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Astatic Society Monographs

XIV

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

# PROVINCE OF FA H S IN PERSIA

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH  
CENTURY A.D.

FROM THE MS. OF IBN AL-BAEKHI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

O. LE STRANGE

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# DESCRIPTION

OK THE

## PROVINCE OF FARS IN PERSIA

### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

IN the Journal for the year 1902 a summary was given of the description of Persia and Mesopotamia found in the *Nuzhat-al-Qilub*, a geographical and cosmographical work written by Hamd-Allah Mustawfi in 740 (1340).<sup>1</sup> In the course of next year I hope to publish (in the series of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund) the Persian text of the geographical chapters of this work, and this will be followed by a full translation, with notes to elucidate geographical questions. Hamd-Allah, who is our earliest systematic geographer writing in Persian, collected his materials from the works of the earlier Arab geographers, and from various Persian monographs which had been written each to describe a single province of the Moslem Empire; and it is found that the texts of

<sup>1</sup> Published also separately in the Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. v. The map drawn to accompany this paper will serve to illustrate Ibn al-Balkhl.

some of these monographs, thereto adding somewhat of his own knowledge, after much curtailment and a re-arrangement of the order in the articles, he has transcribed almost verbatim, to form the various chapters of the *NuzhaL*. A good instance of this method of writing a new book is the chapter describing the provinces of Fars and Shabankarah, which in truth is little but a shortened transcript of the *Fars Namah*, a work written two centuries before the time of Ilamd-Allah, and of which the British Museum possesses an excellent MS.

The name of the author of this *Fars Namah* is as yet unknown, but he states in his preface that his ancestor was a native of Balkh, and Ibn-al-Balkhi will serve as a convenient title by which to refer to him until his identity be better established. From the MS. all that appears is that the grandfather of Ibn-al-Balkhi (twice mentioned, fois. 26 and 63a) was Mustawfi, or Accountant for the Taxes, of Fars about the year (4)92 under the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumartagln, who had been sent to govern that province in the name of the Saljuq Sultan Bargiyaruq — 487-98 (1094-1104) — the son of Malik Shah. Ibn-al-Balkhi, who accompanied his grandfather, was educated in Fars, and becoming well acquainted with the physical and political condition of the country, was in due course of time commissioned by the brother and successor of Bargiyaruq, namely, Sultan Ghiyath-ad-Din Muhammad, 498-511 (1104-17), to compose the present work. No exact date for its completion is given, but since the book was dedicated to this Sultan, who died in 511, and further that the Atabeg Chauli is frequently mentioned in the text as still living, who we know died in 510 (1116), it follows that this *Fars Namah* must have been completed during the first decade of the sixth century A.H., equivalent to the twelfth A.D.

Two MSS. only of the work appear to exist in Europe. One a very old copy in the British Museum (Or. 5983),

apparently undated,<sup>1</sup> but by the writing and archaic spelling judged to be not later than the early fourteenth century (eighth A.H.). The other clearly a copy made of this MS., which belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and came there from the Schefer Collection (Blochet *Cat MSS. Persans*, i, p. 309, No. 503, and Supplement, 1052), and which was written in 1273 (1856). The Paris copy is indeed of little use except to show how a Persian of the present day read the older MS., and as occasionally giving us a word that has disappeared, partially or wholly, in the mending process to which the B.M. MS. was subjected when it came a few years ago, after presentation in loose leaves, to be bound for the Museum use. In some outstanding cases where lacunre occur I have been able to till these in by a reference to the Geography of Jlafiz Abri, the Secretary of Timur—of which the India Office and the Museum (Or. 1577) both possess good copies—who has copied most of the *Fdrs Namah* into the work he composed in 820 (1417). Further, of course, the MSS. of the *Nuzliat* very often serve to emend a reading.

The Museum MS. is written for the most part in double columns, a complicated system, which has led to the modern (Paris) copy having the articles very often transcribed out of order, through the carelessness of the copyist, who thus has given many towns (under their separate headings) to the wrong District (*Kurah*). In the longer articles, however, the scribe, of the Museum MS. has written across the page (i.e. in single column), and the order of this copy will be best understood by a reference to the following footnote.<sup>2</sup> The Persian text is in the

<sup>1</sup> Faintly written, and much disfigured by the mending, there is a colophon on fol. 906 which may possibly read: "and the transcription thereof was completed in the year 671" (A.D. 1271).

<sup>2</sup> If R. and L. be taken to indicate the right and left hand columns respectively, *a* and *b* standing for *recto* and *verso* of the folios, the Istakhr District begins with the R. column fol. 65a, following on with the R. columns of fois. 65b, 66a and *b*, then back to L. column of

B.M. MS. somewhat archaic, and in the spelling retains the older forms of *hi* for *kih*, *dnk*, and *chuiidnh*, for the modern *ankih* and *chuniankih*. Further, we meet with a small number of words, mostly technical terms of revenue assessment, that are often wanting in the dictionaries, but the general meaning of which it is not difficult to come to from the context.

The Museum MS. at present consists of ninety folios. Fol. *Ia* begins with a short preface, followed by the dedication, fol. 2a, to "the Sultan—King of kings—whose glory shall never cease to increase, Ghiyath-ad-Dunya wa-d-Din Abu Shuja' Muhammad son of Malik Shah", who further is given the title of QasIm-i-Amlr-al-Muininln, "the Associate (in the government) of the Caliph." The author then relates how his august master commissioned him to write the present work, "seeing that I had been brought up in Fars, although by lineage descended from a native of Balkh . . . and knowing that I was well acquainted with the present condition of the people of Fars . . . being well versed also in the events of their history, and exactly acquainted with the story of their kings and rulers, even from the days of Kaytimarth down to this present time." Then on fol. *Sa*, after a summary description of the province, and citing a few of the chief Traditions about Fars ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad, we start with the long line of the early Persian kings, whose history, much in epitome, closes with the last of the Sassanians and the rise of Islam, on fol. 30x. This part of the work is merely a Persian version of Hamzah Isfahan!, and contains, apparently, nothing new. Next very briefly the story of the Arab conquest of Fars is

fol. 65a, followed by fois. 656 L., 66a L. and 6 L. Next, on 666 below, the MS. reads across for Istakhr City, fois. 67a and 6 and the top of 68a being all in one column. After this, again, 68a below goes back to the double column, the next article beginning 68a R., followed by 686 R., then back to 68a L. and 686 L., which gives the last town of the district.

narrated, ending with the reign of the Caliph 'Ali. Here follows an interesting account, fol. 62a, of the Qadls—chief justices—of Fars, to which we shall return later, and then, fol. 636, the Geographical Part (translated below) begins, concluding with the Itineraries, fol. 836. The author afterwards returns, fol. 87a, to the history of Fars, giving an account of the Shabankarah tribes and the Kurds, and this narrating details of almost contemporary history is of importance, as facts and personages are mentioned not noted, apparently, elsewhere. A summary follows of the revenues of Fars down to the time of the writer, and some of this too is new matter, for the author, as already said, was of a family of accountants, and wrote from first-hand knowledge. And, finally, fol. 906, the MS. closes with a short note describing the days of the last Buyid rulers of Fars, and the advent of the Saljuq Sultans.

In the following pages a complete translation will be given of the Geographical Part, but before coming to this it will be useful to summarize what our author has narrated about personages and events immediately preceding his own time, and more especially the account he gives of the Kurdish tribes and of the Shabankarah, who, at a later date, gave their name to the eastern part of the Fars province round Darabjird. The reader will recall to mind how about the middle of the fourth (tenth) century, namely, a century and a half before the time of our author, the Buyids, under 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, from 338-72 (949-82) had been at the height of greatness: by the middle of the following century, however, this dynasty had collapsed before the rising power of the Saljuqs. Tughrul Beg, the founder of the new dynasty, on his death in 455 (1063), had left as heir his nephew Alp Arslan, whose brother, Qavurd, had already, during the lifetime of Tughrul Beg, been put in possession of the government of some of the Eastern provinces, he thus ruling the most part of Persia

under his uncle and brother from 433 (1041) down to the date of his death in 465 (1072). Alp Arslan was succeeded as Great Saljuq by his son, Malik Shah, 465-85 (1072-92), whose Wazir was the famous Nizam-al-Mulk. Four of the sons of Malik Shah in succession came to the throne, of whom, however, two only concern us here, and these have both been mentioned before, namely, the eldest, Rargiyaruq, 487-98 (1094-1104), in whose reign the grandfather of our author served as Revenue Accountant in Fars; and Sultan Ghiyath - ad - Din Muhammad, his brother, 498-511 (1104-17), the patron of Ibn-al-Balkhi, and the prince to whom he dedicates his book. After the overthrow of the Buyids these Saljuq Sultans who ruled in their stead were wont to send their Atabegs, originally the *Governors* of their sons, to govern the outlying provinces, and the first of these, in Fars, was the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumartagin, under whom the grandfather of Ibn-al-Balkhi, as already stated, had served. The next Atabeg was Fakhr-ad-Din Chauli (or Jaull in the Arab chronicles), who was still living when our author wrote.<sup>1</sup> This Chauli was famous for his many great buildings, and further, he had after much fighting succeeded in restoring order throughout Fars by curbing the power of the Shabankarah and subduing the various affiliated Kurdish tribes.

<sup>1</sup> The exact dates of appointment of these two Atabegs, who are specifically noticed by [Hafiz](#) Abru, are not given by our authorities. Ibn-al-Athir, however, states that Chauli died in 510 (1116), and he reports him in Fars as early as the year 493 (1099). This must have been the year of, or the year following, his appointment, for Ibn-al-Balkhi mentions Khumartagin as in Fars in 492 (1098), and this probably was the year of his death. Ibn-al-Athir names Khumartagin more than once in his chronicle from the years 450 (1058) to 485 (1092), but never with the title of Rukn-ad-Dawlah. He is called Najm-ad-Dawlah, surnamed At-Tughrayi, and Ash-Sharabi (the Cupbearer); then he is referred to under the name of Khumartagin an-Naib (the Lieutenant), who was Police Magistrate (Shahnah) of Baghdad in 482 (1089). Further, at about the same time there is mentioned Khumartagm-at-Tutushl, but possibly this is a different person.

This much of the general history of the fifth century (eleventh A.D.) being premised, we come to what Ibn-al-Balkhi himself relates, which is the more valuable as being the almost contemporary history of the author's own time. The last of the Buyids to exercise any real sovereignty in Fars was (he says) Bakalijar or Bakalinjar (for the name is given under both forms in the B.M. MS. of the *Fdrs Namah*), otherwise Abu Kalijar or Abu Kalinjar. In regard to the proper spelling of his name, it is to be remarked that in the Arab chronicle of Ibn-al-Athir it is given as Abu Kalijar, while in the MS. of the *Z'ij-as-Sanjari* in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> (likewise in Arabic) the name is clearly written as Abu Kallzar. On the other hand, Hafiz Abru always writes Ba or Abu Kalinjar, and this is the modern spelling (e.g. in the *Fars Ndmah, Nds'tri*). The original meaning of the name is apparently unknown, but from its form it would seem to have been a nickname. The *Fdrtt Ndmah*, unfortunately, does not state who was the father of Bakalijar. The Persian historians and Ibn-al-Athir, however, agree in the statement that he was the son of Suitan-ad-Dawlah, son of Baha-ad-Dawlah, and hence the great grandson of <sup>c</sup>Adud-ad-l)awlah.<sup>2</sup> The *Guzidah* (p. 432)

<sup>1</sup> Or. 6669, consisting of astronomical and chronological tables, written by Abu Mansur al-Khazim for Sultan Sanjar (son of Malik Shah), who died 552 (1157). The B.M. MS. appears to be a copy of the Autograph, and was written in 620 (122,3). The folios are loose, and have not yet been set in order or numbered, but the one giving a tabic of the Buyid dynasty will easily be recognized, for it bears the heading *Jadicalu Muluki dit Buwayhi min ad-Dayalamati bi-l-Iraqi*. Abu Kalinjar is the spelling in the *Guzidah* (Gibb, Facsimile, p. 416) and in the *llablb-aa-Siydr* (Bombay Lithograph, ii, pt. 4, p. 55), both these histories being written in Persian. Among previous Buyid princes Samsam-ad-l)awlah (son of 'Adud) had also borne the name of Abu Kallzar, and this spelling with the long *I* in the second syllable is probably the one we should adopt. See also the note by Mr. Amedroz in *JRAS.*, 1911, p. 672.

- On the other hand, the *Zij*, which it will be remembered was written only a century after the death of Bakallzar (Abu Kallzar), gives a different account from that found in these later authorities. It is here stated that Abu Kallzar al-Marzuban, surnamed 'Izz-al-Muluk, was the

followed by the *Habib-as-Siyar* (ii, pt. 4, p. 55) gives Bakalijar the titles of 'Izz-al-Muluk and 'Imad-li-DIn Allah, the latter authority also adding the third title of Hisam-ad-Dawlah. Ibn-al-Balkhi, however, makes no mention of these honorary names (fol. 906), and gives no dates. Our other authorities say this prince reigned from 415 to 440 (1024 to 1048), and at his death he left five sons. The eldest, to whom our author gives the name of Abu Nasr, died soon after his father, being succeeded by his brother, called Abu Mansur, whose government was thrown into disorder by the meddling of his mother Khurasiiyah, a political busybody, who in the *Zij* is referred to under the title of As-Sayyidah—"the Lady". Abu Mansur at first had governed according to the advice of his Wazir, called the Sahib 'Adil (he had served Bakalijar, according to the *Habib*, in the same capacity), a man of mark who, Ibn-al-Balkhi writes, had given a fine library to the town of Firuzabad; but instigated by his mother, Abu Mansur put this Wazir and his son to death, after which confusion became worse confounded throughout Fars. Matters finally reached a crisis by the revolt of Fadluyah, the Shabankarah chief, who managed to get the Lady Khurasiiyah into his power, and then shutting her up in a waterless hot-bath, suffocated her. Next Abu Mansur was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castle of Palian Diz (near Shiraz), where before long he too met his death, and Fars passed to the government of Fadluyah, and under the overlordship of the Saljuqs.<sup>1</sup>

son of Sultan-ad-Dawlah, and that he left no descendants. It was his uncle, Jalal-ad-Dawlah Abd Tahir Shir Zayd (brother of Sultau-ad-Dawlah and son of Baha-ad-Dawlah), who was the father of the five last Buyid princes.

<sup>1</sup> Of Bakalijar's five sons Ibn-al-Balkhi (fol. 90ft) only gives the names of two, Abu Nasr, the eldest, and Malik Abu Mansur, the last of the Buyids. The *Zij*, however, gives their names as follows. The eldest, Abu Nasr of Ibn-al-Balkhi, is presumably the one the *Zij* calls Amlr-al-Umra Abu Shuja', and the last Buyid prince is named in the *Zij* Al-Malik-al-'Aziz, Al-Malik-ar-Rahim, Abu Mansur Khusruh Firuz. The

The *Guzidah*, however, adds that after the death of this Abu Mansur in 448 (1056) his brother, Al-Malik Abu 'Ali, was given, during nearly forty years, nominal rank by the Saljuq Sultans, being allowed the privileges of the Kettledrum and Banner (*Tabl wa-'Alam*) until the date of his death in 487 (1094) in the reign of Sultan Bargiyaruq.

Ibn-al-Balkhl gives at some length (fois. 87a to 88b) the history of Fadluyah and his Shabankarah tribesmen, with details of their descent and doings that apparently are not to be found in the accounts of other historians. The men of the Shabankarah tribe (he writes) had originally been herdsmen in Fars, until, with the progressive disorganization of the Buyid rule in the latter days, the Kurds had become a power in the land. At this time, according to our author, the Shabankarah were divided among live tribes, namely, the Isma'ill, the Ramani, the Karzuvi, the Mas'full, and the Shakanl. Of these, the Isma'ill were the noblest in descent, but the most important tribe was that of the Ramani (or Kahani, as the MS. may be read), of which Fadluyah<sup>x</sup> was chief. He inherited this dignity from his father 'All (ibn al-Hasan ibn Ayyub), and had in early youth, when only a neatherd, taken service under the Saliiib 'Adil, the Wazir of the last Buyid prince, becoming a great warrior, and rising to command the army in Fars. The fate of this Wazir, and the subsequent imprisonment and death of this Buyid prince and his mother, have been narrated above, the outcome of which events being that Fadluyah found himself before long the virtual master of Fars. The Saljuqs, however, had now become the ruling power in the Caliphate, and Qavurd, brother of the reigning Sultan

three remaining sons were Al-Amir Abil-l-Fawaris Khurshah, then Ai-Amlr Abu Damah Kustam, and lastly Al-Amir Abu-l-Hasan 'Ali. Hafiz Abru names the last Buyid Malik-ar-Ralnm Abu Nasr, instead of Abu Mansur, as given by Ibn-al-Balkhi.

<sup>1</sup> Hafiz Abru sometimes writes the name Fadlun, and this is the spelling given in Ibn-al-Athir.

Alp Arslan, was sent into Fars to bring that province to due order. Fadluyah, finding that matters were going against him, submitted, presented himself at the Court of Alp Arslan, and was thereupon re-established as deputy-governor of the province. He, however, had not yet learnt wisdom, for once more seeking to be independent, he revolted. The celebrated Nizam-al-Mulk, the Wazir of Alp Arslan, thereupon besieged him, taking him prisoner in the Castle of Diz Khurshah, where he had sought refuge. From here he was sent to the castle of Istakhr, but managing in time to corrupt his guards, got this stronghold into his own hands. Sultan Alp Arslan on this lost patience, Fadluyah was hunted down and caught, and to avoid further trouble, after being put to death, his skin was stuffed with straw as a manifest warning to his neighbours.<sup>1</sup> Fars, after the death of Fadluyah, was put under the rule of the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumar-tagin, the patron of our author's grandfather, as already narrated, but Ibn-al-Balkhi adds that in his day some of the Ramani still were to be found living under a chief called Ibrahim ibn Razman, also under a certain Mahamat, son of Abu Nasi\* ibn Malak, whose name was Shay ban.

According to Ibn-al-Balkhi, the noble tribe of the Isma'III Shabankarah were descended from Minuchahr, grandson of the celebrated Faiidun, an ancient and mythical king of Persia, and the chiefs of the Isma'III had aforesaid been Ispahbads, or sub-kings, under the Sassanians. After the Arab conquest their tribe was settled in the Dasht Urd meadowlands, and in this neighbourhood remained, till the coming into those parts of Sultan Mas'tid, son of Mahmud of Ghaznah, some time between 421 and 432 (1030 and 1040). His general Nash Farrash,<sup>2</sup> rinding the Isma'ill tribe in possession of

<sup>1</sup> See also Ibn-al-Athlr, x, 48. These events apparently took place in the year 464 (1071).

- Tash Farrash is probably the true reading of the name; see Ibn-al-Athir, ix, 267, 289.

Isfahan, expelled them, causing them to migrate south to the lands round Kamah and Farfiq. The Buyids having reason to object to their presence here, they next wandered westward and ultimately settled round Darabjird, where, in the times of Bakalijar, they were ruled by two brothers, Muhammad and Namrad, the sons of Yahya. The descendants of these two brothers, of course, quarrelled as to who should be chief of the tribe. Muhammad had left two sons, Bayan and Salk, the latter again leaving a son called Hasuyah, while Nainrad had a son called Mama, who became the father of Ibrahim ibn Mama. The first chief of the clan had been Muhammad, the elder brother of Namrad ; and he, our author states, in sign of his rank " was wont to strike (the Kettledrum) five times, the same becoming a custom among these people almost down to the present time, but which has now been forbidden by the Atabeg Chaul " (successor in Fars of the Atabeg Khumartagin). On the death of this Muhammad the elder son Bayan succeeded, but was put to death by his uncle Namrad, who seized on the chiefship of the tribe, establishing himself in Darabjird. Salk, Bayan's younger brother, thereupon called in the aid of Fadluyah, at this time ruling supreme throughout Fars, as described above. Fadluyah re-established Salk in the chiefship, routed (and presumably killed) Namrad, and at the date when our author wrote, Hasuyah, son of Salk, was chief in his father's room, governing the towns of Ij, Fustajan, Istahbanat, and Darakan, with other places of the Darabjird district. But, as Ibn-al-Balkhi adds, between the cousins there could be no peace, Salk ibn Muhammad, and his son Hasuyah after him, living in perpetual war with Mama ibn Namrad and his son Ibrahim ibn Mama, and this state of things still obtained at the time when our author wrote.

The three remaining Shabankarah tribes were of less importance. The chief of the Karzuvi clan was a certain

Abu Sa'd, who is mentioned more than once in the geographical part of the work. Abu Sa'd was the son of a certain Muliammad ibn Mama ; he took service under Fadluyah, and in the disorders of the last Buy id days obtained possession of Kazirun with its districts. All this country he held till the arrival of the Atabeg Chauli in Fars, who before long dispossessed him of Kazirun. Abu Sa'd, when our author wrote, was apparently already dead, having left a son named, after his early patron, Fadluyah (ibn Abu Sa'd), now become chief of the remnant of the Karzuvi clan.

Of the Mas'udI tribe, the chief had been a certain Amiruwayh, who, making himself powerful in the time of Fadluyah, was put in possession of the castle of Saharah, near Firuzabad, together with some neighbouring fiefs. The Atabeg Khumartagln, coming to Fars, allowed him to hold all these under the Saljuq overlordship, and then Amiruwayh got into his possession the city of Firuzabad. Next the Mas'udI, now become a powerful tribe, seized most of the district of Shapiir Khurah, round Kazirun, in addition to the lands of Firuzabad. The rise to power of Abu Sa'd, the chief of the Karzuvi clan, however, proved the ruin of Amiruwayh and his people : fighting took place, and the town of Kazirun, held by Amiruwayh, having been taken by storm, Abu Sa'd forthwith put that chief to death. Amiruwayh left a son, Vishtasf by name, and after Abu Sa'd had himself come to his end, and when the Atabeg Chauli had Fars firmly under rule, he confirmed Vishtasf, who was related to Hasuyah of the Isma'ili clan on the mother's side, in possession of Firuzabad, where he governed till his death. When our author wrote, the Mas'udI were ruled by a certain Siyah Mil, descended from this Vishtasf. In the geographical part of the work he is stated to have held the castle of Busjikanat, and there were also of this family the two sons of a certain Abu-l-Habali, who still held rank in our

author's time. The last clan of the Shabankarah to be mentioned is that of the ShakanI, who lived in the mountain-lands of the coast or hot region. They were for the most part robbers and highwaymen, Ibn-al-Balkhi states, but had been brought to order in recent times by the Atabeg Chauli.

Our author next speaks of the Kurd tribes, who in Fars were divided among the Five Ramms (clans)<sup>1</sup> named the Jiluyah (or Jilawayh), the Ramm-adh-Dhiwan, the Lawalijan, the Kariyan, and the Baziiyan, and these five clans had occupied, he says, originally one hundred thousand Jawmahs, villages or households. In the days of the Sassanians, according to Ibn-al-Balkhi, the Kurdish troops of the Great King had been the flower of the Persian armies; hence, at the time of the Moslem conquest, of the Kurd warriors all, save one man only, had fallen in the numerous battles against the Arab invaders. The one survivor, 'Alak by name, had subsequently become a Moslem, and some of his descendants were yet living when our author wrote. He adds that the Kurds settled in Fars in his day were of a tribe that had been brought down there by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid from the neighbourhood of Isfahan.

Ibn-al-Balkhi closes this section of his book (fois. 886-896) with a short discussion as to how the Persians, who are a refractory folk, may best be governed, whether by force or by clemency. In regard to the Shabankarah more especially, he remarks that you will certainly be

<sup>1</sup> In the B.M. MS. the word is clearly written, and with the vowel marked, *Ram* or *Ramm*. Possibly, but by no means certainly, in error the MSS. give it at times with initial *z*, written *Zamm*. See De Goeje in Glossary to BGA, iv, p. 250. *Jawmah*, otherwise *Hawmah* (the word is now pronounced *Humah*), means "a village", also "the chief town of a district"; but it must here stand for "a household". The above list of the Ramms Ibn-al-Balkhi has copied verbatim from Istakhri (pp. 98 and 99). For *Ram-adh-Dhlwan* our MS. may read *Az-Zabwan*; *Yaqut* has *Az-Zizan*, and *Muqaddasi* *Az-Zlraz*. For other variants see the notes to Istakhri, pp. 98, 99.

respected by any one of these turbulent tribesmen if by force you take his turban and then restore it, and this-much more than if in the first instance you had generously given him a new turban of your own as a present, for doing which indeed he would only despise you.

Immediately following after the very meagre notice of the Moslem conquest of Persia Ibn-al-Balkhi has inserted a short account of the family of the Chief Justice of Fars (fois. 62(X-636) ; a summary of these paragraphs will be of use, before passing to the translation of the Geographical Section of his work, where an allusion to the family of the Shiraz judge occurs. As is patent throughout his work, our author was an orthodox Sunni, and he held in horror the Shi'ah tendencies of the Buyids, whose heterodox beliefs (he further avers) had always when possible been combated by the Qadis of Shiraz. These judges were of a family come down in direct descent from Abu Burdah of the Arab tribe of Fazarah,<sup>1</sup> and during the reign of the Caliph Radi, that is to say between 322 and 329 (934-40), the grandson of the grandson of this Abu Burdah, by name Abu Muhammad 'Abd-Al lah, was promoted from being Judge in Baghdad to be Qadl-al-Qudat, or Chief Justice of Fars, his jurisdiction being afterwards extended to include the outlying provinces of Kirman and 'Oman, with the city of Tiz in Makran. Ibn-al-Balkhi adds that the Qadl Abu Muhammad, who had composed no less than eighteen works on jurisprudence, " had every care to order well, with good intent, both the (orthodox) Faith and the (Sunni) Tradition, thus firmly laying the foundations in the matter of the Law." 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid prince of that day, in spite of his own strong inclination towards the Shi'ah doctrines, had honoured the Qadl with his trust and esteem, for,

<sup>1</sup> He is usually known as Abu Burdah son of Abu Musa-al-Ash'ari; and he was Qadl of Kufah, and died in 103 (721). His father was a well-known Companion of the Prophet, and had been Governor of Basrah.

putting him to the proof, he had ever found him to be incorruptible. This Abu Muhammad left five sons : Abu Nasr, the youngest, succeeded him in the judgeship, of whom later ; next Abu Dharr and Abu Zuhayr, who settled down as Dihqans, or provincial nobles, in Kirman ; Abu Tahir, who acted as his father's deputy in the Kirman judgeship, and was called to the Sublime Court (*Dargdh-i-A'la*, Baghdad presumably) for consultations on the affairs of that province ; and lastly Abu-l-Hasan, who, after having been associated with his younger brother (Abu Nasr) in the Fars judgeship, was sent for by Sultan Mahmud, some time between 388 and 421 (908 and 1030), who appointed him Qadi at Ghaznah, and his descendants still held the office of judge there at the time when Ibn-al-Balkhi wrote. Abu Nasr, the youngest of the Qadi Abu Muhammad's five sons, as already said succeeded him as Judge of Fars. He was a man of great learning and influence throughout the province, his power coming to be increased upon his marriage with the only daughter of the Mirdasi chief, a family of local nobility. His son was named 'Abd-AUah, and when in due course he succeeded to the office of Chief Justice he became also, in his mother's right, the hereditary chief noble of the Fars district. This power, judicial and tribal, Ibn-al-Balkhi adds, had afterwards passed to both his son and grandson, whose names our author does not specify, and the grandson was Judge of Shiraz when our author wrote. The Judge 'Abd-Allah had flourished in the reign of Bakalijar, the penultimate Buyid prince, whose heterodox Shi'ah proclivities the orthodox 'Abd-Allah had always valiantly striven to combat ; and further, to his exceeding honour, a brother of the Qadi 'Abd-Allah had through scruples of conscience always refused to be made judge in Isfahan. But, as our author writes, " in the days of Bakalijar, the sect of the Seven Imams had become very rampant," and to the grief of Qadi Abd-Allah the Buyid prince now

appeared to be paying great attention to the preaching of a certain Shi'ah missionary named Abu Nasr ibn 'Amrari, whom the people also were beginning to look upon as a prophet. The pious zeal of the judge becoming inflamed by the disastrous influence which the missionary was getting to exercise over Bakalijar, with much astuteness demanded a private audience, and succeeded in persuading the Buyid prince that the missionary, having succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of the troops, was now inciting them to revolt against the Government. Bakalijar thereupon, without pausing to inquire, ordered out a hundred men of his Persian horse-guards and a hundred of his Turk pages, putting them under the orders of a trustworthy person supplied by the Qadi 'Abd-AUah. This officer managed matters promptly and cleverly. The missionary was seized and carried many days on horseback without rest or delay, being at length set free on the further side of the Euphrates, where a decree was forthwith published that it were lawful to slay him if he repassed that stream eastward.

With this anecdote our author concludes his notice of the Chief Justices, and next comes the description of the province of Fars (fois. 636-86/)), which will be found translated in the pages which follow. For a general description of the province and its towns, I may refer the reader to the chapter on Fars in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. References to the earlier Arab geographers are to the texts printed in the volumes of the *Biblioteca Geographorum Arabicorum* (BGA.) of De Goeje. For the present condition of the province I have consulted the (modern) *Fars Namah Nasiri* (referred to as FNN.), written by Haji Mirza Hasan Tabib of Shiraz (folio lithograph, Tihran, A.H. 1313, A.D. 1895), of which the great map, in Persian, on the scale of about ten miles to the inch, gives us the position of every village and stream throughout the province. This work has enabled me to identify many names written defectively in the manuscript,

and also to verify the fact in regard to the names which, in the lapse of eight centuries since Ibn-al-Balkhl wrote, have disappeared leaving no trace.<sup>1</sup> And it may be remarked that in many cases the name of an ancient town, or village, that has disappeared, is preserved in the modern district, and sometimes vice versa.

### THE PROVINCE OF FARS

*Section giving the description of Fdrs.*—This land, after the coming of Islam, became the first camping-ground of the Arab armies, but in the days of the old Persian kings Fars was the centre of their government and the original seat of their power. For at that time all the countries from the banks of the Oxus to the borders of the Euphrates went by the name of the Land of the Persians; all here were the cities of the Persians, and all the world paid them taxes and tribute. When, however, Islam arose and Fars came to be conquered, this province became the camping-ground of [one of the armies of] 'Iraq, for no sooner had the Moslems come hither than they took up their quarters permanently in the land, on the one part the troops from Kufah, on the other those from Basrah, and from this base they went forth to the conquest of all lands and to subjugate the [eastern] world. Afterwards they gave the names of these two townships, whence originally the armies of Islam had been recruited, to the conquered provinces. Now, the army from Kufah had taken possession of Quhistan and Jibal, [with all the country from] Isfahan to Ray and Damghan [going north] to Tabaristan; these provinces, therefore, were given the name of Mah Kufah, and in the [registers of] taxes this name still occurs. The army from Basrah, on the other

<sup>1</sup> This map, which is difficult to procure, I have had on loan from Mr. A. G. Ellis, to whom I am also indebted for having in the first instance brought the *Fars Ndmah-i-Ndsirl* to my notice.

hand, had conquered Bahrayn and 'Oman, with Tlz in Makran, also Kirman, Fars, and Khuzistan, with the adjacent lands and the Arab districts that lie on the frontier; and so all this region came to be known as Mah Basrah, and in the registers this name too occurs. Fars, therefore, is one of the Basrah camping-grounds, for it was conquered by the army from Basrah, and it came to be called Mah-al-Basrah, and the name is so written in the registers.

The extent of Fars, with its districts, is 150 leagues in length by 150 leagues in breadth. In regard to the positions of the angles [of its frontier line], these, as shown in the figure on the margin of the manuscript<sup>1</sup> lie at the four cardinal points, east, west, north, and south, and not at the corners [to the N.E., N.W., S.E., and S.W.]. Thus, the shape of the province is a square [or lozenge], of which the angles are to the four main points of the compass, while the four sides lie cross-wise facing the intervening compass-points, all of which will be clearly understood if the accompanying figure drawn [on the margin of the manuscript], and which represents the outline of the province, be carefully considered. The frontier lands at these four angles of Fars are as follows: To the north the [province here] adjoins Isfahan, the frontier between Isfahan and Fars being at Yazdikhwast, and then come Yazd, Abarquyah, and [on the other side] Sumayram. The eastern angle of Fars is towards Kirman, in the direction of Sirjan, the frontier being at Riidan. This place Rudan was originally in the Fars province, but in the reign of the late Sultan Alp Arslan, when the frontier came to be re-established between Fars and Kirman, at the time that Qavurd [his brother was made governor of Fars], Rudan was then counted as of Kirman. The angle to the south lies on the seashore at the frontier of Kirman,

<sup>1</sup> This figure of a lozenge is wanting in both manuscripts.

and the districts of Huzu are at this place; and next comes the Sif [or Coast District] lying along the sea. The western angle of Fars is towards Khiizistan, in the direction of the Sea of 'Oman, the frontier being near Arrajan [which should of right be counted] as of the province of Fars. However, at the time when [the Buyid prince] Bakalijar<sup>1</sup> was driven from his kingdom, the governor of that district was a certain Wazir, Abu-l-'Ala by name, and he, making common cause with Hazfir Asp<sup>2</sup> [the chief of that frontier], delivered over Arrajan into his hands. Hence it has come about that since the time when Khiizistan [about 443 (1051)] on the first establishment of the present [Saljuq] dynasty, was placed under the governorship of Hazar Asp, Arrajan has been included in the Khuzistan province.

*Description of the Kurahs [Districts] of Fars.*—The province of Fars contains five [Districts or] Kurahs, and each Kurah is called after the name of the king who first established it; these districts therefore stand thus: the Istakhr Kurah, that of Darabjird, that of Ardashir Khurah,<sup>3</sup> of Shapur Khurah, and of Qubad Khurah; and each one of these five Kurahs contains various cities and sub-districts, as will be fully detailed in what follows.

#### THE ISTAKHR DISTRICT

The name of this district is from [the capital, Persepolis] Istakhr, which same was the first city to be built in Fars, and it was founded by [the mythical king] Kayumarth. The Kurah extends over a total area of 50 leagues in the

<sup>1</sup> In the manuscript, as already said, spelt thus and alternatively Bakalijar. See Introduction, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Hazar Asp ibn Banklir ibn 'Iyad Taj-al-Mulk (Ibn-al-Athlir, ix, 392).

<sup>3</sup> Always written in the MS. *khurah*, the Arabic form being *hhurrah*, meaning " the Glory " of Ardashir, Shapur, and Qubad. As a matter of fact only these three last Kurahs bear the names of kings. The five Kurahs are those given by Istakhr! (p. 97) except that he calls Qubad Khurrah the Kurah of Arrajan.

breadth by 50 in length. Its frontiers in the length are at Yazd [on the east] and at Hazar Dirakht ["the Thousand Trees," on the west],<sup>1</sup> and in the breadth extend from Quhistan<sup>2</sup> to Nayriz. The chief cities of the Kurah are the following.

*Yazd*.—This city, with its dependent towns May bud, NayJn, Kathah [Old Yazd], and Fahraj, with some others, belongs to Fars, and it lies on the frontier of the Istakhr Kurah. Yazd has its water from underground channels [*kariz*]; its climate is temperate, but by reason that the city stands on the border of the [Great] Desert, it is at times hot. Fruits of all kinds grow well, and pomegranates are in greater abundance here than anywhere else, those of May bud being the best in quality. In Fahraj the water-melons are excellent, sweet, and so large that two of them are a load for any beast.<sup>3</sup> In the districts round silk is produced, for the mulberry-tree here is abundant. Further, they manufacture excellent cloths in brocade, also of the kind named *viushti*, *farakh*\* and the like, for in [Yazd] they rear goats only, no sheep, and the hair from these is very strong. The people [of Yazd] are all of the Sunni sect, orthodox, pious, and strict [in religious observance]. The coin in use here is known as

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have, probably in error, Hazar va Dirakht, "Thousand and a Tree." The place named is possibly connected with Hazar, chief town of the Hazar District, with a mosque (*minbar*) mentioned by Istakhri, p. 102 (also p. 123, l. 1, where *IlarCit* in the text is in error for Hazar), and IH. 182, 194. Muqaddasi (p. 458) writes the name Azar Sabur, in Qudamah (p. 196) it is given as Nay Sabur. The present village of Hazar lies 2½ leagues south-east of Bayda (FNN. 185), which agrees with the Itineraries (1st. 132, IH. 201, Muq. 458), where it is placed half-way between May in and Shlraz.

- The village near Isfidan, see next page.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. here has a hole in the paper: text completed from Hafiz Abru (India Office MS., fol. 76a, B.M. 86a).

<sup>4</sup> *Mushtl* is mentioned in Muqaddasi (p. 323) as the name of a stuff made in Nishapur. De Goeje (*Glossary*, BOA. iv, 355) explains that the name came from the instrument (*musht*) used in its manufacture. What the *farakh* stuff was is uncertain; possibly we should read *faraji*, given in the dictionaries as the name of a garment worn by Shaykhs.

the Arnirl gold piece, and three of these dinars go to the red dinar.<sup>1</sup>

*Greater and Lesser Urd.*—A meadow-land, 30 leagues in length by 3 in breadth. In this meadow-land there are districts that are full of villages with fiefs paying the state and the land taxes.<sup>2</sup> The chief town of those districts is Bajjah.<sup>3</sup> The climate here is extremely cold, hence there are neither trees nor gardens. Both in the plain and in the hills around are many springs. In this district also is a village [called *Kushk-i-Zard*<sup>4</sup>], of the state-domains, and this is the frontier village of the district. All these places are most populous, and to this district also belong the villages of Dili Gawz, Abadah, and Shuristan.<sup>5</sup>

*Knrad and Kallar.*<sup>6</sup>—Kiirad is a small town, Kallar a large village; and a wide district lies round them, producing corn crops, for the climate here is very cold. There are running streams, and the source of the River Kur is in this district. It is most populous.

*Isfidan and Qui list an.*<sup>1</sup>—Both these places are much

<sup>1</sup> Namely, the "Abbasid dinar" of the Caliphate, worth about half a sovereign.

<sup>2</sup> *Mulkl iva kharaji.*

<sup>3</sup> The name Urd is no longer known. Bajjah, the chief town (or *Jaw mah*), is possibly Bazbachah, 5½ leagues north of Aspiis (FNN. 220, 1st. 103, Muq. 424). The word *Jawmah*, already referred to (p. 13), often written in the MSS., whether in error or not, *lfawmah*, is used in Ibn-al-Balkhl for "the chief town" of a district. In modern Persian *hum ah* is the district round a town, e.g. the *h Timah* of Shiraz (FNN. 190).

<sup>4</sup> MS. blank restored conjecturally from Hamd-Allah Mustawfi.

<sup>5</sup> Dih Gawz is modern Dih Girdii, "Nut Village" (FNN. 220). This Abadah is now known as "of Iqlid", to distinguish it from the village of the same name near Lake Bakhtigan (FNN. 108). Shuristan is modern Shulgistan (FNN. 168), which Jstakhr (p. 103) gives as Sarvistan, "Cypress Village."

<sup>6</sup> Kurad, according to the Itineraries, lay 5 leagues north of Kallar. Neither place now exists.

<sup>7</sup> Isfidan, which is not mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably the modern Isfadran (FNN. 221). Qiihistan, which generally means "a mountain district" or "the hill country", is here the name of a village, probably near Isfadran, but no longer to be found on the map. It is given above as on the western frontier.

like Kurad. The climate here is extremely cold; and in the neighbourhood there is a cavern in the mountain that can be used as a place of refuge.

*Yazdikhwast*.—This place, with Dili Gawz, Shuristan, Abadah [above mentioned], and other villages of these parts are all of the cold district, growing corn but no fruit. There are running streams and springs here, but at Shuristan ["the Salt Village "] the water is brackish.

*Khabraz and Sarvat*.—[Both these are] small towns, having many districts round them, of which they are the chief places. The climate here is cold but temperate; there are running streams and springs, and fruit of all kinds is grown plentifully. The district is populous, and in the chief town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.<sup>1</sup>

*Khabrak and Qall*.—Khabrak is a large village and Qall a meadow-land, some [5 or 6]<sup>2</sup> leagues in length. The climate here is cold but healthy; also there are hunting-grounds. Their water is from the river [Purvab], which is *very* wholesome. The district is populous, and near by is the village of Khuvar, the climate and water of which

<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion about these two places and the next two mentioned. Khabraz appears to be modern Khabriz, lying 3 leagues south-west of Arsinjan (FNN. 173). No village of Sarvat now exists, and the name is given by Istakhri (p. 103, also IH. 182) as Sarvab, and in the present MS. it is often written so that it might be read Purvab, the name of the river. Sarvat, however, is given below as near Kamah, modern Kanrin, hence it probably stood to the southward of modern Kalilak. The district round this, along the eastern bank of the Purvab River, was apparently the meadow land of Qall, a name that has disappeared from the map. This also is the case with Kfrabrik, but Khuvar near which it stood exists, as Qal'ah Khar (1 league to the south-east of Arsinjan), and Khabrak, given later in the MS. under the form Khafrak, must have been one of the chief villages of the Khafrak Districts, Upper and Lower, which are well known (FNN. 174, 300). The mosque for the Friday prayers so frequently mentioned [literally "congregational mosque and pulpit"; *jami' wa minbar*] is a phrase taken from Istakhri and other earlier Arab geographers who give long lists of towns with or without a *minbar* or "pulpit", to indicate their approximate importance and size.

<sup>2</sup> Added from Hafiz Abru, and see the previous note.

are as aforesaid, and here too there is a castle called Qal'ah Khuvar.

*May In.*—A small town in the hill country, lying at the foot of a pass, at a point where many roads meet. The climate is cold, and the water from running streams excellent. They have corn and fruit, but in no great quantities. Most of the people here are thieves and robbers.

*Abarqiiyah.*—Abarqiiyah is a small town, with a broad district round it, having a temperate climate, somewhat cooler than that of Yazd. Its water is from running streams partly, and in part from underground channels. There are corn-lands, and much fruit is grown. It is a pleasant place, with an invigorating climate, but other-crops [beyond those above mentioned] do not grow here. The town is populous, and there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Iqlld.*—A small town, with a fortress; also a mosque for the Friday prayers. The climate is cool, for it lies in the cold country, and is both temperate and invigorating. The water is good, being from running streams. Fruits of all kinds are cultivated here, and there are corn-lands, but no other crops are grown. The place is very populous.<sup>1</sup>

*Surmaq and Arjuvidn.*—[Both are] small towns, with their districts, that resemble in every way Iqlld. They also grow here apricots : the equal thereof for excellence and sweetness will not be found anywhere else in all the world, and the dried apricots from this place are exported to other lands. The district is very populous.

*Run Greater and Lesser*—These are meadow-lands,

<sup>1</sup> MayIn, Abarqiiyah, now called Abarquh, and Iqlld are all well-known places ; so too Surmaq and Arjuman, now written Silрмаq and Arguman (FNN. 169, 171, 291). In the text of Istakhri (p. 101) Arjuman is wrongly given as Arkhuman or Urkhuman (variant here right). Our Paris MS. gives U.rjiln or Uzjan, in error, which must not be mistaken for Uzjan of Yaqt, i, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Run District is no longer found on the map, but its position north of MayIn is confirmed by the Itinerary. It is not the modern Rivin (spelt the same) of FNN. 272, which lay in Kuh Giluyah.

16 leagues in length by 2 in width. There are many districts among these meadows, where are fiefs and crown lands<sup>1</sup>; and the chief town lies among gardens. The climate is cold, their water is from springs, and they have hardly any fruit, nothing being grown except corn. You go from here to the pass above Mayln, a fearful road, by reason of the footpads, who infest all the villages of that district.

*Kamfirfoz.*<sup>2</sup>—A district lying on the banks of [the River Kur]. There is here a great forest of oak-trees, with medlars and willows. Lions are met with in great numbers, very fierce and bold, and in no other place [in Fars] are they so numerous. The climate is cold, but temperate, and they get their water from the river [Kur], which is excellent and digestible. The chief town of the district is [Tlr Mayijan],<sup>3</sup> but most of its villages are now in ruin.

*Kamah, Fdruq, and Lasira.*<sup>4</sup>—[Three] small towns, with many villages and their districts. The climate here is cold but temperate. There are many fine running streams, and much fruit of all kinds is grown. Hunting-grounds abound near by. All the district is populous, and in the chief town is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Sahah and Marah?*—Two small towns; the climate here is temperate, but running streams are scarce. In Sahah they get iron, and of the steel make swords and other blades, which [after the name of the town] are

<sup>1</sup> *Iqta'i wa tea mulkh*

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 250. The chief town of the district, now, is called PalangarT.

<sup>3</sup> Blank : see Itinerary, Istakhri does not mention its chief town.

<sup>4</sup> Kamah town is probably the present Kalilak, the capital of the Kamm District: Faruq exists, in the Upper Khafrak District; but Lasira, or Basira (as the name is spelt later), is no longer to be found on the map (FNN. 260, 300).

<sup>5</sup> Sahah is modern Chahak, as further shown by the name of the ChahakI swords. Harat, as the name is written in the Arab geographers, also exists (FNN. 181, 301),

called Chahaki. Both these towns are populous, each having a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Bavvan and Marvast*.<sup>1</sup>—Bavvan is a small town, with a mosque for Friday prayers ; and Mar vast is like it. There are fruit orchards, so extensive that their trees make a forest. These two towns lie near the districts of Kirman. The climate is temperate, and there are running streams ; also, both places are very populous.

*Abraj*—A large village lying at the foot of a hill. This hill is their sure refuge, and they have dug their houses, [building them] one above another in its flank. An abundant stream flows down from its summit, and the water for the whole district is taken from this.

*Ixtakhr*<sup>3</sup> and *Marvdasht*.—Istakhr in the days of the ancient Persian kings was their capital. It was, in fact, first founded by Kayumarth, and after him each king on his accession added something to the city, more especially Tahmurath, who built here many palaces. When Jamshid came to be king of [Persia and] the whole world, he made Istakhr such an enormous city that its limits extended from Ilafrak or Khafrak [on the east] to the further parts of Ramjird [on the west], its area measuring 4 leagues in length by 10 in breadth. Within the circuit of the city there were three castles, one Qal'ah

<sup>1</sup> Bavvan (not to be confused with the valley of Bavvan, mentioned below) was the chief town of the district still known as the Bavvanat. Of this the capital now is Suriyan, but Bavvan town is more probably to be identified with modern Muzayjan, which in the Arab geographers is spelt Murayzijan (FNN. 181, 1st. 101, Aluq. 424). The *town*, of Marvast must not be confounded with the Marvdasht district, as is too often the case in the MSS. The town exists (FNN. 801) ; and it is probably the place mentioned by Istakhii (p. 102), where for *Maruxf* in the text we should read the variant Marust or Marvast given in the note. (In BGA. iv, 390, the emendation that this should be read *Marudasht* is certainly in error.) Neither Marvdasht district nor Marvast town is mentioned by any of the other Arab geographers.

<sup>2</sup> Abraj is now the name of the district of which the chief town is Dashtak (FNN. 170).

<sup>3</sup> Persepolis (FNN. 293).

Istakhr, the second Qal'ah Snikastah [the Broken Castle], and the third Qal'ah Shakanvan. These were known as the Three Domes.<sup>1</sup> Next he built a palace at the foot of the hill, the equal of which was not to be found in the whole world; and the description thereof is after this wise. At the foot of the hill [north of Istakhr] Jamshid laid out a platform of solid stone that was black in colour, the platform being four-sided, one side against the hill foot and the other three sides towards the plain, and the height of the platform was on all sides 30 ells. In the fore-face thereof he built two stairways, so easy of ascent that horsemen could ride up without difficulty. Then upon the platform he erected columns of solid blocks in white stone, so finely worked that even in wood it might be impossible to make the like by turner's art or by carving; and these columns were very tall. Some were after one pattern, while others were differently carved; and among the rest there were two pillars in particular which stood before the threshold [of the palace], these being square in shape, and formed of a white stone that resembled marble. Nowhere else in all the province of Fars is any stone like this found, and no one knows whence these blocks were brought. This stone is [a stiptic] for wounds, hence they break off pieces thereof, and when any one has received a hurt they file some piece of the stone down, and laying [the powder] on the wound it forthwith is staunch. The wonder is however these great stones were set up here, for each pillar measures more than 30 ells round and about, being also more than 40 ells in height; and each is built up of only two or [at most] three blocks. Further, there is

<sup>1</sup> *Sih Ounhaddn*.—At fol. 156 of the MS. the author writes that in the castle of Istakhr Jamshid kept his treasury [*khazdnah*], in the castle of Shikastah his storehouse [*farrash-khanah*'], and in the castle of Shakanvan he established his armoury [*zarrdd-khanah*]. This last name is sometimes written Shankavan.

to be seen here the figure of [the steed] Buraq,<sup>1</sup> and the figure is after this fashion : the face is as the face of a man with a beard and curly hair, with a crown set on the head, but the body, with the fore and hind legs, are those of a bull, and the tail is a bull's tail. Now all these columns had borne originally upper stories erected on their summits, but of these buildings no trace now remains. Round and about lie mounds of clay, and the people going up there dig out this clay and wash it; and they find in among the clay Indian tutty,<sup>2</sup> which same is a medicament for the eyes ; but no one knows how this has here come to be mixed up with the clay. In Istakhr everywhere and about may be seen the sculptured portrait of Jamshid, [and he is represented] as a powerful man with a well-grown beard, a handsome face, and curly hair. In many places his likeness has been so set that he faces [south to] the sun. In one hand he holds a staff, and in the other a censer, in which incense is burning, and he is worshipping the sun. In other places he is represented with his left hand grasping the neck of a lion, or else seizing a wild ass by the head, or again he is taking a unicorn [or rhinoceros] by the horn, while in his right hand he holds a hunting-knife, which he has plunged into the belly of the lion or unicorn aforesaid. In the hill [above Istakhr] they have made a hot-bath, cutting tanks in the solid rock; and the water which flows into these tanks from the sides and the ceilings is from a natural hot spring, which goes to prove that the source of the water lies in a sulphur-bed. On the hill-summit [beyond Istakhr] are many great Dakhmahs,<sup>3</sup> to which the people have given the name of the Prison of the Wind.

<sup>1</sup> On which the Prophet Muhammad made his Night Journey to Heaven. See Quran, eh. xvii, where, however, the name of the steed is not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Tutty, which is crude zinc oxide, is found in many parts of Persia.

<sup>3</sup> So-called Towers of Silence, where the dead were exposed by the Guebres.

The Marvdasht District<sup>1</sup> in part was built over by the houses of the city [of Istakhr], but the greater portion was occupied by the gardens of Jamshld's palaces. The River Purvab is the celebrated stream that flows past Istakhr and through the Marvdasht district; its waters are wholesome to drink. The climate of Istakhr is cold but temperate, and resembles that of Isfahan. In the early days of Islam when Istakhr was first conquered [by the Arabs], once and twice even the people revolted treacherously, which led to a massacre of the inhabitants, as has been already mentioned in the first [historical] part of the present work, and the city was laid in ruins. Then long after this, in the latter part of the reign of Bakalijar [the Buyid], there was a certain Wazir who, being at enmity with another [noble], set out to contend with him. Upon this the Amir Qutulmish<sup>2</sup> came up with a [third] army, and they [fought], demolishing all that remained of [ancient] Istakhr, and pillaged the whole township. Wherefore at the present time Istakhr is become a mere village, with only a hundred men for population. The River Kur [as already said] flows through [the plain of] Marvdasht; its source is near Kallar, and it flows out into Lake Bakhtigan, the description of which will come in its proper place. Near Istakhr is seen the mountain of Nafasht, on which was preserved the Book of Zand,<sup>3</sup> which [the prophet] Zoroaster revealed.

*Ramjird.*<sup>4</sup>—A district lying on the banks of the [Kur]

<sup>1</sup> FNN. 293, but, as already said (note to p. 25), not mentioned by the Arab geographers.

- The Amir Qutulmish, surnamed Shahab-ad-ftawlah, was the son of an uncle of Tughrul Beg. He was the contemporary and rival of Sultan Alp Arslan, and died in 456 (1064). (Ibn-al-Athir, x, 23, 24.) He was the ancestor of the later Saljiq Sultans who ruled in Qunyah (Iconium).

<sup>3</sup> This mountain and its connexion with the revelation of the Zand Avesta does not appear to be mentioned by any other authority. No Arab geographer seems to have noticed the name, and nothing about it is given by F. Rosenberg in his translation of the *Zaratuah Namah* (Le Livre de Zoroastre, St. Petersburg, 1904).

<sup>4</sup> FNN. 214.

River. In this part of the stream they had in former days erected a dam in order to secure a sufficiency of water to irrigate the lands, but in the times of disorder [when the Arabs overran Persia] this dam fell to ruin, and all the district of Ramjird went out of cultivation. In recent years the Atabeg Chauli has rebuilt this dam, and tile country round has again been brought under cultivation. This dam is named [after the Atabeg whose surname is Fakhr-ad-Dawlah] the Fakhristan. The climate of the district is cold but temperate, and there are corn-lands giving abundant crops, but no fruit is grown.

*Qutruh*.<sup>1</sup>—A small town with a temperate climate. There are running streams, and both corn and fruit are grown. It is now under the rule of Uasuyah.<sup>2</sup> There are iron-mines here, and the district is populous.

*Khayrah and Nayriz?*—These are two small towns, and Nayriz possesses a castle. They grow grapes here abundantly, and most of the grapes they dry to make raisins. The climate is temperate, and there are running streams. In each town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers, for they are very populous. Near by is the district governed by Hasfiyah, and in Khayrah there is a very strongly fortified castle<sup>4</sup> on a hill-top.

*Upper and Lower KirbalJ\**—[In these districts] they have built three dams across the Kur River, whose waters serve to irrigate their lands. Of these districts parts are of the hot region, parts of the cold, and there are corn-lands.

*Baydd?*—A small but well-built town, and the soil here

<sup>1</sup> FNN. 308. Now spelt Qatrii.

<sup>2</sup> Chief of the Isma'III tribe; see Introduction, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Khayrah, a stage in the Itineraries, must have been the chief hamlet of the Khlr district, which lies on the south of Lake Bakhtigan to the north of Istahbanat (FNN. 178 and 199). Nayriz, now pronounced Nirlz, is a town and district to the east of the lake (FNN. 305).

<sup>4</sup> Tir-i-Khuda.; see below.

<sup>5</sup> FNN. 250.

<sup>6</sup> Now called the Hill of Bayda, *Tall Bayda* in Arabic meaning "the White Hill" (FNN. 183). The name is pronounced Bayza by the Persians.

is white, and it is from this fact that the place has its name. Before the gate of the town there stretches out a fine meadow-land, 10 leagues in length by 10 leagues in width, and in all the country round there is none other to equal it. There are many dependent districts, and the fruit grown here is excellent, being of all kinds. The climate is cold but temperate, and running streams of good water abound. The town is populous, with a mosque for the Friday prayers. In the neighbourhood of Bayda lie the two [villages of] Ash and Tur.<sup>1</sup>

*Abadah*<sup>2</sup>—A small town, having a strongly fortified castle. The climate is temperate, and its water is derived from the overflow of the Kur River, for near by lies the lake [of Bakhtigan]. Grapes in abundance grow here. The district [governed by] Hasuyah is near here, and it is very populous.

*Khtirramah?* — A small but pleasant town, with a temperate climate and running streams. Fruit and corn grow abundantly. There is a castle here, on the hill-top, which is very strongly fortified and known as Qal'ah Khurramah; in the town is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Dili Murd and Radan*<sup>4</sup> Two villages lying at no great distance from Bavvan. The climate is cold, and in the first-named village myrtles grow abundantly.

<sup>1</sup> Neither appears to exist at the present day; cf. Itinerary for their position.

<sup>2</sup> The southern Abadah, now known as Abadah Tashk (FNN. 170).

<sup>3</sup> Now called Khirramah (FNN. 257).

<sup>4</sup> Dih Murd, which still exists (FNN. 170), is called in Arabic Qariyat-al-As, both names signifying "Myrtle Village"; and it was known to the earlier geographers also as Budanjan. Riidan, or Radhan, is mentioned by Istakhri (p. 102) as a village with no mosque for the Friday prayer. Muqaddasi (p. 457) gives it as lying between Harat and Shahr-i-Biibak, one stage from either place; it no longer appears to be marked on the map. Radan must not be confounded with Rudan, on the eastern frontier of Fars.

## CHAPTER II

### THE DARABJIRD DISTRICT

THIS district<sup>1</sup> takes its name from Dara [Darius] the Great, son of King Bahman ibu Isfandiyar.

*Darabjird.*<sup>2</sup>—This city was founded by Dara, son of Bahman. It was built circular as though the line of circumference had been drawn with compasses. A strong fortress stood in the centre of the town, surrounded by a ditch kept full of water, and the fortress had four gates. But now the town lies all in ruins, and nought remains except the wall and the ditch. The climate here is that of the hot region, and there are date-palms. The streams of running water are of bad quality. A kind of bitumen [*inwmiya*] is found [near Darabjird] at a place up in the mountain, which bubbles up and falls drop by drop. Also there is a rock-salt found in these parts which is of seven colours where it comes to the surface of the ground.

*Purg and Tdrum?*—Two small towns, of which Purg is the larger, where there is a strong castle. Both towns lie on the frontier of Kirman, and they are of the hot region,

<sup>1</sup> The Darabjird District is named by Hamd-Allah Mustawfi the Province of Shabankarah, being called thus after the Kurdish tribe whose history has been given in the Introduction, p. 9. At the present day the district no longer bears this name ; and Shabankarah, now, is the name of a small sub-district, on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the Shapur River, one of thirteen included in the district of Dashtisttin. (FNN. 209, 224.)

<sup>2</sup> Modern Darab (FNN. 199, 201).

<sup>3</sup> Now Furg and Tarum (FNN. 217, 218). Spelt with dotted T.

whereby the dates and raisin-syrup [*dushab*] consumed in that region for the most part come from here. Indeed, the whole revenue from hence is derived from [the tax on] dates and corn. They also weave excellently here by hand-loom. In both towns there is a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the [celebrated basin called] Pharaoh's Cup<sup>1</sup> is to be seen near here.

*Basel.*<sup>2</sup>—This is a great city that was founded by King Bahinan, father of Dara [Darius]. It was formerly as large in area as Isfahan, but now is gone to decay, so that the most part lies in ruin. It has many dependencies and districts. Their water is entirely obtained from underground channels, for there are neither springs nor brooks. The climate is temperate and bracing, the place being very pleasant and good to live in. The products of both the hot and the cold regions are to be found here, so that in all the gardens of Pasa you will find nuts and oranges, citrons and grapes, with tigs and the like, namely, tropical fruits, together with those of the north, all in abundance. Indeed, there is no place equal to this elsewhere. There is also a strong fortress in Pasa, which the Shabankarah had left in ruin, but which the Atabeg Chauli has rebuilt. Kurm and Runlz are of the dependencies of Pasa.

*Kurm and Rfmiz?*—These are two towns lying on the road into Pasa [from the north]. The climate is temperate; there are running streams; also in each town a mosque for the Friday prayer, and in both the districts corn and

<sup>1</sup> Presumably a tank for water.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Fasti (FNN. 229).

<sup>3</sup> Probably the village Kurm, which lies 3 leagues to the north of Fasa; but there is also Qasr Kurm, half a league to the south-east of Fasa, which is known likewise as Kushk-i-Qadl, "the Judge's Kiosk," at the present day. Runlz, Upper and Lower, is the name of two villages lying 5 and 6 leagues to the north of Fasa (FNN. 237, 238). This Runlz is not to be confounded with the town of Runlz mentioned by the older Arab geographers, a name which may be read Rubanj (by a shifting of the diacritical points), and which lay half-way between Darabjird and Juwaym, being of the Khasu District (1st. 107, 1H. 183).

fruits are grown. In the time of one of the Atabegs, when misfortune had overwhelmed Purg, the people of [Kurm and Runiz] also behaved traitorously, on which [the Atabeg] took both towns by assault and laid them in ruin.

*Shaqq Riidbal* ["the River Gorge"] and *tshaqq Mishanan*.<sup>1</sup>—These are two districts of the dependencies of Pasa. They are of the hot region, and corn is grown here, the water being from underground channels. There are many villages and farmsteads, but no town here. Now in these parts are many other districts like the above, but which will not here be more particularly described, lest we run to too great a length, and all are alike one to another.

*Hasti, Dardhun, Miiss, and Rustaq-ar-Rustaq*.<sup>2</sup>—All these places are of the Darabjird District and have a hot climate. The date-palm grows here, for there are running streams; also other fruit-trees abound. The [pass called] Tang-i-Ranbah<sup>3</sup> lies near here, and in the middle of the pass stands a strongly fortified castle, which was formerly held by Ibrahim ibu Mama.<sup>4</sup> It is now garrisoned by the Kirman troops.

<sup>1</sup> In Istakhri (109) *Shaqqar-Riid* and *Shaqq-al-Masnan*. The latter is now unknown, but the first of these districts is probably at the present day represented by the *Sahra-i-Rud*, "the plain along the river," through which the River Rudbar flows (FNN. 238, 326).

<sup>2</sup> The name of the district of Ilasu is now written *Khasu*, with *lch* as is found in Muqaddasi (423). Istakhri (108) spells it *Hashuwa* (see FNN. 202, where, besides the district, the village of *Khasu* is also mentioned). There is probably some connexion between the name of this district of *Hasu* and *Hasuyah*, the *Shabankarah* chief, often mentioned in the foregoing articles, and in the Introduction. *Darakan*, which was once the capital of the province, according to the Itinerary given in *Hamd-Allah Mnstawfi*, lay 4 leagues south of *Ij*. All traces of its ruins apparently have disappeared, but at the place indicated there is now the village of *Darakuh*, lying 10 leagues east of *Fasa* (FNN. 238 and Persian map). *Mass* or *Miss* is not to be found on the map, but is mentioned by the Arab geographers (1st. 107, Muq. 423), who, however, do not give us its position. *Rustaq-ar-Rustaq* exists some 4 leagues north of *Furg* (FNN. 219).

<sup>3</sup> See below under Castles.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction, p. 11.

*Ij and Fustajan.*<sup>1</sup>—The [first town, otherwise called] Ig, was in former times a mere village, but under the rule of Ilasuyah it became a city. Its climate is temperate, but the water here is indigestible. Fruit is in plenty, more especially grapes. There is a mosque for the Friday prayers [in Ij]. Wayshkan<sup>2</sup> is a small town, now in ruins, with a bracing climate, though it lacks for water.

*Ixtahban?*—A small town full of trees such as bear every kind of fruit. It has running streams, and there is a castle here, that is very strongly fortified, and was formerly in the hands of Ilasuyah.

*Jahram*—A medium-sized town, neither large nor small. There are corn-lands here, and much cotton is grown, which is also exported. *Kirbds* [a kind of muslin] too comes from here, and the [celebrated] Jahrami blankets [*zilu*] are woven in this town. The climate is that of the hot region, and water is from both underground channels and from running brooks. There is a castle here called [Khurshah],<sup>5</sup> very strongly built, and he from whom this castle took its name was a certain Arab, of the time of [the Omayyad viceroy] Hajjaj, and this [Khurshah] built the fortress. [Fadluyah of the] Shabankarah<sup>6</sup> rebelled in this castle, but Nizam-al-Mulk laid siege to the place, taking it by assault. At the time when Persia [was conquered by the first Caliphs]<sup>7</sup> this town of Jahram was accounted especially to belong to the heir-apparent [of the Persian Chosroes], hence he who was declared heir to the throne, was held nominally to be the Governor of Jahram.

<sup>1</sup> Ij still exists (FNN. 178), but Fustajan is wanting on the map. According to the Itinerary it lay 7 leagues from Pasa and 10 leagues from Darabjird.

<sup>2</sup> Not mentioned by other geographers and wanting on Persian maps and in FNN.

<sup>3</sup> Now called Istahbanat (FNN. 175).

<sup>4</sup> FNN. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Name omitted, see below, under Castles.

<sup>6</sup> See Introduction, p. 10. The name is omitted in the text.

<sup>7</sup> Blank in MS. Filled in from Hatiz Abru.

*Mishkanat*<sup>1</sup>—A district near Nayriz, and the road going through it leads to Nayriz. It is in every way like to Nayriz and K hay rah [which are of the Istakhr Kurah], though Mishkanat belongs by all accounts to the Darabjird Kurah.

*Juwaym of Abu Ahmad*.<sup>2</sup>—This is of the Irahistan District, of which indeed it is the *Jawmah* [or chief town. Further, though this last district is counted as of Ardashir Khurah, Juwaym] is of the Darabjird Kurah. It is of the hot region, and its water comes from underground channels and from wells. Dates and corn are grown here, and *Jcirbds* [muslin] is manufactured. There is a castle here, known as Qal'ah Samiran,<sup>3</sup> and the town has a mosque for Friday prayers. The people, like all the rest of the men of Irahistan, are a warlike folk, being for the most part noted as footpads, thieves, and highwaymen.

#### THE ARDASHIR KHURAH DISTRICT

This district takes its name of Ardashir Khurah—"the Glory of King Ardashir"—from Ardashir the son of Babak [founder of the Sassanian dynasty]; and he began his reign by building the city of Firuzabad, as has been already mentioned [in the historical portion of our work]. The cities and sub-districts of this Kurah are as follows.

*Shiraz and its Districts*.—In the days of the [older] Persian kings, where Shiraz now stands was but [a townless] district with some forts lying in the open countryside. After the [Arab invasion and] the establishment of Islam, the place remained in the same desolate

<sup>1</sup> Mishkan or Mishkun is a village lying 8 leagues north of Nlriz (FNN. 308). See Lstakhrī, 109, note *e*, for variants. Muqaddasi (422) has Maskanat.

<sup>2</sup> So called to distinguish it from the other Juwaym lying north-west of Shiraz. The name is now pronounced Juyum (FNN. 182, 186).

<sup>3</sup> See below under Castles.

state till the reign of [the Omayyad Caliph] 'Abd-al-Malik [65-86 (685-705)], who appointed Hajjaj ibn Yusuf his viceroy in these lands. Hajjaj thereupon sent his own brother, Muhammad ibu Yusuf, to act as his lieutenant in Fars, of which he became later the permanent governor, and it was this Muhammad who laid the foundations of Shiraz. The original extent of Shiraz was equal to that of Isfahan, and they even say that Shiraz was a hundred paces the greater [in length]; but now the city all lies in ruins, and except for one or two quarters all the older part has disappeared. But during the times of the Buyid rule [fourth (tenth) century] it had come to be so densely populated that there was no room within the city for the garrison of [Daylamite] soldiers, for which reason 'Adud-ad-Dawlah established a place for them outside Shiraz, to which he gave the name of Gird Fana Khusru.<sup>1</sup> Here he laid out most excellent market streets, of which the rents<sup>2</sup> for the shops amounted to 16,000 dinars [yearly, about £8,000], which sum was paid into his treasury. The place, however, has now so gone to ruin that the area of Gird Fana Khusru is at present merely a ploughed field, which yields a crop valued at 250 dinars [yearly]. The actual rent that it pays, however, is never more than one hundred and odd dinars, and the remainder of the site is of but small value, the rent being less. The climate of Shiraz is cold but temperate, like that of Isfahan. The water comes

<sup>1</sup> Meaning "the Township of Fana Khusru", 'Adud-ad-Dawlah's personal name. The site lies at a short distance to the south-east of Shiraz, at a village still known as Shib-i-Buzar-i-'Adud-al-I'awlah, "the slope or glen of 'Adud's Market"; also called Qura-al-Asafil, "the Lower Villages" (FNN. 194).

<sup>2</sup> The word used is *tayydrdt*, not found in this sense in the dictionaries. It means literally "flyings", that is to say "extra revenues", "surplus income", and is used in the *Shams-i-Qays*, p. 11\*, line 10—a work written in 630 (1232)—with much the same signification. See also note by C. Huart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1910, p. 370, on this word.

in part from the river and in part is from underground channels. The fruit here is most excellent, and of all sorts and kinds. The people of Shiraz are a turbulent folk and valiant. The [Buyid prince] 'Adud-ad-Dawlah had built himself a palace [in the city], with many fine gardens ; but Abu Ghanim, the son of 'Amid-ad-Dawlah, when he took up his abode in the castle of Pahan-Diz,<sup>1</sup> laid the palace in ruins, carrying off the woodwork and the iron, which he made use of for the needs of the new castle [of Pahan-Diz]. In early days Shiraz had no town wall, but at the time when the present [Saljiq] dynasty was coming to power Bakalljar [the Buyid prince] caused stones to be cut, and with them built a strong wall that went all round and about the city. Of this wall the remains may still be seen. Then, again, during the latter days of the Buyid dynasty, when there was continual fighting between Qavurd [brother of Alp Arslan] and Fadliiyah [the Shabankarah chief], Shiraz was raided again and again, whereby all its lands were given to ruin, and so remained till the coming of the good times when [the Atabeg] Rukn-ad-Dawlah [Khumartagln]

<sup>1</sup> Pahan-Diz, "the Broad Fort," according to the *Far H Namah Nasi?-!*, crowns a pointed hill 300 ells in lieight, half a league to the east of Shiraz. The remains of brickwork may still be seen, and there is a well-shaft, nearly 4 ells across, cut in the rock, and going down to water at the hill base. The Sassanian king Shfruyah is said to have imprisoned seventeen of his brothers here, for this castle existed before the days of Islam ; and Yazdajird, the last of the Sassanians, kept some of his regalia here, and this treasure was found later by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah (PNN. 333). Ft is further stated in FNN. that the castle, which afterwards fell to complete ruin, had been in 327 (939) restored by the Buyid prince 'Imad-ad-Dawlah, that is to say, the uncle of 'Adud, but this is probably a mistake, 'Imad being put for 'Amid above-mentioned. Who this 'Amid-ad-Dawlah (father of Abu Ghanim) was is not very clear. Abu Ghanim is not to be found in Ibn-al-Athir, who, however, mentions two people of the name of 'Amid-ad-Dawlah: one (x, 23), also called 'Amid-al-Mulk, was the son of Fakhr-ad-Dawlah ibn Juhayr, the Wazlr of the Caliph Mustazhir in 488 (1095); the other (xi, 260), called Abu Sa'd ibn Muhammad, was Wazlr to Jalal-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, about the year 420 (1029).

was appointed governor, who knew how to restore matters to order, giving peace to the country, so that [houses were rebuilt] and the lands were again brought under cultivation. Later on, however, during a single year, the city was twice stormed during the troubles of successive Shabankarah insurrections, and then again it was ravaged by the Turks and the Turkomans, who carried off all that they could lay hands on, exacting a poll-tax also on every man of the inhabitants, so that they were absolutely brought to beggary. But there is hope now that by the power of the present [Saljiq] government—which may Allah perpetuate!—security will be permanently re-established, for Shiraz, indeed, is a city that is without equal when its population live in peace. The Friday mosque in Shiraz is a noble building, and then there is the Hospital [*bimdristan*] of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, though this is now fallen into disrepair. Again, there is the Library, which is very excellent. That portion of the city which is still inhabited stands under the protection and in the oversight of the family of the Chief Justice of Fars,<sup>1</sup> for he is of untiring effort to relieve the wants of the poor and needy of the city.

*Kavdr.*<sup>2</sup>—A small town, most pleasant to live in, having many dependent districts, where there are extensive orchards. Fruit here [is so abundant that it fetches] no price, though all the fruit grown here is of excellent condition. Especially so is the pomegranate, which is the equal of that which comes from Tihran, and there are good quinces, also almonds in abundance. Hence most of the provisions consumed in Shiraz and its district are brought thither from here. Further, they grow much corn, also both *kirbas* [muslin] and reed matting are made here. The climate is cold but temperate. They get their water from the River Thakan, and near by are excellent hunting-grounds. There is a mosque for the Friday prayers in

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 261.

this town; but the people are a rough folk and very thick-witted.

*Khabr.*<sup>1</sup>—This is a small town, somewhat larger than Kavar. Its climate is temperate and bracing; indeed, in all those parts nowhere is the air pleasanter. The water is very digestive, and as in the case at Pasa every fruit of both the hot and the cold region grows here. Thus the orange and the perfumed melon [called *xJiamdnuth*], the lemon, and diverse aromatics are all found abundantly, also corn-lands. There was here a very strongly fortified castle, but the Atabeg [Chaul] has laid it in ruins. Within the town there is a mosque for the Friday prayer. The people here are cleverer than those of Kavar. There are hunting-grounds near by, both in the hills and in the plain.

*Khnnayfqdn.*<sup>2</sup>—A large village lying at the head of the road going down into Flruzabad. The Persians pronounce the name Khunafgan, and the road from here to Flruzabad is an extremely bad one, across passes and by steep mountains where [the hand must ever] be on the bridle. The road was also a fearful one by reason of being beset by footpads. The climate of Khunayfqan is cold but temperate. The River Burazah, which is the stream that flows past Flruzabad, rises near by. The people of Khunayfqan have the evil character of all mountaineers, but at the present time under the sovereign [government of the Saljuqs] the roads, here as everywhere else, are now safe, and no one dare make any disorder.

*Bwshlu'iidJ*—A district that lies entirely in the hot region, where there are plantations of date-palms. Its

<sup>1</sup> Now called Khafr (FNN. 196).

<sup>2</sup> Now spelt Hunifqan, with the lesser *h* (FNN. 198).

<sup>3</sup> The text of Istakhrī (p. 105) in error gives this name as Tushkanat. The town of Bushgan is the present capital of the Buluk District, in old times doubtless called the Bushkanat; and Shanana of our text is the modern Sana in the Dashti District, lying 4 leagues to the north-west of Shambah (FNN. 212-13). See also below in the Itinerary.

lands are the camping-grounds of the Mas'iidi tribe of the Shabankarah.<sup>1</sup> There is no city here, but Bushkan and Shananan [or Sanana] are both of the Biishkanat District.

*Miihn [or Muhiid], Hamydn, and Kabrin*—These are all districts of the hot region, lying adjacent to the sea, on the coast of Irahistan. The climate here is hot and the water unwholesome; but there are many palm-groves, though nowhere here is there a town of sufficient size to possess a mosque for the Friday prayer.

*Karzin, Qlr, and Abzar*—Karzin is a fine town of no great size, but now in ruins by reason of the disorders [of the last Buyid days]. Qir and Abzar are two small towns belonging to Karzin. They are all of the hot region, and they take their water from the Thakan River; also there are many groves of the date-palm. In Karzin there is a strong castle, and to supply it with water they have constructed a syphon tube [*db-duzdi*] which goes down from the castle to the bed of the Thakan River. The [townships of] Harm and Kariyan<sup>4</sup> are of the dependencies of Karzin.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> It is a question whether, from the Persian text, three places or two are here mentioned. The names are not now to be found on the map, but the last name in the list may be identified with the modern Gabri, lying 17 leagues to the north-west of Gillah Dili\* (FNN. 200). Istakhri (p. 105, where many variants are noted) gives them as three separate places, none of which were large enough to possess a mosque for the Friday prayers. Milhii he gives under the form of Hamand or Hamid. Hamjan appears as Hajman or Hamhan. Kabrin or Klrin may be Klzrin or Kirzin, the equivalent of Kharzln, which lay one march distant from the well-known city of Karzin (and was not to be confounded therewith). Cf. I.H. 204, Muq. 450.

<sup>3</sup> All three famous in the times of the Arab geographers. Karzin is now merely a village, Qlr is a township, and Abzar town was probably at Nim Dih, the capital of the At'zar District, half a league east of Ab Garm (FNN. 179, 245, 240).

<sup>4</sup> The towns of Harm and Kariyan lie 7 and 6½ leagues respectively to the north-west of Bid Shahr (FNN. 182). Haram or Harm is probably identical with the stage which Muqaddasi calls Hurmuz, lying one march from Karzin. Istakhri, who also mentions this Hurmuz, says it had no Friday mosque, being but a small place (1st. 105, Muq. 456).

*Tawwaj*—This of old was a township of considerable size, and it was settled by a population of Arabs, for it lay in the hottest and most desert part of the hot region. But at the present day it lies in ruins, and of these Arab folk who peopled it in former times hardly any remain. [After the disappearance of these early inhabitants], however, 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, had brought hither a tribe of Syrian Arabs, settling them here, and at the present time such Arabs as are still found here are the descendants of this tribe. There are no running streams [in Tawwaj], but there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Mandistdar*—This is a desert region measuring 30 leagues in length by the like across, where there are many villages and districts like those found throughout Irahistan. This district lies along the sea-coast, and its crops are so fertile that one mann-weight of seed-corn produces a thousand-fold harvest. There is, however, no ground-water for irrigation, and they depend on the rains alone; for their supply. The people have their drinking-water from the tanks which they have made. All along this coast-region the rains should come in the beginning of winter, in the months of AzarrMah and D1-Mah [corresponding with November and December], and then they get for that year a magnificent crop, gaining much wealth. If, however, in those two aforesaid months no rain falls—even though it may come later, and in abundance during a subsequent month—then they get no good crops and the harvest is wanting.

*Siraf<sup>3</sup> and its Neighbourhood.*—Siraf in old times was a great city, very populous and full of merchandise, being

<sup>1</sup> Tawwaj, often mentioned by the Arab geographers, has left its name to the modern district of the coast-lands near the mouth of the Shapur River. The site of the town is probably to be identified with the present Dih Kuhnah (Old Village), the chief town of the (modern) Shabankarah sub-district of the Dashtistan District (FNN. 185, 209).

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 213.

<sup>3</sup> The ruins of Siraf exist at Bandar Tahir! (FNN. 224).

the port of call for caravans<sup>1</sup> and ships. Thus in the days of the [Abbasid] Caliphs it was a great emporium, for here might be found stores of 'attar [of roses] and aromatics such as camphor, aloes, sandal-wood, and the like. [For its merchants] immense sums of money were to be gained here, and so matters continued till the last days of the Buy id supremacy. Then, however, the ancestors of the present Amir Kaysh attained to power, and they got into their possession the Island of Qays<sup>2</sup> with the other neighbouring islands, whereby the revenue that had formerly been taken by Siraf was cut off\* and fell into the hands of the Amir Kaysh. Further, the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumartagin [when he had first been appointed governor of Fars] lacked power and statesmanship to provide a remedy for this state of affairs. None the less he did truly on one or two occasions proceed to Siraf with a view of building ships of war that should invade the Island of Qays and the other isles, but each time that he did so the Amir Kaysh sent presents to him and gave bribes to those persons who were about him, so that they dissuaded him from accomplishing his project. Next it came to pass that a certain one of the Khans [of Qays Island] named Abu-l-Qasim succeeded finally in getting possession of Siraf also, and then every year or two [Khumartagin] would dispatch an army thither with great effort [to make him evacuate Siraf], but he could accomplish nothing against him. Thus, therefore, as matters now stood, no merchant would bring his ship into the port of Siraf to refit, nor for shelter would any anchor there on the voyage to Rinnan from Mahruban or Dawraq or Basrah, wherefore no goods

<sup>1</sup> The phrase is *inanhra<sup>1</sup>' buriha wa kashtihd*, and for *burl*, a word not found in the dictionaries, Hafiz Abru has, in the corresponding passage, *karvanha*. The ordinary use of *buriya* or *buriyah* is for "matting".

- It is to be noted that here and elsewhere it would seem that Kaysh was the family name of the Amir of Qays Island.

but leather ware and pots,<sup>1</sup> and things that the people of Fars alone had need of, now passed by the road of Si rat', and thus the town fell to complete ruin. There is still here, however, a mosque for the Friday prayer, and there are many dependencies and outlying lands. The climate is excessively hot, and there is no water, except for one or two springs, wherefore they have always to depend on collecting the rainwater [in tanks] for drinking purposes.

*Ramm [or Zamm] Zavan, Dadhin, and Davrdn.*<sup>2</sup>—These are three districts of Ardashlr Khurah, all lying in the hot region, but with some parts within the hill country, where the climate is temperate, corn being grown here. These districts come between Kazirfm and Nawbanjan.

*Firiizdhid?*—This city was called Jur in ancient days, and the celebrated Juri roses came from here. In the times of the Kayani kings of old this was a mighty city with strong fortifications. Then when [Alexander the

<sup>1</sup> The text has *jurm wa zarufah*, and Hafiz Abru, in the corresponding passage, has *jurm-i-zarafah*, "the crimes of giraffes." For this it is proposed to read *charm*, "leather," and *znrafah* as plural of *zarf*, "a pot or vessel." But the reading must be faulty, and the translation is very uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> For Ramm or Zamm see Introduction, p. 13. Dadhin and Davvan are mentioned by Istakhn, p. 112. Pavan is still the name of a village lying 2½ leagues to the north of Kazirun, but neither Dadhin nor Ramm Zavan occurs on the map; and as regards the latter place there is some confusion in the spelling of the name. Its position is given in the Itinerary as lying half-way between (Jhundijan and Tawwaj, being 6 leagues distant from either place (and for the position of these two towns see below in the Itinerary). The name there is spelt Rawa-adh-Dhiwan, which is varied to Ramm-ad h - Phi wan in the list of the Kurdish Ramms (see Introduction, p. 13). Both these spellings, however, appear to be the Arabic form of the Persian Ramm Zavan (or Ravan possibly) given as a district and again below among the Castles. In the Arabic authorities there is much variety in the spelling by a shifting of the diacritical points. Istakhrī (98, 114, 145) mentions it as the Kurdish Ramm of which Al-Husayn ibn Salih was chief, and spells the name variously Rawa-adh-Dhlwan and Ramm-ad-PIwan. Again, Yaqut (ii, 821) gives it under the heading Ramm-az-Zizan.

<sup>3</sup> The ruins are now known as Kushk, "the Kiosk"; the older name **Jar** still lingering (FNN. 241).

Great] he of the Two Horns invaded Fars, at first, however much he tried, he could not succeed in taking this city. But there is near here a stream called the Burazah River, which flows at a high level, going by the mountain-slopes. This river Alexander turned from its course, throwing it against the city [walls], and he set his army round and about until at length they obtained possession. Now the city of Firuzabad stands in the midst of many gorges, and all around and about its circuit there are mountains, for the which cause all the roads that lead thither have to traverse the summits of divers passes. The [diverted] river therefore soon afterwards laid the city completely under water, for the gorges filled and became as a lake, seeing that the water could find no outlet. In this condition Flruzabad remained for many long years, the waters continually rising, until Ardashir the [founder of the Sassanian dynasty] came to the throne and began the conquest of the [eastern] world. And when he reached Flruzabad, he assembled together many engineers and sage persons in order to contrive a means of clearing away those waters. Now there was a great master among his engineers, whose name was Burazah.<sup>1</sup> With skill he contrived to bore [the beginning of] a tunnel to carry off the waters ; but first he set in the mountain side iron posts, each one like a column for size, attaching thereto huge and strong chains, and these posts were very firmly planted. Then he continued his tunnel through the flank of the mountain, he himself labouring with the workmen, until but a little part remained before the boring would get through. King Ardashir now was brought to be present, and Burazah the master engineer spoke, saying: " When I shall have pierced this tunnel through, the water will rush out with force, which would carry me away and also [carry away to destruction] those who are working at the boring with me. Therefore [for our safety] I have caused this great

<sup>1</sup> The name is clearly written in the MS. with all the vowels marked.

leathern sack to be made." In this Burazah and his many workmen now took their place, and it was firmly fastened to the great chains [above described], a great number of men being appointed to haul back with all their might on the chains as soon as the tunnel should come to be bored through. These therefore, in companies, sat down to the task. Then the portion that remained unbored of the tunnel was finally carried through. And the water now began to get power, drawing after it the sack in which the engineer Burazah and his company of workmen were sitting, and however much from above the people strained all their strength, it was of no avail, for the stream at last became so strong that it burst the chains asunder, [whereby Burazah and all his men perished]; and the remains of those chains are still to be seen on the mountain side. When therefore after this fashion the waters had been drawn off [King Ardashir] laid the foundations of Firuzabad as the city now exists; and its ground-plan is circular, even as though drawn with compasses. In the middle of the city, even as it were the centre point of the circle, they laid out and built a platform to which the name of Iran Girdah [or Ayvan Girdah, "the circular hall"] was given, and this the Arabs call *Tirbdl* ["the Tower"]. On the summit of the platform pavilions<sup>1</sup> were built, and in their midst a mighty dome, which was called Gunbad [Rinnan or Girman]. The four walls below this dome, up to the spring of the cupola, measured in height 75 ells, and these walls were built of blocks of stone. The cupola rising above this was built of kiln-burnt bricks. Water was brought hither from the top of a mountain, 1 league distant, and carried to the height [in tubes to make] a fountain. They dug also two tanks, one called *Bum Pir*, "the Old Owl," the other *Bum Javan*, "the Young Owl," and over each of these tanks

<sup>1</sup> The word used is *sayahd*, "shades, shadows," i.e. "shady places", in this sense not found in the dictionaries.

they built a tire-temple. The city [of Firuzabad] is most pleasant to live in and a place to see; also hunting grounds abound near by; the climate is temperate, bracing, and very agreeable. Luscious fruit in plenty and of all kinds is found here; also digestible water is abundant, for there are many running streams. They have built here too a mosque for the Friday prayers, also a fine hospital; and Sahib 'Adil<sup>1</sup> [the Wazir of the last Buyid prince] founded a very good Library here, the equal of which will be met with in no other place. The castle of Saharah stands in the neighbourhood of Firuzabad. The people of this city are a clever folk, accustomed to business and given to good works.

*Simkan and Hirak.*<sup>2</sup>—Simkan is a small town but most pleasant, and the wonder of the world, for this reason, that through its midst runs a river, spanned by a bridge, and in the one half of the city which stands on the hillside along this bank of the stream the climate is of the cold region. In this quarter there are only vineyards, producing such abundance of grapes that these fetch no price, so they [dry and] press them for the most part, making a condiment<sup>3</sup> thereof, while some being kept are left till a syrup is formed, which after boiling down, coagulates into a block that becomes hard as stone. These blocks [of grape-raisins] are made very large, and before one can eat of them they have to be soaked in two or three times their weight of water. Further, they are sold at a very cheap rate. And as to the quarter of the city which lies on the other side of the river, this is entirely of the hot region, where the

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Simkan is now the name of the district of which the chief city, doubtless older Simkan, is called Dizah. Hirak, or Habrak (for the reading is uncertain), is no longer to be found on the map. According to the Itinerary it stood half-way between Simkan (Dizah) and Karzin (FNN. 225).

<sup>3</sup> The terms used are 'asir, "squeezed" or "expressed", and 'allaqah, "hung up," that is, "cured," "preserve."

date-palm grows, also oranges, lemons, and the like. Hirak is a large village, where there is a much venerated shrine [*ribat*]. In Himkan there is a mosque, for the Friday prayer; the people here are [warlike, always] carrying arms.

*Maymand*.<sup>1</sup>—A small town of the hot region, where fruits of all kinds grow, especially most excellent grapes. There are running streams, and the climate is more temperate than in the other towns of the hot region. There is here a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Hatizir*.<sup>2</sup>—A district that lies entirely in the hot region, where the date-palm grows. There is no city here, and this district lies adjacent to Irahistan. Its people always go armed.

*Sarvistan and Kubanjan*.<sup>3</sup>—These are two towns that lie between Shiraz and Pasa. Their climate is like that of Shiraz. There are running streams and some few gardens, producing grapes and other fruits of the cold region. The hunting-grounds here are famous, especially the mountain region of Kubanjan. Near here is the Salt Lake [Namakistan],<sup>4</sup> where no fish or creature can exist for its saltness. Each town has a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the people here carry arms, being overbearing in their ways.

*The Sif [or Coast] Districts*.—These districts lie along the seashore. They are all of the hot region, and for the

<sup>1</sup> There is a Maymand to the east of Firuzabad (see FNN. 305). But possibly the chief town of the Na band District is intended, lying on the coast to the east of Sraf, as mentioned by Istakhri (p. 104). This is no longer to be found on the map.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. is clear, but there is doubt as to the reading. Istakhri (pp. 105 and 136) apparently mentions the same place under the spelling Jibrln. It is wanting on the map.

<sup>3</sup> Sarvistan exists and Kubanjan is presumably equivalent to the modern Kuhinjan (FNN. 221, 223). Yaqut (iv, 316) gives Kubanjan as "a village of the Shiraz (District)". Probably it is identical with al-Usbanjan, which Istakhri (p. 136) mentions, coupling it with Sarvistan.

<sup>4</sup> Not marked on the map.

most part the inhabitants are Arabs. The climate here is extremely unhealthy. The best-known of these coast districts are the two called respectively the Sif of the People of Abu Zuhayr and the 'Umarah Sif.<sup>1</sup> In neither district is there any town with a Friday mosque, and nothing is grown here but dates.

*Laghir and Kaharjan.*<sup>2</sup>—These are districts lying near Karzin. They are of the hot region, and the climate is unhealthy. Dates are grown here. The people are all highwaymen, and in neither district is there any town with a mosque for the Friday prayer.

*Kuran and Irahistan.*<sup>3</sup>—Both the Irahistan District and Kurau lie in the desert country, and Kuran is counted as of Siraf. Its climate is so extremely torrid that only men who are native-born can stay here by reason of this excessive heat during the summer. There are no running streams nor underground channels. Their corn-lands lack irrigation entirely, and no fruit is grown here excepting only dates. Further, in their plantations the date-palms do not stand on the level ground, for by reason of the lack of water, and that these may not perish from the drought, they dig in the soil a great trench, as deep down as the date-palm is high, and the palm-trees are planted in the bottom of this trench, so that only their very tops appear above the ground-level. Then during the winter these trenches are filled by the rains with water, [which sinks in], and so all the year round the palms get moisture. The dates

<sup>1</sup> From the accounts of the Arab geographers the Abu Zuhayr Coast lay near Siraf, while the 'Umarah Coast was opposite the Island of Qaj's. Neither name now is found on the map.

<sup>2</sup> The town of Laghir exists near the bend of the Thakan River, 6 leagues north-west of Khunj (FNN. 198). Kaharjan is no longer to be found, but IstakhrI mentions it as upon the Thakan River (which he calls the Shadkiin), Kaharjan coming below Naband and above Dasht Dastaqan on the sea-coast (1st. 106, IH. 191).

<sup>3</sup> Neither Kurau nor the Irahistan District is to be found on the present map. Kuran, however, is given in the Itineraries as situated 8 leagues from Laghir and four days march from Siraf.

are of rare excellence. Hence it is a saying "Where is it that the date-palms grow in a pit?" and the answer is "In Irahistan". In this country near every village there stands out in the desert a fort, for all the people here are footpads, and everyone carries arms seeing that each man seeks to rob his neighbour and to shed his blood. When a man here is about to go out as highwayman he will take threshed corn, with some dry bread crumbled, in a wallet, and in a night and a day will cover 20 leagues of the road, and so accomplish his villainy. Further, the people here are always in revolt against the Government, since no army can stay in these parts for more than the three months of the springtime, for they cannot hold out the winter here by reason of the rains, with the consequent lack of fodder [for their beasts], nor during the summer by reason of the heat. Nevertheless, in the days of the Buyid supremacy they were brought under subjection, and for a time forced to obey authority; and during the reign of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah 10,000 of their men served in his army as soldiers. Their chief at this time was one of the name of JIabl<sup>1</sup>. Then after the days of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah they again revolted, and none of them could be got to pay any tribute until recently, indeed, when the Atabeg Chaull by force of arms has become master in their territories.

*Najiram and Hurashi.*<sup>2</sup>—Najiram is a small town and Hurashi a village, both being of the dependencies of Siraf, and lying in the very hot region.

*Huzu and Sdviyah.*<sup>3</sup>—These, with some other districts,

<sup>1</sup> The Paris MS. gives the name as Jabi; the corresponding passage in Hafiz Abrii has Jani; he is apparently not mentioned by Ibn-al-Athir.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt Hushi for the second time, and Khurashi in the Paris MS. It is not mentioned by the Arab geographers. Najiram, according to Istakhri (p. 34), lay to the north of Siraf. Neither names now occur on the map, but Najiram is probably identical with the present harbour of Bandar Dayyur in the Dasht District (FNN. 217).

<sup>3</sup> Huzu is probably the modern Chiru, in the Shib Kuh sub-district of Laristan, lying 10 leagues west of Charuk. In Istakhri (p. 163) the name occurs variously as Sini, Suru, or Shahrū. Saviyah may be

are of the coast-lands that belong to the Island of Qays, being under the rule of the Amir Raysh. They all lie adjacent to the hot region of the Rinnan province.

The islands that belong to this district of Ardashlr Rhurah are these : the Island of Lar, the Island of Afzunah, and the Island of Qays; and the Island of Qays is the chief among them all. The description of these and of the other islands [of the Persian Gulf] will be given in the chapter which the author has written describing the seas, and which will be found on a later page, wherefore there is no need to detail them here. [It is, however, wanting.]

#### THE SHAPUR RHURAH DISTRICT

This district took its name from Shapur, son of Ring Ardashlr founder [of the Sassanian dynasty]; and the central city of the district is Bishavbur; this with the other towns and sub-districts being as follows.

*Bishiivun*<sup>1</sup>—The Arabs wrote the name Bishabur, it having originally been Bi-Shabur, and then to lighten the pronunciation the *Bl* was dropped, so that linally it has come now to be called Shapur. In the most ancient days a city w<sup>r</sup>as founded here by Ring Tahmiirath, at a time when there was no other city in all Fars excepting only Istakhr, and the name [of Shapur town] was then called Din Dila. When Alexander the Great appeared in Fars, he laid this town in ruins, so that nought remained standing thereof. Then when the kingdom had come to the hands of Shapur he for the second time founded it, and brought all its buildings to completion, giving to the new city his own name. Indeed, to every city that Ring Shapur founded, he gave the same his own name, that his memory might thus be kept in mind ; and this was a clerical error, for which we should read Tavunah, the name of a village lying 1 league to the westward of Charuk (FNN. 289).

<sup>3</sup> Modern Shapur (FNN. 247). Written variously in the MS. Bishavbur and in the Paris copy Bi-Shapur, and in error Nlshapur with other variants. The name originally was Bih-Shapur, " the Good Thing of King Sapor."

the city of Bishapur. The climate here is that of the hot region; and by reason that on the north side it is shut in [by hills] the town is unhealthy and damp. The water supply is from a great stream that is called the Bishapur River. It is a very large river, but seeing that there are here many rice-fields, its water is noxious and unwholesome. There are, however, in this district so many orchards of fruit-bearing trees of all kinds, such as date-palms, orange, shaddock, and lemon-trees, that fruit here fetches no price; and those who pass by the road even fail to pluck it. There are also aromatic flowers in great abundance, such as water-Lilies, the narcissus, violets, and jasmine; further, they produce much silk here, for mulberry-trees grow luxuriantly. Then honey and wax are cheap, both in this city and in Kazirun. Of late years Bi-Shapur has fallen much to ruin through the tyranny of Abu Sa'd.<sup>1</sup> Now, however, since the establishment of the present Saljuq government its buildings are all being restored. It has a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the people are intelligent.

*Jirrah*, }—Called in Persian Girrah. It is a small town, having a warm climate. Its water is from a stream that is known as the Girrah River, and this takes its rise in the Masaram District. This town produces nothing but rice—which pays the land-tax<sup>3</sup>—dates, and corn. The people for the most part go armed. There is a mosque here for the Friday prayers. The district called Mur-i-Jirrah<sup>4</sup> is of this neighbourhood.

<sup>1</sup> Of the Shabankarah; see Introduction, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The district of Jirrah exists, and the town of that name is probably to be identified with the modern Lshfaiqan (FNN. 185). For the Masaram District see below in the Itineraries.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. is without diacritical points, and in *ruzz-i-kharaji* the first word—may, instead of *ruzz*, "rice," be read as *zar*, "gold" (i.e. money), or *raz*, "grapes." The translation is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Mur of Jirrah no longer exists, but 4½ leagues to the north of Kazirun there is the village of Murdak, which may have a connexion with the name (FNN. 255).

*Ghundijan*.<sup>1</sup>—This is known as Dasht Bari in Persian. It is a small town of the hot region, and its water is from a single brackish well, there being no other source in the place. No corn is grown here. There is a mosque in the town for the Friday prayer, and many pious men were natives of this place. There are now many shoemakers and weavers living here.

*Khisht and Kumarij*.<sup>2</sup>—Two small towns lying in the hill country of the very hot region. Innumerable date-palms grow here, but no other fruit-trees. There are some running streams, but the water of these is warm and not wholesome to drink. The corn crops here sometimes fail entirely, but at other times are abundant.<sup>3</sup> The people of the place carry arms, and for the most part they are robbers.

*Anburan and Basht Quta*.<sup>4</sup> These places lie contiguous to Nawbanjan. Anburan is a small town, of which a number of pious folk are natives. The climate is temperate, and there are many running streams. Basht Quta is a district lying in the cold region of the mountain lands.

*Jnbad Mallaghan*.<sup>5</sup>—This is a small town which stands in its own district. The climate is hot, and there are many running streams. Fruit is grown, also aromatic plants. There is a castle here, among other neighbouring castles that are well fortified and celebrated. The air in this castle is so cool that [stores of] wheat can be kept here without damage, and they have made good cisterns

<sup>1</sup> No town of (jr)hundijan now exists, but from its position as given in the Itinerary modern Jamilah probably occupies its site (FNN. 195).

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 195.

<sup>3</sup> *Baks*, "lacking," and *bdrydb*, with the sense, not given in the dictionaries, of "abundant". These words occur again below.

<sup>4</sup> Basht is now the chief town of the Bavi sub-district in Kuh Giluyah (FNN. 271). This probably marks the site of Anburan, mentioned also by Istakhri (p. 110), but the names Anburan and Quta are now unknown, and the Arab geographers make no mention of Basht Quta.

<sup>5</sup> The modern Du Gunbadan (Two Domes), lying 8 leagues west of modern Basht.

for water. There is a mosque for the Friday prayer in the town.

*Tir Murdan and Juyikan.*<sup>1</sup>—These are two districts wherein are many large villages but no town. Of villages there are Kharrarah, Dudman, and Dih Gawz [Nut Village]. All these districts lie among broken rocky ground, with stony ascents and descents like those in the Kharraqan [District in Persian 'Iraq], though here the country is rougher and the roads steeper. The climate is of the cold region and good. On all sides there are orchards, with fruit of every kind; more especially groves of nut-trees, and in such numbers as to be beyond count, nuts being carried into Shiraz and the surrounding districts from here. Honey, too, is abundant. Now all the hills here, with their ascents and descents, are everywhere sown for corn crops. Some, where the hillside is steep, lack for water, but the valleys are well irrigated, for there are numerous running brooks. The village of Kharrarah [which means "humming"] is so named because near by this village a stream falls into a deep gorge, where it makes a great noise [as of humming], which in the Arabic tongue is called *Kharrir-al-Ma* ["the Humming of the Water"]. Abu Nasr, the father of Bii Jul,<sup>2</sup> and who left so many descendants, came originally from Tir Murdan. All the people of this district go armed, and for the most part they are bandits and highwaymen by night. Further, there are excellent hunting-grounds here.

*Sariim and Bazrang?*—These are two districts lying

<sup>1</sup> Tir Murdan exists, and Juyikan, which Jstakhrī writes Juyikhan (p. 110), is modern Chawgan, lying 4 leagues east of Fahliyan (FNN. 303, 304). Kharrarah (position given in the Itineraries), Dudman, and Dih Gawz (Nut Village) are not to be found on the modern maps, for this Dudman cannot be the present village of that name lying 1 league south-east of Shiraz.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the name is uncertain, and this Abu Nasr is not mentioned in Ibn-al-Athlīr.

<sup>3</sup> The modern district is called Churam, of which the chief town is called Tall-Gird, \*\*Round Hill,\*\* lying 10 leagues north-east of

between Zir [or Ziz] and Sumayram. The climate is that of the cold region, for the districts stand high in the hill country, with torrents of water and many running streams. From year's end to year's end snow is never long absent from the mountains here, and there are many good hunting-grounds. The source of the Shiin River is in the Bazrang District. The chief town of this region is Saram. Most of the men here are muleteers.

*Simtakht.*<sup>1</sup>—This is a district of the very cold region lying near Saram and Bazrang. There are many running streams here.

*Khullar.*<sup>2</sup>—A large village where they quarry the millstones which are used throughout the greater part of the province of Fars, for the stone here is of excellent quality. The curious part is that in all Fars they grind their corn with millstones from this village, but when the people thereof have to grind their own corn they go to some other village to do so, for in their own place there is no stream [to turn a mill], and the springs even are very scanty in their water supply, on which the people have to depend for drinking. Except for these millstones the place produces nothing; there is neither corn nor fruit grown here, and they look to the quarrying of these stones for their means of living, whereby too they are enabled to pay taxes to the Treasury to the amount of 700 dinars yearly.

*Khumdiyjan and Dili 'Alī.*<sup>6</sup>—These are two districts, Blhbahan. The name of Bazrang, frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, has disappeared from the map, as also is wanting the town of Zir, which Muqaddasi (p. 389) writes Ziz. Sumayram, now called Samiram, lies 4 leagues to the south-west of Isfahan (FNN. 220, 273).

<sup>1</sup> Spelling most uncertain, and apparently no longer to be found on the map. Variants may be read Simbakht, Salimsat, Salimnahast, etc.; and it is probably the place given in Istakhri (p. 113) as As-Saljan (with many variants).

<sup>2</sup> Khullar lies 9 leagues north-west of Shiraz and 5 leagues beyond Guyum (Juwaym) (FNN. 191).

<sup>3</sup> Dih 'Alī, now more generally called DaT, lies 4½ leagues south-east of Ardakan. The name of Khumayijan, mentioned by Istakhri (p. 111)

and [Dili 'All] the chief town has a mosque for the Fi'iday prayers. The climate is cold, and there are many walnut and pomegranate trees here, also much honey and wax comes from these districts, which lie in the neighbourhood of Tir Murdan and near by Bayda. The people generally go armed; they are for the most part muleteers. In the neighbourhood are excellent hunting-grounds.

*Kaziran and its District.*—The original seat of Kazirun was at [the three villages called] Nawdar, Darist, and Rah ban, and the city was first founded by Tahmurath. King Shapiir, in later times, built greatly here, making of Kazirun an outlying part of Bishabur. The climate is hot, like that indeed of Bishavur, and all the water they drink has to be taken from wells, for there are no running streams, only the three underground water-channels [of the villages above-mentioned]. Their corn-lands entirely lack irrigation and depend on the rains. The city of Kazirun lies in ruins, but the farms round about are populous, and their homesteads are not [mere cabins] like those of other hamlets in these parts, but are strongly built houses, well fortified, as a defence against the Shabankarah [Kurds], who are numerous throughout this district. Each farmstead here stands separate one from another, and they are not built together [in groups of villages]. The cloths called *Tuzi* [originally coming from Tawwaj] which they make here are woven from the fibre of the flax-plant. Of this, first they tie up the fibrous stalks in bundles and throw these into a tank full of water, leaving the fibre loose until it has rotted. It is next gathered up, the fibre being separated out, and the flax is then spun into linen thread. Next, this linen thread is washed in the water of the Rahban water-channel; and though the water here is but scanty, it has the property of making white the linen thread that is

as a district, but with *no* town Ia  
Friday prayers, has disappeared U

washed in it, and if it be washed in any other water it never becomes white. Now, this Rah ban water-channel is the property of the royal Treasury, and the custom is now established that the profit thereof belongs to the house of the Amir, the Treasury having granted the usage thereof to the weavers who weave the cloths under the orders of the Treasury. There is an inspector who oversees on behalf of the Treasury, and there are the brokers who set a 'just price on the cloths, sealing the bales with a stamp before they are delivered over to the foreign merchants. In times past it was all after this wise. The brokers would make up the bales of the Kaziruni cloth, the foreign merchants would come and buy the bales as they stood thus made up, for they placed reliance on the brokers, and in any city to which they were carried the certificate of the Kaziruni broker was merely asked for and the bale would then be sold at a profit without being opened [for examination]. Thus it often happened that a load of Kaziruni bales would pass from hand to hand ten times over, unopened. But now, in these latter days, fraud has become rife, and the people becoming dishonest all confidence is gone, for the goods with the Treasury stamp are often found deficient, whereby foreign traders have come to avoid the merchandise of Kazirun. This fraud was especially common during the reign of the Amir Abu Sa'd,<sup>1</sup> whose bad government and tyranny were manifest to all. If, however, this evil state of things could be changed, much wealth would still accrue from this manufacture. Further, in addition to the revenues to be derived from the Kaziruni cloths, which belong to the house of the Amir, there are the land-tax and the customs, both of which would increase greatly under a just and stable government. In various of the townships of Kazirun there are mosques for the Friday prayers. The people, however, are covetous and needy;

<sup>1</sup> Of the Shabankarah ; see Introduction, p. 12.

further, they are a slanderous folk. In all these parts there are places where [a criminal] may take refuge, as it were in a *Harim* [or Sanctuary], and of such is [the shrine] of Shaykh Abu Ishaq Shirazi, whom Allah sanctify! Among the populous districts of Kazirun are Mfir and Shitashgan.<sup>1</sup>

*Nawbanjan*<sup>2</sup> and *Sha'b Bavvdn*.—Nawbanjan in former times was a very great and beautiful city, but during the misrule of Abu Sa'd of Kazirun it was more than once taken by storm, being sacked and burnt, so that even the great mosque was then destroyed by lire. In this state of ruin it remained for many years, being but a *Jair* for lions and wolves, a place of ravenous beasts and their prey; its population was scattered abroad, and its people perished in foreign lands. When, however, the Atabeg (Jhaul) arrived in Fars, and the province was rid of Abu Sa'd, he began to rebuild the city, and it may now be hoped that under the stable government [of the Saljuqs] its prosperity will be restored. The climate here is that of the hot region but temperate. It has many running streams. Fruits of all kinds grow here, also aromatic plants in abundance.

The Vale of *Sha'b Bavvan*<sup>3</sup> lies in the neighbourhood of Nawbanjan; and it may be thus described. It is a great valley enclosed between two ranges of mountains, 3\ leagues in length by 1½ leagues across. Its climate is that of the cold region, none better anywhere. Villages one after another extend along the valley, and a great river liows down the middle part thereof, so that no place is cooler or more healthy to live in. Further, there are many excellent springs everywhere about, and from the head of the valley to its foot, all down its length and across it, there are fruit-trees growing everywhere, so that from their shade

<sup>1</sup> Probably Mur of Jirrah, see above under Jirrah. Shitashgan is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as Nawbandagan (FNN. 303).

<sup>3</sup> See FNN. 303.

the sunlight never falls upon the ground. The fruit here is of all kinds, and very excellent in quality. Should a man walk from one end of the valley to the other, the sunshine will nowhere fall on him; and from one end of the year to the other the snow remains on the summits of the mountains that lie on either hand. It has been said by wise men that there are four Earthly Paradises, to wit, the Ghawtah [Garden-lands] of Damascus, Sughd [Sogdiana] of Khurasan, [this Valley of] Sh'ab Bavvan, and lastly the Meadow of Shidan<sup>1</sup>; by which they mean that these four places just mentioned are the loveliest and pleasantest places of the whole earth. There are here in the neighbourhood, besides this valley of Sha'b Bavvan, many other districts/both in the hill country and in the plains, which are well populated, fertile, and rich, with running streams. The White Castle—Qal'ah Sapid—stands at the distance of 1 league from Nawbanjan, and the description of the same will be given later in the section relating to the Castles. All the district round Sha'b Bavvan is of the hill country, and round Nawbanjan there are limitless hunting-grounds. The people of Nawbanjan are a discreet folk, with an aptitude for politeness.

*Bilad Shabur*.<sup>2</sup>—This countryside lies between the Fars and Khuzistan provinces. In olden times it was very populous, but it now has fallen to ruin. Its climate is temperate though of the hot region, and there are many running streams.

*Zir and Kuli Jiluyah*<sup>3</sup>—The Jiluyah Mountain is a hill

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise called the Meadow-land of Shidan and mentioned below, but its situation, unfortunately, is nowhere given.

<sup>2</sup> "The Country of Sapor" is still found on the map (FNN. 266). According to Muqaddasi its chief town was called Jumah (the Township), and Hinduwan or Hindijan was within its limits (Muq. 422, 1st. 113).

<sup>3</sup> Kuh Giluyah is still the name for the great province, with many sub-districts, occupying all the mountain region to the north-west of Fars (FNN. 262). For Zir or Ziz see above under Saram.

•district with many lands, and its chief town is Zir. The climate here is cold; there are abundant running streams and numerous fine villages. During the recent times of disorder, and especially when the Assassins—and may Allah cause them to perish!—held sway in the land, all this district fell greatly to ruin. Fruit orchards are numerous, and in Zir there is a mosque for the Friday prayer. This district lies not far distant from Sumayram, and there are fine hunting-grounds within its borders.



## CHAPTER III

### THE QUBAD KHUHAH DISTRICT

*Arrajan*.<sup>1</sup>—This city was first founded by King Qubad, the father of Chosroes Anushirwan. It was a great city, with many dependencies, but during the troublous times when the Assassins held sway in the land it fell to ruin. It has a warm climate, and the city lies adjacent to the Thakan Bridge, where it spans the great river called the Nahr Tab, which flows down from the neighbourhood of Sumayram. Further, many other streams flow past near here, with much water, whereby the land in this neighbourhood is most productive, growing all kinds of fruit. Groves of date-palms and of pomegranates abound, especially of the kind called *milasi*? which is most excellent. There are also many aromatic plants. The districts round and about Arrajan are very numerous, and a mosque for the Friday prayers stands in the city.<sup>3</sup>

*Jalladjan, Nit*<sup>1</sup>, and *Dayr*<sup>4</sup>—These are all districts of Arrajan, with climate and general conditions the like thereto, so that it is needless to say more. Of this district too is the hamlet called Chahar Dlh, "Four Villages."

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of Arrajan lie near a place called Sih (Junbadan ("the Three Domes"), a short distance to the north of Bihbaban (FNN. 275,276).

<sup>2</sup> Variant *mails!*, a name not given in the dictionaries.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. here repeats the text in the opposite column, and apparently a paragraph has been omitted.

<sup>4</sup> In one place spelt Jallajan. None of these three places, nor Chahar Dlh, now appear on the map, but they are mentioned by the Arab geographers. Niv (printed without points) is given by Istakhrī (p. 111), who names Dayr Ayyub and Dayr 'Omar (1st. 112, 113) as of this region.

*Khabs, Furzuk, and Hindijan.*<sup>1</sup>—These are districts lying between Arrajan and the inner districts of Fars. Khabs was a post for the customs, and all these places in climate and general conditions exactly resemble Arrajan in all points.

*Rishahr.*<sup>2</sup>—A small town lying on the seashore, near by to the castle of the Amir Firamurz ibu Handab.<sup>3</sup> The climate here is extremely hot, so that the men have, in summer-time, to wrap the inner rind of the acorn on parts of the skin in certain places, otherwise it would chafe into sores by the excess of sweat and the heat engendered there. Further, they have the habit of putting on many shirts, and they wear them very long. By reason of the dampness and the unwholesome climate no one who is not a native of the place can stay out the summer here; all others go up to Diz Kilat<sup>4</sup> and the castles that belong to the Amir Firamurz, and there they remain [during the hot months]. In this district nothing is to be had except sea-borne goods that are brought hither in ships, for nothing except fish, dates, and Rishahri flax is to be come by in this place. The people are almost entirely occupied with the sea trade, but they have neither excellence nor strength of character, being of a weak nature. The town stands on the frontier line between the Arrajan District and Khuzistan. The men here are honest, occupying

<sup>1</sup> Common variants are Jins, also JIs in place of Habs or Khabs. Neither this place nor Furzuk occurs on the map, but they appear in the Itinerary. Hindijan, which Muqaddasi (p. 422) writes Hinduwan, is now known as Bandar Hiudiyān (FNN. 239). See above under Bilad Shabur.

<sup>2</sup> Probably to be identified with the 'modern Zaydun (FNN. 278), for this Rishahr cannot be the small town of that name lying \ \ leagues and to the south of Bushahr, though this last is stated to be "one of the ancient cities of Fars" (FNN. 210).

<sup>3</sup> The name of his father is uncertain. It may be read Nadab, Hadhab, or Badab. Not given in Ibn-al-Athir.

<sup>4</sup> The MS. may be read Diz Kilab or Uulab, and there exists a Qal'ah Gulab or Kilab, this castle standing 6" leagues south of Bihbahan and 4 east of Zaydun (FNN. 278, 336).

themselves with their own affairs, but they have been mishandled by one tyrant after another, fate having been against them. Further, some of the districts near by are far more populous than that round Rishahr.

*Jannbd.*<sup>1</sup>—A small town lying on the seashore, and in Persian they call it Ganfah, which signifies " Stinking Water ". Now, a city that has " Stinking Water " for its name must be described as of an evil stinking character, and therefore there is no occasion to speak of its condition. Nothing that need be mentioned is produced in this place, and all that can be said is that it lies on the road of one going from Mahrriban to Siraf.

*Siniz?*—A little town lying on the seashore. There is here a small fort. The place lies between Mahrriban and Jannaba, and they weave linen cloths here which are very thick and soft, and these are known as Sinlzi stuffs. They, however, do not wear well. Nothing else is produced excepting dates and oil for lamps. The climate is good.

*Mahrubdn.*<sup>3</sup> *with its District.*—Mahrriban is a place lying so much on the seashore that the waves of the sea beat on the houses of the town. It has a warm, damp, unwholesome climate, worse even than that of Rishahr. It is a seaport that all ships come into that sail either from Fars going towards Khiizistan, or that set out by sea from Basrah and Khuzistan. Likewise all the ships from the sea that have cargoes from, or for, the districts inland come and go from Mahrriban, whereby its custom-dues from these ships are very considerable. Except for dates they grow no fruit here. They breed sheep, however, in great numbers, and likewise goats; also they raise calves, which are for size like those they breed in Basrah, for it

<sup>1</sup> The ruins known as Gunavah lie somewhat to the north of Bandar Rig-(FNN. 209).

<sup>2</sup> The name of Siniz has disappeared from the map; its site is probably near modern Bandar Daylam, the chief town of the Qiravl District (FNN. 279).

Now written Mah Ruban (FNN. 239).

is reported that some weigh as much as 80 to 100 *rati* in weight, or even more,<sup>1</sup> Linseed and flax are grown here abundantly, being exported to neighbouring parts. In the town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers. The people of Mahruban are weak in character.

The Islands which belong to this district of Qubad Khurah are as follows: Jazlrah Hangam, Jazirah Kharik, Jazirah Ram [or Dam], and Jazirah Baliir.<sup>2</sup>

The description of the towns and districts of Fars being completed, we shall now proceed to notice all the great rivers and the lakes, and then the meadow-lands and such castles as are still in good repair. These, therefore, are the great and celebrated rivers other than those of which a part only [lies in the Fars province].<sup>3</sup>

#### RIVERS

*Nahr Tab.*—This river takes its rise in the neighbourhood of Sumayram,<sup>4</sup> increasing in size till it reaches Arrajan, where it passes under the bridge called Pul-i-Thakan. Then it waters the district of Rishahr and flows into the sea near Siniz.

*Nahr Khwaddan*<sup>5</sup>—The source of this river is at Juyikan. It waters the district round Nawbanjan, and

<sup>1</sup> The Baghdad *rati* was under three-quarters of a pound avoirdupois : hence 4 to 5 stone-weight.

<sup>2</sup> An Island of Hangam (FNN. 318) lies to the south of the Long Island (Jazirah Tawli), near Hurmuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, but this Hangam Island could not be counted as of the Qubad Khurah district. The Island of Kharik is well known (FNN. 315), but Ram (or Dam) and Balur cannot be identified.

<sup>3</sup> In FNN., pp. 322-30, an alphabetical list of 109 of the rivers and streams of Fars is given. Each of these now for the most part takes its name, section by section, from the district through which it flows ; hence one river during its course goes by many names, and the 109 enumerated do not stand for that number of distinct streams.

<sup>4</sup> The Tab-Kurdistan-Jarrahi River does not rise near Sumayram, for the upper basin of the Shustar River lies in between. Furthermore, its mouth now lies far to the north of Siniz, the Shirin River flowing down to the sea here in the intervening country.

<sup>5</sup> The Zuhrah-Fahliyan River.

then flows through Jalladjan until it joins the River Shirln, by which its waters reach the sea.

*Nahr Jirrah*.<sup>1</sup>—This river rises in Masaram, and it waters the district of Nahast Masjan, thence passing on it waters Jirrah and its district, also part of the Ghundijan District. Beyond this it joins the Bishapur River, and thus its waters reach the sea.

*Nahr Burazah*.<sup>2</sup>—The Burazah River is that of Firuzabad, and its source is at Khunayfghan. It irrigates Firuzabad, with its district, and then joins the Thakan River, by which its waters reach the sea. This river has its name from Burazah, the great engineer, who drained the [lake] -off from round and about the city of Firuzabad [as described above].

*Nahr Kur* [Cyrus River].<sup>8</sup>—This river rises<sub>K</sub> in the neighbourhood of Kallar, and it is a rebellious stream that will irrigate no lands unless a dam has been thrown across it to raise the level, and thus enable the waters to be led over the surface of the soil. Now the dams that have been built across its stream are the following: The Ramjird Dam<sup>4</sup> is of very ancient construction, and it gave irrigation to all the villages of the Ramjird District. It had, however, fallen to ruin, and has been restored recently by the Atabeg Chauli, who has given it the name of Fakhristan [after himself, he holding the title of Fakhrad-Dawlah]. Next comes the 'Adudi Dam,<sup>5</sup> the like of which, as is well known, exists nowhere else in the whole

<sup>1</sup> The Daliki- Jamilah River. Masaram is the name of a village in this district (spelt now with a am in place of .sad, FNN. 281). The spelling Nahast Masjan is uncertain; possibly it is a clerical error for Nahiyat Sittajan, "the Sittajan District," near the head-waters of the Thakan River (see below in the Itinerary). There is, however, a village\*in this region still called Dili Masghan, or Masqan, lying 1 league south-east of Shikirft (FNN. 281), which may be the place indicated if the reading be taken as Masjan.

<sup>2</sup> The Dihram-Firuzabud-Hunayfghan River.

<sup>3</sup> The Kamfiruz-Ramjird-Kirbal River.

<sup>4</sup> FNN. 325.

<sup>5</sup> FNN. 257, the Band-i-Amir.

world. To describe it it must be known that the Kirbal District [which lies round and about] originally was a desert plain without water. But 'Adud-ad-Dawlah seeing this opined that if a dam were built here the waters of the River Kur would work wonders on this desert land. He therefore brought together engineers and workmen, and expended great sums of money to make side canals to lead off' the waters of the river from the right and the left bank. Then he [paved the river-bed] above and below the dam, with a mighty weir [*shaduriwan*] constructed of blocks of stone set in cement. Next he built the dam itself with [stones set in] tempered cement and sifted sand, so that even an iron tool could not scratch it and never would it be burst asunder. The summit of the dam was so broad that two horsemen could ride abreast across it without the water touching them, for to carry this off\* sluices were made. Thus, finally, the whole of the district of Upper Kirbal received its irrigation by means of this dam. The Band-i-Qassar<sup>x</sup> [the Fullers' Darn] had been built of old to water the district of Lower Kirbal, and it too had fallen out of use ; but the Atabeg Chaul has likewise restored this to working order, and [some distance below it] the River Kur flows out into the Lake of Bakhtigan.

*Nahr Masin*.<sup>2</sup>—The source of this stream lies in the hill country near Sumayram and Slmtakht. It flows down to join the River Tab.

*Nahr Shiran*<sup>3</sup> [the Sweet-water River].—This river has its source on the 'frontier of the Bazrang District, and it flows past Gunbad Mallaghan, giving w<sup>T</sup>ater to many districts, for besides that of Gunbad Mallaghan it irrigates

<sup>1</sup> Now known as the Faydabad Dam (FNN. 257).

<sup>2</sup> Tho Armish and Zard streams. Its source is much to the south-west of Sumayram.

<sup>3</sup> The Shlrin, Sar Faryab River. Whatever it may have done in the past, the mouth of the Shirin is now at a place on the Persian Gulf, lying far to the north of Slniz and Jannaba.

certain of the lands of Arrajan, finally flowing out into the sea between Siniz and Jannaba.

*Nahr Bishapiir.*<sup>1</sup>—The source of this river lies in the mountain land about Bishapur. It waters the city of Bishapur and its district, as likewise the homesteads of Khisht and Dili Malik, and falls into the sea between Jannaba and the Mandistan District.

*Nahr Thakan.*<sup>2</sup>—The source of this river is at a village called Jatruyah [or Chatruyah], which same is a well-known village with its district belonging to the Masaram sub-district lying round about Shiraz, all of which lands this stream waters. From here it flows on, passing in turn Kavar, Khabr, Simkan, Karzin, Qir, Abzar, and Laghir, giving water for irrigation to each in turn, and finally irrigating part of the district round Siraf. In its last reach the river passes the village of Thakan, from which same it takes its name. Then finally it flows out into the sea between Najiram and Siraf, and in all the province of Fars there is no stream that is more bountiful for irrigation purposes than is this Thakan River.

*Nahr Purvab*\*—The source of the river is at a village called Purvab. This is a most blessed river. Most of the district of Marvdasht is irrigated by its waters, and it flows to join the River Kur. This, therefore, as given above, is the description of the greater and most celebrated rivers of Fars, and besides them there are many other streams and rivulets of lesser size, but these cannot be noticed lest the matter run to too great length.

<sup>1</sup> The Zirah, Khisht, and Shapur River. Dili Malik is no longer marked on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary.

- This is the very long river of many names, of which the first portion is now known as the Qarah Aghach ("Black Wood"), and the last reach as the Mand River of Mandistan. Jatruyah is possibly identical with the village of Bandhuyah, lying 6 leagues north of Shikuft and a little south of the village of Masaram (FNN. 280). The village of Thakan is probably represented by Kakl, the chief town of Mandistan (FNN. 214).

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise written Pulvar. The Purvab-Kamin River. The village of Purvab no longer exists.

## SEAS AND LAKES

In regard to the seas and lakes of Fars, the Persian Gulf [Balir Fars, otherwise called] the Sea of Fars, is an arm of the Great Sea, which best is known as the Green Sea, being also called the Circumambient Ocean. On the shores of the Green Sea lie the lands of China, Sind and India, 'Oman, 'Aden, Zanzibar, and Basrah with diverse other districts ; and each particular arm of the Green Sea bears the special name of the province whose lands lie on its shores. Thus we have [one arm called] the Sea of Fars, another the Sea of 'Oman, and then the Sea of Basrah, or the like ; hence it comes that the arm [washing the coast of Fars] is known as the Sea of Fars.

[And now as to the lakes of Fars, they are as follows.]

*Buhayrah Dasht Arzin*<sup>x</sup> [the Lake of the Plain of the Wild-almond].—This is a sweet-water lake, and when there has been much rain it is very full, but when there has been lack of rain the lake dries up almost entirely, hardly any water remaining. It measures 3 leagues round and about.

*Buhayrah BalMigdnr*—This lake lies surrounded by many well-cultivated lands. Such are those surrounding the towns of Abadah, K hay rah, Nayrrz, and Khabraz ; further, all these districts lie at no great distance from the lake shore. The waters of the lake are salt, and the circumference of the same is 20 leagues.

*Buhayrah Mahaluyah*<sup>3</sup>—This lake lies between Shiraz and Sarvistan. Its waters are salt. All the streams from near Shiraz and its district flow into this lake. Its size round and about is 12 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> More correctly spelt Arzhin or Arjin, Dasht Arjin being now the name of a neighbouring village (FNN. 280).

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 321. The places mentioned here have all been noticed above.

<sup>3</sup> The name is now spelt Maharlu, and it is also known as Buhayrah Namak, " the Salt Lake " (FNN. 322).

*Buhayrah Darkhwid*.<sup>1</sup>—This is a small lake, and a stream flows out of it that is called the Bar vat River.

*Buhayrah Mur*.<sup>2</sup>—A small lake lying between Kazirun and [the district of] Mur-i-Jirrah. It measures 2 leagues in circumference.

#### MEADOW-LANDS

The most celebrated Meadow-lands of Fars are these.

*Martjtuir Urd*?—This is a very rich meadow-land, of the cold region. From end to end it has springs of fresh-water and populous villages, and of these last are the hamlets of Bajjah and Taymurjan. There are others too, and their lands are the property of the villages, though they have to pay the Land-tax to the government. This meadow-land measures 10 leagues in the length by 5 across.

*Martfhz&r Sikan*. — This meadow-land lies between Shiraz and Kavar. It is a very pleasant place, and there is here a great mass of standing water, near which is a forest abounding in lions. The length of this meadow-land is 5 leagues by 3 across.<sup>4</sup>

*Marghzdr Daxht Arzin*<sup>5</sup>—This meadow-land lies beside the Arzin Lake; there is here a forest where lions are found. The length of the meadow-land is 10 leagues by 1 across.

<sup>1</sup> The Darkhwid Lake and River are mentioned by the Arab geographers. They do not give any other name to the river, and the reading Barviit is uncertain. The MS. may read Purvab, which is, however, inadmissible. The lake appears to have occupied the position of the present swamp, called Sarab Bahrain, at the source of the Nurabad River (FNN. 302, 303).

- The Mur (in error- often given by the MSS. as Muz) Lake is that now known as Fiimur, or Paryachah Parishan, lying east of Kazirun (FNN. 322). Mur-i-Jirrah has already been mentioned, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> For Urd see above, p. 21. Taymurjan is no longer to be found on the map. The name may be read Tamirjan; it is probably to be identified with Timaristan, which Yaqut (i, 197, 908) gives as the chief town of Urd.

<sup>4</sup> The name of Shikan is now unknown,

<sup>5</sup> See p. 68, n. 1.

*Maryhzar Darabjird*.—This is a small meadow-land, measuring only 3 leagues in the length by 1 in the breadth.

*Maryhzar Qali*.<sup>1</sup>—This meadow-land lies on the bank of the Purvab River. It is a most pleasant place, and here [a certain] Baldahi built the palace of Qall, with its beautiful garden and a fine tank. This meadow-land is 3 leagues in length by 1 in width. In winter-time the fodder here is excellent for cattle, but in the summer it is noxious for them to eat the grass here.

*Maryhzdr Kldnr*.—This lies near the tomb of the Mother of Solomon. It is 4 leagues in length, but has no breadth to speak of. The tomb of the Mother of King Solomon is of stone, in the form of a cube. No one can look into the chamber within the tomb, for, as it is said, a talisman has been laid on it, whereby anyone who shall give a look into it forthwith becomes blind. I myself, however, have never found one who had made the experiment.

*Maryhzdr Run*\*—This is a fine meadow-land, but not so good as that of Urd. It is, like the last, of the cold region, and has many springs of water, also villages, that are either the freehold property of the villagers or granted to them in fief for military service. The length of this meadow-land is 7 leagues by 5 across.

*Maryhzar Bid* and *Mashkan*.<sup>4</sup>—A fine meadow-land,

<sup>1</sup> See above under Khabrak and Qall, p. 22. The reading of the name Baldahi is very uncertain; he is an unknown personage.

<sup>2</sup> Near Pasargadre, but the name is not to be found on the map. The tomb is in point of fact that of King Cyrus.

<sup>3</sup> See above, under Run, p. 23.

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<sup>4</sup> Probably near Dili Bid. The village of Mashkan or Mashkun, of the Qunquri District, lies on the Pulvar River, 10 leagues north of Pasargadse (FNN. 245). In Hamd-Allah Rubat Mashk, in the Itinerary, occupies the position of Dih Bid. The Arab geographers give Mushkan as the chief town of the Jawbarqan District, which lay at the head-waters of the Farvab or Pulvar River (1st. 121; IH. 192; Yaq. ii, 141; iv, 543). For Baslra or Laslra see above under Kamah and Faruq, p. 24. Dih Bid is given below in the Itineraries.

and the district of Basira is of those parts. They report the climate as cold, and it is 7 leagues in length by 8 across.

*Margh Bahman*.<sup>1</sup>—This lies above Juwaym [to the north of] the Shiraz District. It measures 1 league across by the same in length.

*Mavfli Rhiddn*.<sup>2</sup>—This is a very beautiful meadow-land, the equal of which can hardly be met with elsewhere. All round and about it are well-cultivated lands, with many springs of water and running streams. In spring-time water collects here, and being held back forms a lake in the midst of the meadow-land. The length of this land is 10 leagues by the like in breadth.

*Marghzar Kamfiruz*.<sup>3</sup>—This is a meadow-land that stretches level after level along the banks of the Kur [or Cyrus] River. There is here a forest, which is the lair of lions, and the lions of Kamflruz are noted for their savageness and strength.

Now besides all the above there are many other smaller meadow-lands, which, however, are places not necessary to mention in detail. Moreover, since throughout Fars, from one end to the other, there are valleys and mountain regions; everywhere, therefore, grazing-grounds for cattle are to be found in an abundance. Lastly, the Marghzars of Kamah and Sarvat<sup>4</sup> are meadow-lands, which, though not of the most celebrated, are such that cattle grazing on them soon become extraordinarily fat.

<sup>1</sup> Margh is apparently an abbreviation for Marghzar, "meadow-land." There is a place marked on the map, 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> leagues north-east of Tall Bayda, which is called Bahmanl. Juwaym, as already said, is modern Juyum or Guyum (FNN. 191, 194).

<sup>2</sup> Shidan was one of the Earthly Paradises (see above, p. 58). Its position is nowhere given.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See above under Khabraz and Sarvat, pp. 22, 24.

## CASTLES

*Description of the Castles in Fdrs*

*Qal'ah Istakar.*<sup>1</sup>—In all the whole world there is no castle more ancient than this one, and every governor [of Fars] who has held power has been master of this castle. From the times of the Pishdadian kings this castle with two others standing near by have been known as the Three Domes. The other two are called *Qal'ah Shikastah* [the Broken Castle] and the castle of *Shankavan* [or *Shakanvan*], but these last are now in ruins. [For the castle of *Istakhr*] *'Adud-ad-Dawlah* built a mighty tank, which is known as the *Hawz-i-'Adudl*. It was constructed in a deep gully, down which the stream that passed by the castle flowed. First, *'Adud-ad-Dawlah* with boardings closed the end of this gully, making the like of a great dam, and next inside this he set cement [in forms] with wax and grease laid upon *kirhds-Htuffs*, with bitumen, bringing the whole structure to the upper level all round, and afterwards when it had settled down firmly nothing could be stronger. Thus was the tank made, and its area was a *qafiz* [a square of 144 ells] all but a fraction, being 17 feet in depth, wherefore if a thousand men for a whole year were to drink therefrom, the water-level would not sink more than a foot. Then in the middle part of the tank they built up twenty columns of stone, set in cement, on which they rested the roof that covered over the tank. Further, *'Adud-ad-Dawlah*, besides this tank, built here other water-tanks and cisterns. The fault of this castle, however, is that it can very easily be taken by assault. Its climate is cold, being very like, that of *Isfahan*. Within its walls are many fine kiosks and

<sup>1</sup> For the Three Castles of *Persepolis* see above, p. 26, under *Istakhr*. The *Istakhr* Castle lies 2 leagues to the north of the village of *Fatliabad*. *Qal'ah Shikastah* (the Broken Castle) is now known as *Miyan Qal'ah* (the Midmost Castle), and lies 2½ leagues to the north-west of *Fathabad*. The castle of *Ashkanvan* stands one league south-east of *Dashtak*, the older *Abraj* (FNN. 332-6).

beautiful palaces, also a broad *may dan* [or ground for reviews],

*Qal'ah Bushkanat.*—This is a strong castle, that at the present day is still in the hands of Siyah Mil ibu Bahurast.<sup>1</sup> For he being a good man [the Saljuq Sultan] has allowed him to keep the command here, and has not dispossessed him [as has been the case with other local chiefs], and so this castle remains in his hands.

*Qal'ah Khurshah.*—This castle stands 5 leagues distant from Jahrani.<sup>2</sup> Khurshah, the man after whom the castle takes its name, was a certain Arab who had been appointed governor in these parts by [Muhammad] brother of [the Omayyad Viceroy of 'Iraq] Ijlajaj ibn Yusuf. Now Khurshah having amassed much money built this castle, and taking up his abode therein rebelled. On account of this, in later times the governor of the [Darabjird] District has never been allowed to be master of this castle as well; for of a surety power and wealth in a governor will breed conceit, and to possess this castle would breed further conceit, and where in a man's head two causes of conceit exist, without fail these result in the disorder of rebellion. The castle of Khurshah is so strong a fortress that it cannot be taken by assault. Its climate is that of the hot region.

*Qal'ah Ramm Zavan?*—This is a very strong castle which stands near Ghundijan, and it commands that district. The climate here is that of the cold region. Their water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Abadah.*<sup>4</sup>—This is a well-fortified castle, but in all general particulars like many other small castles. The climate is temperate, the water is stored in cisterns, and it would be possible to take the place by assault.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a mistake for Vinhtasf (see Introduction, p. 12). He was chief of the Mas'udi tribe. And see p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> See above, under Ramm Zavan, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Of Tashk, near Lake Bakhtigan. See p. 30.

*Qatah Khuvar*.<sup>1</sup>—This is a fortress that is not very strongly fortified. The climate is cold but temperate; and its water is obtained from wells.

*Qal'ah Istahbanan*,<sup>2</sup>—A strong castle that was in the hands of Hastiyah. But Atabeg Chauhi went to war with Ilasuyah, and though he afterwards made peace with him he dismantled this castle. Now, however, recently, it has again been re-garrisoned.

*Diz Iqlid*.<sup>8</sup>—This is merely a village that is well fortified, not a castle.

*Diz Abraj*.<sup>4</sup>—Above Abraj stands a hill, one half of which is fortified, the other half remaining unfortified, so that it could be surrounded and easily besieged; still, it could not be taken by assault, or quickly invested. There is a running stream that passes along the fortified part of the hill, flowing down thence to the plain, where its waters are used by the people of the village.

*QaVahd Abadan*, or "the Garrisoned Castles".—This is the name of certain castles which are mentioned [in the histories], for in times past there were seventy and odd notable castles in the province of Fars, all of which the Atabeg Chauhi took by force of arms, and then dismantled for the most part, all indeed but those which are more particularly mentioned in the foregoing section of the present work.

*Qal'ah Ispid Diz*, or "the White Fortress Castle".<sup>6</sup>—This in the most ancient days had been fortified, but for long years had been dismantled, so that no one could say at what time it had last been garrisoned. Then Abu Nasr of Tir Murdan, the father of Ba Jul,<sup>6</sup> during the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 22. Now known as Qilat Khar, lying 1 league to the south-east of Arsinjan (FNN. 174),

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 34, and for Hasuyah, of the Isma'ill, Introduction, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> A *Diz* is smaller than *Qal'ah*, a castle. See above\* p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Now known as Hisar, lying half a league south-west of Dashtak. See above, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Now called *Qal'ah Safid* (FNN. 334). See p. 58. <sup>6</sup> See above, p. 53.

times of trouble [at the end of the Buy id rule] rebuilt the fortifications. Now this is a fortress that entirely covers the mountain-top, measuring 20 leagues round and about, so that it is not a mere castle nor a place to be held by a handful of men. It is a great circular mountain plain, the cliffs below it being of white rocks, but on the upper level of the fortress there is arable land, the soil being red, which they sow for crops. Here too they have vineyards of grapes and orchards of almonds with other fruits: for there are many springs of water, everywhere in the ground, and when they dig down water is easily found. The air here is quite cool and pleasant, the crops too are most abundant. The fault of this castle, however, is that it must be garrisoned by a great company of troops, and that when the rightful sovereign [namely the Saljuq Sultan]<sup>1</sup> approaches to take possession thereof, the country folk will steal away [with the needful supplies and the forage]. The White Castle stands at a distance of 2 leagues from Nawbanjan, and below the castle there has been built a small fortress, but one that is well fortified, called Astak. All round the White Castle there are many hunting-grounds among the hills, and within the castle limits there are numerous fine kiosks, -and there is also a broad review ground.

*Qal'ah Sahdrah.*<sup>2</sup>—This stands on a great hill, which lies 4 leagues distant from Firuzabad. The castle was built by the Mas'udi Kurds,<sup>3</sup> and it is a very fine place. The climate is cold, the water excellent, and it lies surrounded by arable lands that are never let to go out of cultivation, for they are tilled by the Shabankarah.

<sup>1</sup> *Padishah-i-mustaqim*: the sense is by no means clear, and the text is probably corrupt. The passage has been copied verbatim by both Hanid-Allah and Ilafiz AbrG. *Mustaqim* generally means "rightly directed" by Allah, but it might be taken to mean (the king who) "marches straight" on the fortress.

- Now called Qal'ah Sarah (FNN. 334). See p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, p. 12.

It is indeed a great place, and all the year round corn is grown here.

*Qal'ah Karzan.*<sup>1</sup>—This is a castle that is not so strongly fortified as some others. The climate here is very hot. It stands on the banks of the Thakan River, and they have constructed a syphon-tube, by which water from the river is brought up to the castle.

*Qal'ah Samiran.*<sup>2</sup>—This is a strong castle standing near by to Juwaym of Abu Ahmad. The climate is hot, and their water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Khwadan, or Khwabdan?*—A strong castle standing in the midst of many broad lands. The climate is temperate, and the water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Khurramah*<sup>4</sup>—A well-fortified castle, standing among cultivated lands. The climate is temperate, and the water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Tir-i-Khuda* [the Castle of God's Arrow].—This castle is near Khayrah,<sup>5</sup> and it is a strong place, standing upon the summit of a high hill. It is for this reason that it is called God's Arrow, for it cannot be taken in war. The climate is cold, and their water is from cisterns.

*QaVah Istakhr?*—This is a very strong castle, for the which reason it has been given the name of Istakhr-Yar, "the Friend of Istakhr" to wit. Its climate is temperate, and for water they have springs here, also cisterns.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as Qal'ah 'Uthmanlu, standing 2 leagues south of Juwaym, or Jiiyum, of Abu Ahmad ; see above, p. 35 (FNN. 335).

<sup>3</sup> Muqaddasi (p. 453) spells it Khwadhan, but it is probably identical in position with the village, or stage, of Khwabdan, mentioned below in the Itineraries and standing on the River Khwabdan, which has been already described (see p. 04). In that case, probably, it is the present Nuriibad, lying 1½ leagues to the south of Fahliyan (FNN. 303).

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 29. *Tir*, "arrow," is also the name of the planet Mercury.

<sup>6</sup> Probably on the hill above Istakhr, Persepolis, and not one of the Sih Gunbadan ; see above, p. 26.

*The Castles of Purg and Tarum.*<sup>1</sup>—The castle at Purg is very great and strong, it cannot be taken in war. The castle of Tarum is not so strong as the other in regard to its fortifications. Both have a hot climate, and their water is from cisterns.

*QaVah Ranbah.*<sup>2</sup>—This castle stands in the Ranbah Pass. It is a strongly built and well-fortified place, and the control of the city of Darabjird belongs to him who holds this castle. The climate is excellent, and its water comes from springs and from cisterns. At the present time it is in the hands of the people of Kirnian.

*Qal'ah Gunbad Mallaghan.*<sup>3</sup>—This is a castle that could be held by one single armed man, so strongly fortified is it. Its climate is temperate, and water is plentiful in the cisterns. They keep here a store of corn sufficient for three or four years.

*The Irahistan Castles.*<sup>4</sup>—These are so numerous as to be beyond count, for in this district every village has its own fortress, perched either upon a rock or crowning a hill, or again built on the level ground. And in all times the climate hereabout is extremely hot.

#### ITINERARIES

##### *Distances in Fars*

The distances [along the high roads] all start from Shiraz, because this is the central point in the province. From Shiraz going towards the Isfahan frontier there are three main roads, namely, the way by Mayin and Run, the way by Istakhr, and the way by Sumayram.

Of these, on the Mayin and Run Road it is counted as 52 leagues from Shiraz to Yazdikhvast, the frontier stage

<sup>1</sup> The castle near Purg is that now known as Qal'ah Bahman, and it stands 2 leagues to the south of modern Furg. The castle at Tarum is not given (see FNN. 217, 218). See p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> The castle stands 4 leagues to the east of Darabjird (FNN. 334). See p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 48.

between Fars and the Isfahan District. The first stage is of 6 leagues, from Shiraz to Dih Gurg in the Shiran District; the second stage is 6 leagues to the head of the Bridge over the River Kur; the third stage is of 4 leagues to Mayin; the fourth stage is of 6 leagues to Kushk-i-Shahriyar in [the plain of] Dasht Run; the fifth stage is 6 leagues to Dih Basht in [the plain of] Dasht Urd; the sixth stage is 7 leagues to Kushk-i-Zar, also of Dasht Urd; the seventh stage is of 7 leagues to Dih Gawz; and the eighth stage is of 10 leagues to Yazdikhwast.<sup>1</sup>

The road by Istakhr. This also comes out by Yazdikhwast, and going by Iqlid and Surmaq it is 69 leagues in length, being longer than [the Mayin Road]; and this is the Winter Road, which is used when the other roads are impassable [from snow]. The first stage is of 7 leagues from Shiraz to Zarqan, the second stage is 6 leagues to [Padust or Pavdast], the third stage 4 leagues to Istakhr, the fourth stage is of 6 leagues to Kamah, the fifth stage is 4 leagues to Kamhang, the sixth stage is of 8 leagues to Dih Bid, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Dih Puland, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Surmaq, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Abadah, the tenth stage is 7 leagues to Shuristan, and the eleventh stage is 8 leagues to Yazdikhwast.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neither Dih Gurg, "Wolf Village," nor the Bridge over the Kur now exists; Shahriyar's Kiosk must have been at or near modern Ujan; the village of Basht (or Masht) near Aspas; while Kushk-i-Zar (Golden Kiosk) is now generally called Kushk-i-Zard, the Yellow Kiosk (FNN. 220). Mayin and Dih Gawz (Nut Village) have been already noticed. Hafiz Abru adds that this last was also known in Arabic as Qariyat-al-Khamlr, "Yeast Village."

<sup>2</sup> Part of this route is given below, p. 82, in duplicate, in the itinerary for Shlraq to Yazd. The village of Zarqan exists (FNN. 291). The stage called Padust, which may also be read Mavdast, is uncertain, and possibly represents the village of Marvdasht. Kamah, as already said (p. 24), stands for Kalllak. Kamhang (for variants see Ist. 129, Muq. 457, 458) in the other itinerary has, probably, a double, under the form Kamlnak; there given as another stage; it must stand for some place lying between Mashhad-i-Murghab and Mashhad Madir-i-Sulayman, the Tomb of Solomon's Mother, otherwise the Tomb of Cyrus (FNN. 301),

The road to Sumayrani; and from Shiraz to Sumayram it is 45 leagues. The first stage from Shiraz is of 5 leagues to Juwaym, the second stage, on to Bayda, is 3 leagues, the third stage is 4 leagues to Tur, the fourth stage is of 5 leagues to Tir Mayijan of Kamflruz, the fifth stage is 4 leagues to Jarmaq, the sixth stage is 4 leagues to Kurad: the seventh stage is 5 leagues to Kallar, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Dili Tarsaan, and the ninth stage is 8 leagues to Sumayram.<sup>1</sup>

From Shiraz to the province of Kirnian there are three main roads, namely, the Rudan Road, the Shirjan Road, and the road by Purg to Tarum.

The Rudan Road; and from Shiraz to Rudan it is 75 leagues. The first stage is in 10 leagues to the head of the Dam built by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, the second stage is in 10 leagues to the village of Khuvar, the third stage is 10 leagues to Abadah, the fourth stage is 3 leagues to Dili Murd, the fifth stage is 7 leagues to Sahah, the sixth stage is 11 leagues to Radhan, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Shahr-i-Babak, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Mashra'ah Ibrahim, and the ninth stage is 7 leagues to Rudan.<sup>2</sup>

Dih Bid, "Willow Village," exists (FNN. 244). Dih Puland or Buland, "Long Village," must have stood near the present caravanserai, marked on the map as Karvan Saray Khan Khurrah, lying 0 leagues north-west of Dih Bid. The remaining stages have already been noticed.

<sup>1</sup> The name of Tir Mayijan, probably the chief town of Kamflruz (see above, p. 24) does not exist on the map, and is not given by the Arab geographers. It must have stood near modern Ardakan (FNN. 172); Tir Azjan, 6½ leagues to the north of Fahliyan, lies too far to the west (FNN. 304). The remaining stages to Sumayram are not to be found on the present map. Jarmaq may be for Kharbuq, given by Istakhri (p. 106) as the capital of Al-Aghrastiin; and Muqaddasi (p. 447) gives the spelling Kharmaq. Dih Tarsaan would appear to be identical with a stage given by Ibn Khurdadbeh as Tadjab, and by Muqaddasi as Az-Zab\*

\* This is the route by the north side of Lake Bakhtigan, and most of the stages have already been noticed. The ruins of Shahr-i-Babak exist, but Mashra'ah Ibrahim, "the Passage of Ibrahim," is wanting, and for *Mashra'ah* Hafiz Abru gives Mazra'ah, "the Field of Ibrahim," while the Arab geographers put about here Qariyat-al-Jamal, in Persian Dih Shuturan, "Camel Village." Rudan, too, they give as the name of the district lying between Yazd and Shahr-i-Babak. See above, p. 18.

The Shirjan Road ; and from Shiraz to Shirjan is 80 leagues. The first stage is in 4 leagues to Dili Budan, the second stage is 3 leagues to the two villages of Dariyan, the third stage is 7 leagues to Khurramah, the fourth stage is 6 leagues to Kath [or Kisht], the fifth stage is 7 leagues to Khayrah, the sixth stage is 9 leagues to Nay riz, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Qutruh, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Mashra'ah, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Parbal [or Parbak], the tenth and eleventh stages are together 15 leagues to Mashra'ah Muhaffafah ["the Passage of the Mirage"], and the twelfth stage is of 10 leagues to the border of the stony [or salt] plain of Shirjan.<sup>1</sup>

The road by Purg to Tarum ; and from Shiraz to this last it is 70 leagues. The first stage is in 6 leagues to Mahaluyah, the second stage is 9 leagues to Sarvistan, the third stage is of 9 leagues to the village of Kurm, the fourth stage is in 5 leagues to Pasa, the fifth stage is 7 leagues to the village of Fustajan, the sixth stage is in 4 leagues to the frontier of the Darabjird District, the seventh stage is in 6 leagues to Darabjird, the eighth stage is in 6 leagues to Rustaq-ar-B,ustaq, the ninth stage is 12 leagues to Purg, and the tenth stage is 10 leagues to Tarum.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the route along the south side of Lako Bakhtigan. The village of Budan is probably modern Pudinak, lying a league or more to the east of Shiraz. The MS. of Hafiz Abru gives "Two Villages and Dariyan" ; also at the present day there are two hamlets, one called Da Dih, "Two Villages," the other Dariyan, lying respectively 7 and 8 leagues to the east of Shiraz (FNN. 191). Kath (or Kisht) is now known as Khan Kat, standing 9 leagues to the north-west of Istahbanat (FNN. 178). Here, again, both the places called Mashra'ah, "Pass" or "Passage", are given in Hafiz Abru as Mazra'ah, "a Cultivated Field" ; and neither they nor Parbal (with other variants, as Sarbak, etc.) are to be found on the modern map.

<sup>2</sup> The route along the south side of Lake Maharlu and most of the places have been already noticed. The stage Mahaluyah is modern Maharlu, a village on the southern shore of the lake, 8 leagues to the south-east of Shiraz (FNN. 194).

From Shiraz to the frontier of the Khuzistan province is 62 leagues. The first stage [from Shlrāz] is to Juwaym in 5 leagues, the second stage is 5 leagues to Khullar, the third stage is 5 leagues to Kharrarah, the fourth stage is 4 leagues to Dih Gawz of Tir Murdan, the fifth stage is 8 leagues to Kusjan, the sixth stage is 3 leagues to Nawbanjan, the seventh stage is 4 leagues to Khwabdan, the eighth stage is 6 leagues to Kishn, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Gunbad Mallaghan, the tenth stage is 4 leagues to Sahah, the eleventh stage is of 4 leagues to Habs, the twelfth stage is of 6 leagues to Furzuk, the thirteenth stage is 4 leagues to Arrajan, and the fourteenth stage is of 4 leagues to Bustanak.<sup>1</sup>

From Shlrāz to the coast towns (*Sdhiliyydi*), namely, Jannaba, Siniz, and to Mahruban, it is 62 leagues. The first stage [from Shlrāz] is 4 leagues to Juzhirkan [or Juhirkan], the second stage is 6 leagues to Dasht Arzan, the third stage is 10 leagues to Tvazirun, the fourth stage is 9 leagues to Khisht, the fifth stage is of 7 leagues to Tawwaj, the sixth stage is 4 leagues to Dili Malik, the seventh and eighth stages are 10 leagues to Jannaba, the ninth stage is 6 leagues to Siniz, and the tenth stage is 6 leagues to Mahruban.<sup>2</sup>

From Shlrāz to the coast districts (*A'mdl-i-Sif*), being 39 leagues. The first stage [from Shiraz] is in 7 leagues to Masaram, the second stage is 6 leagues to the Sittajan river-bed, the third stage is 3 leagues to Jirrah, the fourth stage is 4 leagues to Ghundijan, the fifth stage is 6 leagues to Rawa-adh-Dliwan, the sixth stage is in

<sup>1</sup> Kusjan is modern Kusingan, 3 leagues to the south-east of Fahliyan, but neither Kishn (which may be read Kathan or Kanash), Sahah (like Sahah near Niriz), nor Bustanak are to be found on the map. The other stages have been already noticed, and all are mentioned in the Itineraries of the Arab geographers, from whom this road is copied.

<sup>2</sup> The name Juzhirkan is uncertain, and not found elsewhere. Hamd-Allah gives it as "the Wall of Hajj Qawwam". Dih Malik, as already said (p. 67), is no longer to be found. The other places have been noticed.

6 leagues to Tawwaj, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to the coast.<sup>1</sup>

From Shiraz to Najiram, which is 65 leagues. The first four stages [from Shiraz] to Ghundijan are in total 20 leagues by the road that has just been given. Then the fifth stage is in 7 leagues to Biishtakan, the sixth stage is in 5 leagues to Bushkanat, the seventh stage is in 10 leagues to the village of Shanana, the eighth stage is in 8 leagues to [the beginning of] Mandistan, the ninth stage is 7 leagues to the further limit of Mandistan, and the tenth stage is 8 leagues to Najirani.<sup>2</sup>

From Shiraz to Siraf by way of Firuzabad it is 86 leagues. From Shiraz the first stage is of 5 leagues to Kafrah,<sup>3</sup> the second stage is 5 leagues to Kuvar, the third stage is 5 leagues to Khunayfqan, the fourth stage is 5 leagues to Firuzabad, the fifth stage is 8 leagues to Simkan, the sixth stage is 7 leagues to Habrak [or Hirak], the seventh stage is 5 leagues to Karzin, the eighth stage is of 8 leagues to Laghir, the ninth stage is 8 leagues to Kuran, the tenth stage is of four days' march from Kurau to Siraf, this being of 30 leagues.

From Shiraz to Yazd it is 60 leagues. The first stage is to Zarqan, in 6 leagues ; the second stage [is of 6 leagues to Padust, and thence on to Istakhr it is 4 leagues] ;<sup>4</sup> the third stage is of 6 leagues to [Kamah], the fourth stage is of 4 leagues to Kamhang, the fifth stage is of 4 leagues to Dih Bid, the sixth stage is of 12 leagues to Abarquyah, the seventh stage is of 5 leagues to Dih Shir, the

<sup>1</sup> Iludbal-i-Sittajan, " the river-bed of the Sittajan," appears to be the river otherwise called the Thakan (see above, p. 65, and cf. 1st. 130, l. 6). Also it seems likely that the stages are inverted, and that Masaram should come after, south of, the river-bed. Rawa-adh-l)hlwan is identical with Ramm-Zavan already noticed (p. 43).

<sup>2</sup> All these places have already been noticed (see above, p. 39).

<sup>3</sup> Modern Kafr or Kafri, lying 2 leagues or more to the south-west of Shiraz { FNN. 294). The remaining stages have all been noticed.

<sup>4</sup> Added from the route already given (p. 78), Kamah, the next stage, is given in the MS. as Kamhang, a repetition.

eighth stage is of 4 leagues to Tumarah Bastar [or Tufarah Basb], and the ninth stage is of 9 leagues to Yazd.<sup>1</sup>

[Ibn-al-Balkhi next relates the history of the Shabankarah and of the Kurdish Ramms, with a short discussion of the characteristics of the Persians from the point of view of their government. These sections have already been given in epitome in the Introduction. After which follows a succinct account (fois. 896-906) of the revenues of Fars, which needs to be translated in full ; and then the MS. closes with the long paragraph, epitomized in the Introduction, relating the closing years of the last of the Buyids.]

#### REVENUES

In the Histories it is reported that in the days of the early Persian [Sassanian] kings and until the reign of Chosroes Anushirvan the revenue of these provinces was assessed at one-third or one-fourth or one-fifth of the crop, according to its abundance, and this custom of Fars was similar to that in usage in other parts of the kingdom. When, however, Anushirvan established his land-tax (*kharaj*) in all his kingdoms, the land-tax of Fars amounted to 36 million [silver] dirhams, equivalent to 3 million [gold] dinars.<sup>2</sup> In the early days of Islam, after Fars had been conquered [by the Arabs], for a time there was nothing but massacre and pillage and all things were taken by force, but at length matters quieted down, and the ruin and disorder that had overspread the land began to be amended. Then finally, in the reign of the Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik, Hajjaj [Viceroy of Iraq] dispatched

<sup>1</sup> The first half of this Itinerary as far as Dih Bid is a duplicate of that already given (p. 78). Dih Shir, "Lion Village," is marked on the map between Abarquh and Yazd, but Tumarah Bastar (with variant) is uncertain, not being mentioned by the Arab geographers, or to be found on the modern map, where, in the position indicated, now stands the village of Taft, possibly the same name corrupted.

<sup>2</sup> The gold Dinar was equivalent to about ten shillings, and the silver Dirham to about ten pence.

his brother Muhammad to be Governor of Fars, who founded Shiraz and built many towns throughout the province; at this time the total revenue from the customs<sup>x</sup> of Fars, which included the one-tenth on the sea ships, amounted in all to three million dirhams. Next, in the geography of Qudamah<sup>2</sup> it is stated that the land-tax of Fars in the reign of Harun-ar-Rashid was registered at two million dinars. Then during the troubles of the reign of Amin, with the massacre of the people and the disorders, all the registers were carried off and burnt; but as soon as Mamim found himself firmly established in the Caliphate he ordered new assessments to be drawn up, when it was established that the total of the revenue of the provinces of Fars, Kirman, and 'Oman was to amount to 2,600,000 dinars. This assessment was effected in the year 200 (815). Next, in the reign of the Caliph Muqtadir [295 to 320 (908 to 932) the Wazir] 'Ali ibn 'Isa made a [new] general assessment, and the copy of the portion relating to Fars, with which province Kirman was also reckoned, is as follows: The total revenue of Fars, Kirman, and 'Oman, in regard to the yearly receipts from the customs, amounted to 2,331,880 red gold dinars. Of this total the portion paid over by Fars with its dependencies, including the customs collected at [the port of] Siraf and the one-tenth levied on the sea-shipping, amounted to 1,887,500 dinars. And of this last total Fars with its dependencies, excluding the Siraf customs, paid in 1,634,500 dinars, while Siraf, with the one-tenth levied on the sea ships, paid 253,000 dinars.

[Of the grand total first given] Kirman and 'Oman together paid 444,380<sup>3</sup> dinars, but of this sum Kirman

<sup>1</sup> The word used is *mn'amalat*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text of Ibn Khurdadbih, p. 237, and the translation, with notes, pp. 6-11. Our MS. gives the name as Ja'far ibn Qudamah; it should be Qudamah ibn Ja'far.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. in error gives 4,044,380 by a mistake of *hazar* for *sad*; the addition of the two items gives the sum as above.

with its dependencies contributed only 364,380, this being reckoned as excluding the revenues of [the towns of] Fahl and Fahraj, and also not counting the [revenue of] districts collected in the name of individual Amirs by their agents, and further not including the revenues set aside for the two sanctuaries [of Mecca and Medina] and which Munis the chamberlain [of the Caliph Muqtadir] was responsible for collecting. [The sum therefore above given is] the net remainder which is paid over to the Divan. But taking the places in 'Oman by themselves, these paid 80,000 dinars.

In [early] times the Amirs [of Fars] called themselves the Sons of the Caliph, for none would call himself merely Amir. Further, they had seized, on their own behalf, upon much property that of right belonged to the State, and this mostly by force of arms; then those parcels of land which had now come to belong to them were ever afterwards reckoned to be their own fiefs, those who had come into possession taking for themselves the revenues, though before these had all belonged to the State. At the time when 'Adud-ad-Dawlah came to power he made buildings [and constructions] without number, such as dams [on the rivers for irrigation which watered] the lands he brought under cultivation. Wherefore in his days the sum-total of the revenues of Fars, Kirman, and 'Oman, including the one-tenth derived from the seaports at Siraf and Mahruban, amounted to 3,346,000 dinars. Of this sum Fars, with the one-tenth levied on the ships which sailed from Siraf and Mahruban, paid 2,150,000 dinars; while from Shlraz and [the new suburb of] Gird Fana Khusru came 316,000 dinars. Then Kirman with [the port of] Tiz and its districts gave 750,000 dinars; while the towns in 'Oman, not including Fara',<sup>1</sup> paid in 130,000 dinars.

<sup>1</sup> The reading is uncertain, and what place is meant unknown. The MS. might be read Maza' or Maragh, with other variants.

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