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BY

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The Etymology of a Few Towns of Central and Western Asia, as given by Eastern Writers.

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[*Read* 24*th March* 1899. *Mr. K. G. Desai in the Chair.*]

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In my last paper before the Society, I gave a short account of a few cities of ancient Irân, as presented by the recently published Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-î-Irân. In this paper, I propose giving the etymology of the names of some of these cities. I will divide the subject of my paper into two parts. I. Firstly, I will take up those cities, the etymology of whose names has not been given up to now. II. Secondly, I will take up those cities, the etymology of whose names has been given by oriental writers, and will examine how far that etymology is correct.

I.

Ctesiphon.— No oriental writer gives the derivation of its name. I think the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-î-Irân helps us to derive its name. It says,[1] that it was founded by " Tus-i-Râvak-i-Sifkân," *i.e.*, by Tûs, the ruler of Sifkân. I think, then, that its name is derived from the name of its founder Tus-i-Sifkân, *i.e.*, Tus of Sifkân.—Ctesiphon is another form of Tus-i-Sifkân. The fact, that this city must have received its name from one Tûs, is supported by the statement of Hamzah,[2] that the original name of this city was Tusfoun طوسفون.

Babylon.—It is the Bawri of the Avesta,[3] Bâbyrush of the cuneiform inscriptions[4] and Bâbel بابل of the Persian writers. The Avesta connects Azidahâka (Zohâk) with this town. The grand

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[1] *Vide* my Aiyâdgâi-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-î-Irân, etc., p. 73.
[2] Dictionnaire de la Perse par B. De Meynard, p. 400.   [3] Yt. V., 29.
[4] Behistun Inscription, I., 6. Rawlinson, Journal, Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. X, part III. p. 187.

Bundehesh[1] says, that Azi Dahâk had built a palace in Babylon, which was known as Kûlîng Dushit, which is the "Kvirinta duzhita" of the Avesta,[2] Knlang Dis of Hamz Isphahâni, and Gang Dizh-hukht of Firdousi.[3] These references and other references by oriental writers lead to show, that Babylon (Bawri) was founded by Azi-Dahâk. Maçoudi[4] attributes its foundation to Nimrod. But according to Malcolm,[5] oriental writers identify Nimrod with Zohâk. Ebn Haukal,[6] and Edrisi[7] also attribute the foundation of Babylon (Bâbel) to Zohâk.

Now, according to the Bundehesh,[8] and the Shâhnameh[9] Azi-Dahâk or Zohâk was also known as Bivarasp, because, as Firdousi says, he was the master of 10,000 (bivar Av. baêwarê) horses (asp). I think, then, that Bawri, the original form of the later name Bâbel, derived its name from the name of its founder Baêvarê or Bivar-asp. The second part (asp) of the compound word is dropped. We find another instance of this kind of the dropping of the latter part in the name of Tahmuras. The original name is Takhma-urupa, but, in the Farvardin Yasht, we find the name in its simpler form Takhma, the latter part, *urupa* being dropped. In the same way, we find the name Yima Khshaéta (Jamshed) shortened into Yima (Jam, according to the Âfrin-î-Haft Ameshâspand). At times, instead of the second part of a compound name, the first is dropped. We find an instance of this kind in the name of this very Azi-Dahâka, which we find in some places simply Dahâk, the first part "Azi" being dropped.

Bost.—It is the Abeste of the ancients.[10] It is in the country of Arachosia referred to by Pliny. (Bk. VI. ch. 23).[11] It is one of the principal cities of the province of Seistân. Oriental writers neither give the derivation of its name nor give the name of its founder. But

[1] Darmesteter. Le Zend Avesta, II., p. 684 n. 16. Études Iraniennes, II., 210—213.

[2] Yt. XV. (Râm), 19.

[3] Mohl., I., p. 96, 1. 342. *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestic proper names, p. 63.

[4] Maçoudi par B. DeMeynard I., p. 78.

[5] The History of Persia (1829) Vol. I., p. 12.

[6] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 70.

[7] Géographie D'Edrisi par Jaubert, II., pp. 160-161.

[8] S. B. E. V. West, XXIX., 9; Justi, p. 69, I. 19. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 149.

[9] Mohl., I, p. 56, 1. 89.

[10] D'Anville's Ancient Geography II., p. 64, English Translation of 1791, Vol. II., p. 498; Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 190, note.

[11] Bostock and Riley's Translation (1855), Vol. II, p. 50.

we learn from the Pahlavi Shatrôihâ-î-Irân,[1] that it was founded by Bastur, the son of Zarir, who was the brother of king Vishtâsp. It appears then, that the city has derived its name from its founder Bastur, the Bastavairi of the Avesta.[2]

Zarenj.—It is the Zaranga or Zarang of Ptolemy. The word ڪرنج Zeranj can also be read "Zarang," the name which Ptolemy gives. It is the Zarinje زرنج of Ebn Haukal[3] and Edrisi[4], according to whom it was the largest city in Seistân. According to Tabari,[5] it was the capital of Seistân. According to Kinneir, Zarenj is the same place as Dooshak, the modern capital of Seistân. He says " the situation and description of Dooshak led me to suspect that it can be no other than Zarang, the old name having been lost in the constant revolutions to which this unhappy province has been subject for more than a century."[6] Kinneir seems to think, that Dooshak is the modern name, and Zarang, the older name of the city. But the fact is, that Dooshak is the older name, which seems to have been forgotten for some time. Zarang was a later name, which again was replaced by the older name Dooshak. What seems to have happened in the case of Syria, appears to have happened in the case of this city. Syria is the old name of the country. Then, after the Mahomedanl conquest, it began to be known by the name of Shâm among orienta writers, and now again, it is generally known by its old name of Syria

We learn from the Avesta[7] that the old name of the capital of Seistân (Vaêkêrêta) was Duzaka ( ). Kinneir does not say, what led him to suspect, that the modern Dooshak was the same as Zarenj. But the following facts lead to identify the two places Dooshak and Zarenj.

Firstly, as said above, according to the Vendidâd, Duzaka was the capital of Vaêkêrêta, and according to Tabari, Edrisi, and Ebn Haukal, Zarenj is the capital of Seistân, and we know that Vaêkêrêta is identified with Seistân. (a) The very fact, that the meaning of their names is the same, supports their identification. " Vaêkêrêta " means " divided or cut into two halves." Now, another common name of Seistân

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[1] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 22, s. 36. My translation, p. 91.
[2] Yt. XIII., 103.   [3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 203, 207.
[4] Edrisi par Jaubert, I., p. 442.   [5] Tabari par Zotenberg, III., p. 517.
[6] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 192.   [7] Vendidâd, ch. I., 10.

is Nimruz,[1] which means half a day. According to Kinneir[2] " tradition reports, that this province was once entirely under water ; but having been drained, in the short space of half a day by the Genii, it hence received the name of Nimrose." (b) Again, tradition also supports the identification of Seistân with Vaêkêrâta. As this tradition invests Seistân with the presence of genii, so the Vendidâd invested Vaêkêreta with the presence of a fairy known as Khnâthaiti. (c) Again, the geographical fact, that just as the Vendidâd speaks of Duzaka as the capital of Vaêkêreta, the modern maps point a town named Dooshaka in Seistân, further supports the identification of Vaêkêreta and Seistân,

Secondly, the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-î-Irân[3] says of Zarenj, that King Mânushcheher (Minocheher) took it from Frâsiâv and included it in the county of Pâtashkhârgar. The Minokherad says the same thing about Duzaka. " From the land of Padashkhvârgar unto the beginning of Dûjako, such as Frâsiyâk had taken, by treaty he seized back from Frâsiyâk, and brought it into the possession of the countries of Irân."[4]

Thirdly, the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân[5] speaks of the foundation, in Zarenj, of a fire-temple named Karkoê. This temple is the same, as that named Kerâkerkân by Maçoudi,[6] and said to be founded in Seistân.

Having stated these facts which lead to the identification of Duzaka and Zarenj, we now come to the main question of deriving the name Zarenj. I think the word Zarenj is derived from the very word Duzaka. In fact, it is another form of Duzaka. The word Duzaka may be written thus ꠵ꠦꠟ. It is so written in the Minokherad.[7] It can be read Zarzak. The final ꠵ in the word, if written in Zend characters, and if written with a longer stroke towards the left, can be read "d," ꠵. The word can be then read Zarzad. The final "d," ꠵ when written thus in Pahlavi, can be

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[1] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 189. Shatrôihâ-i-Irân, Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 21, s. 34. My translation, p. 88.   [2] Ibid note.

[3] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 22, s. 38.   My translation, p. 93.

[4] S. B. E. XXIV., West. Minokherad, ch. XXVII 44.

[5] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 22, s. 38.   My translation, p. 93.

[6] Traduction, de B. De Maynard Vol. IV, p. 73.

[7] Dastur Darab's Edition, ch. XXVII, 44.

read either as g or j. So, the word in that case can be read Zarzaj. The word, when written in Persian characters in the Mahomedan times, would be written زرزج. In the Shekasté style, the letter ز z in Zarzaj is likely to be mistaken for ن n, and so the word would subsequently be written زرنج and read Zarenj. Thus we see, that the name Zarenj can be derived from the old name of the city, viz., Duzaka.

Now, there remains the question to consider, why was the place called Duzaka.

The word Duzaka means 'bad or evil,' and the place seems to have been so called, because, according to the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,[1] it was founded by Afrâsiâb, who was a wicked Turânian monarch, and who was, therefore, cursed in the Pahlavi books. He is said to have afterwards destroyed the city and to have also extinguished the sacred fire-temple there.

Again, as said above, the place was infested with fairies and genii. That fact also may have gained for the city the appellation of Duzaka.

Kermân.—Yâkout says, on the authority of another author, that the city was so called, from the name of its founder, Kermân, who was the son of Felewdj, son of Lobthi, son of Yafet, son of Noah.[2]

According to Tarikhé Guzideh,[3] the city was so called, from the name of one of its rulers, named Bakhtê-Kerm بخت کرم who ruled there during the time of Ardeshir Babegân who conquered the city. This derivation is more probable than that, which derives the name from the name of the great great-grandson of Noah. Bakhtê-Kerm بخت کرم of the Tarikhê-Guzideh, is the Haftân *Bokht-i-Kerm* Khodâe ... of the Kârnâmeh[4] of Ardeshir Bâbegân. He is often spoken of simply as Kerm کرم[5]. This Haftân Bokht-i-Kerm is the Kerm Haftwâl کرم هفتواد of Firdousi.[6]

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1 Dastur Jamaspji's Ed., p. 22, s. 38. My translation, p. 93.

2 Diotionnaire de la Perse, par B. De Meynard, p. 483. 3 *Ibid* note.

4 Nöldeke. Geschichte des Artachsîr Pâpakân, p. 49 ; Kârnâmê-i-Artakh-shir-i-Pâpakân, by Dastur Darâb, ch. VI. 1. p. 27, l. 8.

5 *Ibid*, ch. VI 1, 8, 10. 6 Mohl, V, p. 308, l. 509.

His proper original name was Haftân Bokht in the Kârnâmeh and Haftwâd in the Shâhnâmeh. According to Firdousi,[1] he was called Haftwâd, because he had seven (haft) sons. The Pahlavi name Haftân Bôkht[2] may also mean seven sons. Kerm or Kerm-khodâe (lit., the lord or master of the worm) was the designation, by which he was subsequently known. The following story from Firdousi's Shâhnâmeh explains why he was called Kerm or Kerm-Khodâe, a name from which the city of Kermân is said to have derived its name.

There lived in the city of Kajârân[3] كجاران in Pars a poor man named Haftwâd. He had a young daughter, who, with other girls of the city, daily went to an adjoining hill. They all passed their time there in good company and in spinning their cotton. One day, when they laid aside their spinning distaffs to have their dinner, the daughter of Heftwâd found an apple dropped from an adjoining tree. While eating it, she found a worm (كرم Kerm) in it. She carefully removed it with her finger and placed it in her distaff and went for her meals. On her return, she found, that the worm had moved round about in her cotton, and spun a good deal of it. So, her task, that day, was made very easy, and she was able to spin that day twice as much cotton as she was able to do before. She was much pleased with it and said to her friends, " Thanks to God, by the good fortune of the worm,[4] I have been able to spin twice the usual quantity this day." The next day, she carried double the quantity of cotton, and placed the worm in it. The spinning work was again finished very quickly. Every morning, she gave a piece of apple to the worm, which increased daily in size and strength, and the quantity of cotton spun increased in proportion. The increase in the daily production of yarn made the family comparatively richer

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[1] Mohl, V., p. 308, l. 510.

[2] P. بوخت son. The word Haftwâd seems to be a contracted form of Haftân Bokht. راخو بوخت can be read Haftaô-bavâd, which seems to have been contracted into Haftavâd.

[3] كرمان in the Kârnâmeh. Dastur Darâb's edition ch. VI., 1. p. 27, l. 5.

[4] باخفتر کرم Be akhtar-i-Kerm. Possibly the name Bokht-i-Kerm is a corruption of this phrase, which occurs several times in the episode. The poor man had become rich by the good fortune of the worm. So, possibly, he was named Bu-akhtar-i-Kerm. Or, his name can be directly derived from Bakht-i-Kerm, i.e., the fortune of the worm.

and more prosperous. Haftwâd took the worm to be a possession of good omen. He gradually became richer and richer. The ruler of the city, growing jealous of him, tried to extort money from him, but he opposed, and, collecting some force, killed the ruler and captured the city. He subsequently built a large fort on an adjoining hill, where he kept the worm, which, according to the story, had grown to an enormous size. Owing to the good luck and prosperity brought about by the worm, Haftwâd and all his followers began to worship the worm as a god. It was against this Haftwâd or Bakht-i-Kerm that Ardeshir had waged his war.

This story then relates how Haftwâd had received the appellation of Kerm, an appellation from which the city founded by him had received the name of Kermân.

Gour, or Jour.—It is the old name of the modern town of Firouzâbâd. Its original name was Khorreh-i-Ardeshir according to Firdousi,[1] or Ardeshir Gadman according to the Kârnâmeh[2] and the Shatrôiha-î-Irân.[3] The word Khorreh خره in the name Khorreh-i-Ardeshir is a corruption of Khorreh (Av. ‎ Pah ‎ P. خوره or خره) meaning 'splendour.' Gadman is the Semitic equivalent of Khoreh. Hence the Pahlavi name Ardeshir Gadman is an equivalent of the Persian Khorreh-i-Ardeshir. Now, the city was so called, from the name of Ardeshir, because this monarch was, according to the Kârnâmeh, invested with a certain halo, splendour or glory, which was supposed to have accompanied him in his war with Ardwân or Artabanes. The name Jour, which, according to Firdousi, was another name of Ardeshir Khorreh, seems to be another form of Khoreh (splendour). Khoreh خره or خوره and Khur خور are one and the same. The word Khur has subsequently become کور Kur.[4] The word kur کور was subsequently read کور Gour, and so the name of the town of Ardeshir Khorêh has subsequently become Gour. Perhaps the word خور Khur may have, by a mere change of points (nukté) become جور Jour. It

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[1] Mohl. V., p. 302, l. 440.

[2] Text of Dastur Darab, ch. IV, 17. Vide Nöldeke Geschichte des Artachsir Pâpakân, p. 47 n. 4.

[3] Dastur Jamaspji's Text, p. 22, s. 44. My translation, p. 99.

[4] Just as Khosrô has become Kaisar and Chosroe. We find from Ebn Haukal, that the name Korreh Ardeshir has latterly become Kureh Ardeshir (Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 87, 89).

is said, that it was a governor, named Adhed ed Dooleh, who had changed the name of the town into Firouzâbâd. This town had a bracing climate, and so he often went there for a change. The people then said ملک با گور رفت *malik ba Gour raft,* i. e., the King has gone to Gour. But, the word Gour also means a grave, and so the words could, at times, be misunderstood for " the King has gone to his grave."[1] So taking the name to be inauspicious, this ruler, Adhed changed it for that of Firouzâbâd.

Ahwâz.—We learn from Yakout, that it was formerly known as Hormuz. He says " El-Ahwâz, dit Abou-Zeïd, était autre fois nommé Hormuz-schehr رُرمُزشِهر .. .. Les Arabes l'appelèrent Souq-el Ahwaz."[2] Ebn Haukal also says, " Koureh Ahwaz is also called رُرمُزشِهر Hormuz Shehr."[3] According to Mirkhond, it was called Hormuz, because it was founded by king Hormuz. " On dit que la ville d'Hormuz fut fondée par ce prince et qu'il lui donna son nom."[4] It appears then, that the above-named city of Hormus or Hormuz Schehr is the Hormuz-Artashir of the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân.[5] It was so called, because, as said there, it was founded by king Hormuz. He probably named it after his own and his illustrious grandfather's joint names. Hormuz Schehr was probably a contracted form of Hormuzd Artashir, or probably it retained only the first part of the name (Hormuz) and the word Schehr was joined to it to signify city. Thus, we see, that Ahwâz is the later name of the city of Hormuz-Artashir or Hormuz Schehr or Hormuz. Edrisi also says, that Ahwâz carried the name of Hormuz. (" Hormuz qui porte aussi le nom d'Ahwaz."[6]) It appears, that Ahwaz is not only the later name of the city of Hormuz, but that the name itself is derived from that of Hormuz. In the Shatroihâ-i-Irân it is written thus اهُرمزد Auharmazd. That name can also be read Auhumazd. The letter ر in Pahlavi is at times substituted or transmuted for the Avesta letter ن (e. g. کامان in Avesta and زمان Zamân in Pahlavi *vide* old Pahlavi Pazand Glossary of Hoshangji and Haug, p. 239). So, the last-read form Auhumazd may have become or may have

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1 Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 174.

2 Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 58.

3 Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 73.

4 Mémoires sur la Perse, S. de Sacy, p. 293.

5 Dr. Jamaspji's Ed., p. 22, s. 46. My translation, p. 103.

6 Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 364.

been written Auhuvazd. The last *d* was then dropped, and the name then became Auhuvaz and then Ahwaz.

Simlân or Semirân.—The Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân[1] gives the name of the city as Simlân, which can be read Simrân also. It is the same as Semirân سميران of Ebn Haukal[2] and Edrisi.[3] It is situated in the province of Ardeshir Khorrêh. Now, according to the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân, it was founded by Feridun, who conquered it from the hands of its former king, and presented it, or a part of it named Desht, as a marriage-gift to the Arab king Bât-Khusrob, whose three daughters he had taken in marriage for his three sons. This Bât-Khusrob is the king Sarv of the Shâhnâmeh.[4] The name Sarv is derived from the latter part (Srob) of the name Bât-Khusrob. It appears then, that the city was named after this Arab king Sarv. It must have been originally named Sarvân, just as we have Turân from the name of Tur. This word Sarvân would be written سوروان Sarvân. By an interchange of letters Sarvân would be written Savrân سورووان. The ٯ *v* in this word would be changed into *m* م in Persian (e.g., كورود into كرود or زمان; vide p. 190) and the letter ا when passing into Persian may be read *l* ل (e. g., رايكيسوم and بلند). So سورروام would be written سمكلون Samlân. Thus we see, that the name of the town Simlân or Simrân (Semiran) is derived from the name of the Arab king Sarv, to whom it was presented as a marriage gift by king Feridun, who had conquered it from its former rulers.

Askar.—It is the Askar عسكر (عسكر مكرم) of Ebn Haukal[5] and Edrisi.[6] It is a large beautiful city situated at some distance from Ahwâz in Khozistân. According to the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,[7] it was founded by Ardeshir of Asfandiâr (*i.e.*, Bahman Asfandiar), and one Kharashk of Akar, شرو ه سرو who belonged to this city, was appointed the governor (marzpân) of Jerusal (Jerusalem). I think,

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[1] Dr. Jamaspji's Edition, p. 23, s. 50. My translation, p. 108.

[2] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88. [3] Edrisi par Jaubert, I., pp. 898, 414.

[4] Mohl, I., p. 120, ll. 68—70.

[5] Ousley's Oriental Geography I., p. 20, n. 2, 73.

[6] Edrisi par Jaubert, I, p. 379.

[7] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 23, s. 52. My translation, p. 111.

that this Kharashk-i-Akar is the Kirousch (Cyrus) son of Aikoun of Tabari,[1] who represents him as going with the Persian King to take Jerusalem. The final *r* of the Pahlavi word Akar being written ¹ thus, as it is at times written, it can be read as *n*. So the Pahlavi name Akar can be read and identified with Aikoun of Tabari. Again, the Pahlavi name Kharashk may be the same as Kirousch of Tabari.

Again, the allusion to the Kharashk of Akar in the Pahlavi Shatrôihâ-i-Irân is similar to the allusion to Kirousch in Maçoudi.[2] According to that author, in the reign of Bahman of Asfandiâr, the Israelites returned to Jerusalem, and Korech, the Persian, governed Irâk on behalf of Bahman. Thus, we see, both from the Pahlavi treatise and from Maçoudi, that it was one Kharashk, who had ruled in Jerusalem on behalf of Bahman, who is said to have founded the town of Askar. Now, it seems, that as this Kharashk had done him some service, Bahman may have named the new town, that he founded, after his name. In that case, we can attribute the difference in the forms of the two names—Askar and Kharashk—to a change of letters; the letter " r," which is second in the latter name, having changed place, occurs last in the former name. By a re-arrangement of letters ﮊﻮﻟ Kharashk would become ﺟﻮﻮﻮ Khashkar, and the word then can also be read Ashkar.

Nineveh.—This city has received its name from its founder. According to the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,[3] its original name is Ninav, and it was founded by one Ninav. This Ninav is the Ninus, to whom, according to Kinneir,[4] other writers ascribe its foundation. The Pahlavi book calls the founder Ninav-i-Jurâshân (or Yurâshân). Though, according to the Pahlavi book, the name of the town and its founder is Ninav, other writers have changed the name into Nineveh. I think, that the reason of this change

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Tabari par Zotenberg, (Chap. CVII.) I., p. 500.

² Maçoudi, par B. de Meynard, II., pp. 127-128. Maçoudi gives the name ﻛﻮﺭﺶ Korech, which resembles more the Kharashk ﺟﻮﻮﻮ of the Pahlavi book.

³ Dr. Jamaspji's Edition, p. 24, s. 57. My Translation, p. 115.

⁴ Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 259.

is this.. In the abovementioned name of the founder (Ninâv-i-Jurâ-shân, *i.e.*, Ninav of Jurash) they have taken the " i," expressing the meaning "of, " to be a part of the original name, because the genitive is again expressed by the last termination " ân." So they have taken Ninav-i (Nineveh) to be the proper noun.

The Pahlavi book calls this founder Jurâshân, *i. e.*, "of Jurâsh." This name Jurâshân can be read Junâshân, if we take the "r" to have been written l, as it can be written in that way also. This Junash, then, is the Hebrew prophet Jonas, who had been ordered to go to Nineveh,[1] and whose sepulchre is said to have been in the city of Nineveh. The Pahlavi writer seems to have thought, that the founder Ninav belonged to the family of Jonas, whose tomb was in the town. Maçoudi also says, that Jonas was of this city : " C'est à cette cité que Dieu envoya autrefois Jonas, fils de Mati."[2] The Mati of Maçoudi is the Amittai of the Scriptures (Jonah I, 1).

II.

Samarcand.—According to Tabari, Samarcand derived its name from Schamr, a general of an Arab king, Tobba. 'Abou-Karib, who conquered it: " Le général arriva à Samarcand . . . . Il se rendit maître de la ville, la détruisit et tua un grand nombre d'habitants. Ensuite il la reconstruisit et la nomma, d'après lui, Sam-arcand, car auparavant elle avait porté un autre nom. Samarcand veut dire 'la ville de Schamar ;' car en langue pehlvie *qand* signifie 'une grande ville ;'les Arabes en traduisant ce nom dans leur langue en ont fait Samarqand."[3]

We do not find in the Pahlavi language, the word " qand " in the sense of a great city as mentioned by Tabari. Perhaps, the word is ꡁꡕ *kant*, from ꡂꡁꡕ (traditionally read Kantan, now read Kardan, کردن) *i.e.*, to do. Then, the name Samarcand may mean "founded by Samar." We find instances of names similarly formed, in Dârâb-gird (*i e.*, the city founded by Dârâb), and Shapurgird. On the analogy of these names the proper form of the name should be Samarkird or Samargird. Or, possibly, the word *qand* is from

[1] Old Testament, Jonah, I, 1, 2 ; III, 2. Maçoudi, par B. De Meynard, Vol. I., p. 111.

[2] Maçoudi, par B. De Meynard, Vol. II., p. 93.

[3] Tabari, par Zotenberg, II., p. 32, Partie II, Ch. V.

Pahlavi 𐎤𐎡 (*kandan*, to dig, to root out). In that case Samarcand may mean '(the city) dug out or excavated by Samar." In this sense, it may rather refer to the fact of the old town being destroyed by Samar, than to the fact of the new town being founded by him. It is possible that the inhabitants of the town, instead of commemorating and connecting the name of the conqueror with its construction, connected it with its destruction.

That it was so derived, and not as Tabari mentions it, appears from other authors, on whose authority Percival writes his history of the Arabs. He says,[1] " Chammir-Yeràch . . . . détruisit les murs et une partie des édifices de la capitale de la Soghdiane. Les gens du pays appelèrent alors cette ville ruinée Chammir-cand, c'est-à-dire, Chammir l' a détruite. Ce nom, un peu altéré par les Arabes, devint Samarcand. Chammir lui-même la restaura ensuite." Under any circumstances, the city derives its name from Samar. Maçoudi[2] also derives its name from Samar.

Tabari[3] gives the following story about its conquest by Samar. Samar had besieged the town for one year without success. One night, taking a quiet walk round the city, he took prisoner one of the guards on duty at one of the gates of the city. He asked him how it was that the city was so well defended. The guard said that the king himself was addicted to drinking and pleasures, but that he had a daughter who was very intelligent, and that it was she who so well defended the city. On further inquiry, Samar learnt that she was not married. He thereupon sent her, as a present, a golden ox full of pearls, rubies, and emeralds with the following message : " I have come from Yemen in your search. I want your hand in marriage. I have 4,000 golden boxes of the kind I send you. I am not anxious about the capture of this city. I will leave it to your father to rule. If a son will be born of our marriage, I will make him the king of Persia and China[4]. If you will like, I will send the 4,000 boxes at night to your city." The guard carried that private message to the young princess, who was soon duped. She accepted the offer, and, according to a previous arrangement, opened one of the four

[1] Essai sur L' Historie des Arabes, par Perceval, Livre II. Yaman, I., p. 80.

[2] Maçoudi traduit par B. de Meynard et P. de Courtcille, III., p. 224, Ch. XLVI.

[3] Tabari par Zotenberg, II pp. 157-159, Partie II. Chap. XXXI.
    Rendered into English from the French of Zotenberg. *Ibid*, p. 157.

gates of the city for the admission of the promised boxes, each of which, instead of the treasure, contained two armed men. The boxes were placed on 4,000 asses, each of which was conducted by an armed man. By this piece of treachery 12,000 armed men were admitted into the city at night. At a given signal, they all rushed out of the boxes, opened the gates of the city, and Samar entered with all his troops. He killed the king and took his daughter a prisoner.

According to Tabari,[1] this event had happened in the reign of Kobâd, the father of Noshirwân (A. D. 490—532). Perceval places this Chammir or Samar in the middle of the first century [2] Hamza' and Nowayri[3] make him a contemporary of Gushtâsp, who had reigned a long time before Alexander the Great. If we at all attribute the name Samarcand to Samar, we must place his time long before that of Alexander, because, according to the Greek writers, who have written about Alexander, this city was taken by him, and it was then known as Maracanda, a name which is the same as Samarcand. That Samarcand was taken by Alexander the Great, appears from the Pahlavi book Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,[4] from Tabari,[5] and from Greek writers. The name Samarcand occurs only once in other Pahlavi works, and that in the Bundehesh.[6] We do not find the name in the Avesta, though we find there the name of Sugdha[7] (Sogdiana), of which it is the capital. This shows, that possibly the name came into use later, when it derived its name from Samar.

Balkh.—According to Ahmed Razi [8] Kazvini,[9] and Mirkhond,[10] this city was originally founded by king Kaiômars. Mirkhond gives the following story, which gives the etymology of the name :— " Kaiomars had a brother in the regions of the west, who occasionally came to visit him : who, at this time having undertaken the journey to converse with his revered brother, found, on his arrival at Damâvend,

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 156.

[2] L'Histoire des Arabes, I., p 82. This follows from the fact that he places his grandson Tobba El-Acrab in 90 to 14) A. D.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Dastur Jamaspji's Text p. 18 s. 4. My Translation, p. 55.

[5] Tabari par Zotenberg, I., p. 517.

[6] S. B. E., Vol. V., West, Ch. XX., 20. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 95.

[7] Vendidad, I., 5.

[8] Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n.

[9] Ousley's Travels of Persia, II., p. 372.

[10] Shea's Translation, p. 58. Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition, p. 150.

that Kaiomars was absent. On inquiring into his affairs, and learning, that he was then engaged in founding a city in the east, this affectionate brother immediately directed his course thither, and completed the long journey. At the moment of his arrival, Kaiômars, who was seated on an eminence, having beheld his brother, exclaimed : 'Ho ! who is this who directs his course towards us?' One of his sons answered : Perhaps a spy, sent by the enemy to find out our situation.' On which, Kaiômars armed himself, and, accompanied by the same son, went out to meet him : but when they drew near each other, Kaiomars recognised his brother, and said to his son, Bál Akh ! (Arabic بل assuredly, and اخ brother) (*i. e.*, this is surely my brother) from which circumstance the city was called Balkh."[1]

Now, the Avesta name of Balkh is supposed to be Bâkhdhi ⲛⲁⲕⲃⳝⳝⲩ (Bactria).[2] The Pahlavi rendering of this name is ⲃⲣⲩⳝⲓ, which can be read either Bâkhar or Bâkhal,[3] and which can be identified with Bokhârâ or Balkh.

We do not know why Bâkhdhi is so called in the Avesta, and what its meaning is. But, if we try to trace its origin to a compound of words, meaning " brother assuredly," as Mirkhond has taken its later form Balkh to mean, one can form a compound Bâdha-akh ⲃⲁⳝⳝⲩ-ⲕⲩ, which will be a compound of an Avesta word Bâdha ⲃⲁⳝⲏⲃⲩ, meaning assuredly, and a Pahlavi word Akh ⲕⲩ meaning brother. This word Bâdha-akh or Bâdhakh can easily become Balakh, as the word *madha-kha* has become *malakh*. Thus, the old name Bâkhdhi may have been formed from the above name Bâdha-akh or Bâdhakh by the interchange of " dh " and " kh," such interchanges of letters being common.

But, the objection to this may be, that the compound so formed is

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Vendidad, I., 7.

[3] The word Balkh can be thus derived from the Avesta Bâkhdhi. The Avesta " dhi " is changed into " l " as in the case of *madhakha* (ⲙⲁⳝⳝⲩⲃⲅ), which has subsequently become *malakh* (ملخ). Thus Bâkhdhi becomes Bâkhal, and then " l " and " kh " interchange places. (Darmesteter's Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II., p. 8, n. 14).

of an Avesta word and a Pahlavi word. So one must look into the Avesta language itself for both the words. We find them in Brâtar ﺑﺮﺍﺗﺮ brother, and ﻛﻰ Zi, assuredly. This word Brâtarzi, then, may, by some corruption, become Bâkhdhi.

Herat.—According to an oriental writer, this city owes its name to its founder Herat, an emir of Narimân. "Hérat, dit le géographe Persan . . . . . a été fondée par un des êmirs du célèbre Nériman le héros du monde, qui portait le nom de Hérat, et après avoir été ruinée, elle a été rétablie par Alexandre." (Mémoires sur la Perse, par S. de Sacy, p. 389, n. 84.)

This etymology seems to be imaginary. Firstly, we do not find from the Bundehesh or from the Shâhnâmeh, that Nariman had an *emir* named Hérat. Again, Herat is Harôyû of the Avesta, Hariva of the cuneiform inscriptions, Harî of the Pahlavi Vendidad, Harâe of the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân, and Harôi of the Bundehesh.[1] According to William Ousley, Herat was formerly known as Hari, a name by which the river Harirûd, which flows by its side, is still known. The word Hari or Harôyû is derived from *har* सर to flow, because the country is watered by a large river. In the Vendidâd (Ch. I. 9), the city is said to be Vish-harezanem, *i.e.*, well-watered, because it was watered by the river.

Pusheng.—This town, also spoken of by some, as Bouschendj (ﺑﻮﺷﻨﺞ) is situated at the distance of about ten farsakhs from Herat. It was so called, because it was originally founded by Pashang, the son of the Turânian king Afrâsiâbn.[2] The other name of this place was Shideh.[3]

Tus.—This city is the modern Meshed. According to some authors, it was situated a little near the modern Meshed. It was so called, because it was founded by Tûs, the son of the Irânian king Naôdar.[4] The Pahalavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân[5] and the Dabistân[6] also attribute the foundation of this city to general Tûs.

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[1] Justi, p. 50, l. 17. Chap. XX. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 92.

[2] Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. De Meynard, p. 122.

[3] Shâhnâmeh, Mohl, IV., p. 30, l. 313.

[4] Mecan's Calcutta Edition of the Shâhnâmeh, Persian Introduction, p. 32, ll. 7-9. Mohl, II., pp. 595—631.

[5] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 19, s. 14. My Translation, p. 65.

[6] Shea and Troyer's Translation, Vol I., p. 52.

Nishâpoûr.—This city was founded by Shapour I., from whom it derives its name Various stories are given about the event, which led Shapour to build it.   Hamd Allah Mustôfi[1] gives the following story :—

"Ardeshir Bâbegân built a city which he named Neh (P. نه). (*i.e.*, the city).   His son Shapour, who was the Governor of Khorâsân, requested his father to give that town to him, but his request was refused.   Piqued at this refusal, he built in its vicinity, on the ruins of the ancient town founded by Tehmuras, another city, and, to distinguish it from the Neh founded by his father, called it Neh-Shapour, which the Arabs afterwards changed into Nicabour."

Others give another story and etymology.   They say, that Shapour, once passing the locality of this town, had remarked, that it was full of Naê (P. نی) *i.e.*, reeds.   So, the city, built afterwards on that locality, was known as Naê Shapour (*i.e.*, the reeds of Shapour).[2]   Edrisi[3] also refers to this story, but he attributes it to Shapour II.

Others[4] give the following story to derive its name.   The astrologers had predicted, that Shapour would one day lose his throne, and be reduced to poverty, and that he would suffer great misfortunes, till the time of his restoration to the throne.   Shapour asked the astrologers, how he was to know, that the time of his restoration had come.   They said, "you may expect restoration to the throne when you eat golden bread on an iron table."   The prediction turned out to be true.   He lost his throne, and wandered in deserts and mountains, till he came to the city of Esfadjân.   There he served as a labourer at the house of a cultivator, who, pleased with his work and energy, gave him his daughter in marriage.   This wife of Shapour carried his meals every day to the fields.   One day, being invited at a marriage in the village, she forgot to prepare the meals for Shapour.   Being reminded late of this fact, she hastened to her house from the marriage party, took with her a few cakes prepared with honey, which were ready in the house,

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[1] Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 578. n.   Rendered into English from B. de Meynard's French.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 578.

[3] Edrisi, par Jaubert II , p. 182. n.

[4] Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 169.

and which presented a yellow colour like that of gold, and ran to the field, where Shapour was working. A small trench separated Shapour from the place, where she stood. So, she could not hand over the cakes to Shapour. He consequently extended towards her, his spade, over which she placed the golden-coloured cakes. The sight of the golden-coloured bread, placed over the iron spade, reminded Shapour of the astrologer's prediction, that the eating of a golden bread over an iron table would bring about his restoration to the throne. He recounted the story of the prediction to his wife, declared to her, who he was, and hastened home to be ready to go to his native country. He put on his royal robe and dress, which he had concealed in a bag. He wrote to his ministers and informed them of his whereabouts. He got his coat of mails suspended at the gate of his house. The ministers, on hearing from Shapour, sent courtiers to bring back Shapour to the royal city. They came to a place and inquired about Shapour's whereabouts. They were told "Nist Sapour" نیست ساپور i.e., Shapour is not here. Hence it is, they say, that the place was called "Nist Sapour" نیست ساپور and then Nishapour (نیشاپور). The courtiers, not finding Shapour at that place, proceeded further, and came to a place, where the people asked them, what they had come there for. They replied " Sabour Khâst.' ساپور خواست (from خواستن to wish, to look for), i. e., we look for Shapour. Hence the place was called Sabour Khâst. This seems to be the city, known as Sabour Khawst. The courtiers, on proceeding further, came to the village where Shapour lived. His house being discovered by means of the coat of mails, hung at the gate, they said, Jandim[1] Sabour جندیم ساپور i.e., we have found Shapour. Hence the place was called Joundi Sabour. This is the city, known as Vandu-i-Shapuhar in the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân.

Nehavend.—According to Yakout,[2] some writers say, that its original name was Nouh-âwend. They thus derive its, name from Noah, and say that the city was originally built by him.

Shâm.—Shâm is the modern name of Syria. Asiatic writers call it Bald-el-Shâm, i. e., the city on the left (Arab. شمال). According to

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1 This word seems to be the same as Pahlavi vandâdan ꡘꡘꡘ(to find, to obtain).

2 Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 573.

Maçoudi, Yemen is so called, because it is situated on the right hand side of Kaabah, and Syria is called Shâm, because it is situated on the left of Kaabah.[1]

Others derive the name Shâm from Arabic شام or شوم "unlucky" and the name Yemen from Arabic يمن " lucky." They say, that Yemen (Arabia Felix) is so called, because it is very fertile.

Farika.—It is the Afrikie افريقيّه of Edrisi,[2] Afrinkeieh افرنقيه of Ebn Haukal[3] and modern Africa. Maçoudi calls it Afrikiyah افريقيه. According to this author, the country received its name from one Africas, the son of Abrahah, افريقس بن ابرهم who founded it.[4] The Romans had first introduced this name into Europe. At first, they knew the country round Carthage by the name of Africa.

Nahartirak.—It was so called, because it is situated on the canal (nehar نهر) of the river Tira.[5] According to Yakout,[6] the river was so called from the name of Tira, a son of Goudaraz, the Vazir of Kaikhosru.

Âtaropâtakan.—According to Strabo[7] the city had derived its name from one Atropâte who had saved it from passing into the hands of the Macedonians. Yakout[8] says, that, according to Ibn el-Moquanna, it received its name from its founder Azerbâd اذربباد. This word Âzerbâd is the same as Âtropâte. But this oriental writer places this personaee, in times much anterior to that of the Macedonian conquest. The Pahalvi Shatrôitrâ-i-Irân[9] attributes its foundation to one Airân Goushasp, a name which can also be read Âdarân Goushasp. In that case, the first part of the name Âdar, is the same as the Âtro in Strabo's name Âtropâte and is the same as Âzer in Yakout's name Âzerbâd.

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[1] Maçoudi. III., p. 139.   [2] Edrisi par Jubert II., p. 73.

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 15.

[4] Maçoudi, III., p. 224.

[5] Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 576.   [6] Ibid.

[7] Bk. XI., ch. XIII., Strobo says : " It had its name from Atropatus, a chief who prevented this country, which is a part of Greater Media, from being subjected to the dominion of the Macedonians." (Hamilton and Folconer's Translation [1856] Vol. II., p. 262.)

[8] Dictionnaire de la Perse. B. De Meynard, p. 15.

[9] Dastur Jamaspji's Text, p. 24, s. 56. My Translation, p. 115.