river, and those along the left bank of the Jaxartes, for the Ushrūsanah province was of neither river, being a land of plains and hills with no considerable stream running through it. Its eastern frontier was on the Pamir (Fāmīr) according to the Arab geographers.

The capital was the city of Ushrūsanah (Madīnah Ushrūsanah), otherwise called Būnjikath, Banjakath, or Bunūjkath, the site of which is identical with the present town of Ura-tepeh. Būnjikath was in the 4th (10th) century a city of over 10,000 men, built of clay bricks and wood, having an inner part surrounded by a wall, and an outer suburb also walled. The inner city had two

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1 Būnjikath the capital of Ushrūsanah must not be confounded with Banjakath (Penjakant) to the east of Samarkand. The position of the capital of Ushrūsanah is fixed by the Itineraries (see I. K. 29, Kūd. 207, and Ist. 345), besides present local tradition (Schuyler, Turkistan, i. 312). Ist. 325. I. H. 379. Muk. 265. Yak. i. 245, 278, 744.
gates, the upper gate (Bâb-al-A'lâ) and the city gate (Bâb-al-Madinah), and within its precincts were the castle and the prison, the Friday Mosque, and the markets. A great canal passed through the inner city, having many mills upon its bank. The wall that surrounded the suburb, or outer city, included many gardens, and was three leagues in circuit. In this wall were four gates, namely the Zâmin Gate, the Marasmandah Gate, the Nûjkath Gate, and the Gate of Kahlâbâdât. The town lands were amply irrigated by six small streams, which Ibn Hawqâl names. These flowed down from the neighbouring hills, and after a course of about half a league passed through Bûnjikath, having ten mills upon their banks. The town was celebrated for its many charming gardens.

Zâmin, which still exists, lay to the east of Bûnjikath, and was the point where the great Khurâsân road, coming up through Bukhârâ and Samarqand, finally bifurcated, one road going north to Shâsh (Tâshkand), the other north-east to Farghânâh and beyond. Zâmin was, in the 4th (10th) century, almost of the size of the capital Bûnjikath; it was a very ancient town, and had been formerly known as Sûsandâh, or Sarsandâh. It possessed a fine Friday Mosque, and excellent markets, being surrounded by gardens, but it was unwalled. A stream flowed through the town crossed by many bridges of boats. The town of Sâbât likewise exists. It lay between Zâmîn and Bûnjikath, on the road to Farghânâh and is described by Mu'addâsî as very populous, embowered by numerous orchards and gardens, lying beside its streams.\footnote{Ist. 326, 327. I. H. 379, 380. Muk. 277.}

The names of other towns of Ushrûsânâh are given in the lists, but without any description, and the positions of the majority are unknown. Of those still existing, or whose sites can be fixed from the Itineraries, are the following. Dîzak, otherwise Jizak, lies north-west of Zâmîn; and south of it, on the road from Samarqand, was the important town of Kharâkânâh. Khâwas or Khâwaâs is on the road going north from Zâmîn to Shâsh, and Kurkath lies on the frontiers of Farghânâh, midway between Sâbât and Khujandâh. The position of the two small towns of Minak and Marasmandah cannot be exactly fixed, for neither is
given in the Itinerary, but Marasmandah, to judge by the Marasmandah gate of Bûnjikath, must have been in the neighbourhood of the capital. It stood in the hills, had a cold climate, with many streams, but few orchards or gardens, on account of its elevation. Muçaddasi speaks of its excellent markets; and the Friday Mosque stood in their midst, Marasmandah being a very populous place. Minak appears to have been in its near neighbourhood, and was celebrated for the great battle fought here by Kutaybah, the Arab commander at the time of the first Moslem conquest of Transoxiana. At this place, too, was the castle that had belonged to Afshîn, the general and favourite of the Caliph Mu'taşîm. Near both Marasmandah and Minak there were iron mines, and tools made here were exported to all parts of Khurasân, the steel being of excellent quality; so that even in Baghdâd these were much sought after.

The great river Jaxartes, as already said (p. 434), was called by the Arabs the Sayhûn or Sihûn. It was, however, more generally known as the Nahr-ash-Shâsh, the river of Shâsh (Old Tâshkand), from the name of the most important city near its banks. In the 8th (14th) century, according to Mustawfi, the Mongol population of these parts knew it under the name of Gil-Zariyân. Since that time, and down to the present day, it has been commonly called the Sîr Daryâ or Sîr Şû (River Sîr) by the Turks, this name being mentioned by Abu-l-Ghâzlî.

According to Ibn Hawkal the river Jaxartes rose in the Turk country, being formed by the junction of many mountain streams, and it entered the great valley of Farghânah at its eastern end, near the town of Üzkand; the province of Farghânah lying for a couple of hundred miles and more in length to the north and south of its upper stream. Flowing here due east, the Sayhûn received numerous affluents during its course through Farghânah, namely the Nahr Kharshân, the rivers of Urast and of Kubâ, also the Nahr Jidghil, which is probably the present Naryn river, and some others. Passing on by the walls of Akhsîkath, the capital, the Sayhûn came to Khujandah, where it finally passed out of the

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2 Hence the Naryn, by far the longest of the head rivers of the Sîr, was evidently not considered the main stream by the Arabs.
Farghânah province. Thence, turning northwards, the river next received on its right bank the two streams called the Nahr Ïlãk and the Nahr Turk, passing to the westward of the districts of Ïlãk and of Shâsh. Beyond these the Sayhûn finally came to the Isblîjâb districts, whence, through the deserts of the Ghuzz and the Turks it ultimately flowed out by numerous channels to the Sea of Aral in its north-easterly part. The Arab geographers say that the Sayhûn was navigable for boats like the Jayhûn, and for a longer time than was the case with the Oxus the Jaxartes was frozen over in winter, so that caravans could cross it on the ice. Moreover it was counted as only two-thirds of the length of the sister stream¹.

The province of Farghânah, which until within recent years was more generally known as the Khanate of Khûkand, but which under the Russian government has officially again taken its more ancient name, had for its capital, in the earlier middle-ages, the city of Akhsîkath, which Ibn Khurdâdbih and others call Farghânah city. It lay on the north bank of the Jaxartes. The ruins of this town exist, and in the 10th (16th) century when Bâbar was ruler of Farghânah, under the shortened form of Akhsî it was the second city of the province, Andîjân being then the capital.

Akhsîkath is described by Ibn Ḥawqal as a large city, with a castle, where stood the Friday Mosque, the governor’s palace, and the prison; and outside the inner town was an extensive suburb. The inner city, which measured a mile across in every direction, was intersected by numerous water channels, all connected with a great tank; and there were markets both here and in the suburb, which latter was surrounded by a wall. The inner city had five gates, namely the Kâsân Gate, the Mosque Gate (Bâb-al-Jâmi’), the Rahânah Gate, next a gate with an uncertain name that may be read as Bakhtar, and finally the Gate of Al-Mardakshah. The place was entirely surrounded by gardens, which extended for a distance of a couple of leagues beyond the suburb gates, and on the further, or south side of the Jaxartes were rich pasture grounds. Akhsîkath was apparently

ruined, with many of the other cities of Farghânah, in the wars of Muḥammad Khwārizm Shâh at the beginning of the 7th (13th) century, and the Mongol invasion completed the work; after which the capital was removed to Andiţân. In the time of Tîmūr, ‘Ali of Yazd gives the name under the form Akhsîkant or Akhsîkat, and as we have seen this was shortened to Akhsî in the days of Bâbar.

Andiţân (modern Andiţân), according to Mustawfî, was made the capital of Farghânah by Kaydû Khân, grandson of Ugutay, son of Changiz, in the latter half of the 7th (13th) century. The name of Andiţân, or Andukân, occurs in the lists of towns given by Ibn Ḥawkal in the 4th (10th) century, and is also mentioned by Yâkût, but nowhere is the town described, though in the account of Tîmūr’s campaigns it is frequently referred to by ‘Ali of Yazd. From the Itineraries it would seem that the city of Kûtâ, which in the 4th (10th) century was a place of much importance, must have stood near Andiţân. Kûtâ, says Ištâkhri, was almost of the size of Akhsîkath, and its gardens were even more extensive. It had a strong castle, where the Friday Mosque stood, in the Maidân or central square; and there was an outer suburb, where was the governor’s palace, and the prison. The suburb was surrounded by a great wall, and there were many well-supplied market streets.

Half-way between Akhsîkath and Kûtâ was the town of Ushtikân with a Friday Mosque in its market-place; and to the east of Kûtâ was Ûsh, which already in the 4th (10th) century was a place of great importance. In the castle of Ûsh stood as usual the governor’s palace, and the prison; and the inner town was surrounded by a walled suburb, running up the slope of the neighbouring hill; with three gates, namely the Hill Gate (Báb-al-Jabal), the Water Gate (Báb-al-Mâ), and the Mughkadah.

1 I. K. 30. Ist. 333. I. H. 393, 394. Muk. 271. Kaz. ii. 156. A. Y. i. 441; ii. 633. Akhsî is marked on the Russian map given by Schuyler, Turkistan, i. 336, a short distance to the south-west of modern Namangan. The termination Kâth, or Kût, is synonymous with Kand, or Kant, and both occur in many names of places in Central Asia, and have the meaning in the Turkish dialects of ‘a city’ or ‘burg,’ as Yâkût (i. 404) very justly remarks. See e.g. Nūzkâth (New Wall) in Khwârizm, mentioned on p. 454.

Gate. The Friday Mosque stood in a broad Raḥbah, or square, surrounded by markets; and the lands around were plentifully watered by many streams. Near by, on a hill-top, was a guard-house garrisoned by soldiers—volunteers—who watched against the incursions of the Turkish hordes. Beyond Īsh is Īzkand, the easternmost city of Farghânah, described as two-thirds of the size of Īsh. Īzkand, too, lay in a fertile district, having a castle, a well-fortified inner city, and a suburb with markets that were much frequented by the Turk merchants. A river went by one of the town gates, for the suburb was surrounded by a wall pierced by four gates, and the Friday Mosque stood in the market-place.

That part of Farghânah which lay to the south of the Jaxartes was known as the district of Nasyâ, or Nasâiyah, divided into upper and lower according to its elevation, upper Nasâiyah lying among the hills. Of lower Nasâiyah was the town of Marghînân (modern Marghilân), a small place in the 4th (10th) century, but with a Friday Mosque in its market. To the west of this lies Rishtân, a large town in early days, also with a fine Friday Mosque. Khûkand, which in recent times became the capital of Farghânah, and gave its name to the Khanate, is only mentioned incidentally among the cities of upper Nasâiyah, and under the form Khuwâkand or Khuwâkand.

Khujandah, the first town of Farghânah on the west coming from Samarkand, lay on the left bank of the Jaxartes, and adjacent to it one league southward was the suburb of Kand. Khujandah was of considerable length along the river strand, but of little breadth; it had a strong castle with a prison. The Friday Mosque was in the city; the governor’s palace being in the Maydân, or square, of the suburb. Khujandah is described by Ibn Hawkâl as a most pleasant town, and its people possessed boats for going on the Jaxartes river. The outer suburb of Kand was more especially known as Kand-i-Badhâm, ‘Kand of the Almonds,’ and according to ʿAṣrî it was so called from a particular variety of this fruit, grown here, that was famous for its husk peeling off very easily when the almond was taken in the hand.¹

Of the cities in the northern part of Farghānah, namely of the lands on the right bank of the Jaxartes, very little is known during early times. Muḳaddasi describes Wânkath as a town with a Friday Mosque and good markets, and from the Itineraries we learn that Wânkath lay seven leagues to the west of Akhsīkath, being one league from the bank of the Jaxartes, and not far from the frontiers of Îlāk. North of Wânkath and among the hills was Khayralam, or Khaylām, a town of the district of Miyān Rûdhān, 'Betwixt the Rivers,' with a fine Friday Mosque and good markets. To the north of this again lay Shikit, or Sikkit, a town where according to Muḳaddasi nuts grew so abundantly that a thousand could be had for a silver dirham; and here too there was a Friday Mosque in the market-place. The town of Kāsān still exists, and is described by the earlier geographers as situate in the district of the same name. Yakūt adds that it had a strong castle, and that past its gate ran the stream which ultimately joined the Jaxartes at Akhsīkath. Further north was the district of Jidghil, of which the chief town was Ardalānkath. To the east of this lay the Karwān district, of which the chief town was called Najm. A number of other towns are also briefly described by Muḳaddasi, but unfortunately there is no indication of their respective positions.1

To the westward of Farghānah came the district of Shāsh, which, as already said, lay on the right bank or north-east of the Jaxartes. The ruins now known as Old Tāshkand are the site of the city called Shāsh by the Arabs, and Châch by the Persians, which, in the middle-ages, was the greatest of the Arab towns beyond the Jaxartes. The city of Shāsh was also known by the name of Binkath, for like many other places in Transoxiana, there was the double nomenclature, Iranian and Turanian.

Shāsh, in the 4th (10th) century, was a city of many walls. There was, in the first place, an inner town, with a castle, or citadel, standing separate, but adjacent, and these two were surrounded by a wall. Outside the inner town was the inner suburb, surrounded by its own wall, and beyond this again lay the outer

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2 This is often by an error in the diacritical points written Btkath, e.g. Yak. i. 746.
suburb, with many gardens and orchards surrounded in turn by a third wall. Lastly there was the Great Wall, which, as was the case at Bukhārā, protected the whole district, making a great semicircular sweep round Shāsh to the northward, from the bank of the Turk river on the east to the Jaxartes on the west.

To return to the inner town and the citadel; this last, within which was the governor's house and the prison, had two gates, one opening on the inner town, the other to the suburbs. The Friday Mosque had been built on the wall of the citadel. The inner town, which was a league across in every direction, contained some important markets and had three gates, first the double gate of Abu-l-'Abbās, then the Bāb Kish, doubtless to the south where the road from Samarḵand came in, and lastly the gate of Al-Junayd. The wall of the inner suburbs had ten gates (Muḵaddasī names only eight), and of the outer suburbs seven, which are all carefully enumerated by Ibn Ḥawkal, and in the inner suburbs were found the great markets of Shāsh. The whole city was plentifully supplied by conduits of running water from canals, which afterwards irrigated the numerous orchards and vineyards within the walls.

The Great Wall, at its nearest point, passed at a distance of one league from the gate of the outer suburbs. This wall began on the east at the hill on the Turk river called Jabal Šablāgh, and the extensive plain which it enclosed was known as Al-Ḵīlāš. The wall was built by ‘Abd-Allah ibn Ḥumayd, to protect Shāsh on the north from the incursions of the Turks, and beyond it, at the distance of a league, was dug a deep ditch, going all the way from the hill on the Turk river to the bank of the Jaxartes on the west. The road north from Shāsh to Isblījāb passed through this wall at the Iron Gate (Bāb-al-Ḥadīd).

In the early years of the 7th (13th) century, Shāsh was in part ruined during the conquests of Muḥammad Khwārizm Shāh, and the Mongol invasion which immediately followed added to the miseries of the people here as elsewhere. The city, however, appears to have recovered rapidly from these misfortunes, and it was again an important place in the 8th (14th) century when Timūr halted here. ‘Allī of Yazd, who frequently has occasion to mention it in describing the campaigns of Timūr, gives the names as Shāsh,
Châch, or Tâshkant; this latter being apparently a popular corruption of the name Shâsh to Tâsh, by the Turkish-speaking population, Tâshkant meaning 'the stone city,' under which name it is now become the capital of Russian Turkistân.

The Nahr Turk, now known as the river Chirchik, which flows to the south-east of Shâsh, according to Ibn Ḥawkâl rose in the mountains of Jidghil on the north of the Naryn river, and in the district called Baskâm of the Kharlikh Turks. To the southward of this river and more or less running parallel with it was the Nahr Îlâk, now called the river Angran, and immediately below where this joined the Jaxartes stood the city of Banâkath, the second largest town of the Shâsh district. Banâkath, otherwise called Banâkit, or by the Persians Fanâkant, was not fortified in the 4th (10th) century, but it had a Friday Mosque in its marketplace. The town stood on the right bank of the Jaxartes where the great Khurâsân road coming up from Samarqand crossed the river going to Shâsh, and it continued to be a place of great importance till the 7th (13th) century, when it was laid in ruins by Changiz Khân. More than a century later, in 818 (1415), Fanâkant was rebuilt by order of Shâh Rukh, the grandson of Timûr, and then received the name of Shâhrukhiyâ, under which it is frequently mentioned by 'Ali of Yazd.

The road from Banâkath north to Shâsh passed through the town of Jinânjakath, lying on the south or left bank of the Turk river, some two leagues above its junction with the Jaxartes. This town, though unfortified, was a place of considerable size in the 4th (10th) century, and its houses were built of wood and unburnt brick. Across the Jaxartes to the west, and one march from Jinânjakath on the road to Jîzak, was the small town of Waynkard, which Ibn Ḥawkâl describes as a village of the (Nestorian) Christians. Across the Turk river, and somewhat to the westward in the angle below where it joined the Jaxartes, lay the town of Ushtûrkath, or Shuturkath (Camel City), which was well fortified. This place must have been ruined by the Mongols, for in the latter part of the 8th (14th) century we find it replaced by Chlnâs (which still exists), the name of which is frequently

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mentioned by ‘Ali of Yazd. Ibn Ḥawkāl and Muṣaddasi name more than a score of other cities of the Shâsh districts, but they add no details, and the positions of these places, therefore, cannot now be fixed; though it is evident that in the 4th (10th) century the whole of this country, as also the Îlak district to the south and Isbijāb to the north, was densely populated, with numerous hamlets that were of the size of towns

The district of Îlak lay to the south of the Îlak river, and north of the great bend of the Jaxartes below Khujandah; and its chief town was called Tûnkath. The district, which was continuous with Shâsh, comprised near a score of important towns, duly enumerated by Ibn Ḥawkāl and others, the sites of which remain undetermined, and it is unfortunately not possible even to discover that of Tûnkath, the capital. According to Ibn Ḥawkāl Tûnkath lay on the river Îlak, and apparently at a distance of eight leagues from Shâsh, of which it is said to have been half the size. There was a strong castle, an inner city, and a suburb surrounded by a wall. Within the castle was the governor’s house, the prison and the Friday Mosque both standing at the castle gate. Great markets were found in both city and suburb, and the whole district round was plentifully supplied with running water. All the country lying between Shâsh and Îlak was covered with towns, the names of which are given by Ibn Ḥawkāl, but as already said their positions are unfortunately now lost. One of the most important places mentioned was the populous town of Khâsht (also written Khâsh, Khâs, or Khâš), near the silver mines in the Îlak hills on the frontiers of Farghânah. Here, according to Ibn Ḥawkāl, in the 4th (10th) century was a mint, where much gold and silver were coined; and the place was surrounded by numerous villages.

To the north of Shâsh, and stretching east from the right bank of the Jaxartes, was the extensive district or province of Isbijāb or Asbijāb, with the capital of the same name; and Muṣaddasi

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2 Tûnkath is sometimes by a clerical error miswritten Tîkath, Ist. 331, note c. For the distance between Shâsh and Tûnkath see Ist. 344. I. H. 404.
3 Ist. 331, 332, 345. I. H. 386, 388, 389, 404. Muk. 265, 277, 278.
in the 4th (10th) century mentions nearly fifty towns of this region as well known, of which only a very few can now be identified.

The city of Isbījāb is identical in site with Sayrām, lying about eight miles to the eastward of Chīmkant on the Arīs or Badam river, which is a right-bank affluent of the Jaxartes. According to Ibn Ḥawkal, it was a third the size of Shāsh, and consisted of a citadel or castle, with an inner city surrounded by a wall, and the suburb, also walled. It is reported that the whole circuit of the city of Isbījāb was about a league, and that it stood in a great plain three leagues from the nearest hills, being surrounded by well-watered gardens. The town had four gates, and before each was built a strong Rubāt or guard-house. There were markets in both the city and the suburbs, and in the former were situated the governor’s house, the prison, and the Friday Mosque. Muḥaddasī mentions the Sūk-al-Karābis, ‘the market of the cotton-merchants,’ as especially famous, and the rents for these shops, which were applied to charitable purposes, amounted to 7,000 dirhams (about £300) a month. The city of Isbījāb appears after the time of the Mongol invasion to have changed its name to Sayrām, under which it is frequently mentioned by `Ali of Yazd in his accounts of the campaigns of Tīmūr.

Chīmkant, written Chīmkant, is also frequently mentioned by `Ali of Yazd and appears to be identical with the town which Muḥaddasī writes Jamūkat, and describes as a large, well-fortified city, with a Friday Mosque and suburbs, where there were excellent markets.

On the east bank of the Sayhūn, immediately below where the Jaxartes known originally as Bārāb or Fārāb, and in later times as Utrār, where in the year 807 (1405) Tīmūr ended his life, when about to set out for the conquest of China. Fārāb, or Bārāb,
was the name of both district and town, and it was sometimes
counted the capital of the Isbijāb district; the suburbs of
the town in the 4th (10th) century being also known under the
name of Kadar. Muḥaddasi speaks of Bārāb as a large city with
70,000 inhabitants; it was strongly fortified and had a citadel or
castle, a Friday Mosque, and great markets. In its warehouses
much merchandise was stored. Kadar also had its own Friday
Mosque, and was the new town. According to Kazvīnī the city
lay among salt marshes, and was celebrated in history as the
birth-place of Abu Naṣr-al-Fārābī, who died in 339 (950), and was
accounted the greatest of the Moslem philosophers before Avicenna.
According to Ibn Ḥawkal, however, the actual birth-place of Al-
Fārābī was at Wasij, a small fortified town lying two leagues distant
from Fārāb, where there was a fine Friday Mosque in the market-
place. At a subsequent period Fārāb took the name of Uṭrār,
also spelt Uṭrār, which was pillaged in the early part of the
7th (13th) century by the Mongol hordes, but was shortly after-
wards rebuilt, for it was in its Sarāy, or palace, as already said,
that Timūr died.¹

About half-way between Sayrām and Uṭrār was the town of
Arsūbānīkath, or Subānīkath, which Muḥaddasi speaks of as a fine
place, well-fortified, with a Friday Mosque in the inner city, and
great suburbs lying without the wall. The district round Subānī-
kath was called Kanjīdah. One day's march north of Uṭrār,
along the right bank of the Jaxartes, was the town of Shāvaghar,
also described by Muḥaddasi as a large place, well-fortified, with
a Friday Mosque in its market-place, and surrounded by fertile
districts. The name of Shāvaghar does not occur in the later
gerographers, and from its position it would appear to be identical
with Yassī, a place often mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, and still exist-
ing to-day under the name of Haḍrat-i-Turkistān, 'The Presence
(of the holy man) of Turkistān,'—he being the patron saint of
the Kirghiz, who is buried here. According to 'Alī of Yazd
this personage was Shaykh Aḥmad of Yassī, a descendant of

A. Y. i. 166, 275; ii. 646. Ibn Khallikān, No. 716, p. 73. There is often
confusion between Fārāb or Bārāb (Uṭrār) of the Jaxartes, and Fāryāb (see
above, p. 424) in Jūzjān, which was also called Bārāb.
Muḥammad ibn Ḥanafiyah, son of the Caliph ‘Ali. The Shaykh died here in the early part of the 6th (12th) century, and Timūr at the close of the 8th (14th) century built over his tomb the mosque, the magnificent remains of which exist, the shrine being still the object of pilgrimage from all the country round.

One day’s journey north of Yassî or Shāvaghar was Sawrān, or Šabrān, which stands to the present day, reckoned in the 4th (10th) century as the frontier fortress against the Ghuzz. Here, in peace times, all the neighbouring Turk tribes came to barter with the Moslem merchants. Muḥaddasī depicts Sawrān as a very large town, protected by seven fortifications and walls, one built behind the other. The Friday Mosque was in the inner city, and extensive suburbs lay outside the town. ‘Ali of Yazd frequently mentions Šabrān when speaking of the campaigns of Timūr, and Yâḵūt describes its high citadel or castle, which dominated the frontier lands.

Among other places on the Jaxartes very frequently mentioned by ‘Ali of Yazd, but not noticed by the earlier Arab geographers, is Saghnāḵ, which he gives as the capital of Kipchâk and as lying 24 leagues northward from Utrār. Further to the north again is Jand, mentioned by the earlier geographers, and by Yâḵūt, as one of the great Moslem cities of Turkistān beyond the Jaxartes. In the early part of the 7th (13th) century Jand had been devastated by the Mongols. The Aral is often named the Sea of Jand, and here, two marches from the mouth of the Jaxartes, lay the Ghuzz capital, called by the Arabs Al-Kariyat-al-Jadidah (or Al-Hadithah), ‘the New Village,’ and in later times known as Yanghikant or Yangi-Shahr, ‘New Town,’ in Turkish.

About 80 miles to the north-east of Sayrām (or Isbijāb) are the ruins of Ťarâz, near the present town of Aulieh-Ata. Ťarâz, or Aṯ-Ťarâz, was an important place as early as the 4th (10th) century, and is described by Ibn Ḥawkal as the chief commercial

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1 I. H. 390, 391. Muk. 262, 273, 274. Yak. iii. 366. A. Y. i. 466, 557; ii. 9, 636, 642. Schuyler, Turkistan, i. 70. The name, which should be written Sawrān or Šabrān, is frequently misprinted Štrān in the Zafar-Nāmah of ‘Ali of Yazd.

town of those Moslems who were engaged in trade with the Kharlakhiyih Turks. Muḥaddasī adds that the city was strongly fortified, with a deep ditch, beyond which lay many gardens, and it was extremely populous. The Ṭarāz river ran by one of the four gates of the city, and there was a Friday Mosque in the market-place. According to Kazvinī, Ṭarāz was proverbial for the beauty of its men and women, it had a good climate and its lands were extremely fertile. Also of the Turk country and about one hundred miles due east of Ṭarāz lies Barkī or Mīrktī (modern Merkeh), which Muḥaddasī describes as a medium-sized town, but well fortified, having a castle, and a Friday Mosque that had originally been a (Nestorian) Christian church. There was a great guard-house here in the 4th (10th) century, built by ‘Ammū-ad-Dawlah Fāīk. one of the Buyid Amīrs. According to the same authority, Kūlān lay one march west of Mīrktī towards Ṭarāz; it was a large and strongly fortified village with a Friday Mosque, and was accounted a place of much importance.\(^1\)

In conclusion it is to be observed that Abū-l-Fidā mentions a number of capital cities of the Turks, the exact positions of which it is difficult now to fix. Of these Balāsāghun was the capital of the Khans of Turkistān during the 4th and 5th (10th and 11th) centuries, and is mentioned by Ibn-al-Athīr in his Chronicle. Its exact site is unknown. Abū-l-Fidā says, vaguely, that it was near Kāshghār, but beyond the Jaxartes. The ruins of Almālīgh, which was the Mongol capital under Jaghatay, the son of Changiz Khān, have been found near the site of Old Kuljah, on the river Ilīh; and its position is indicated by ‘Allī of Yāzd, who also mentions the Irtish river and the Tulās. But of all these towns no descriptions are given, and like Kāshghār, Khutan, Yārkand and other places on the borders of China, the notice in our authorities is merely incidental and unfortunately of no import geographically.\(^2\)

The countries of the Jaxartes did not produce any great variety of manufactures, and the slave-trade was the chief industry of the merchants who went thither. Muḥaddasī mentions that

2 A. F. 505. A. Y. i. 485, 494; ii. 218, 219.
at Dizak (Jisak) in Ushrúsanah they made excellent felts and cloaks. The natural products of Farghánah were gold and silver from the mines, also turquoises; quicksilver, iron, and copper were likewise obtained, also sal-ammoniac, naphtha, and bitumen. The mill-stones of Farghánah were famous, and stone-coal for burning was common here. From the orchards were exported grapes, apples, and nuts, with perfumes made from roses and violets. Shásh produced fine white cloth, swords and other weapons, with brass and iron work, such as needles, scissors, and pots. Also saddles of the skin of the wild ass were made, with bows and quivers, dyed hides, and prayer-rugs, as well as a kind of collared cloak. The country round produced rice, flax, and cotton. Finally from Ţaráz, in the Turk country, came goat-skins; and the Turkistán horses and mules were always and especially famous ¹.

In regard to the high roads of these provinces, the continuation of the great Khurásán road, going north from Samarkand, crossed the Sughd river, and thence reached Zámín in Ushrúsanah, where it bifurcated, the left branch to Shásh and the lower Jaxartes, the right to the upper Jaxartes and Farghánah. From Zámín the direct road to Shásh crossed the Jaxartes at Banákath; while a second high road from Samarkand went by Dizak, and across the desert to Waynkard, beyond which the Jaxartes was crossed to Shutúrkath, where the road from Banákath to Shásh was joined. From Shásh one road went east to Tûnkath, the capital of the Ílák province, and another north to Isblijáb, where again there was a bifurcation. Westward from Isblijáb, one high road went to Fáráb (Utrár) for the crossing of the Jaxartes, and thence also north along its right bank to Šabrán. To the right, eastward from Isblijáb, the other road went to Ţaráz, and thence to Barki or Mirki, the last Moslem town of Turk lands in the 4th (10th) century, and from this place Ibn Khurdádbih and Kudámah give the stages across the desert to Upper Núshánján on the frontiers of China, which place is probably to be identified with Khutan ².

The road to Farghánah which, as already said, bifurcated from

the continuation of the Khurāsān road at Zāmin, went by Sābat (where the road to Būnjīkath, the capital of Ushrūsanah, turned off) to Khujandah on the Jaxartes. From here, keeping along the south bank of the river, and up stream, Akhsikath, the capital of Fārghānah, at the crossing of the Jaxartes, was reached. The distances from Akhsikath to the various towns lying to the north of the upper Jaxartes are given by ʿĪṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawkāl; while from the capital of Fārghānah eastward the continuation of the high road by Ῥsh to Ūzkand is found in Ibn Khurdādbih and Kudāmah. Further Muḥaddasī gives notes of the way from Ūzkand into the Turk country, and ultimately to the frontiers of China. The account is difficult to follow, but, as with Ibn Khurdādbih and Kudāmah, the last stage is Upper Nūshajān, or Barsakhān, the conjectural Khutan.

beyond the Oxus. For the route to Khutan and China see the article on the Wall of Gog and Magog by Professor M. J. De Goeje in Mededeling der Koninklijke Academie Amsterdam, for 1888, p. 123. For the route followed by ʿAbd-arrāzāḵ, the Ambassador of Shāh Rukh, who travelled to China and back between 822 and 825 (1419 and 1422), see the Persian text and translation by E. Quatremère in Notices et Extraits, vol. xiv. pt. i. p. 387, also the notes by Sir H. Yule in Cathay and the Way thither, pp. cxcix—ccix.

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