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The Cities of Irân as described in the old Pahlavi Treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Airân.

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I.

"Shatrôihâ-i-Airân," or "The Cities of Irân," is the name of an old Pahlavi treatise, lately published for the first time, with some other Pahlavi treatises by the late lamented Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji. The book purports to give the names of the founders of some of the known cities of Western and Central Asia, that had, at one time or another, passed into the hands of the ancient Persians. It has not been hitherto translated in any language.¹ The object of this paper is to identify these cities, and to give a few points of geographical and historical importance about them, as presented by this treatise.

This treatise seems to have been written a long time after the Mahomedan conquest of Persia. In the Pahlavi Bundelesh,² the country of Syria is spoken of as Sûristân (𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥), i. e., the country of Suria or Syria, just as Cabulistân is the country of Cabul. It is spoken of, as the country, from which the Frât or the Euphrates runs. Shâm is the name given to Syria by Mahomedan writers. According to Maçoudi,³ Syria was called Shâm شام because it is situated on the left (*chimal*) of Kaabah; and Yemen was so called, because it is situated on the right (*yemin*) of Kaabah. The king of Yemen

¹ The late lamented Dr. Darmesteter has translated two passages in his "Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme," (*Revue des Études Juives*, T. XVIII.) Deuxième Partie, p. 41.

² Justi, p. 51, l. 12. S. B. E. V., Ch. XX., 10. Vide my Bundelesh, p. 92.

³ Maçoudi, traduit par B. De Méynard, Vol. III., p. 139.

(Arabia Felix) is spoken of in the Pahlavi books as *tâzikân malek*¹ 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 or "*tâzikân shâh*" 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, i. e., the king of the Arabs. But in this treatise, these countries are known, not by their old names of Sûristân and "the country of the Tâziks," but by their later names of Shâm and Yemen. This fact then shews, that it was written after the time of Mahomed, when these new names came into use. In what is called, the Irânian or the grand Bundeshesh, the name Shâm does occur once (S. B. E., Vol. XLVII., p. 151, n. 3), but the word seems to have been miswritten for Âmi, which is found in the later copies. That it is a mistake of the last revising Editor, appears from the fact, that, he says, that the land of Surak was called Shâm. Now the land of Surak, from which the river Arag is represented as flowing, is evidently the country of Sogdiana and not Syria. Nevertheless, the fact remains, that, though there is a mistake in the identification, yet the name "Shâm" was known to the revising Editor of the Bundeshesh. But, in that case, we must remember, that the revising Editor seems to have done his work, as late as the end of the ninth century.² So, it is possible, that the Pahlavi writers began to use the name in the ninth century. That probably is the date of our treatise.

Again, we find in no other Pahlavi work, the name of Africa, which is here called "Farikâ." Many Persian writers even, when they spoke of Africa, spoke of it, as the country of the Magreb, or the West. Just as at present, the European nations speak of Turkey and the adjoining countries, as the East, and of China and Japan, as the Further East, so, the ancient Asiatic authors spoke of Africa—of course, by Africa, they understood only Egypt and the northern portion of Africa, with which they had come into contact—as, the Magreb, or the country of the West. The country of Egypt is spoken of in some Pahlavi books as Misr, but the term Africa is not used at all. Therefore, the use of this name in our book, also points to its later origin, at a time when the name Africa began to be used more commonly in Persia, after the Mahomedan conquest. It is noteworthy, that among the places mentioned in our books, the name of Egypt or Misr is conspicuous by its absence, though the country

¹ Dinkard. Tehmuras's MS. extra leaves after p. 308. S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 28. Bk. VIII., Ch. XIII., 9. Binâ i-Farvardin Yûm-i-Khurdad—Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 103, s. 14.

² S. B. E., Vol. V. West. Bundeshesh Introduction, p. 43. Vide my Bundeshesh Introduction, pp. 18-19.

was, at one time, ruled over by the ancient Persians. So, it appears, that by the name Farika or Africa, which laterly became common in Persia, our author meant the country of Egypt. According to Maçoudi, the country had derived its name from one Afrike, son of Abrahah (أفريقى بن أبرهة), who had founded it.

There is one other city, an allusion to which in the book, points to the fact, that the book could not have been written, or at least finished, earlier than the beginning of the ninth century, or the end of the eighth century. It is the town of Bagdâd. Its foundation is attributed to one Abou Jâfar, who was also called Abou Davânik. This personage was the Khalif Abou Jaffer Mansour, who had, according to Ebn Haukal,¹ built the celebrated city since the introduction of Islâm. This is the only town in the list of the cities of this book, the foundation of which is attributed to a Mahomedan ruler. Our book gives Abou Davânik, as the other name of this prince, and it is confirmed by Tabari (Zotenberg IV, p. 324), according to whom, his whole name was Abou Dja'far Mançour Abou'l Dawânîq. Now this prince began to reign in Hijri 136 (A. D. 754), and built the town of Bagdâd in Hijri 145 (A. D. 763). This shows, then, that the book must have been written at the end of the eighth century or in the ninth century.

II.

Altogether 111 cities are referred to in this treatise. Out of this number, 52 are enumerated with the names of the founders of most of them. With few exceptions, these cities are grouped in large divisions. The first three divisions are separated by the common use of the words "In the direction of" (*pavan kosté*).

The first group is that of the cities of Khorâsân, which is considered to be a very large province. As Kinneir says, "The vast province of Khorassan has for its boundaries the Oxus and country of Bulkh, to the N. E. and E., Cabul and Seistan to the S., and to the W. the provinces of Irak, Asterabad, and Dahestan."² The cities mentioned as those belonging to Khorasân are 17. They are the following:—Samarcand, a city in Balkh,³ Khvarzem, Maruv-rud, Meruv (Merv), Harâi (Herat), Pushen (Pusheng), Tûs (Mashad) Nio-Shâpuhar (Nishâpur), Kâin, Dahistân, Komis, and five cities bearing the name of Khusrui.

¹ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 66.

² A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, by Kinneir, p. 169.

³ The Pahlavi name can be taken as that of Bokhârâ also.

The second group is that of the cities in the direction of Khurbarân, i. e., Khâvar (Pavan kost-i-Khurbarân). Khâvar is the name of a district in Khorasân. But the very first name in this group, viz., Ctesiphon, shows that it is not the district of that name, that is mentioned here. Here, the word is used as a common noun in the sense of "the west." In this group of the western cities, we find the following :—

Ctesiphon.

Sasûr (Sarsur).

Hirleh (Hilleh).

Bâwir (Babylon).

Hairat or Hirat (Hira).

Hamdân.

One city in Mâh in the direction of Nehâvand and in the district of Vahrâm-âvand.

Twenty cities in the country of Pâdashkvârgar (the mountain district on the south of the Caspian, including the provinces of Tabaristân, Mâzandarân, and Ghelân).

Mosul.

Nine cities in Jazeeréh (Mesopotamia).

Twenty-four cities in the land of Syria, Africa, Cufa, Mecca, and Medineh.

The third group of cities is that of Nimruz or Seistân. As Sir F. J. Goldsmid says, "It is somewhat embarrassing at the present day, to define the limits of the province of Sistân. We may suppose two territories, one compact and concentrated, which may be termed 'Sistan Proper,' the other detached and irregular, which may be termed 'Outer Sistan.'" ¹

The following are the cities of Seistân :—

Cavul (Cabul), Râvad (Rebat), Bost, Fariâv (Fariâb), Zavulastân, and Zarang (Dooshak).

¹ „Journey from Bunder Abbas to Meshed by Sistan," by Sir F. J. Goldsmid. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XXII., p. 88.

The fourth group is that of the towns of Kirmân and Pârs. It contains the following towns :—

Kerman, Veh Artashir, Stâkhar (Istakhar or Persepolis), Dârâbgird near Shiraz, Vish-Shâpuhar, Artashir Gadman or Firouzâbâd, and Touj.

The fifth group forms the towns of Khuzistân, which are the following :—

Oharmazd-Artashir or Ahwâz, Râm Oharmazd, Shus, Shuster, Vandu-i-Shâpuhar, Airân-kird-Shâpuhar, Nâhar Tirak, Simlân, Kharâyast, Askar (Askar Moukarram), Veh (Hey), Gaê (Ispahân), Khajrân (Kazeroun), Adjân, and Kard.

The sixth and the last group contains towns, which cannot be ascribed to any one province. They belong to different provinces in different directions. They are the following :—

Ashkar (2nd), Âtaropâtakân (Âdarbaijân), Nînav (Nineveh), Ganjêh, Âmui (Amul), and Bagdâd.

III.

We will now speak of the cities in detail.

Samarcand.—Our Pahlavi book attributes the foundation of Samarcand to Kâus of Kobâd of the Kyânian dynasty of Persia, and its completion to his son, Siâvakhsh. Tabari says, that Samarcand was founded in the reign of Kobâd, but he attributes its foundation to one Samar (Schamar), a general of Tobba abou-Karib, a king of Yemen.¹ Maçoudi also attributes its foundation to Samar.² Tabari, later on, says, that Alexander the Great founded it. When oriental writers speak of the foundation of a city, we must not always understand by that term, its original foundation, but its being rebuilt or decorated or enlarged. Edrisi says this more clearly: “ Samarcande doit sa fondation au Toba-el-Akbar³ (roi de l'Arabie Heureuse), et ses progrès à Dhoul-Carneïn (Alexandre le Grand).”⁴

The Shâh-nâmeh throws no further light on the question of the foundation of Samarcand. What we learn from this book, is merely this, that at one time, it belonged to the Persians, that latterly Afrâsiâb, the Turânian, had taken it away from their hands, and that in accord-

¹ Tabari par Zotenberg II., pp. 31, 32, 157.

² Maçoudi par Barbier de Meynard I., p. 352.

³ He is the same as the Tobba abou-Karib, of Tabari, the master of Samar.

⁴ Géographie d'Edrisi, par Jaubert, II., p. 198.

ance with one of the terms of peace made with Siâvakhsh, the son of Kâus, it went back into the hands of the Persians.¹ It appears then, that Kâus must have begun building it, when it was captured by Afrâsiâb, and that Siâvakhsh finished it, on regaining it, according to the terms of peace. Though Tabari, Maçoudi, Edrisi, and Firdousi do not directly support our Pahlavi book in its statement, that Kâus founded it, other oriental writers do. "Samarkand remonte à la plus haute antiquité. Les annales de l'Orient musulman en rapportent la fondation sous le nom de Sogdo (d'ou Sogdiane) à l'époque heroïque de l'histoire persane, en l'attribuant au Këïanide Keï-Kaous fils de Keï-Koubad."²

There is one statement about Samarcand in this new treatise, which throws some light upon the locality of one of the two celebrated libraries of ancient Persia.

We find, what Dr. West calls, "The Traditional History of the Zoroastrian Scriptures" in several Pahalavi books.³ According to that history, when Zoroaster revealed his new religion, Kaî Vishtâsp, the then ruler of Persia, asked him to write down the scriptures. The king ordered, that the original be kept in the treasury of Shapigân or Shaspigân, and that an authentic copy be deposited in Dazh-i-Napisht, *i.e.*, the castle of written documents. Thus, two great libraries were established, the one of Shapigân, and the other of Dazh-i-Napisht. On the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great, who, on account of the devastations that he committed, is termed "the evil-destined villain" (*mâr-i-dush-gadman*) and "the cursed (*gzashté*) Alexiedar," the latter was destroyed by fire by his troops.

The books in the library, attached to the treasury of Shapigân, fell into the hands of the Arumans, *i.e.*, the Greeks of those provinces, which latterly formed a part of the Eastern Empire of the Romans, and they were translated into Greek. Our Pahlavi book also refers

¹ Mohl. II., p. 272, ll. 9:3-24. The ruins of Afrâsiâb are still pointed out to travellers at Samarcand. "Through the Heart of Asia," by Bonvalot, (Vol. II., pp. 7, 31.)

² Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle (1892). *Vide* the word Samarkand.

³ Dinkard Bk. III., Haug's Introduction to the Zend Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Dr. Hoshangji, pp. xxxi.-xxxviii. West's Dinkard, S. B. E., Vol. xxxvii., pp. xxx.-xxxi., pp. 412-413. Ardaî Virâf Nâmeb, chap. I., 1-15. *Vide* Tansar's letter to the King of Tabaristan, Journal Asiatique, Neuvième Série Tome III. (March, April, May, June, 1894). p. 516.

to this traditional history in a few words. It says that the foundation of the city of Samarcand, which is situated in the province of Khorasân (or the Eastern districts), was laid by king Kâus of Kobâd, and that the city was completed by his son Siâvakhsh. Kaikhosru, the son of Siâvakhsh, was born there, and he had built therein a glorious fire-temple. The book then proceeds to say:

“In the end, Zoroaster brought the religion and by the order of king Vishtâsp wrote 1,200 ‘*pargards*’ (chapters) of religious writings on golden tablets and deposited them in the treasury of that Fire-temple. At last the accursed Sikandar (Alexander) burnt and threw into the river the (collection of the) religious writings (Dinkard) of seven kings.” (*Vide* my *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zorirân*, &c., p. 55.)

This passage, not only repeats, what is already said in the above-named Pahlavi works about the early part of the traditional history of the Zoroastrian scriptures, but says something more. It says, that the writings burnt by Alexander were not only those of Zoroaster alone, but also the religious literature collected by seven kings.¹

Now, where were the two libraries of the Zoroastrian books situated? The one of the Dazh-i-Napisht, which was burnt by Alexander, was situated, according to the Dinkard, in the country of Irân (*Airân Shatra*. The Zend Pahlavi Glossary, XXXII.). It appears from the Ardâi Virâf-Nâme (ch. I., 4), that the city of Irân, in which it was situated, was Stâkhar-i-Pâpakân, *i. e.*, Istakhar or Persepolis of Ardesir Bâbegân. As to the second library, *viz.*, that of Shaspigân, its situation has not been as yet settled. Dr. Haug²

¹ Though the number of kings mentioned here is seven, we find later on that the names of eight kings are enumerated. They are Jam (Jamshed) Azidahâka (Zohâk), Feridun, Minocheher, Kâus, Kaï Khosru, Lohrâsp, and Vishtâsp. The reason, why, though eight kings are enumerated, the religious writings (Dinkard) of only seven kings are said to have been collected, is, that the King Azidahâk or Zohâk is not taken into consideration. The names of the prominent kings of Irân, commencing from Jamshed, are mentioned one by one, and Azidahâk's name is also mentioned as that of a prominent king, but he was an irreligious monarch, and so, as such, could not have written or collected any religious works. The fact, that Azidahâk is not considered by the author to have been a monarch, who contributed anything to the collection of religious writings in the library attached to the fire-temple in Samarcand, is clear from the fact, that, while we find in the text, the words ‘*zak-i*’ (that of, *i. e.*, the *khudâi* or sovereignty of), repeated before all the monarchs, we do not find them repeated before the name of Azidahâka.

² Zand Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Hoshangji, Introduction, p. XXXVI. n. 2.

thought, that Shaspigân "was, perhaps, the name of the fort at Pasargadæ where Cyrus was buried." But our book seems to settle the question, and says, that the other library was at Samarcand. It was attached to the great fire-temple of that city, founded originally by king Kaikhosru. Samarcand, though, now and then, under the territories belonging to Irân, was not, strictly speaking, a city of Irân (*Irân Shatra*), as Istakhar was. It was, now and then, a Turânian city. Hence, it is, that the library of Dazh-i-Napisht is specially spoken of, as situated in the city of Irân, as distinguished from the library of Shaspigân, situated in Samarcand, which was more a Turânian city than an Irânian one.

But, there is one difficulty, presented by our text, which would prevent us from settling the question, that the Shaspigân Library was situated in Samarcand. It is this, that our text says of the Samarcand Library also, that it was burnt by Alexander, and not only that, but that its contents were thrown into the river. As a matter of fact, we know that the Shaspigân Library was not immediately burnt by Alexander, but that most of its books were translated by the Greeks into their own language, and that it was some of these translations, that Tansar or Taôsar made use of, in reviving the ancient literature of Irân in the reign of Ardesir Bâbegân.¹ I think, that the writer of our Pahlavi treatise has committed a mistake in saying, that the library of Samarcand was burnt by Alexander. The mistake seems to me to have arisen from the fact of mistaking one place for another, their names being identical. We have seen, that the library burnt was that of Dazh-i-Napisht, situated in Istakhar. Now, it appears from Ebn Haukal's *Oriental Geography*,² that there is near Samarcand also, a district of the name of Istakhar, and that there is also a river of that name passing from the district. This identity of the names of two places, seems to have led the author of the Pahlavi treatise, into the mistake of saying, that the library of Samarcand was burnt by Alexander, and not only that, but that its contents were thrown into the river. The statement in the older books of the *Dinkard* and the *Virâf-Nameh*, that the library (of Dazh-i-Napisht) at Istakhar was burnt

¹ *Vide* my paper on "The Antiquity of the Avesta," in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIX., No. 52. *Vide* above pp. 111-136.

² Sir Wm. Ousley's *Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*, pp. 255-256.

by Alexander, seems to have led the author to the mistake of taking one Istakhar for another, the Istakhar of Pars for the Istakhar of Samarcand. Thus then, our treatise seems to settle the question of the locality of the library of Shaspigan, the second library of Irân.

Balkh or Bokhârâ.—The second city of Khorasân, referred to in our treatise, is Bâkhar-i-Nâmîk (بکهار نامیک). It is the beautiful Bâkhdhi (*Bâkhdhim Srirâm*) of the Vendidâd (I, 7), spoken of, as Bâkhar-i-Nyôk (بکهار نیوک) in the Pahlavi translation. This Bâkhar or Bâkhal of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, is identified by some with Balkh, and by others with Bokhârâ. One manuscript of the Pahlavi Vendidâd in my possession, identifies the Bâkhdhi of the Avesta with both Balkh and Bokhârâ (بکهار و بکهارا نیوک). Now, if we take this city to be Balkh, Maçoudi speaks of it, as بلخ الحسنة i.e., the beautiful Balkh¹, which epithet corresponds to the Srirâm (سریرام) i. e., the beautiful) of the Avesta.

Coming to the name of its founder, we find, that our book attributes the foundation of a place called Novâzak in this city to Asfandiâr, the son of King Gushtâsp. No other oriental work connects the name of Asfandiâr with Balkh. Maçoudi, Yakout² and Mirkhond³ attribute the foundation of Balkh to Lohrâsp, the grandfather of Asfandiâr. Lohrâsp was therefore called Balkhi by some. According to the same historians, some attribute its foundation to Kayomars, some to Kâus, and some to Alexander the Great. According to Kinneir some oriental writers attribute it to Taimuras.⁴

According to Tabari⁵, Lohrâsp built there a residence, which he called Housnâ (حسنة). This is the Al Hasnâ (الحسنة) of Maçoudi, above referred to. Cazvini attributes its foundation to Kaiomars.⁶

¹ Maçoudi par B. de Meynard II., p. 121.

² Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112.

³ Shea's Mirkhond, p. 59. Munshi Naval Kishore's Lucknow Edition of 1874, Vol. I., p. 150.

فرقة از اهل تاریخ بر آند که بلخ را لهراسپ بنا کرده است

⁴ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 187. The Novâzak, referred to here, may be the Nuwâzi (Fire-temple) of the coins. (Numismatic Illustrations of the Sassanians, by E. Thomas, p. 17.)

⁵ Tabari, par Zotenberg I., p. 491.

⁶ Ousley's Travels II., p. 372.

Asfandiâr is callad Nizehvar (*i. e.*, a good lancer) in the Afrins
 (𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬊𐬵𐬀𐬢𐬁𐬨𐬆𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬙𐬥𐬛). Our work explains, why this epithet
 was applied to him. It says, that he pointed his lance to king Arjâsp
 and his accomplices (Yasht, IX. 30, 31), saying, that if they would not
 respect the new religion of Zoroaster, he would punish them with his
 lance.

Khârzem.—The foundation of Khârzem is attributed to the Resh of the Yahoudgân, *i.e.*, to the chief of the Jews. The Pahlavi word **𐭠𐭣𐭥** is the Hebrew **רִשׁ** Arabic **ریش** *i.e.*, the chief. We find this word in many Hebrew words denoting the titles of Jewish chiefs, *e.g.*, Resh Metibta, *i.e.*, the chief of the Session, Resh Kalla (professor), Resh Galutha, *i.e.*, the chief of the Exiles.² At times, it was also used with the proper names of Jewish dignitaries. For example, Simeon Ben Lakish, a Jewish dignitary, was known as Resh Lakish. Of all these Reshes or chiefs, the rank of Resh Galutha **רִשׁ גַּלּוּתָא** *i.e.*, the Exilarch, or the chief of the Exiles, was considered to be the highest. According to Albiruni, “the head of the exiles, who had been banished from their homes in Jerusalem, is the master of every Jew in the world; the ruler whom they obey in all countries, whose order is carried out under most circumstances.”³ . . . He “must of necessity be one of the descendents of David; an offspring of another family would not be fit for this office.”⁴ In another part of our book, the chief (Resh Galutha) is called Yahoudgân Shâh, *i.e.*, the King of the Jews, because in the court of some of the Sassanian kings of Persia, he enjoyed royal honours. Some of these chiefs were the favourites of Persian kings and had founded separate colonies of their co-religionists in Persia. When our text speaks of the foundation of Khârzem by the Chief of the Jews, we must understand by it, the foundation of a Jewish colony there, because, we know from the Avesta,⁵ that the town existed long before the Sassanian times.

² The correct form is ~~و~~^و, *vide* section 47 of the text. *Vide* my Aiyâdgâr-i-zarirân, Shatroiha-i-Airân and Afdya va Sahigiha-i-Sistan, p. 104.

² History of the Jews, by Graetz, Vol. II., p. 554.

³ The Chronology of Ancient Nations, by Albiruni. Translated by Dr. Sachau, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

^b Yast IX. (Meher) 14.

Three other Jewish colonies are referred to in this treatise, as founded by the Jews, or more particularly by Shishin-dôkht, the daughter of one Resh Galutha, the king of the Jews, and the wife of Yezdagard of Shâpuhar, i.e., Yezdagard I., the son of Shâpur III.

According to Firdousi, Yezdagard I. was the son of Shâpur III. Tabari says, that he was the son of Beharâm IV., but adds that some consider him to be the son of Shâpur and the brother of Beharâm.¹ Maçoudi calls him to be the son of Shâpur,² but on the authority of another writer, says later on, that he was the son of Beharâm.³ Mirkhond says, that, according to some, he was the son of Beharâm, and according to others, the brother of Beharâm.⁴ Malcolm says, on the authority of several historians, that, according to some, Yezdagard was the brother of Beharâm, and according to others, the son. Rawlinson calls him the son of Beharâm. He takes some Greek writers to be his authorities.⁵ Our Pahlavi treatise settles this question, by saying, that Yezdagard was the son of Shâpur.

Now, this Yezdagard is called *dafr* ذفر (Arabic دفر stinking). Most of the oriental historians call him a wicked king. Firdousi calls him Yezdagard-i-Bazêhgar (يزدگورد بزه گر), i.e., the wicked Yezdagard. As an instance of his wickedness, Firdousi gives the case of his son Beharâm Gour's imprisonment. He was sent to prison for nodding in the court, while standing in his presence. At the very time of his accession to the throne, he had given to his courtiers, a cause to be displeased with him. Maçoudi calls him Al Athim (الاثيم), i.e., the sinner. In some Oriental works, he is spoken of as Pêjehkiar,⁶ which word is evidently the corruption of Bazehgar (بزه گر) of Firdousi. Mirkhond calls him Faru Bandehgar⁷ (فروبنده گر), wherein the word (بنده گر) is evidently the corruption of بزه گر. According to Tabari, some called him (الاثيم) and others Al Khashan (الخشن), i.e., the wicked (Arabic خشن hard,

¹ Tabari, par Zotenberg, Vol. II., p. 103.

² Maçoudi, B. De Meynard, Vol. II., p. 190.

³ *Ibid*, Vol. II., p. 238.

⁴ (Mirkhond, بعضی یزدگرد را پسر بهرام و برخی برادر وی گفته اند, Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition, p. 221. Mémoires sur la Perse par S. de Sacy, p. 321.)

⁵ Eutychius (Vol. I., p. 548). Abu Obeidah (quoted by Maçoudi, Vol. II., p. 238). Sépéos (p. 20.) (The Seventh Oriental Monarchy (1876), p. 269 n. 3.)

⁶ S. de Sacy. Mémoires sur la Perse, p. 321.

⁷ Bombay Edition, p. 227.

rude). According to all these Oriental writers, Yezdagard was called wicked for his personal wicked characteristics. But we learn from Greek and Roman writers, that there was another reason, why he was hated by his own countrymen. According to Procopius, Agathias and Theophanes, Arcadius, the Roman Emperor, had, by his testament, appointed Yezdagard the guardian of his young son, Theodosius the Younger.¹ According to Cedranus, Yezdagard was given a legacy of 1,000 pounds of gold in return for this duty entrusted to him. This circumstance, they say, made him inclined a little towards the Christians. Again, Antiochus, his great favourite, whom he had sent to the court of Rome, to help and advise young Theodosius, had, by his frequent letters in favour of Christianity, turned the mind of the Persian king to the religion of Christ, so much so, that according to some Roman writers, he began persecuting the Zoroastrians of Persia for the sake of his Christian subjects. The influence of Antiochus had greatly led to the increase of the Christian population in Persia. According to Theophanes, Yezdagard himself had shown a little inclination to turn a Christian. Bishop Marutha of Mesopotamia, and Bishop Abdaäs of Ctesiphon, had great influence over him. Prof. Darmesteter, while referring to these passages in our treatise, in his interesting article on this subject, says, on the authority of previous writers, that it was this monarch, who had allowed the first Christian synod to be held in Persia, in the town of Seleucia, under the leadership of the Bishop of Byzantium.² Again, he had permitted the erection of a church at Ctesiphon. He employed Christian bishops on diplomatic service. It is said, that Bishop Marutha gained over the good-will of the Persian monarch, by once curing by his prayers, the headache from which the king was suffering, and which the Persian Mobads and physicians could not cure. Again, they say, this very Bishop Marutha and Bishop Abdaäs, once, by their prayers and fasts, chased a demon, which had possessed the body of the son of the king.³ All these statements, however exaggerated, show, that Yezdagard was, at first, a little inclined towards Christianity. Latterly, he had turned round a little. According to Theophanes and Theodoret, Bishop Abdaäs, once, depending too much upon his influ-

¹ Rawlinson's *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 272.

² *Textes Pehlvis Relatifs au Judaïsme. Revue des Études Juives*, X., Vol. XVIII., p. 44.

³ *Ibid*, p. 45.

ence with the king, set fire to the great Fire-temple of Ctesiphon. Yezdagard asked him to rebuild it at once. Abdaäs refused to do so. This exasperated the Persian king, and he ordered a general persecution of the Christians. Thus, it was the favour, that he had shown to a foreign religion, and his inconsistent and wicked conduct, that had made him unpopular with his people, and gained for him the epithet of *dafr*, referred to in our treatise, and the epithets of Al Athim, Al Khashan, Bazehgar, etc., referred to in other Oriental works. He met with an accidental death, being kicked by a ferocious horse, who appeared to be altogether quiet when he went before him to ride. Most of the oriental writers speak of this kind of death, as a punishment from God for his wicked conduct.

Now, our Pahlavi treatise goes one step further, and points out, that Yezdagard was not only favourably inclined towards the Christians, but also towards the Jews. We learn from other sources, that on great occasions he specially invited to his court the religious chiefs of the Jews. Huna, the son of Nathan, who was a Jewish prince, was a special favourite of Yezdagard. We read the following on this point in the history of the Jews:—"He (Yezdagard) was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews, and at the same time favourably disposed towards the Christians. On the days of homage there were present at his court the three representatives of the Babylonian Jews: Ashi, of Sora; Mar-Zutra, of Pumbeditha; and Amemar of Nahardea. Huna bar Nathan, who, if he was no Prince of the Captivity, must nevertheless have been possessed of considerable influence, held frequent intercourse with Jezdijird's court. Such a mark of attention on the part of a Persian king may be regarded as a proof of high favour." (History of the Jews by Graetz, Vol. II., page 617.)

Now, there was one special reason, why Yezdagard was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews. We learn for the first time from our Pahalavi treatise, that Yezdagard was married to a Jewish princess. No other works, oriental or occidental, refer to this point. Shishin Dôkht is the name of this Jewish princess. She was the daughter of the Resh Galutha, *i.e.*, the Jewish Exilarch, who is spoken of here, as Yahoudgân Shâh, *i.e.*, the King of the Jews. She seems to have played, if not the same, as Darmesteter says, at least a similar part, as that played by queen Esther of the Old

Testament. It appears, that not only Jewish princesses, but other Jewish ladies had begun influencing the Persians in one way or another. It is for this reason, that we find, that the Dinkard deprecates marriages with Jewish women.¹ As to the question, who this particular Rish Galutak, whose daughter, Shishin Dôkht, Yezdagard had married, was, the above passage of the history of the Jews seems to show, that it was Huna, the son of Nathan, who had considerable influence with Yezdagard.

According to our treatise, it was this Jewish queen of Yezdagard, who had founded in Persia, Shus and Shuster, the well-known towns of Khuzistân. Not only that, but it was at her special desire, that a Jewish colony was founded in Gaê (Ispahân). We will first speak of the towns of Shus and Shuster, said to have been founded by her.

According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, in the ancient times, there were two cities of the name of Susan or Susa; the more ancient, the Shusan of the Scriptures, being situated on the Kârûn or Eulæus, and the other, the Susa of the Greeks, being situated near the Cherkheh or Choaspes. The Shus of our treatise seems to be the first of these two. Tradition and some oriental authors² attribute to this town of Shus (Susa), the tomb of the Hebrew prophet Daniel. So, it is likely, that the Jewish queen of the Persian king took advantage of her influence over her royal husband and rebuilt or enlarged or improved the town, with which the name of a prophet of her religion was connected. According to Tabari,³ it is a very ancient town and said to have been originally founded by Shâpur II.

Shuster, the other city, whose foundation or rather enlargement also is attributed to the queen Shishin-dôkht, is situated on the river Kârûn at the distance of about 32 miles from Susa. Tabari⁴ and other authors⁵ attribute its original foundation to Shâpur I., who, they say, had ordered Emperor Valerian, whom he had defeated and taken prisoner, to send Roman engineers to build this and other cities. Firdousi⁶ also refers to this fact, and says, especially of the

¹ Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. II., p. 90.

² Ebn Haukal, Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 76.

³ Zotenberg II., p. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.* II., p. 79.

⁵ Malcolm's History of Persia, I., p. 542.

⁶ Mohl, V., p. 392.

waterworks of this town, that they were built by Beranous, a Roman engineer, at the orders of Shâpur I.

The similarity of the names (Shus and Shuster) of these towns' with that of their founder Shishin-dôkht is striking. The original name of this queen may be Shushan, which is a common Hebrew name of Jewish women, and Shishin may be a corrupted form. The Hebrew name Shusan seems to be the same as Arabic سوسن *susan* meaning a "lily." The word *dôkht* is the contracted form of *dôkhtar* دختر *i.e.*, daughter. It is used in the sense of "maiden, girl or princess," and is added to the names of several Persian queens, *e.g.*, Purân-dôkht and Azermidôkht.

As to the town of Gaê, wherein Shishin-dôkht had founded a colony of the Jews, the name Gaê is another form of Jaê or Djey, which was the ancient name of Ispahân.¹ A part of Ispahân, now in ruins, is still known by the name of Djey. It was also known as Yahoudeh, *i.e.*, the quarters of the Yahoudis or Jews. "Ispahân était anciennement la ville connu sous le nom de Djey. Elle se nommait, primitivement Djey, puis Yahoudieh."² Our text attributes its original foundation to Alexander.³

¹ Dictionnaire de la Geographie, etc., par. B. de Meynard, p. 45.

² *Ibid*, p. 41.

³ The late Prof. Darmesteter had a copy of the old text (MK) supplied to him, wherein, a part being eaten away by worms, two letters are wanting. The words in the old text, as given by Darmesteter in his "Textes Pehlvis Relatifs, au Judaïsme (Revue des Études Juives, XVIII. p. 41) is "Shatrostân-i-Gai gujastak Alaksandaro pilp. . . . kart." Darmesteter, in his translation, takes the missing letters to be âê, reads the word pilpâê and translates the sentence thus "La ville de Gai fut foulée aux pieds des éléphants, par le maudit Alexandre." But, it appears from the Teheran manuscript J., copied from the original, when it was in a good condition, that the word was *philphous* (شاهانوس).

Now Firdousi gives *philkous* فيل قوس as the name of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great (Mohl. V., p. 57). In Persian the word *philkous* فيل قوس can easily be read *philphous* فيل فوس by dropping a dot (nukté) from ق

ک. So, it appears intelligible, how the copyist put in *philphous* شاهانوس for *philkous* (شاهانوس). Anyhow Prof. Darmesteter's reading *pilpâê* cannot hold good, because, here, there is no question of the destruction of the city of Ispahân (fut foulée), but on the contrary that of its construction. That

Some Persian writers carry the foundation of Ispahân to a period earlier than that of Alexander. According to our text, the Jewish queen of Yezdagard had founded a Jewish colony at Ispahân, but according to other authors, the Jews lived there, long before this time. It is possible, that this Jewish queen rebuilt their quarters or their part of the town. According to Yakout,¹ it was Bakht-en-Nasr (Nebuchadnezzar) who, after taking Jerusalem, brought the Jews as prisoners to Ispahân, where they built quarters of their own and called them Yahoudieh.² Their population there, latterly increased to such an extent, that, according to Mansour ben Badân, there was hardly a family in Ispahân, which could not trace its descent from a Jewish ancestor. Ebn Haukal³ names a place called Jehudistân, just near Ispahân. That may possibly be the same as Yahoudieh, because it also means "the place of the Jews."

Meruv-rud.—It is said to be founded by Beharâm of Yezdagard. It is the Maruv-al-rud (مروال رود) of Ebn Haukal.⁴ It is the Marv-rud (مرورود) of the Shâhnâmeh.⁵ The Beharâm, referred to here, is Beharâm V., known as Beharâm Gour. From other oriental works, we know nothing of Meruvrud being founded by Beharâm Gour. But what we know from Mirkhond and Firdousi is only this, that Beharâm Gour had won a great victory over the Khâkân of Chin at a place known as Merv⁶ (مرو). But this Merv seems to be quite a different place from Merv-al-rud. It is possible that Mirkhond and Firdousi have mixed up these two places. After the victory at the above place, Beharâm Gour is said to have built a large column (میل) to mark out the frontiers of Irân and Turân.

Meruv and Harâe.—Both of them are said to be founded by Alexander the Great. Meruv is the well known city of Merv, known

Alexander had destroyed the city of Ispahân, does not appear from any author, but the fact, that he had founded it, appears from Athar el-Bilad (Dans le livre Athar el-Bilad, c'est Alexandre seul qui est nommé comme fondateur d'Ispahân. Dict. de la Geogr., &c. B. de Meynard, p. 41). Tabari also supports this statement (I., p. 517).

¹ Dict. B. de Maynard, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*

³ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 169.

⁴ Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 213, 214, 220, 222, 231.

⁵ Mohl. II., p. 253 ; IV., p. 189.

⁶ Mirkhond, traduit, par Silvestre de Sacy, pp. 334-336 ; Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition, p. 229, l. 13 ; Mohl. V., pp. 676-78.

also as the Merv Shâhjân. Ebn Haukal¹ also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great. Yakout and other oriental writers also say the same thing.² It is called Merv Shâhjân (*i.e.*, Merv the city of the king), because it was one of the four royal cities of Khorâsân.³ According to Yakout, it was called Shâhjân (*L'ame du roi*) because it was one of the largest and greatest cities of Khorâsân.⁴ Antiochus Nicatore had rebuilt the city and called it Antiochia. Tabari also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great.⁵

The city of Harâe is the Harôyu هرآه of the Vendidad, Hariva of the cuneiform inscriptions and Aria of the Greeks. It is the modern Herat. Yakout also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great. "La ville d'Herat, dit ed-Dehbi, à été fondée par Alexandre, lorsque ce conquérant, ayant envahi l'Orient, se préparait à attaquer la Chine."⁶ Some writers attribute its foundation to Lohrâsp and its rebuilding to Gushtâsp, Bahman and to Alexander.⁷

لهراسب نهاده است هرويرا بنياد
گشتاسب ز نو بني ديگر بنياد

Silvestre de Sacy⁸ says, on the authority of an oriental geographer, that Herat was first founded by an Emir of that name, and rebuilt by Alexander.

Pushen.—This name is variously written by eastern writers, as فوشنج or بوشنج or پوشنگ. It is at the distance of 10 farsakhs from Herat. Some attribute its foundation and its name to Pasheng, the son of Afrasiâb⁹, who was otherwise known as Shideh¹⁰ (شیده).

¹ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 215.

² Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 527, n. 2.

³ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 179.

⁴ Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 526.

⁵ Tabari par Zötenberg, Vol. I, p. 617.

⁶ Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 593.

⁷ Ibid, p. 592.

⁸ Mémoires sur la Perse, par S. de Sacy, p. 389.

⁹ Dict., B. de Meynard, p. 122, n. 1. ¹⁰ Livre des Rois. Mohl. IV., p. 30, l. 713.

According to Kinneir,¹ "Pushing is a considerable town, a little to the north of Herat, built on the banks of the Herirood." The foundation of this city is attributed to Shapur of Artashir, *i. e.*, Shapur I. In our treatise, the foundation of seven cities is attributed to Shapur I. According to Firdousi, Shapur had founded several cities with the help of an engineer or a geometrician (هندسي) named Berânous (*vide* above p. 11) sent to him by Emperor Valerian of Rome. The seven cities, referred to in our book, as founded by Shapur, are the following : (1) Pushen. (2) Neo Shâpuhar. (3) Hairat. (4) Vish Shâpuhar. (5) Vandu-i-Shâpuhar. (6) Airankard-i-Shâpuhar. (7) Kharayast.

Tus.—Tus of Naôdar is said to have founded it. It is the Tous of Ebn Haukal, according to whom, it is situated to the north of Nishâpour.² According to Maçoudi, king Feridun had built a great fire-temple here. The building of the city of Mesched in its neighbourhood eclipsed the city of Tus. The following story is related about its foundation :—Once upon a time, Kaikhosru sent Tus, the son of Naôdar, to the frontiers of Turân to fight against Afrâsiâb. He specially directed Tus to avoid the route of Kelât, lest Farud, the step-brother of Kaikhosru, who was living there, might create a quarrel and fight with him. Tus, on his way to the frontiers of Turân, passed by way of Kelat, in spite of Kaikhosru's directions to the contrary. Farud thereupon sought a quarrel, fought with Tus, and was killed in the battle. On hearing of the death of his step-brother, Kaikhosru got enraged against Tus, who got afraid to return to the court of the Persian King. He, therefore, stayed in Khorâsân, and founding a new city, named it Tus, after his name.³ The Dabistan⁴ also attributes its foundation to Tus. Tus is mentioned in our books as the seat of the *sepâh-pat*, *i. e.*, the commander-in-chief. According to Tabari, the sovereigns of Tabaristan and of Khorâsân were called Ispehbads, or Sepahbads, *i. e.*, the commanders of armies.

Neo Shâpuhar.—The second city founded by Shapur I, is Nishâpur (نیشاپور), the well-known city of Khorâsân. According to Ebn Haukal, one of the places outside its suburbs, is known as Kohendez, and one of its gates is known as Der-i-Kohendez⁵ (درقهندز).

¹ Persian Empire, p. 183.

² Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 215.

³ Mekan's Shahnameh. Persian Preface, 32. Tabari, Vol. I., p. 467.

⁴ The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, p. 52.

⁵ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 214.

The Kohendez, referred to by Firdousi,¹ as founded in Nishâpur by Shapur I., is the above Kohendez referred to by Ebn Haukal.

کهندز بشهر نیشاپور کرد
بر آورد و پردخت از روز ارد

Mohl. V., p. 392.

Maçoudi attributes its foundation to Shapur II². On the authority of an oriental historian and geographer, Kinneir says: "This city was founded by Taimuras, and destroyed by Alexander the Great. It was, after the lapse of many years, rebuilt by Sapor I."³ Hamd Allah Mustôfi also attributes its original foundation to Taimuras, and its rebuilding to Shapur I. "Le premier fondateur de cette ville est, dit-on, Thahomers. Quand elle fut ruinée, Ardeschir Babegân bâtit une autre ville qu'il nomma Nih (نہ). Son fils Schâpour, qui gouvernait le Khoracân, le pria de lui donner cette ville; piquée du refus de son père, il éleva sur les ruines de l'antique cité de Thahomers une ville nouvelle qui fut nommée Nih Schâpour ou la ville de Shâpour, dont les Arabes formèrent plus tard le mot Niçabour."⁴ This passage gives a derivation of the name Nishapur. It says, that it was so called, because it was a city (Neh نى city) founded by Shapur.

According to our Pahlavi treatise, Shapur I. founded the city of Nishapur, at a place, where he had killed an enemy, named Pâhlizak Tur, a name, which can be variously read. Now, the question is, who was this enemy. From Tabari, we learn, that Shapur I. had killed a hostile monarch in Khorâsân, who had invaded the country of Persia during Shapur's absence at the siege of Nisib. "Schâpour. . . . fut informé qu'un ennemi, venant du Khorâsân, avait envahi la Perside. Schâpour retourna dans la Perside, attaqua l'ennemi, le fit prisonnier et le tua; puis il revint à Nisibe."⁵ Unfortunately, Tabari does not give the name of this enemy, whom Shapur had killed. So we are not in a position to ascertain, if he was the same person, referred to in

¹ Mohl. Vol., p. 392. ² Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. II., p. 188.

³ Persian Empire, p. 185. ⁴ Dict. par B. de Meynard, p. 578 n.

⁵ Tabari par Zötenburg, Vol. II., p. 79. Valerian and Odenathus were also defeated by Shâpur, but they were, in no way, connected with Khorâsân. Pâhlizak can, with some transmutation of letters, be read Valerian.

our text. Maçoudi, Tabari and Mirkhond speak of one other king, as being killed by Shapur I. This king is variously known as Zizan, Dhaizan (Sâtiroun), or Manizen. But he was not a king of Khorâsân.

Kâin.—It is said to have been founded by king Lohrâsp. It is the Kâin قاین of Ebn Haukal,¹ according to whom, it is about six days' journey from Herat. According to Yakout, it is about eight days' journey from Herat, and nine days' from Nishapur. It is, as it were, the gate of Khorâsân.

Dahistân in the territory of Gurgân.—It is the Dehestân دهستان of Ebn-Haukal.² Its foundation is attributed to Narsi of the Ashkânian dynasty, who, according to Maçoudi, was the fifth reigning monarch of the dynasty.

Koumis.—It is the Koumis قومس of Ebn Haukal, situated in Tabaristan, within the territories of Mount Damavand.³ It is said to have been inhabited by the Parsis in the reign of Shapur of Yezdagard.⁴ The word پارسى Pârsiân can be taken for the Parthians, because Damghân in the district of Koumis was the seat of the Parthians. "Damghan . . . is always supposed to mark the sight of the ancient Hekatompylos (or city of a hundred gates), the name given by the Greeks to the capital of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthian kings" (Persia, by Curzon, Vol. I., p. 287).

Khusrui.—We now come to a group of five cities, known by the name of Khusrui, and said to be founded by different kings of the name of Khusrui. It is very difficult to identify the cities, and the kings bearing the name of Khusrui referred to in our book. There were several cities in Khorâsân, bearing the name of Khusrui. Of these, one is Khusruv Jird or Khusruv Gird (خسروگرد or خسرو جرد). It is situated between Koumis and Nishapur. According to some oriental writers, it was founded by Kaikhosru. "Les historiens orientaux parlent de la citadelle de Khosrewdjird comme d'une place très-fortifiée dont l'origine remonterait à Keïkhosron."⁵ "Le chateau de Khosraudjird خسرو جرد — C' était une place très

¹ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 222, 223, 228.

² Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 176.

³ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 178, 212.

⁴ Vide my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, &c., p. 68. Pahlavi text. p. 20, s. 18.

⁵ Yakout Dict. par B., de Meynard, p. 208, note.

forte, dont on attribuaît la construction à Keïkhosrou, le vainqueur d'Afraciab."¹ The city of Djeser Wadjerd (جسروا جرد) mentioned by Edrisi as situated on the way from Rei to Nishapur, is this same city of Khosraudjird² (خسرو جرد). This city, then, is the second city in our group, said to have been founded by Kaikhusrui. Again, at the distance of 12 miles from the above city of Khosraudjird, there is a city known as Jasrauâbâd (جسرو آباد), which, I think, to be Khosrauâbâd (خسرو آباد), the points (Nukteh) of ج and خ having exchanged places. It is the Khosrâbâd (خسر آباد) of Yakout, according to whom, it is two "farsakhs" distant from Merv.³ This city then appears to be the third city in our list, founded by Schâd Khosru Mustâvâd (âbâd).

Again, Yakout speaks of another city Khosrew Schah (خسرو شاه) as being two "farsakhs" distant from Merv.⁴ Thus, we find, that there were three cities of the name of Khusrui near each other in Khorâsân. The next two cities also seem to be near these three cities. We know from the history of Persia, that there were five kings of the name of Khosrui.—

- (1) Kai Khosru. (2) Khosru of the Parthian dynasty who reigned after Pecorus from A. D. 108 to 130. (3) Khosru who reigned for a short time after Yezdagard of Shapur and before the accession to the throne of Beharâm Gour. (4) Khosru Kobâd (Nosbirvân), and (5) Khosru Parviz.

Of these five, two can be identified with those in our list, *viz.*, Khosru Kobâd and Kai Khosru. So the remaining three Khosrus of history seem to be the other three Khosrus referred to in our text.

IV.

We now come to the second group of cities, *viz.*, the cities of Khâvar, or of the West.

Ctesiphon.—Ctesiphon, the first city mentioned in the second group, is said to have been founded by one Tus, who was the Râvak (the governor) of Sifkân. That Ctesiphon was founded by one Tus, appears to be supported by the fact, that, according to Yakout, its ancient name was Tousphon (طوسفون) and not Ctesiphon (طيسفون). "Hamzah dit que son nom primitif était Thôusfoun (طوسفون), que les Arabes ont changé en Thaïsfoun."⁵

¹ Journal Asiatique, 1846, Tome VIII., p. 460.

² Edrisi, Vol. II., p. 177.

³ *Ibid*, p. 209.

⁴ Dict., par B. de Meynard, p. 208.

⁵ Yakout Dict. par B. de Meynard, p. 400.

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Vardanis, a Parthian prince, the son of Ardvân III., who reigned from A. D. 42 to 46, was the founder of this city. It appears then, that Tus was possibly a general of Vardanis, of whom we know, that he had suppressed a rebellion in Seleucia, which was situated on one side of the Tigris, while Ctesiphon was situated on the other. It is possible, that when Vardanis conquered Seleucia, he got Ctesiphon rebuilt by Tus.

According to our Pahalvi treatise, Tus, the founder of Ctesiphon, belonged to a place called Sifkân. So I think Ctesiphon ܬܝܫܦܢ is the shortened form of Tous-i-Sifkan ܬܘܫܝܫܦܢ ܕܝܫܦܢ

According to Kinneir, "The foundation of the city of Ctesiphon can hardly be ascribed to any particular person, as it would seem to have increased gradually, during a succession of many years, from a camp to a city. Pacoras, supposed to be Orodes, king of the Parthians, and contemporary with Anthony, is thought to be the first who surrounded it with walls, and made it the capital of the Parthian Empire." (Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 253-54.)

Kinneir is quite right in saying, that we cannot ascribe its foundation to any particular prince. According to Yakout, it was at first founded by Alexander the Great. It was subsequently destroyed. Noshirvân (Chosroes) had rebuilt it. Ardeshir Bâbegân had again rebuilt it.¹

Sârsar.—Sarsar is another city attributed to the abovementioned ruler of Sifkân. It is the Sarsar ܣܪܨܪ of Ebn Haukal. It is situated at a distance of three farsangs from Bagdad.²

Hirleh.—It is the modern Hilleh, situated on the Euphrates. It is 54 miles from Bagdad. "It covers a very small portion of the space occupied by the ancient capital of Assyria (Babylon). . . . We learn from St. Jerome that the space within the walls was converted by the Parthian kings into a royal hunting park."³

Bâwir.—It is the Bawri (ܒܐܘܪܝ Yt. V. 29) of the Avesta, and Babyrush of the Behistun Inscriptions. It is the modern Babylon.

¹ Dict. Géographie de B. de Meynard, p. 518, *vide* the word ܡܕܝܢܐ Medain.

² Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 68.

³ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 269-272.

Our treatise (text. s. 24.) says of this city, that it "was founded in the reign of Jamshed. He (the founder of the city) fixed there (the direction of) the planet Mercury. (By the situation of the city or its building) he pointed out magically the 7 planets, the 12 constellations and signs of the zodiac and the eighth part (of the heavens) towards the sun and other planets."

This seems to be an allusion to the building of the temple of Babylon, which was said to be built on some principles of astronomical calculations. Zohâk is generally represented as the founder of Babylon. Zohâk's connection with Babylon, and his character as a magician, are also referred to in the Dinkard. "One marvel is several matters of evil deceit which Dahâk had done in Bâpêl through witchcraft."¹

Hirat.—It is the Heirah (حيرة) of Aboulfeda.² It is the Heirah (حيرة) of Ebn Haukal, who says that "Heirah is an ancient city, and large; but when Cufa was built, Heirah was drained of its inhabitants. Heirah enjoys a pure air, and is one farsang distant from Cufa."³ Edrisi⁴ and Macoudi⁵ also support Ebn Haukal. According to Kinneir, "the holy city of Nejiff, or Meshed Ali (the supposed burying-place of the Caliph Ali), is nine *fursungs* from Hilleh and four miles from Kufa, and situate on a hill, at the bottom of which is an artificial lake. This city was founded by Alexander the Great, and for a long time bore the name of Alexandria, which was afterwards changed into that of Hira, when it became the residence of a dynasty of Arabian princes, who fought under the Parthian banners against the Emperors of Rome. It is also known in history, under the general appellation of Almondari, after the name of Almondar (the Almondarus of Procopius), distinguished in the wars of Nushirwan and Justinian."⁶

Our book attributes its foundation to Shapur I. According to Tabari,⁷ Rabia, the son of Naçr., the king of Yemen, had once a dream in which he saw a piece of carbon falling from a cloud, taking

¹ S. B. E., Vol. XLVII., p. 66. West's Dinkard, Bk. VII, Ch. IV. 72.

² Géographie d'Aboulfeda. Text Arabe par Reinand et Slane, p. 298.

³ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 65-66.

⁴ Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 366.

⁵ Maçoudi, par Barbier de Meynard, III., p. 213.

⁶ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 282. ⁷ Zotenberg II., pp. 169-71.

fire and burning all the people of Yemen. His astrologers gave the following interpretation of the dream: "There will come from Abyssinia, a king, who will conquer the country of Yemen, take all its inhabitants prisoners, and abolish the Jewish religion. Yemen will be annexed to the country of Abyssinia."¹ The king thereupon, under apprehensions, sent away his family out of Yemen to the country of Iraq, with a letter upon the Persian king Shapur, to take care of his children. Shapur thereupon gave them shelter in the above town of Heirah (Hira). Now, as to who this Shapur was, there is a difference of names in the different manuscripts of Tabari's text. But Zotenberg says, that in one of his manuscripts, the name is that of Shapur, the son of Ardeshir, *i. e.*, Shapur I.² It appears, therefore, that Shapur I. must have rebuilt this town, at the time, when the king of Yemen sent his family to Irâq. If the allusion in our text does not refer to this event in the history of the Arabs, there is another event also, to which it may allude. According to Percival's *History of the Arabs* (II. pp. 11-12), the Iranian king, Shapur-el-Acbar, had attacked the Arabs in the city of Heirah. Some of the Arabs thereupon went away to Mesopotamia and others remained in Heirah. It was perhaps at this time, then, that Shapur I. rebuilt the town of Heirah and appointed one Mitrozâd to rule over the Arab colony.

The Mitrozâd, referred to in our text, seems to be Mitrok-i-Anushê Pâtân (میتروک انوش پاتان) of Kâr Nameh-i-Ardeshir Bâbegân (Dastur Kekobod's text, s. 163-181, pp. 34-37). It is the Meherak Nushzâd (مهراک نوش زاد) of the Shah Nameh.³ He was the father-in-law of Shapur I. According to Percival, the Persian governors of Heirah were, up to a later time, known as Marzebân⁴ (perhaps مرزبان).

The town of Heira (حيرة) is called Hirat (هیرات) in our book. The reason is this. Noman, a king of Heirah, had enlarged this town. So it was called Hirat Annomân, after his name. This name was subsequently abbreviated into Hirat.⁵

Hamdân.—Our book attributes its foundation to Yezdagard I. According to Maçoudi, it was built by Alexander the Great.⁶ It is

¹ Translated from the French of Tabari par Zötenberg, Vol II., p. 171.

² *Ibid.*, p. 537.

³ Mohl. V., p. 348.

⁴ Perceval's *Histoire des Arabes*, Vol. II., p. 187. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶ Maçoudi, par B. de Meynard, IX., p. 21.

the Ecбетana of the ancients. Herodotus (I. 98) attributes its foundation to Deioces, the first king of the Medes. According to some oriental writers, it was founded by Hamadân, son of Felewđj, son of Sem, son of Noah.¹ According to Mustofi, it was built by Jamshid. Bahman Asfandiar had re-fortified it, and Dara of Darab had rebuilt it. No other writer supports our author, in his statement, that it was founded by Yezdagard I. We learn from our work, that Yezdagard had married a Jewish princess. So, possibly Yezdagard had repaired and rebuilt this city at the request of his Jewish queen, because, there were in that city, the tombs of a former Jewish queen and prince, *viz.*, Esther and Mordecai.²

Mâh.—Beharâm of Yezdagard is said to have founded a city in the district of Vâhrâm-âvand in the province of Mâh, in the direction of Nehâvand. The country of Mâh (ماه), referred to here, is that of Mah-el-Basrah and Mah-el-Kaufah. According to Tabari, these two towns were known under the joint name of Mahâin³. According to the same author, the city of Nehâvand (نہاوند) was also known as Mah-el-Basrah. According to some writers, Nehâvand was originally Nuh-âvand, *i.e.*, the city founded by Noah. Now it is difficult to identify the city of Vâhrâm-âvand referred to here. Perhaps it is the city of Râman (رامن) in the neighbourhood of Nehâvand, situated about 21 miles from Hamdan; or perhaps it is the city of Râvendah, (راوندہ) situated in the same district.⁴

Mousul.—It is the Mousul (موصل) of Ebn Haukal, which, he and Edrisi place in the country of Mesopotamia⁵ (ديار جزيرة). According to Kinneir, neither the time of its foundation nor the name of its founder are known.⁶ But our book attributes its foundation to one Piroz-i-Shâpuharân. Now, we know of no king known as Piroz of Shâpur. We know of a hero of that name, whom, Rustam the general of Yezdagard Sheheriâr sent as a messenger to Saad Wakhas, the chief of the Arabs. But he is not represented to have founded any city. We know of a city named Piroz-i-Shapour said to have been founded by Shapur Zul-aktâf.

¹ Dict. par B. de Meynard, p. 597.

² From the Indus to the Tigris, by Dr. Bellew, p. 429.

³ Tabari, III., p. 480. ⁴ Edrisi par Jaubert, II., p. 165.

⁵ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 55. Edrisi par Jaubert, II., p. 142-48.

⁶ Persian Empire, p. 257, Note.

Râvad.—This seems to be the Raêbad ريدد of Firdousi. It is said to have been founded by Rehâm, the son of Goudarz, at the place where he killed Aspvarz, the hero of Turkistân. This seems to be an allusion to the battle between the Irânians and Turânians, known as the "Battle of Eleven Warriors," wherein Rehâm, the Irânian, killed Bârmân, the Turânian.¹ The Pahlavi name Aspvarz ('warrior,' from 'asp' horse) seems to be an equivalent of Bârmân (بارم a horse) of the Shâhnâmeh. This town of Râvad is perhaps the Rebât of Ibn Haukal², known as Rebât Firouzmend (رباط فيروزمند). It is one *menzal* (stage) from Bost, the next town in our group. Perhaps the adjective Firouzmend (victorious) refers to the above victory of Rehâm over Bârmân, and to that of his other ten Irânian colleagues over their Turânian rivals.

Bost.—According to Ebn Haukal and other writers, it is one of the principal cities in the province of Seistân.³ It is the Abeste of Pliny.⁴ It was founded by Bastur, the Bastavairi of the Avesta⁵ and the Nastur of the Shâhnâmeh.⁶ It is said to have been founded at the time, when King Gushtâsp had gone to Seistân, to be a guest of Rustam, and to propagate the Zoroastrian religion there, a short time before his second war with Arjâsp.⁷

Fariâv and Zâvulastân.—These two cities are said to have been founded by Rustam. Fariâv is either the Fâryâb (فارياب) of Firdousi,⁸ Tabari⁹ and Yâkout,¹⁰ or Fereh فرة of Ebn Haukal.¹¹ Fariâb is not in Seistân Proper, but Fereh is a town of Seistân Proper. It is the Parrah mentioned in ancient geography as the capital of the Parthian province of Anabon.¹²

As to Zavoul or Zaboul, in ancient geography, the whole region, which includes the modern towns of Cabul and Gizpi and the adjoining country, was known by that name. Rustam, who is men-

¹ Firdousi Mohl., III., p. 573.

² Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 210.

³ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 207. Firdousi Mohl., IV., p. 252. Maçoudi B. de Meynard V., p. 302. Edrisi Jaubert, I, pp. 417, 442.

⁴ D'Anville's Ancient Geography, English Translation (1791) II, p. 498. Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 190. ⁵ Yt. XIII, 103. ⁶ Mohl. IV., p. 418.

⁷ Yasht V. 109; Mohl. IV., p. 442, lk. 994-95. ⁸ Mohl. III., p. 506; l. 137.

⁹ Zotenberg III.; p. 571, IV., p. 167.

¹⁰ B. de Meynard, Dictionnaire de Geographie de la Perse, p. 424.

¹¹ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 208.

¹² Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 193; D'Anville's Ancient Geography, (English translation) II., p. 65.

tioned in our treatise as the founder of these two cities and as the king of Seistân, was the feudal lord of this region under the rulers of Persia.

Zaranj.—According to Tabari,¹ Ebn Haukal² and Edrisi,³ it was the capital of Seistân. It is the Zaranga or Zarang of Ptolemy and modern Dooshak.⁴ The fire Karkoê is referred to in the text as being deposited in this city. It is the sacred fire Karkoê of the Âtash Nayâish of the Avesta and the Fire-Temple of Kerakerkan کرا کرکان referred to by Maçoudi⁵ as being founded by Bahman of Isfandiar. The allusion to king Minocheher and Frâsiav in connection with this town is explained more fully by the Minokherad (S. B. E. XXIV., ch. XXVII., 44) and Zâd Sparam (S. B. E. XLVII., ch. XII., 3).

VI.

Now we come to the towns of the fourth group.

Kermân.—It is said to be founded by Kermânshâh. Now, who was this Kermânshâh? He was Varanes (Beharâm) IV., the son of Sapor III. He is spoken of in our text, as Piroujân, *i.e.*, victorious. The word Beharâm (Varahana, or Varanes) also means victorious. There were several kings of the name of Varanes or Beharâm in Persia, and oriental writers differ as to which of those several Beharâms was the king Kermânshâh. According to Firdousi⁶, it was Beharâm or Varanes III. According to Mirkhond⁷ it was Beharâm IV. Tabari⁸ agrees with Mirkhond. Malcolm,⁹ on the authority of other oriental writers, agrees with Tabari and Maçoudi and differs from Firdousi. An inscription on a seal of king Beharâm IV. settles this question and shows that Firdousi is wrong in calling Beharâm III., Kermânshâh. According to that seal, it was Beharâm, the son of Sapor, *i.e.*, Beharâm IV., who was known as Kermânshâh. He was so called, because, in his young age, he was entrusted with the governorship of Kermân by his father.

Now, as to the foundation of the city of Kermân by Beharâm IV., no other writer supports our text. According to Hamdulla bin

¹ Zotenberg III., p. 517.

² Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 203-207.

³ Jaubert, I., p. 442.

⁴ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 192.

⁵ B. de Meynard IV., p. 73.

⁶ Mohl. V., p. 414, l. 2,

⁷ Mémoires sur la Perse par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 320. Mirkhond, Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition, Part I., p. 227, l. 6.

⁸ Tabari, Zotenberg, II., p. 103.

⁹ History of Persia, 2nd Ed., ch. V., p. 89.

Abou Bakar quoted by Silvestre de Sacy, it was the town of Kermanshah, which is quite different from that of Kerman, that was founded by Beharam IV. Perhaps, it is the similarity of names, that has led our author to mistake the town Kermân for that of Kermânshâh.

Veh-Artashir.—It is perhaps the New Ardeshir of Tabari, which, according to this author, was one of the six cities founded by Ardeshir Babegân. The Pahlavi, 'v' seems to have been read 'n.' It seems to be the same as Yazdshir, which, according to Edrisi,¹ is situated in the district of Kerman.

Stâkhar.—It is the Istakhar استخر of later writers. Ardavan (Artabanus) is said to be its founder. According to the Kârnameh² of Ardeshir Bâbegân, Ardavan had his capital in that city. According to Tabari³, it was queen Homai who had built it. According to Maçoudi⁴, this queen had also built there a large fire-temple. Mirkhond⁵ attributes to this queen, the construction of the well known building known as Hazâr-Setun (1,000 pillars) among the ruins of Istakhar. According to Zinet-el-Medjalis,⁶ some attributed its foundation to Keïomurs and others to one of his sons named Isthakhar. Hoshang added to it, and Jamshed finished its construction. Yakout⁷ attributes its foundation to Isthakhr, son of Tahmuras. Edrisi refers to this town in his geography at some length.⁸

Darabgird.—It is said to be founded by Dârâ, the son of Dârâ. Other oriental writers⁹ differ from our text, in saying, that it was the first Dârâ (the son of Bahaman Asfandyâr) himself who had founded it, and not his son Dârâ II.

Vish Shâpuhar.—It seems to be the city of Shâpur, situated on the road from Bushire to Shirâz next to Kazeroun. It is said to have been founded by Shâpuhar of Artashir, i. e., by Sâpur I. According to Kazvini and other eastern writers¹⁰ it was first built by Tahmuras, ruined by Alexander the Great, and re-built by Sâpur I., who named

¹ Edrisi par Jaubert I., pp. 416, 426.

² Karnamêh. D. Darab's text, ch. I., 4, Nöldeke, p. 36.

³ Zotenberg, Vol. I., p. 510.

⁴ B. de Meynard, IV., p. 76.

⁵ Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition of 1874, p. 190, l. 12.

⁶ Dictionnaire de la Géographie B. de Meynard, p. 48, n. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 49.

⁸ Jaubert I., p. 393.

⁹ Mémoires sur la Perse, par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 274, n. 4. Tabari par Zotenberg I., p. 510. Mudjmel al Tavârikh and Hamdallah Cazvini quoted by Ousley. Travels II, p. 134.

¹⁰ Ousley Travels I., p. 297; Edrisi I., p. 399; Yakout B. de Meynard, pp. 293-94.

it Benâ-Shâpur (بنا شاپور *i. e.*, founded by Shapur). Some¹ called it Nischâvour or Nischawer, which is another way of reading the Pahlavi name, Vish-Shapur. The name can also be read Vêh-Shâpur. In that case, it is the Beh-Schâpour of Tabari², who by some mistake attributes it to Sapor II.

Gour Artashir Gadman.—It is the Kharreh-i-Ardashir of Firdousi³, which, he says, was subsequently also called Gour. Our text gives both the names together. The word Kharreh خرة of Firdousi seems to be the corruption of the Pahlavi word Khoureh (خوره) ^{۱۳}. So the correct form of Kharreh-i-Ardashir is Khoureh-i-Ardashir (*i. e.*, the splendour of Ardeshir). The word Khoureh is the Iranian equivalent of the Semetic word “gadman” ^{۱۴} which also means “splendour.” Thus the Kharreh-i-Ardashir of Firdousi is the same as Artashir Gadman of our text.

It is the “Ardeshir Khereh اردشیر خره” of Ebn Haukal.⁴ Tabari attributes to Ardeshir Bâbegân, the foundation of a city called Djour. This Djour جور is the same as the Gour ^{۱۵} of our text, which can also be read Djour. The Kâr-nâmeh⁵ of Ardeshir Bâbegân also refers to the foundation of this city, which it calls Artashir Gadman. According to that work, Ardeshir founded it on his return to Pars, after his victory over the Parthian king Ardavân, and introduced therein water-works and irrigation. According to Isthakhri,⁶ it was at the place of this very town that Ardeshir had gained one of his victories over his enemy. According to Ibn-el-Faqih⁷, it was the Arabs who changed its name Gour to Djour. The modern name of it is, Firouzâbâd. It was a governor of this city, who changed its ancient name Gour to that of Firouzabâd. The reason was this. Whenever that governor went to the town of Gour, the people said ملک بگور رفت *i. e.*, “the king has gone to Gour.” Now, the word Gour also means in Persian a grave. So, the sentence also meant, “the king has gone to his grave.” They say, that the governor did not like these unlucky words, and so changed the name Gour to Firouzâbâd. According to

¹ Dictionnaire de la Géographie, par B. de Meynard, pp. 293-94.

² Zotenberg II., p. 95.

³ Mohl. V., p. 302, ll. 438, 444.

⁴ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88.

⁵ Dastur Kaikobad's Edition, p. 15, s. 70.

⁶ Dictionnaire de la Géographie, B. de Meynard, p. 75.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Edrisi, the area of this city is the same as that of each of the other three cities enumerated above, *viz.*, Istakhar, Sâpur, and Dârâbgard.

Touje.—It is the town of **توج** situated in the district of Istakhar.¹ It is near Kazerun. Some authors² include it in the district of Ardeshir Kharreh. The Pahlavi name of this town can also be read Tanpak. In that case, it can be identified with **تنبوک** Tenbouk, which, according to Edrisi,³ is situated in the territories of Shâpour. Our treatise attributes its foundation to Homâe Cheherâzâdân, who is the queen Homâe of Firdôusi. “Cheherâzâd,” (*i. e.*, of noble face) is the epithet applied to her. Firdousi calls her “Chehârzâd” **چهارزاد** which is the corruption of the original “Cheherâzâd.” Mirkhond⁴ gives the correct form. According to Maçoudi⁵, she was so called from the name of her mother who was called Cheherâzâd. From all these oriental writers, we know nothing of her founding the town of Toujé or Tenbouk. The only town she is said to have founded was **جربادگان**.⁶

VII.

Now we come to the towns of the fifth group.

Oharmazd Arteshiran.—Our treatise attributes its foundation to Hormuz, the son of Shâpur and the grandson of Ardeshir Bâbegân. But Firdousi,⁷ Tabari,⁸ and other authors⁹ attribute it to Ardeshir Bâbegân himself. It is the modern town of Ahwâz.¹⁰ The original name, Oharmazd Artashir, has been at times abridged and corrupted into Hormuz Shir, Hormuz Scheher, Houzmschir and Hormuz. Mirkhond,¹¹ like our author, attributes the foundation of this city of Hormuz, to king Oharmazd.

Râm Oharmazd.—Our treatise attributes its foundation to Oharmazd, the grandson of Ardeshir Bâbegân. Mirkhond¹² and

¹ Edrisi I., pp. 391, 405, Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 106, 112, 132.

² Dict. de la Géogr., B. de Meynard, p. 143.

³ Jaubert I., p. 396. ⁴ Naval Kishore's Edition of 1874, p. 190.

⁵ B. de Meynard, II., p. 129. ⁶ Mirkhond N. Kishore's Edition of 1874, p. 190. Meynard, ⁷ Mohl. V., p. 386, l. 644. ⁸ Zotenberg II., p. 74.

⁹ Yakout Dict. de la Geogr. de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 58.

¹⁰ *Ibid* and Tabari (Zotenberg) II., p. 74. Edrisi I., p. 364.

¹¹ Mémoires sur la Perse. Silvestre de Sacy, p. 293.

¹² Bauzat-us-Safa, N. Kishore's Ed., p. 223.

Maçoudî¹ also do the same. It is the Râm Hormuz of later writers. It is the contracted form of its original name Âiâm-Hormuz آرام هرمز *i. e.*, the place of rest of Hormazd.²

Its founder Oharmazd is here called *tag* (brave). Mirkhond similarly calls him *dalir* دلیر (i. e., brave), and Maçoudi *batal*, بطل (i. e., a brave man).

Shus and Shuster.—We have already referred to these towns while speaking of Khvârzem.

Vandu-i-Shâpuhar and Airângird Shâpuhar.—These two cities are said to have been founded by Shapur, the son of Artashir, *i. e.*, Shapur I. According to Maçoudi³, the Arabs knew this monarch as Sabour el Djunoud مابور الجنود. So, the word "Vandu" in the name of the city, as given by our text, seems to resemble Djunoud, the surname of Shapur. This Vandu-i-Shapuhar seems to be the same, as the town of Chand-i-Shapur, whose foundation, Tabari⁴ attributes to Shapur I. It is the Djound-i Sabour جندی سابور of Yakout.⁵ According to Edrisi⁶, it is situated in the district of Ahwaz in the province of Khuzistân, about one day's march from Shuster.

Airângird Shâpuhar, the second city, here referred to as being founded by Shapur I., is the Shâpurgird of Firdousi.⁷ It is situated in the district of Ahwâz. It is called Airângird Shâpuhar, perhaps to distinguish it from other towns founded by Shâpur I. in the west and which also bore his name. Our text says, that it was also called Farâwâd. We know nothing of this name from other oriental writers.

Nâhar-Tira.—Our text does not mention who founded this city. It merely says, that it was founded in the reign of the wicked Azidahâk (Zohâk), and it served as a prison for the country of Irân. It is the Nâhar-Tiri نهر تیری of Ebn Haukal.⁸ It is situated at the distance of one day's march from Ahwâz.⁹ It is situated on a

¹ B. de Meynard II., p. 166.

² Malcolm's History of Persia, I., p. 71.

³ B. de Meynard II., p. 164.

⁴ Zotenberg II., p. 84.

⁵ Dict. de la Geog. B. de Meynard, p. 169.

⁶ I., p. 83.

⁷ Mohl. V., p. 392, l. 58.

⁸ Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 74, 77, 80.

⁹ Edrisi I., pp. 379, 385.

canal (نهر nehar) of a river called Tiri. Hence its name. According to Yakout¹, it was Ardeshir Bâbegân who had got this canal dug.

Simlân.—It is the town of Semiran² سمیران in the province of Kharreh-i-Ardeshir, which also contains the town of Desht دشت³, referred to in our text, in connection with Simlân, as Desht-i-Tâzik. It is said to have been founded by king Feridun, who is said to have conquered the country of Simlân, and to have given the town of Desht, as a marriage-gift to the Arab king Bât-Khûsrô, whose three daughters he had given in marriage to his three sons. This Arab king, Bât-Khûsrô, is the king Sarv سرو of Firdousi,⁴ according to whom, he was the king of Yemen in Arabia. He is the Pât Khusrôb of Dinkard,⁵ according to which, he was the grandson of an Arab king named Tâz. He is also referred to in the Pahlavi Vendidad.⁶ The marriage alluded to in our text, is also referred to by the Dinkard⁷ and by the Pahlavi treatise of Binâ-i-Farvardin Yum-i-Khordâd.⁸

Kharayasht.—This city, which is said to have been founded by Shâpur I., seems to be the town of Sabour Khvâst سابور خواست founded by Shâpur in the country between Khouzistân and Isphahân.⁹ It is at the distance of 22 farsakhs from Nehâvand.¹⁰

Ashkar and Veh.—Ashkar is the Asker or Asker Mokrem عسكر مكرم in Khouzistan. It is also called لشكر Leshkar.¹¹ It is situated at some distance from Ahwâz on the banks of the river Muchircân¹² (المشرقان). Veh seems to be the town of Hey¹³ also situated in Khouzistan.

Gaê.—It is the city of Ispahan said to have been founded by Alexander the Great.

Khajrân, Adjân and Kird.—These three cities are said to have been founded by Kobâd-i-Pirouzân, who was the father of the

¹ Dict. de la Geog., B. de Meynard, p. 576.

² Edrisi I., p. 398. Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88.

³ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88. ⁴ Mohl. I., p. 120, ll. 68-70.

⁵ S. B. E. vol. XLVII. West Dinkard, VIII., Ch. I., 34.

⁶ Spiegel Pahlavi Vendidad, p. 221. Darmesteter's Études Iraniennes Part. II., p. 216.

⁷ S. B. E. XXXVII., West, Bk. VIII., Ch. XIII., 9.

⁸ Dastur Jamaspji's text, p. 103, s. 14.

⁹ Yakout B. de Meynard, Dict. de la Géographie de la Perse, p. 293.

¹⁰ Ousley's Geography, pp. 167-68.

¹¹ Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 20, 73. Asker-Mokarram of Edrisi I., p. 379.

¹² Ibid, p. 381. ¹³ Ebn Haukal, Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 77.

great Noshirwân. Tabari attributes to Kobâd the foundation of two cities Awdjân and Kazeroun. Khajrân of our text seems to be the Kazeroun of Tabari, and the Adjân of our text, the Awdjân of Tabari. According to Ebn Haukal, it was Kobâd, who had augmented Kazeroun to a considerable size.¹ The city of Kird seems to be the Gird كورد of Ebn Haukal² and Kird of Edrisi.³ It is about 21 miles from Shiraz.

VIII.

Now we come to the towns of the last *i. e.*, the sixth group.

Askar.—There were two towns of the name of Askar. Of one, we have already spoken. This second Askar seems to be the Askar Nishapur of Ebn Haukal.

Atropâtakân.—It is the Atropatena of the Greek writers. According to Strabo⁴, it was a Persian General named Atropate, who had founded it. This Atropate is the Azerbâd of Yakout⁵, who gave the city his name. This Atropate of Strabo and Azerbâd of Yakout may be the same as Airân Gushasp, who is spoken of in our text, as the founder of Atropâtakân.

Ninav.—It is said to be founded by Ninav of Yuras. It is the well-known town of Nineveh said to be founded by Ninus.

Ganjé.—It is said to be founded by Afrâsiâb. It is the town of Ganjê or Janzè گنجه or جنزه in Azerbaizân.

Amui.—There is one thing mentioned in our book, about this town, which draws our special attention, because it is mentioned here for the first time and not mentioned in any other book. It is this, that "Zoroaster was of this city" (*Zartusht-i-Spitâmán min zak madinâ yehvunt*). Amui is nowhere else mentioned in connection with Zoroaster. Then the question is, in which part of Irân, are we to look for this town as the city of Zoroaster?

The question, which was the native place of Zoroaster? has been much discussed. Some said, and especially the classical writers, that he belonged to the East of Irân, to Bactria, and that he was a Bactrian sage. Others said,—and among them, there were almost all oriental writers and some classical writers also,—that he belonged to the West of Irân, to Media. All the references to this much discussed question have been very fully given by Prof. Jackson of America, who himself has also ably discussed the question in his

¹ Ousley's Travels I., p. 274.

² Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 89.

³ I., pp. 402, 421.

⁴ XI., Ch. XVIII.

⁵ Dict. B. de Meynard, p. 15.

recently published work, "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Irân." The consensus of opinion is: that Zoroaster belonged both to the East and to the West of Irân, to Bactria and to Media; that Bactria, where the then king of Irân, King Gushtâsp, ruled, was the place of his ministry, the place where he promulgated his religion under the protection and with the help of the ruler; and that Media was the place of his birth, his childhood, his inspiration. Again, according to the Pahlavi books, there were two places, in Western Irân or Media, each of which claimed him as its own. These were the province of Âdarbaijân (Atropatene) in Media and the province of Ragha or Raê (Media Phagina) or Media Proper.

According to the Bundeshesh,¹ Zoroaster was born on the banks of the river Dâraja دراز. The words used in connection with this place, viz., "*Zaratûsht temman zâd*," i.e., "Zoroaster was born there," are quite clear, and leave no doubt, that this place is referred to, as his birth-place. This river Dâraja is the modern Daryâi, which flows from Mount Savalân in Âdarbaizân and meets the river Arras. This mountain Savalân is known by Kazvini as Sebilân, and is spoken of by him, as the seat of Zoroaster's inspiration. I think, that Savalân or Sebilân is another form of Ushidarena, spoken of in the Avesta, as the mountain seat of Zoroaster's inspiration. Thus we see, that Âtropatene in Western Irân was the birth-place of Zoroaster.

Then, in the Pahlavi Vendidâd², Ragha or Raê is mentioned as the place of Zoroaster. (Rak...mûn Raê imellunêt.....Zartûsht min Zak Zinâk Yehvûnt, i.e., Ragha, which was called Raê.....Zoroaster was of that place.) Here, Zoroaster is not said to have been born at Ragha or Raê, but it is merely said, that he belonged to that place. The above two statements, one according to the Bundeshesh, and the other according to the Vendidâd, viz., that Zoroaster was born in Atropâtene, and that Zoroaster belonged to Raê, are easily explained by a passage in the Shâharastâni, that "Zoroaster's father was of the region of Âdarbaijân; his mother, whose name was Dugbdo, came from the city of Raê."³ This fact, then explains, why two places in Western Irân claim Zoroaster as their own.

This brings us to the question of localizing the town of Amui, mentioned in our text, as the city of Zoroaster. The words used in

¹ S. B. E. V. West, Ch. XXIV., 15, Justi, p. 58, l. 7.

² Spiegel, p. 6.

³ Quoted by Prof. Jackson, in "Zoroaster the Prophet of Irân," p. 192.

our book on this point (Zartusht min Zak madinâ, Yehvûnt) are similar to those used in the Pahalavi Vendidâd about Raê (Zartusht min Zak Zinâk Yehvûnt), the only difference being, that our text uses the word "madinâ," *i. e.*, "city," instead of "Zinâk," *i. e.*, "place," in the Vendidâd. This very fact of the similarity of the language induces us to look for Amui in the province of ancient Ragha or Raê. On looking thus, we find in Tabaristân, a place called Amouyeh, which according to B. de Meynard,¹ is the same as modern Amoul. Edrisi places it at the distance of five days' journey from the town of Raê.

One may be tempted to identify this town of Amui with the Amui اموي of Transoxonia (on the way from Samarcand to Balkh)², which is the same as the Amui of Firdousi.³ But the above consideration of the similarity of the statements of our text and of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, and of the fact, that Zoroaster's close connection with it is specially referred to, makes us look for it in the west in the province of Ragha.

Again, there is one point which requires an explanation. It is that the foundation of this city is attributed to the "Zendak-i-pur-marg" (the sorcerer full of destruction). This may refer either to Ahriman himself⁴, or, to an evil-disposed person of Satanic characteristics. Its foundation is attributed to Ahriman, because, this town, where Zoroaster's mother lived, was inhabited by persons, who, according to the Dinkard,⁵ were hostile to her. On account of the divine splendour and glory that appeared on her countenance, they suspected her of witchcraft, and persecuted her and her family, to such an extent, that her father was compelled to send her away to another district (Atropatene), where Poûrûshasp, the father of Zoroaster, lived. There she was married to Poûrûshasp, and became the mother of the prophet.

Bagdad.—We have already spoken of this town in the beginning of this paper.⁶

¹ Dict. de la Géographie, de la Perse, &c., Table, p. 615.

² Ebn Haukal. Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 239, 242, 275.

³ Mohl. IV., pp. 29, 75.

⁴ In the Pahalavi "Gajastak-i-Abâlis," Ahriman is called a Zêndic Bartholomey's Ed., p. 1.

⁵ S. B. E. XLVII., West's Dinkard, p. 20.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 149.