

## THE PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE ARABS: THEIR RELATIONS WITH ANCIENT PERSIANS.

(Read on 24th June 1919.)

### I.

The subject of this paper was suggested to me by a learned paper, entitled "The Physical Characters of the Arabs" from the pen of Dr. C. G. Seligman, Vice-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, published in the January-June 1917 number<sup>1</sup> of the Journal of the Institute. The article is interesting and instructive, both from the point of view of physical anthropology and from that of history, taking history as a branch of cultural anthropology. I do not propose saying anything new from the point of view of physical anthropology, but beg to submit some materials from the historical point of view.

A nation, people or race, may, at one time or period of its history, have, on the whole, one particular physical character but, in the course of time, a change may come in, as the result of various causes. In my paper on "The Ancient Germans"<sup>2</sup> before this Society, we saw, on the authority of Dr. Arthur Keith, that the Germans, who, at one time, were mostly a dolichocephalic or long-headed people, had latterly, owing to some historical events, become brachycephalic or broad-headed; and so, they, who, at one time, were known, as "the kith and kin" of the Britons, were no longer, held to be so. The case discussed by Dr. Seligman is akin, though not on all fours, to that case. His point is this: The traditional Arab is, as a rule,

<sup>1</sup> Volume XLVII, pp. 214-33.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. X pp. 636-84.

dolichocephalic, but the Arabs of Southern Arabia are mostly brachycephalic or broad-headed. So, the question is: What foreign influence brought about this change or result? The object of my paper then is, to give some historical notes from a Parsee point of view, from old Parsee and other books, which lead to show, that, among the outside or foreign influences on Arabia and its Arabs, one was from ancient Persia.

## II.

### DR. SELIGMAN'S THEORY ABOUT THE PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE ARABS.

Before coming to the subject proper of my paper, I will give a brief outline of Dr. Seligman's paper. He says of Arabia, that "Probably there is no country in the world of equal area with Arabia, certainly there is none approaching it in historic interest, of whose inhabitants we are so profoundly ignorant." He then discusses the physical character of the Arabs, and says: "The traditional Arab of the text-books is dolichocephalic<sup>1</sup> and leptoprosopic,<sup>2</sup> 'with a fine oval face.....a type which.....often assumes an almost ideal beauty.'<sup>3</sup> Yet a glance at the literature shows as many brachycephals as dolichocephals, or even perhaps more of the former."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Dolichocephals (from two Greek words meaning long heads) are those people in whose skulls the antero-posterior diameter (*i.e.*, the diameter from the front to the back) is longer than the transverse diameter. They are also spoken of as the long-headed people. Brachycephals are those people in whose skulls the transverse diameter is longer than the antero-posterior diameter. They are also spoken of as the short-headed people. *Vide* for the portrait of the two types, my paper on "The Ancient Germans: Their History, Constitution, Religion, Manners and Customs," read before this Society on 28th June 1916 (Journal of the Society. Vol. X, p. 640).

The dolichocephalic or long-headed or the fine-nosed have, their cephalic (*i.e.* head) index not exceeding 70 per cent. The brachycephalic or the broad-headed have their cephalic index exceeding 80 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, thin faced or fine-nosed.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Keane's "Ethnology," (1896) p. 393.

<sup>4</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, p. 214.



Dr. Seligman then takes two skulls, both from the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, for the discussion of his subject. The first (R. C. S. No. 627) is from Midian and was brought by Sir Richard Burton. The second (No. 558) "is catalogued as that of Mossa Kadim, Arab of Oman."<sup>1</sup> The first question for him to settle is "(a) whether these two skulls are typical of two great groups of the inhabitants of Arabia, or (b) whether one of them represents the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Peninsula, the other being the remains of a chance wanderer or of a member of some isolated colony of foreigners."<sup>2</sup>

From the comparison of the anthropometric measurements of the above Midian skull, which is a dolichocephalic skull, and of several other skulls found in Northern Arabia, Dr. Seligman concludes, that "the dolichocephalic skull from Midian not only represents a well-defined Arab type widely spread in Arabia, and, Palestine, but that this type is no new thing in Arabia, since men with skulls resembling the modern inhabitants of Midian and Sinai lived on the northern edge of the Arabian desert some 1800 years ago."<sup>3</sup> Coming to the Oman skull, which is brachycephalic, he says, that "although no other skulls from the south are available for comparison, the measurements of living Arabs from Southern Arabia.....indicate that brachycephals constitute more than half the population, so that the subject from whom this skull was derived was no chance wanderer."<sup>4</sup> Thus, it is seen, "that both long-headed and short-headed Arabs are found in Arabia."<sup>5</sup> As to "the distribution of each of these types," it is concluded, "that the northern Arabs are predominantly long-headed and have been so for the last 2000 years.....The northern Semites were essentially long-headed, and the Arabs of Northern Arabia exhibited and still exhibit this characteristic."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*



Before going further into the subject, Dr. Seligman describes the geographical divisions of Arabia. Some knowledge of the division is useful for our purpose. "The greater part of the interior of Arabia consists of immense lava tracts called *harrah*, and of high dune regions of wasted sandstone (*nafud* or *dahna*)"<sup>1</sup> A great part of this interior is well-nigh unpassable. The rest of the country, excluding this interior, which can be called the coastal country, may be divided into three main divisions, the northern, the southern and the central. The northern division extends to the edge of the Syrian desert. Though desert throughout, it has many oases and is inhabited by nomads to whose cattle it provides sufficient pasturage at certain seasons. The central division extends from a place further north of Medina to the south of Mecca. It includes the Hejaz, Nejd and El Hasa. Though mostly stony, and, therefore, sparsely occupied by nomads, it contains, besides the above holy cities, many great *wadys* of "fertile stretches of alluvial soil, where cultivation is possible, and which support a considerable settled population, large enough at Hail and El Riad to form small independent, Emirates."<sup>2</sup>

"The southern division contains the highlands of Yemen and Asir in the west, which, with the Hadramut, including the almost unknown Sheher district (district east of, and inland from, Makalla), form a habitable zone round the great southern desert, continued to the east by Oman and Jebel Akhdar, north of which lies the practically unknown country behind the coastal area of the Persian Gulf. The Yemen and Asir highlands, enjoy a temperate climate, due to their considerable elevation and their proximity to the sea. Their population consists largely of agriculturists whose terraced hills form one of the most characteristic features of the landscape."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.



From the data before him, Dr. Seligman concludes, "that both the northern and southern divisions have their characteristic population; in the north dolichocephalic, in the south brachycephalic. No statement comparable with this can be made with regard to the central area. Culturally and historically this area is more closely related to the Beduin north than to the settled south, and there seems little reason to doubt that its ancient inhabitants were one with their northern neighbours."<sup>1</sup>

Now, the question is: "How is it that Southern Arabia has a predominantly brachycephalic population?" Dr. Seligman indicates the direction in which the answer must be sought. It is this: South Arabia was the great incense-producing country known from the earliest time. So, its incense trade brought it into contact with some brachycephalic populations. The incense trade had brought it into contact with Syria and with other eastern Mediterranean coast-lands. So, Arabia had played a great part in the civilizations of these sea-coast lands. The incense trade brought it also into contact with Africa, Persia and India. South Arabian inscriptions—both Minaean and Sabaeen, dating from 800 B. C., have been found, which show the relations of Arabia with some of the above countries. To the Minaean inscriptions belong texts, dating from the "period of the kings of Ma'an whose capitals were in the South Arabian Jauf, in the neighbourhood of San' and Ma'rib, as well as others from Qataban and the Hadramut. The Sabaeen inscriptions begin in the period of the so-called priest-kings, some 700—500 B. C., and continue for about a thousand years."<sup>2</sup> These latter inscriptions, refer to a kingdom with Ma'rib as its capital. References in the Old Testament seem to identify this kingdom with the route which the incense-trade took. Jeremiah (believed to have lived in about 640 B.C., VI, 20), Ezekiel (about 580 B. C., XXVII, 22) and Isaiah about 500 B. C., LX, 6) refer to this incense trade of Arabia.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219—220.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLVII, p. 220.

Reverence to fire held a prominent place in the Zoroastrian ritual of ancient Persia. So, naturally, Persia must have imported a good deal of incense from Arabia, both *viâ* Mesopotamia, over which it ruled, to greater or less extent, during a long period of its history, and by the sea route.

Thus, among the various countries that came into contact with South Arabia on account of its incense trade, Mesopotamia was one. It had great influence upon South Arabia. Some scholars point to Mesopotamian references to Yemen, and say,

The routes for Mesopotamian influence.

that inter-relations existed between the South Arabians and the people of Mesopotamian cultures from the times of the earliest Semitic dynasty. Dr. Seligman points to three routes for this Mesopotamian influence—(1) indirect, through Syria and Palestine and (2) direct through the desert track of Nafud or Dahna, which, in those early times, not being so much desiccated as now, was to a certain extent passable. As pointed out by Mr. Ellesworth Hunttingdon in his "Pulse of Asia," there are many large tracts of Asia which were not desiccated in early times as now. (3) Dr. Seligman suggests an alternative third route for influence. Instead of the influence proceeding from the north to the south, in this case it was directly on the south and then from the south to the north along the incense route. He gives two outstanding examples of the Mesopotamian influence on Southern Arabia of the latter kind.

The first example is that of the conquest of Yemen in South Arabia by Noshirwân Adal (Noshirwân the Just, Chosroes I of the Roman writers) who, after the conquest, appointed a Zoroastrian governor over Yemen. The last of this Zoroastrian governor's successors was Badhan, who, on the death of Noshirwân's grandson, Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II in 628 A. D.), adopted Islamism, thus ending the Zoroastrian sovereignty over the country. The second example was that of the easy march of the Arabs from Southern Arabia to Mesopotamia, to fight with the Zoroastrian Persians, when the great Sassanian Empire under the last monarch Yazdazard was overthrow.



Dr. Seligman then refers to either Mesopotamian influence which is "inferential rather than direct."

Probability of some influence. I will not enter further into the question of

influence as treated by the author, but simply say, that some influence of this kind is very probable.

In my paper on "The Persian Origin of the Kurds and the Tajiks"<sup>1</sup> before this Society, I quoted Dr. Luschan on the subject of the Anthropology of Persia. He said "Notwithstanding some recent researches, our knowledge of the Anthropology of Persia is rather scanty.....There are two large ethnical groups in Persia.....The old type seems to be preserved in the Parsi, the descendants of Persians who emigrated to India after the battle of Nahâuband (Nehavand A. D. 640), of much purer form than among any true Persians. ....We know nothing of the physical characteristics of the Achæmenides who called themselves Aryans of Aryan stock, and who brought an Aryan language to Persia ; it is possible that they were fair, and dolichocephalic, like the ancestors of the modern Kurds, but they were certainly few in number and it would therefore be astonishing if their physical characteristics should have persisted among a large section of the actual Persians."<sup>2</sup> What one can infer from this is, that there were few dolichocephalic among the ancient Persians and many brachycephalic.

Recently, I wrote to Mr. B. A. Gupta (Alipore, Calcutta) who has recently taken various anthropometrical measurements of some Indian communities, and inquired : "Which part of India is long-headed and which short or flat or broad-headed ? What were the ancient Hindus and Parsees ?" In his reply dated 22nd May 1919, he says : "Persians are however known as broad-headed people. The conclusion forced on us is that the original Indians were long-headed people : that Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Makran coast, Arabia and Egypt sent out

<sup>1</sup> Journal, Vol. IX, pp. 493—99. (*Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, pp. 40—46).

<sup>2</sup> Journal, Vol. IX, p. 497.



broad-headed people who settled in the Punjab and along the western coast, and influenced the breed of the locals, but got themselves mixed by local admixtures which though minimised by endogamous marriages could not be avoided altogether.” What we gather from this reply also is, that the ancient Persians were mostly brachycephalic or broad-headed. If they, in the course of time, had an influence on the physical characters of some of the people of distant India, there is a greater probability of their influencing the physical characters of the Arabs who were nearer home. To show the probability of such influence, one must examine at some length, the relations that existed between the ancient Persians and the Arabs. This brings me to the subject proper of my paper.

### III.

#### THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ANCIENT PERSIANS AND THE ANCIENT ARABS.

Writers on the History of the Arabs, like Prof. Perceval,<sup>1</sup> Prof. Huart<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Gifford Palgrave,<sup>3</sup> have referred briefly to events of such contacts in later historical times, but they have not referred fully to some earlier events. I propose to present here on the authority of old Parsee books and works of some later Mahomedan authors, especially Firdousi, a brief account of all the events that brought about, now and then, a contact between the ancient Arabs and the ancient Persians. I do not claim for the whole of it the authority of a history of the relations subsisting between them. A part of it belongs to what one may, from one point of view, choose to call, a pre-historic period; but, whatever it may be, it presents a view—a traditional view it may be called—of a very early contact.

---

<sup>1</sup> Essai Sur L'Histoire Des Arabes, avant l'Islamisme, pendant l'époque de Mahomet et jusqu'à la réduction de toutes les tribus sous l'aloi Musulmane, par A. P. Caussin de Perceval (1847).

<sup>2</sup> Histoire des Arabes, par Cl. Huart 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Article on Arabia in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. II;



The history of the Arabs may be divided into three periods—  
 Three periods of (1) the pre-historic period, (2) the pre-  
 the history of the Mahomedan period, *i.e.*, the period before  
 Arabs. the advent of the Prophet, and (3) the  
 period after the Arab conquest of Persia. It is the second  
 period with which I have to deal. But, before speaking on it,  
 I will briefly refer here to the first period on the authority of  
 the Arab historian Macoudi.

#### IV.

##### 1. THE PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD.

According to M. Cl. Huart,<sup>1</sup> the ancient Arabs generally  
 The Assyrians adhered to their country up to about 3000  
 and the ancient B. C. Later on, a few went out with their  
 Arabs. camels, which were required for caravans,  
 and which, at times, were required by Assyrian kings for the  
 marches of their armies through some barren lands. During  
 the third millenium before Christ, they founded here and there  
 in their country some cities. In the eighth century before  
 Christ, there came to be founded in Southern Arabia a powerful  
 dominion, that of the Minæans or the people of Mâin, whose  
 inscriptions have been recently founded after the excavations of a  
 part of their country by M. J. Holévy. It was in this century  
 that the Arabs came into contact with the Assyrians. At that  
 time, there flourished, in the south of the Arabian peninsula,  
 some kingdoms like those of the kings of Mâin, of Quaban and  
 Hydramaut. Then, there was also the kingdom of the Minæans.  
 It is believed that the Hebrews have derived their word  
 "Levites," a name for a class of priests, from *lewi*, a word  
 found as used in the inscription of these Minæans. Thus the  
 Hebrew tribe of the Levites is believed to have its origin in an  
 Arab tribe. It is about this time, that the Assyrians speak of  
 the Arabs as Aribi in their inscriptions, wherein their war with  
 Egypt is referred to. At this time, the Arabs of the north had

---

<sup>1</sup> *Historie des Arabes*, par. Cl. Huart (1912). Tome I, p. 44.

two kingdoms—those of the Mousri and Melouhha. The former name seems to have suggested the name Miṣr, for Egypt. In the time of the Assyrian king Tiglat-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.), an Arab Shaikh Idibiel ruled over this kingdom of Mousram.

The Arab historian, Macoudi, says that some Arabs derive their genealogy from Kahtan, and others especially the poets of the tribe of Nazar (نزار) considering themselves above the Kahtanides of Yemen, invoke their relationship with Persia.<sup>1</sup>

The Pahlavi Bundelesh<sup>2</sup> seems to support this view of the relationship of some Arabs to the Persians. The Taziks or Arabs according to the Pahlavi Bundelesh. This book presents an old Iranian view of the genesis or the creation of the world. Man was not a spontaneous creation, but he came down from some hoary antiquity—from a primitive form of being or existence, from which there originated at first the vegetable and animal kingdoms. Heaven, water, earth, vegetation, animals and men—this was the order of creation, one after another. The very first primitive being or human form of existence was one Gayomard, who was sexless. His first progeny (Mashi and Mashyâni) had sexes combined in one body. From this pair, there came forth seven pairs, whose average age was 100 years. From these were descended 15 races.<sup>3</sup> In all, at first, there proceeded one by one, 25 species. From one Fravâk, a descendant of the primitive human being, Gayomard, there descended two persons, one Tâz and another Hoshang. The first, Taz, was the progenitor of the Tâzis of the Arabs. The second was the progenitor of the Iranians, and, as he was called Peshdad, the

<sup>1</sup> Maçoudi, traduit par B. de Meynard et P. de Courteille, Tome II, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. I. *Vide* my Gujarati translation of the "Bundelesh."

<sup>3</sup> The Pahlavi Bundelesh, Chap. XV. For some detailed outline of the Iranian Genesis according to the "Bundelesh," *vide* my paper on "The Antiquity of Man" before this Society (Journal, Vol. X, pp 577-92); *vide* my Anthropologica Papers, Part II, pp. 229 *et seq.*



line of rulers that descended from him came to be known as the Peshdâdians. Thus, we see from this very old Iranian tradition that the Arabs and the Persians, the Semites and the Aryans, had, at first, as it were, a common stem in Western Asia.

We have, in Maçoudi's History<sup>1</sup> several chapters on the Arabs, and, among them, some specially on the Arabs of Yemen. He says that there is a difference of views on the subject of the etymology of the name of Yemen. Some say, that it was called Yemen, because it was situated on the right (يمن *yamn*) of Kaabah. Similarly Syria, being situated on the left (شمال *shimâl*) was called Shâm. Hajaz was so called, because it formed a kind of barrier (حاجز *hâjiz*) between Yemen and Syria. Irak is so called from *Irâq* (عراق), *i.e.*, "a double stich in the bottom of a leather bottle," because it received the waters of the Euphrates, the Tigris and other rivers.<sup>2</sup> According to others, Yemen signified a happy country from *yamn* (يمن), *i.e.*, felicity, just as Shâm (Syria) signified "unfortunate, unhappy" from *shâm*, (شوم) *i.e.*, an ill-omen. Others say, that, when the languages were confused on the construction of the tower of Babel, some took the direction to the right (*yamn*) of the course of the sun, *i.e.*, toward Yemen and others to the left (*shimâl*, *i.e.*, towards Shâm (Syria).

Opinions differ also on the subject of the origin of the Arabs of Yemen. Maçoudi, after referring to some opinions, gives as reliable, the following descending line of ancestors:—Noah, Sâ'm, Arfakhshad, Qainân, Sâlim, Shâlikh, Â'bir, Qahtân. Âbir had three sons—Fâtigh, Qahtân and Melkân. They became the progenitors of several tribes. Kahtan's direct descendants were as follows:—Ya'rob, Yashjob, abd Shams, otherwise known as Sabâ who gave his name to the Sabeans.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. XLI *et seq.* Vol. III, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Iraq-i-Azam, *i.e.*, Persian Irak, is the country about Media, the country of Kurdistan and the surrounding districts. The Iraq-i-Arab is Babylonia, Chaldea, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 144, Chap. XLII.

Sabâ (سبأ) is taken to be the first king of Yemen. As said above, his original name was Abd-Shams (عبد شمس), but, it is said, that, as he reduced to slavery those whom he took prisoners in war, he was called Sabâ (from Arabic *saba* سبأ) which means "buying wine for the purpose of selling it." In slavery, there are good many buying and selling transactions. He (or rather his dynasty) reigned for 484 years. He had Himyar (حمير) as his successor who reigned for 50 years. He was the first to put on a golden crown (تاج الذهب) on his head as a king.<sup>1</sup> His brother Kahlân succeeding him ruled for 300 years. Then, there was a change in the direct line of kings. After several kings, we come to the name of Tobâ who is spoken of by Maçoudi as the first Tobâa (تبع الاول). He was succeeded by a woman named Belqis (بلقيس). Some time after, the throne came back to Tobâa's family. One of them invaded the countries of Khorasan, Tibet, China and Sijistan. One person of this line, Tobâa, son of Hasan Abou Karib, fought with adjoining tribes, and he would have destroyed Kaabah were it not for some Jewish priests (احبار اليهود) who had domiciled there and who dissuaded him. On his return to Yemen, he adopted the Jewish religion which then began to spread and to replace idolatry there.

Firdousi, while speaking of the commencement of Fire-worship, says that the ancient Arabs worshipped

Firdousi on the  
early religion of  
the Arabs.

a stone arch.<sup>2</sup> From this, it appears that just as Cross existed as a symbol before Christ, so an arch (*mehrèb*) existed as an

object of worship before Mahomed. The new element, which seems to have been added since the Prophet's time, was, that the arch should be in the direction of the Kâbah, in the direction of the West. According to Maçoudi,<sup>3</sup> at one time, the Zoroastrian Fire-worship had entered into Arabia and was about to spread a good deal and to be paramount. But Khaled, son

<sup>1</sup> Chap. XLIII, Vol. III, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Mohl. I, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> B. De Meynard I, 131, Chap. VI.



of Sinân, son of Ghais (غيث), son of Âbs, suppressed it and even extinguished the sacred fire that was burning.<sup>1</sup>

## V.

## 2. THE HISTORICAL PERIOD BEFORE THE PROPHET. THE PESH DÂDIANS.

Coming to the historical period, I will treat my subject in the order of the different great dynasties that ruled over ancient Persia—the Peshdâdians, the Kaiyânians, the Achæmenians, the Pârthians and the Sâssânians. Of these different dynasties, the first two also may, perhaps, be taken by some as belonging to the pre-historic period. But, as they have been treated as historic dynasties by several old writers, we take them as such.

I will draw a good deal from the Shâh-nâmeh of the poet-historian Firdousi. In this matter, one must not be carried away with the idea, that, because Firdousi was a poet, all his accounts must be the result of some poetic imagination. Of course, we must expect some poetic flourishes of imagination in a poet, and especially in an oriental poet. But we must bear in mind what we now begin to learn about Homer and his poems. Homer's Illiad was at one time taken to be mostly the result of poetic imagination, but the recent excavations at Crete and at the site of old Troy have made us pause and say that there have been historical facts at the bottom of the poet's work. Similarly, we have the authority of the Avesta, of several Pahlavi books, of writers earlier than Firdousi like Maçoudi and Tabari, and of some Armenian and other writers, to say that, in the matter of history, Firdousi had some historical materials to dwell upon, and that he did not rest upon his imagination as a poet.

<sup>1</sup> Vide below, pp. 743-44, the second reference in the Dinkard to king Pat-Khusrub of Yemen.

نیارا همی بود آئین و کیش .: پرستیدن ایزدی بود پیش  
بدانکه بدی آتش خوب رنگ .: چو مورتازیان است مترواب سنگ

Firdousi's very first reference to Arabia suggests, that the art of writing went to Persia from outside. King Tehmuras is spoken of as learning some languages at the hands of some Divs, by which word we must understand some extraordinary foreigners. They taught, among other languages, the art of writing the Tâzi (Arabic) language.<sup>1</sup> In the early part of the Shâh-nâmeh, Firdousi speaks of the Arabs as the Tâzis and of their language as the Tâzi language.

The Peshâddian dynasty had a long break—according to Firdousi, that of 1000 years—owing to the invasion and occupation of Persia by one Zohâk Tâzi, *i.e.*, Zohâk, the Arab. He is the Azi Dahâka of the Avesta. He was a great tyrant. Old Parsee books always speak disparagingly of three foreign conquerors. They are Zohâk the Arab, Afrâsiâb the Turânian, and Alexander (Alexander) the Greek who is spoken of as *gazashte*, *i.e.* accursed. Zohâk is said to have overrun Persia from the side of Bawri or Babylon. A blacksmith, named Kâveh, raised the standard of revolt. He induced Faridun, a prince of the old Peshdâdian family, to lead an army against the foreign ruler. Faridun did so and drove away the Arab ruler from Persia. A particular national banner of ancient Irân, which, on the downfall of the Sassanian Empire, fell into the hands of the Arab conquerors, was known, upto the last, as the Kâviâni banner, from the fact, that the above Kâveh had at first formed it from the apron, which he put on while working as a blacksmith. This revolt and this fight between Zohâk and Faridun are also referred to in the Avesta<sup>2</sup> and in Pahlavi works like the Dinkard<sup>3</sup> and the Bundeshesh.<sup>4</sup>

1 (J. A. Vuller's Text, Tomus, p. 22.)

نېشټن بېخسرو بيا موخښند . دلشوا بدانش برا فروخښند  
نېشټن يکي نه که نژدېک سي . چه رومي چه تازي و چه پارسي

<sup>2</sup> Aban Yasht, 29-31; Gosh Yasht, 13-14; Ram Yasht, 19, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Dinkard, Book VIII, chap. XIII, 9; S.B.E., XXXVII, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> XII, 31; XXIX, 9; S. B. E. Vol. V, pp. 40 and 119.



We know, that Arabs have been held to be good sailors from very early times. In the trade of the Arabs as sailors from very early times. West with the East, the Arabs had a great hand. We have a reference to the Arabs being sailors in Firdousi's account of the reign of Faredun. When Faridun crossed the Tigris, it were the Arab sailors whom he asked to supply boats to him and his army.<sup>1</sup>

We know, that long before the fall of Nineveh (B. C. 606) at the hands of the Confederacy in which the Medes had a hand, Arabia had a good trade with India. At the time of the fall, the trade was extremely prosperous. The Arabs passed on the commodities brought from India and landed, at South Arabia, by a caravan route to the west and to the north. But, when Rome rose in power her merchants started direct trade *via* Red Sea. This saved the landing of commodities in South Arabia and the conveyance by caravans. The Romans arranged that commodities may be landed at Arsinoe (Cleopatris, Suez) and at other ports of Egypt on the Red Sea. The trade being thus diverted, Yemen or South Arabia, fell in power and influence. Their old caravan route of trade had brought about the erection of several cities, canals, *bunds* and water-works. All these fell into ruin. So, in the beginning of the Christian era, the Arabs of Yemen left their country, and in search of their bread and butter went northward.<sup>2</sup> Some, *viz.*, the Azdites, founded on the river Euphrates the cities of Hira and Anbar and ruled over Damascus. Others went to the mountain countries of Ajâ and Salinâ, to the towns of Najd and Al Hajâz. Later on, these Arabs, who were thus driven to emigrate to the north from the South, got divided, some going under the jurisdiction of the Sassanides and others under that of the Roman Emperors. These divisions quarrelled among themselves and asked their re-

<sup>1</sup> (Mohl, I, p. 96.)

چو آمد بنزدیک اروند رود . . . فرستاد زی رودبانان درود  
بدان تازیان گفت پیروز شاه . . . که کشتی بر افکنیم اکنون براه

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Warner's Shah-nameh, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 11 *et seq.*

spective masters—the Iranians and the Romans—to fight for them. Among the several causes of the wars between the Romans and the Persians, one was this, *viz.*, the fight for the rights of the Arabs who were under their respective suzerainties. These wars weakened both Rome and Persia, and, to a great extent, facilitated the later advent of the Arabs into their countries. They were an important cause of the downfall of the Sassanian and Roman Empires.

It appears from the *Shâh-nâmeh*, that among the articles of the Arab trade, the rubies (*yakik*) of Yemen were well known for their brilliance.<sup>1</sup>

The next reference is important, as it shows some relationship between a ruling dynasty of Persia and a king of Yemen in Arabia. The Persian king referred to is the above mentioned Faredun, the Thraêtaona of the Avesta, the fifth monarch of the Peshdâdian dynasty, the very first dynasty mentioned by Firdousi as a historic dynasty. Faredun's three sons were married with three Arab princesses. Firdousi's account of this marriage is as follows :—Faredun sent a courtier named Jandel to travel and find out three girls for his three sons. He found in the dominions under the suzerainty of the king of Iran no king who can be worthy of the honour of being related in marriage to Faredun and who had three marriageable daughters. He then went to Yemen and found that the king thereof, named Sarv, had three marriageable daughters worthy of the sons of Faredun. He proposed the match and it was accepted, though with some hesitation, the first condition being, that Faredun should first send his three sons to the court of the Arab king of Yemen. Jande

<sup>1</sup> The cheeks of Tehmina, when she appeared before Rustam, are compared to these rubies. (Mohl. II, p. 78).

دوزخ چو عقیق بهانی بونگ . . دیان چو دل عاشقان گشته ننگ

In one place, sparkling wine is compared to the rubies or cornelia of Yemen. *Ibid.* II, p. 296.

می اندر قدح چون عقیق یمن . . پیش اندرون لاله و نسترن



carried the message to Faredun who consented and sent his sons to the royal court of Yemen. He told his sons that the king of Yemen would test their intelligence and so they should be on a sharp look-out. He informed them, that the three daughters were equal in stature, and so, they must keep a proper watch as to which is the eldest and which the youngest. He added that when the girls would approach them, the youngest would walk first, then the second, and then the eldest, and that the eldest will sit by the side of the youngest prince and the youngest by the side of the eldest. The sons were thus asked not to be taken in. When they went to Yemen, the above trick which Faredun expected, was played, but the sons saw through it and each made the choice according to seniority of age. The king then tried some means to see how they overcame the effects of it. He produced by some artifice extraordinary cold at the place where they slept, but by the favour of God they were saved from its effects. The result of all these trials was, that the Arab king was pleased with them and accepted them as princes worthy to be the consorts of his three daughters. The princes married and returned to Iran. Faredun, before receiving them into the royal palace, wished to try their bravery. He assumed the form of a large serpent and first went before the eldest son (Selam) who got frightened and ran away from him. The same was the case with the second prince (Tur) who, though he first showed some courage, gave way and ran. But the youngest (Erach) stood fast. Faredun thereupon saw that the youngest as the bravest and wisest. Thereafter, he divided his dominions and in that division, gave to Erach, the youngest Iran proper, which was the best of all his countries. He gave to Selam, the country of Roum and Khâvar (the West), and to Tur, the country of Turkistan. According to some manuscripts of the Shah-nameh, in the division which Faredun made of the dominions over which he had suzerainty, Arabia was associated with Iran and was allotted to his third son Erach.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Warner's Shah-nameh, I, p. 189.

We have references to this episode of relationship in several Pahlavi books much anterior to that of which support Firdousi. They are the following :—

(1) The Pahlavi Vendidad, (2) The Dinkard, (3) The Shatroihâ-i-Airân, and (4) The Mâdigân-i-Binâ-i-Farvardin Yûm Khordâd.

In the Pahlavi Vendidad (Chap. XX),<sup>1</sup> Zarathushtra asks

1. The Pahlavi Ahura Mazda as to who was the first man, Vendidad. who, besides himself being one who took care of his body, and who, besides being wise, happy, fortunate, glorious, strong and just withal, was also one (a physician), who, taking care of the bodies of others, kept back or drove away sickness and death, who preserved bones and kept them in their proper condition and who kept back the heart of fever from mankind? The reply of Ahura Mazda was, that such a good, wise and fortunate person was one Thrîta. A number of complaints are mentioned from which he cured mankind. This Thrîta is elsewhere identified with Thraêtaona, the Faredun of the Shâh-nâmeh. Some of the disease-driving amulets of the later Pazend times, contain, for this reason, the name of Faredun. Now, in the midst of the above question in the Avesta Vendidad, the Pahlavi translator and commentator, to illustrate what is meant by the qualifications of "baharhum-andân," the Pahlavi rendering of Yâtumatâm, adds that he must be as wealthy or as powerful as one Pât-srub (tobânikân chegun Pât-srub).<sup>2</sup> According to

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel's Text, p. 221; Dastur Hoshang's Text, p. 644; Dastur Jamaspji's Gujarati Text, p. 136, Translation, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Here, the Pahlavi rendering of Yatumatâm is very suggestive. Avesta yâtu is Pers. jadu (جادو), i.e., magic. The Pahlavi rendering suggests, that it is the powerful (tobânikân) who are, as it were, considered to be magicians. As the proverb says, "Knowledge is Power." A man may merely use his power—physical, mental or spiritual—and that may be an ordinary thing with him, but with the less fortunate, the ignorant, the illiterate, it may be something extraordinary, supernatural, magical.



the Vendidad then this Pât-srub was, as Darmesteter says the Croesus of his time (*Etudes Iraniennes*, II., p. 216).

This Pât-sarûb of the Pahlavi Vendidad is the Sarv of Firdousi, the first word Pât being dropped. We will see from what follows that the full name seems to be Pat-khusrob. Then the intermediate *kh* was dropped, and then, the first part Pât also was dropped. So the Pahlavi names, Pat-khusrob and Pât-srub are the same as Sarb or Sarv of Firdousi.

There are two references in the Pahlavi Dinkard to the above event.<sup>1</sup> (a) In the eighth book of the Din  
2. The Dinkard. kard, in the account of the contents of the lost books of the Avesta, we find the contents of the Chitradâd, which, if we followed the order of the number of the words of the Ahunaver prayer-formula, was the 12th book, and if we followed the order of the Revayets, was the 14th. There, it is said, that the lost Avesta book contained an account of the ancient kings. The kings are mentioned here with short references to them and to their accounts. Among these, there is the mention of Faredun, and it is said, that the lost book contained an account of the division of the dominions of Khanirâç by Faredun among his three sons and of the marriage (patvastan) of these three sons with the daughters of Pât-srub, the king of the Tâziks and a relative (by descent) of Tâz. The king Pât-srub of the above book of the Dinkard is the king Sarv of Firdousi.

(b) This Arab king Pat-srub or Sarv is referred to in another part of the Dinkard.<sup>2</sup> We read there of the Iranian glory or splendour<sup>3</sup> passing from one worthy of Irân to another. It began, or came into existence, with Gayômar, who may either

---

<sup>1</sup> S. B. E., XXXVII, Book VIII, Chap. XIII, 9; Dastur Darab's Dinkard, Vol. XV, Chap. XII, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. VII, Chap. I, 34, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 12. Dastur Darab's Dinkard, Vol. XIII, Text, p. 13, Introductory Chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. vakhsh. Av. Hvareno or Khareno (*Zamyâd Yasht*. Yt XIX).

be taken as the prototype of the human race or as the first ruler of Iran. It then passed to his progeny the Mashya and Mashyâni, then to Sâmak (Siyâmak of Firdousi), then to Vâêgered and Hoshang, then to Takhmurupa (Tehmurasp), then to Yima Khshaêta (Jamshed), then to Faredun and to his son Erach in the life-time of this father, and then to several other worthies.

It then came to one Pât-khosrob ( پات کوسروب ), the son of Airyêshva, son of Tâz, the king of the Tâzikis (Arabs). This Pat-khosrob got this Iranian glory on account of his mindfulness<sup>3</sup> or friendship<sup>2</sup> ( دوستی ) for Ashavahishta (Ârdibehesht) Ameshâspand, i.e., for his reverence to fire, similar to that paid by the early Mazdayaçnañs, the pre-Zoroastrians. It is further stated here, that this Tâzik or Arab was molested by some of his tribesmen for his inclination towards fire-worship as against the ancient fish-worship of his tribe.<sup>3</sup> He cast away the custom of fish-worship mâhi-*kalp*, lit. fish-body into the adjoining river (rud) and came over to the practice of Zoroastrian worship (val yazashna-i-Zartuhasht mat).<sup>4</sup> Thus, we see, that some Arabs had from very early times, taken up the old Mazdean form of worship and held fire in reverence.

That this Pat-khosrob is the same as the Pât-srub of the above first passage of the Dinkard appears from the language. In the

<sup>1</sup> If you read the word with Dr. West, as *ayâtqih*.

2 If you read it with Dastur Darab as *ashtagih*, I would like to take it as a form of *yashtagih*, i.e., worship, invocation. What is intended to be said is, that for his worship of, or reverence for Fire, on which Ashavahista presided, he got the glory.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* above, p. 736 the statement of Macoudi. This confirms what is said by him, that Fire-worship once prevailed in Arabia.

<sup>4</sup> As the time of Patkhuro was far anterior to that of Zoroaster, one may very properly take the reference to Zoroaster as an anachronism. But the writer seems to mean that he took to the Iranian way of paying reverence to fire which was prevalent among the Mazdayasnans or Pre Zoroastrians—the way which led to the final reform of Zoroaster. According to Firdousi, it was Hoshang, the founder of the Peshdadian dynasty of Persia, who had first introduced Fire-worship among the Iranians.



7th book, he is spoken of as the son of Airyêfshva, the son of Taz, the king of the Tâziks (Arabs). (Pat-khosrob-i-Airyêfshava-i-Taz-i-Tazikân malaka). In the 8th book, he is spoken of as Pât-Sarûb, the king of the Tâziks and the relative (in descent) of Tâz-Pâtsarub-i Tazikan malaka va Tâz patvand). From the Pahlavi Bundelesh (Chap. XXXI, 6) we know of one Tâz, whose son was Virafshang. This Virafshang, the son of the Tâz of the Bundelesh, is the above Airyêfshava, the son of the Tâz of the Dinkard. Dr. West finds some chronological difficulty in the identification. He says: "How his daughters could have been married to the three sons of Faredun, as said in the Chitradâd Nask is a chronological difficulty." But, I think, the difficulty should vanish, if we take it, that, as was the case of the ancestors of king Faredun, who, according to the Bundelesh, had a long line of eight kings, all known as the Aspiyâns (Âthwayâns, Abtins), with their personal names added to patronymic names, so, here also, the Pat-khosrûb may be a patronymic name, and the Pat-khosrâb whose three daughters married the three sons of Faredun, may be a descendant of a first Pât-khosrub, the son of Airyêfshava, the Virafshanga of the Bundelesh, the son of Taz.

The Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i Airân (*i.e.*, the Cities of Irân), written in about the ninth century

3. Shatroihâ-i A. D., shows some closer relationship  
Airân. between the Arabs and the Persians. It enumerates the cities of the vast country known to the ancients as Irân and gives us the names of the kings, heroes and others who founded them. In it, the writer speaks of twenty-four cities as belonging to the land of Shâm (Syria), Yemen (Arabia Felix), Frica (Africa), Kufhâ (Cufa), Makhâ (Mecca) and Madinak (Medinha). He then adds that some of them were ruled over by Malikân Malikân, *i.e.*, the Shâhânshâh or the Emperor of Persia, and some by Kaisar, *i.e.*, the Roman Emperor (aêtô malikân malikâ aêtô Kaisar).<sup>1</sup> This passage shows that Arabia, or at

least a part of it, was under the sway of the Persian Empire and so had come under the direct influence of Persia. We read in the book as follows of a place called Simlân and of a desert (dasht) called the Dasht-i Tâzik, *i.e.*, the Desert of Arabia : " Faredun of Âbtin founded the city of Simlân, . . . and brought the land of Simlân back into the possession of Irân-Shatra ( Iranian Dominions) and he gave Dasht-i Tazik with possession and property to Bât-Khosrû, the king of the Arabs, for forming relation with himself." <sup>2</sup> What we learn from this passage is this : Faredun, the Persian King, had conquered Simlân, a part of Arabia. He had also conquered therewith the desert country of the Dasht-i. Tâzik, *i.e.*, the Arabian Desert. Perhaps, this latter place is the desert known and marked in the modern maps as " the Desert of Arabia." Faredun conquered it and presented it to Bât-Khosru or Pât-srub or Srub as a marriage gift or present on the occasion of the marriage of his three sons with the three daughters of the latter.

In the Madigân-i Binâ-i Farvardin Yûm-i Khurdâd, we read :

4. Madigân-i  
Binâ-i Farvardin  
Yum-i Khordad.

" In the month Farvardin and day Khordad, Faredun made the division of the world (*i.e.*, his dominions). He gave Arum (*i.e.*, Asia Minor, the country latterly comprised under the later Roman Empire of the East) to Salam, Turkastân to Tuch (Tur) and the country of Iran to Erach. And he chose the three daughters of Bokht-Khosro, the king of the Arabs (Taziks), and gave them as wives to his sons. Salam and Tur went to (the way of) disobeying their father and killed Erach who was their own brother."<sup>3</sup> The day Khordad and the month Farvardin, *i.e.*, the 6th day of the first month is known as the Khordâd Sâl.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* my translation of the Aiyadgar-i-Zarirân, Shatroiha-i Airân va Afdiyava Sahigiya-i Sistân, pp. 87-89.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 108-11.

<sup>3</sup> For the text, *vide* The Pahlavi Texts of Dastur Jamaspji, p. 103. *Vide* the paper of Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji in the K.R. Cama Memorial Volume, edited by me, pp. 124-25.



It is considered to be a very great and auspicious day and is even now observed by the Parsees as a great holiday. The Pahlavi treatise enumerates the great events which took place in old Irân on that auspicious day. In that enumeration, it includes the events of the marriage of the three sons of the Persian king with the three daughters of the Arab king of Yemen as having occurred on the Khordâd Sâl day.

In the above Pahlavi passages, the word used for the Arabs is Tâjik or Tâzik. That word requires some explanation. The Arabs were called Tâziks by the Pahlavi writers, because, as said above, they were believed to have come down from one Taz, who was the fourth in descent from Gayômar, the primitive man or the primitive king. Now, it appears, that latterly, it were not all the Arabs that were known as Tâziks, but only those early Arabs or their descendants who followed the same belief as that of the Mazdayašnâns in earlier times and of the Zoroastrians in later times. We saw in one of the above passages of the Dinkard, that at first they had different forms of worship, one of which was like that of the ancient Egyptian animal-worship, in which fish played a prominent part. Latterly, one or two tribes, headed by the above king Pât-khoshrub or Khosrub or Surb, took to the form of the worship of the ancient Iranians, the Mazdayašnâns and became fire-worshippers. Hence, it was, that there arose some hostility between those tribes and some other tribes who followed the old way. It is these Arabs who were associated with the Mazdayašnân Irânians that were specially known as Tâziks. The Tâziks, who now-a-days form a special group, one of the two principal ethnical groups of Persia, are the descendants of these Persianized or Zoroastrianized Arabs. Dr. Luschen speaks of them as "the descendants of the old Persians." Dr. Bellew says, that in Afghanistan, even now, the Tâziks are known as the Parsiwan. This very name points to their relationship with the ancient Persians. Dr. Bellew thus speaks of the Tâziks at

some length :—" They are the representatives of the ancient Persian inhabitants of the country, as the Afghans are or its ancient Indian inhabitants. It would appear that as the Afghans (whose true home and seat are in the Kandahar and Arghandâb valleys) mixed and intermarried with the Indian people whom they conquered, and gave their name to the mixed race, so the Arabs, who did the same with the Persian people whom they conquered, left their name as the national designation of their mixed posterity,—that is the name by which they were called by the Persians.....The term Taji, it is said, is derived from the ancient Persian name for the Arab. The ancient Persian writers distinguishing their hereditary enemies on the north and south respectively by the terms Turk and Tâz or Tâj. And hence it is that the term Tâz applied to the Arab only in Persia : and everything connected with him or proceeding from him, was called by the Persians Tâzi or Tâzik, which are the same as Tâji or Tâjik. In course of time, it seems these terms became restricted to designate things of Arab origin in Persia in contradistinction to the pure and native article. Thus an Arab settling in the country, and not intermarrying with its people, retained his proper national title through successive generations. But the Arab intermarrying with the people of the country lost his proper nationality, and in the succeeding generations, was called Tâjik by the Persians. An imported Arab horse or dog, etc., was not called Tazi but Arabi. Their offspring, however, from a Persian mare or bitch, received the name of Tazi, and were no longer called Arabi."<sup>1</sup>

We saw above, that some Tâziks or Arabs, following the lead of Pât-Khôsrab, followed the Mazdayacnân religion. In one of the later Parsi prayers (the Nirang-i Sarosh Yasht), among the Zoroastrian people, on whom blessings are invoked, the Taziks also are included, but they are specially spoken of

1 The Races of Afghanistan, being a brief account of the principal nations inhabiting that country (1880), by Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew, pp. 109-10.



there as Taziân-i basta-kustiân, *i.e.*, the Tazis who put on the Zoroastrian sacred thread. Their association even in a Zoroastrian prayer shows, that some of the Arabs had come into much closer contact with the ancient Persians. So there is no wonder if their physical characteristics were thereby influenced to some extent.

According to the Arab historian Tabari, Yemen was at one time under the sovereignty of Minocheher, the Arabs. a descendant of Faridun, whom he makes a contemporary of Moses. He says:—"There were some kings of Persia to whom the Arabs were under submission and who had, under their obedience, the kings of Syria and those of Yemen.....But never had the Arabs and the inhabitants of the Magreb (*i.e.*, the West of Africa) entirely submitted to any of the kings of Persia except to Minocheher."<sup>1</sup> There ruled in Yemen during Minocheher's time, a famous king, named Raïseh<sup>2</sup> or Arâish ( آرایش ),<sup>3</sup> who had gone even to Hindustan. He fought there and brought riches to Yemen. He had also entered into Mesopotamia and had gone up to Azarbaizân which was then under the hand of the Turks. He took the country from them. Tabari says that, when there, this king of Yemen inscribed there on a large rock his and his father's name.<sup>4</sup> According to another Persian text of Tabari, the inscription took also a note of his doings there.<sup>5</sup> Even this king, who had conquered far and wide, had submitted to Minocheher.

<sup>1</sup> I have translated from Tabari, par Zotenberg, Vol. I, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Naval Keshore's Text, p. 119, l. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Tabari par Zotenberg, I. p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> Naval Keshore's Text, p. 119, l. 11.

در سنگی بزرگ نام خود و آمدن و باز گشتن و مقدار سپاه و ظفرها  
که اورا بوده کنده و بر آن سنگ نوشت تا امروز می خوانند و  
بزرگی او میداند

*i.e.*, he cut into and inscribed on a large stone his own name and (an account of) his coming and returning and of the strength of his army and of the victories that he had gained, so that people even now read and know his greatness.

## VI.

## THE KAYÂNĪANS.

It appears from the Shâh-nâmeh, that the Arabs of Yemen King Kâus and were under the rule of the Iranians in the the Arabs. time of King Kâus. They rose in rebellion but were suppressed.<sup>1</sup> Kâus was at the time in Nimrouz (Seistân). He heard, that even the people of Misr (Egypt) and Berber<sup>2</sup> had revolted. He left Seistân and went to Mekran (on the south of Baluchistan), got a fleet of ships prepared and led his army by sea.<sup>3</sup> The Arabs who rose against him were principally the Arabs of Hamâvarân. The Hamâvarân of Firdousi is the Himyâr of the Arabs which is another name of Yemen. Of the three above powers that rose against him, the Arabs of Hamâvarân at first yielded, and, according to one of the terms of peace, Kâus married Soudâbeh, a daughter of the Arab king. The Arab king had yielded under compulsion, and therefore he neither liked the peace nor the marriage. So, one day, calling Kâus to a feast, he treacherously imprisoned him and a number of his generals and officers. The Iranian army thus losing their king and commanders, re-embarked on their ships and barges (کشتی و زورق) and returned to Iran.

News of the defeat of Kâus reached Rustam at Seistân and he led an army against the Arabs. Even some Indians formed a part of his army. Rustam was at first afraid, lest the Arab

چو شد کار گیتی بدین راستی .: پدید آمد از تازیان کاشتی<sup>1</sup>  
(Mohl II, p. 6).

<sup>2</sup> This Berber is, as said by Darmesteter, the Berbera on the Somali coast opposite Aden. (*Vide* his article on "Expeditions de Kai Kaoe dans le Hamavaran et le Berberistan" in his "Etudes Iraniennes" Tome II, pp. 221-24). This Berber is the Barbarica regio of Pliny, the Pun of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Putiya of the Inscription of Darius at Naksh-i Rustam (Tolman's Pers. Inscriptions, p. 79) (*Vide* Etudes Iraniennes II, p. 223).

بی اندازه کشتی وزورق بساخت .: بر آشفست و بر آب لشکر بقافت<sup>3</sup>  
8 (*Ibid*, p. 8.)



king may, in revenge for the invasion, kill king Kâus in prison. But, in reply to a secret message, Kâus sent him a word of encouragement, saying "Do not care for me; the world has not been created for me."<sup>1</sup> Then Rustam gave battle to the armies of all the abovenamed three kings. The Berber army was the first to be defeated. The kings of Hamâvarân asked for peace, which was granted on condition that Kâus may be released at once.

It seems, that at the time, when the Persians were fighting with the Arabs of Hamâvarân, there were The Turks or Turkomans of other Arabs in the adjoining regions who Afrasiâb and the were still under the suzerainty of Persia. Arabs. When Afrasiâb, the ruler of Turkestdân, heard, that the Persians under Kâus were occupied with the Arabs of Hâmâvarân or Yemen, and that the Persian king himself had been imprisoned, he invaded and overran the country of those Arabs who owed allegiance to Persia and invaded the country of Persia itself.<sup>2</sup> He first attacked the Arabs who rose against him out of allegiance to their Persian masters and who stood loyally by their side though the Persians were fighting as enemies against their confrères, the Arabs of Yemen. \* He then invaded India.

Rustam, after defeating the abovementioned three kings of the triple alliance—Egypt, Barbary and Hamâvarân or Yemen—turned his attention to Afrâsiâb. The Arabs, whom Afrâsiâb had attacked and defeated, now wrote to Kâus, offering their help to Rustam in his war against Afrâsiâb. They wrote, that when Afrâsiâb invaded the territories of the Shâh of Persia, they stood up to defend them, but were defeat-

<sup>1</sup> بدین داد پاسخ که میندیش ازین .: نه گسزده از بهر من شد زمین  
Mohl. II p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> بر آشفست افراسیاب آن زمان .: بر آویخت با لشکر تازیان  
بجنگ اندرون بود لشکر مه .: بدادند سرها ز بهر کلاه  
شکست آمد از ترک بر تازیان .: ز جستن فزونی بر آمد زبان

ed, but now, when the Shâh wanted to avenge the misdeed of Afrâsiâb, they were ready to help and fight.<sup>1</sup>

Maçoudi and Tabari also refer to the invasion of Hamâ-varân or Yemen by Kâus. According to Maçoudi, the Arab king's name was Shamr, son of Yara'sh, (شمر بن یروش Text of Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 119). He speaks of Queen Soudabeh as Sâada (سعدی).

Tabri says, that at the time of this invasion, Dsoul-Adsar, son of Abraha, was ruling at Yemen. The king, though suffering from paralysis, himself went to war, to defend his country. He headed an army of the Himyarites, the Qahtanides and other Arabs, and defeating Kâus, took him prisoner. Later on, Rustam brought an army from Seistân, defeated the king of Yemen and released Kâus.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that some Arab tribes continued under the suzerainty of the Persians when Kai Khosru succeeded King Kâus. When Kai Khosru carried on war with Afrâsiâb to avenge the death of his father at Afrâsiâb's hand, he collected armies from different parts of his territories, and among them, from India, Asia Minor and the country of the Arabs.<sup>3</sup> In the account for the preparations for the second war with Afrâsiâb, wherein Pirân died in the early encounters, we find Sabah, the king of Yemen, fighting for Kai Khosru.<sup>4</sup>

1 کم ما شاہوا سر بسر چاکریم . : جهان جز بفرمان او نسیپریم  
ہمی تخت تو خواست افراسیاب . : چنیں بد مہیناد ہرگز بخواب  
ہم نامداران شمشیر زن . : بوین کینگہ بو شدیم ازخمن

Mohl. II, 34).

2 Tabari par Zotenberg, I, p. 465. Naval Keshore's Text (p. 192) does not give the name of the king of Yemen.

3 بفرمود کز روم و از ہندوان . : سواران جنگی یلان و گوان  
دلیران گردنکش از تازیان . : بسیچیدہ جنگ شیر ژیان  
(Mohl. III, p. 420).

4 چو مستباح فرزانه شاہ یمن . : دگر شیر دل ایوچ پیل تن  
(Mohl. IV, p. 16).



The later rulers of Yemen have been called Tobba, ( طبع ) as

The Arabs in the Time of Gushtâsp. they all traced their descent from one Tobba who had the surname of Dsoul Adsar.<sup>1</sup> Though they are spoken of specially as rulers over Yemen, their rule extended much to the north upto the frontiers of Mesopotamia. Tobba is said to have carried an expedition against China. He first went to Cābul and stayed at the northern frontier of Hindustān. Then, he went to China *viâ* Turkestan and the frontiers of Tibet. On his way to China he left an army of 12,000 Arabs in Tibet, so that, in case he was defeated, they may protect his rear. He won a victory over the Chinese and on his way back, did not return by the same route. So, his 12,000 troops remained in Tibet, and, at present, there are many Tibetans who have descended from the Arabs. This Arab king lived in the time of Gushtâsp, whose grandson Bahman is said to have founded Hirat. The place was so called, because, once invading Irâq in the time of Gushtâsp *viâ* Koufah, he came to the place, where the desert stopped his advance. The name means a stoppage. Tabari says that Tobba's expedition to China was the result of a false exaggeration of the beauty, etc., of China, by one of India's untrustworthy ambassadors. At that time, there prevailed, according to Tabari, friendly relations between the king of Yemen and the king of India, who once sent to Yemen a special embassy with presents. The king of Yemen was delighted with the rich presents from India, and inquired, if all of them were the products of the country. The Indian ambassador, fearing lest the truthful answer in the affirmative may tempt the Arab king to India, put him on the wrong track and said that some of them came from China which was a very beautiful country.

The above account of Tabari shows that the Arabs of Yemen had come into some contact, however short, with various

<sup>1</sup> Tabari par Zotenberg, I, p. 505. Naval Keshore's Text (p. 211 1. 12) gives the surname as Zoul's Minar ( ذوالمنار )

people—the Persians, the Indians and the Chinese. Again, Tabari's account of the permanent stay of about 12,000 Arabs in Tibet, suggests to students of Ethnology and Ethnography some thoughts as to the various ways in which populations are affected by passing armies. For example, the origins of some tribes of Afghanistan are traced to the armies of Alexander the Great and of the Persian monarch who preceded him.

## VII.

### THE ACHÆMENIAN PERIOD.

Coming to the Achæmenian times, we find that Darius Hystaspes, the Great Achæmenian Emperor, had his cuneiform inscriptions in three different languages—the Persian, Babylonian and Scythian. As said by Mr. Warner, his idea of using these three languages was, as it were, a reflex of the ethnical view about the people over whom he ruled and by whom he was surrounded. His Persia was the extensive expanse of the country, occupied at one time or another, by the Persians proper, the Babylonians and the Scythians. These three people represented the three great races,—the Aryans, the Semetics and the Turanians. So, Darius, in inscribing his work on the rocks, in three different languages spoken by the three great races, “followed a true philological instinct”<sup>1</sup> and had, as it were, an ethnical view. His own Aryan race, very properly spoken of also as the Indo-European race, at one time spoke a common language in the remote past. It then divided, one offshoot spreading in Europe and the other in Asia.

Darius the Great's trilingual inscriptions, presenting a reflex of the ethnical view.

We know from Darius's Behistun Inscription,<sup>2</sup> that Arabia, spoken of as Arabaya, formed a part of his dominions. From the words *tyaiy dara*

Arabia in Darius's inscription.

<sup>1</sup> The Shâhnâmeh, Vol. I, Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> I 5. Tolman's Guide to the Old Persian Inscriptions, pp. 55 and 118.



*yahya* (i.e., which are by the sea), used in the inscription, after the names of Arabia and Egypt (Mudrays, later Misr), we find, that the conquest of Arabia by Darius was from the direction of the sea and not from the land. We will see later on, that in the Sassanian times also, the conquest of king Noshirwân was by the sea route. We thus see, that ancient Persia, the Airyana-vaeja of the Avesta, after the separation of its people from the Aryas of the Aryavrut, was not only surrounded by Semetic and Turanian races, but also contained people of these races. Of these two, the Semetic people mostly lived on its west, in countries like Arabia and Babylonia, and the Turanian on the north. Thus, Persia had come into contact from very ancient times with the Arabs, not only in their own country of Arabia, but also in Mesopotamia and the adjoining countries ruled over by Persia. But, as seen above, old Parsee books and Firdousi, Maçoudi, and Tabari have taken us to times even earlier than that of Darius the Great.

In the time of Dârâb, the father of Dârâ, the Arabs under Darab and the Shâib who was descended from Katib, Arabs. declared war against Persia.<sup>1</sup> Dârâb opposed them, and in a battle, which lasted for four days, the Arabs were defeated and their chief Shâib was killed.<sup>2</sup>

Firdousi says, that when Alexander the Great, after defeating Persia, marched towards India the help of whose king Dârâ had sought, and fought with Four (Porus), he had the Arabs of Syria, Hedjaz and Yemen serving in his army.<sup>3</sup>

چنان بود که از تازیان صد هزار .: نبرده سواران نیزه گذار  
برفتند و سالار ایشان شعیب .: یکی نامدار از نژاد ققیب

Mohl. V p. 50.

چهارم عرب روی برگاشتند .: بشب دست پیکار بستند  
شعیب اندر آن روزگاه کشته شد .: عرب را هم روز برگشته شد

<sup>3</sup> Mohl. Small Ed. V., p. 118.

## IX.

## THE PARTHIANS.

Coming to the times of the Parthians, we learn from Maçoudi,<sup>1</sup> that during the times of the Muluk-ut-tawâif (ملوك الطوائف) of Persia, *i.e.*, during the periods of the Parthian rule of Persia, when the country was divided into petty kingdoms, Arabia was under Persian sway. The kings of Hirah (حيرة) at the time were of the family of Jozimeh (جذيمة). This Persian rule over Arabia continued in the time of Ardeshir Babegân and Shâpur. During the Parthian period, the Arabs occasionally invaded the Persian territories of Irâq. One of such invasions was in the time of Jauzar bin Sabour (جوزر بن سابور). This Jauzar is the same as the Parthian ruler Godarz (گودرز). According to Perceval, they took (advantages of the internal quarrels of the Parthian kings and invaded Irâq under their prince Khaufar. They were<sup>2</sup> helped by the Arméens. At times, the Arab princes of Heirah fought under Parthian banners against the Emperors of Rome.<sup>3</sup> According to Tabari (II, 2), they were long in possession of Yemâma in central Arabia.

## X.

## THE SASSANIANS.

A good deal of the history of the relations between the ancient Persians and the Arabs in the Sassanian times has been woven, as it were, round the name of the Arab city Hirrat spoken of as Hairat (هيرات) in the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân. There we read: "Shapuhar of Ardashir founded the city of Hairat. He appointed Mitrozâd who was

<sup>1</sup> Maçoudi par Barrier de Meynard, Vol. III, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes, Vol. II p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 282.



the lord-marcher of Hairat (to rule) over the district of the Tâziks."<sup>1</sup> This Hairat of the Pahlavi book is the Hirat (حيرة) of Aboulfeda.<sup>2</sup> According to Ousley, "Heirah enjoys a pure air and is one farsang distant from Cufa."<sup>3</sup> As said by Kinneir, its foundation has been attributed to Alexander the Great, from whose name it was for some time known as Alexandria—one of the many Alexandrias he had founded. Then "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 Noshirwân and Justinian."<sup>4</sup> According to Perceval,<sup>5</sup> its foundation, has been attributed by some to Nebuchadnazzar, who founded it with his Arab war-prisoners. According to Maçoudi,<sup>6</sup> Tobâa Abu Karib, who invaded the country of Iraq during the reign of the Parthian king Jauzar bin Sabour (Gudrez گودرز), added to the Arab population of the city, as he had made it the head-quarter of the wounded and the sick of his army. From all the above accounts, we see that the foundation of this great Arab centre has been attributed to various great men of the past, and that, latterly, it was Shapour of Ardeshir who re-founded it or made it more prosperous. The above Pahlavi book says, that Shapour appointed one Mitrozâd as its governor. I think, that this name Mitrozâd is the older form of Maharak (Naush) Zâd (مهرک نوش زاد) of the Shâh-nâmeh, whose daughter Shapour, the son of Ardeshir (Ardeshir Babigân), had married.

<sup>1</sup> Shatrôstâni-i Hairat Shapuhari Artashirân kard avash Mitrozâdi Hairat marzpân var-i- Tazikâ barâ gumârd.  
(*Vide* my Aiyâdgar-i-zaristân. Shatroiha-i-Airan, p. 75).

<sup>2</sup> Text of Reinaud et Slane, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Ousely's Oriental Geography, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Kinneir's Persian Empires, p. 282.

<sup>5</sup> Essai sur l' Histoire des Arabes, par A. P. Caussin de Perceval, Vol. II, pp. 1-8.

<sup>6</sup> Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Maynard, III, p. 226.



Shapur II, the grandson of Hormazd, the son of Narsi, was a posthumous child of his father. On the death of Hormazd (Hormisdas, II, 302-309), his son Âzar Narsi succeeded him, but was deposed within a year. Âzar Narsi was succeeded by his brother Hormazd, who was imprisoned. The third son of Hormazd, who was blinded, had a son born to him after his death. This posthumous child was Shapur (Shapur II). In fact, he was born a king and his whole life was a ruling life. The Arabs, taking advantage of his minority, committed several raids, but Shapur, whose reign was a glorious reign for Persia, when he grew up, punished them sufficiently well.

It is believed that some of the real events in relation to the Arabs, which had occurred in the reign of some early Sassanian rulers, have been transferred by Firdousi to his reign, and some romantic tales have been added. However, as the story given by Firdousi and others goes, there had arisen an Arab principality in Mesopotamia at some distance from the western banks of the Tigris in the later days of the Prathian kings. Hatra or Al Hadr was its capital. Its ruins are said to be still standing about 40 miles south of Mosul and 200 miles north of Bagdad. Tâir (طائر) was the Arab ruler of the principality in the time of Shapur. He carried on raids during Shapur's minority, and, at one time, even carried off a Persian princess, said to be the aunt of Shapur and married her. Malikah (ملکه) was the name of the daughter that was born to them. When Shapur came to the age of 26, he marched against Tâir who is spoken of as the king of the Ghassanians (غسانیان). Tâir was defeated and he fled. The Arabs shut themselves up in a fort in Yemen where they were besieged. The above mentioned Malikah, one day, seeing Shapur from the fort wall, fell in love with him and secretly sent a message, saying, that if Shapur promised to marry her she would open the fort gate to his army. Shapur consented, the gate was opened, and the fort taken. Shapur married her. One



night, she complained of a little pain on a part of her body, and Shapur found in the morning, that it was the soft leaf of a flower that erased her soft skin and gave her pain. He was surprised at the great delicacy of her skin, and asked her, as to what food she was fed upon by her father, which produced so soft a skin. She described the delicacies she was brought upon. Shapur thought to himself: "If she, in spite of all the tender care of her father for her health and nourishment, proved traitress to him, she may very likely prove the same to me." Beguiled by such a thought, he put her to death. Firdousi says that Shapur was called Shapur Zu'l Aktâf (i.e., Master of Shoulders), because he, as a sort of punishment, dislocated the shoulders of the Arabs from their spine.<sup>1</sup>

Yazdagard, the son of Shapur III, was a bad king. So, when Behramgour and a boy who was named Behram (Behramgour) the Arabs, was born to him, the ministers thought it advisable that the prince, their future monarch, may be brought up under different associations elsewhere far, away from those of the king. They therefore advised the king to bring up the child in foreign clime. From among the different friendly or feudatory kings, Manzar, the king of the Arabs, was chosen as the ward of the prince, who was then four years old. Another writer gives the following version: The children of Yazdagard did not live long, but died soon after birth. So, he was advised to send his prince Behram to a dry salubrious climate. As Arabia had such a climate, the young prince was sent there. Firdousi refers in more than one place to the brilliancy of Canopus in Arabia due to its dry climate. In the accounts of the love of Roudabah for Zal,<sup>2</sup> of that of Soudâbeh<sup>3</sup> for her step-son Shiavakhs, and of

<sup>1</sup> عرابی ذولا کتاف کردش لقب : چوازمهره بکشاد گفت عرب

<sup>2</sup> زسرتا با پایش گلست و سمن : بسرو سہی بر سہیل یمن  
Mohl I. p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> نقشستم چو تابان سہیل یمن : سرزلف وجعدش شکن بر شکن  
*Ibid.*, II, p. 203.

Bejan<sup>1</sup> and Manijeh, where the star Canopus is referred to, it is spoken of as the Canopus of Yemen, because of its appearing very brilliant in the dry weather of Yemen.

Behram grew up in Arabia as a bold young prince and then desired to see his father. Manzar therefore sent him to the royal court in the company of his son Noamân. Behram soon got displeased with the treatment he received from his father and returned to the court of the Arab king, Manzar. On the death of Yazdazard, the grandees of the court gave the throne to one Khusru who had no claim to it by descent, and set aside Behram, fearing lest he also may turn out as bad as his father. Thereupon, Behram, with the help of an Arab army, supplied by Manzar, marched against Persia. The Arab army consisted of Arabs known as Shaibans (شيبان) or Sabeans and Kabtiâns (قبطيان). The Arab king, Manzar, on behalf of Behram and the Persian grandees, settled the question of succession amicably, and Behram was given the throne. Behram rewarded liberally the Arab king and his son Noaman, who then returned to their country.

According to Maçoudi,<sup>2</sup> after the rule of the successors of Saba and of the early Tobâas, there followed a line of several kings, many of whom went through various vicissitudes of fortune. Then, there came to the throne one Zou Nowâs (ذونواس), who persecuted, tormented and burnt the Christians living in his country. Nejâshi (نجاشي), a Christian king of Abyssinia (الحبشه Al Habsheh), thereupon invaded Yemen *viâ* Nâsi and Zaila (ناعع والزيع) which were his sea-ports. On being defeated, he committed suicide by drowning himself, and then, the Abyssinian general Aryât (ارياط) ruled over Yemen for 20 years. But he was killed by Abrahah Alashran who then ascended the

<sup>1</sup> برخسارگان چو سهیل یمن .: بنفشہ گرفتہ دو برگ سمن  
*Ibid.*, III, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Maçoudi par B de Meynard III, pp. 157 et seq.



throne. The Abyssinian king, on hearing this, got enraged and swore by the name of Christ, that (a) he would knock the forehead of the usurper, (b) spill his blood, and (c) tread under his feet the land of Yemen. Abrahah, knowing this, got afraid. So, to avoid and win over his rage, he got his front hair cut and placed them in an ivory box, collected his own blood in a vase, and filled a sack with the soil of Yemen. He sent these to the Abyssinian king and apologized for his conduct. He wrote to the king, that to free him from his oath of revenge which he had taken, he had sent the above three things mentioned by him in his oath, so that, he may have the hair of his head cut off, spill his blood and tread over the soil of Yemen. By this artifice, he appeased the wrath of the Abyssinian king. At this time, there reigned in Persia, Kobâd, the father of Noshirwân (Chosroes I).

In the 40th year of the reign of Noshirwân, Abrahah invaded the country of Mecca. Abou Righal of the tribe of Takif, who guided him, died on the way between Tâ'yif and Mecca. He was buried there. It is said that, later on, pilgrims passing by his tomb often threw stones at it, to show their disgust at his conduct of being a party in the invasion of Kabâa. The tomb of one Ibadi also got a similar treatment. The Abyssinians continued in Yemen for a number of years with Abrahah and his heirs. Abrahah was succeeded by his son Yaksoum, who, in turn, was succeeded by his brother Masrouk whose mother was of the family of Zi Yezan (ذی یزن). A son of this Zi Yezan named Saif (سایف), once went to the court of the Roman Kaisar to ask his help against the Abyssinians who had occupied Yemen and who were under Masrouk. The Roman Emperor refused it on the ground, that Saif and his Arabs being Jews and the Abyssinian king a Christian, he could not, as a Christian, help a Jew against a Christian. Thereupon, Saif went to Noshirwân, the king of Persia and implored help on the ground of a kind of relationship, viz., the relationship of white skin, meaning that the Arabs were white-coloured like the Persians, while the Abyssinians were black-coloured. Noshirwân promised him



help, but his wars with the Romans and other people prevented him from fulfilling the promise. Then, some time after, Saif's son, Ma'di Karib, went to the court of Noshirwân and renewed his father's appeal for help. Noshirwân lent him an army, made up from criminal prisoners in his country and led by Wahrâz (وہراز) the general of Dailam, saying, that if the army was defeated and killed it would not matter much. His troops got into boats from a port called Obolah, which stood on the site of modern Basrah. The transports came to the coast of Hadraumaut to a place named Masoub. After the disembarkment of the troops, Wahrâz set fire to the transports in order to let the soldiers understand that they must try to win; otherwise, if defeated, there were no means of escape. Macoudi quotes an Arab poem on this subject, wherein the poet speaks of the Iranian soldiers as the men of Sassan (سُفْهَانِيَّاتُ سَاسَنِ).

The two armies—one of Masrouk with about 100,000 Abyssinian soldiers and others and another of Saif with Persian troops under Wahrâz—met on a battle-field. Masrouk, the king of Yemen was first mounted on an elephant. When the two armies met, he got down from the elephant and mounted a horse. Then he got down from the horse and mounted a camel. Then, he again dismounted from the camel and mounted an ass. He did all these to show his contempt for the Persian army, whom, on account of their having come in boats from the sea-side, he took to be mere sailors. He meant to say and to show, that they were not worthy of a fight from the back of an elephant, a horse or a camel but were worthless, only worthy of a fight from the back of an ass. Wahrâz took all this for a good omen and said to his men, that all that showed that he will gradually fall from a higher state to a lower state. In the end, Masrouk's army of Yemen including the Abyssinians was defeated and Masrouk himself was killed.

— One of the conditions which Noshirwân imposed upon Ma'di Karib for helping him was, that the Persians were free to marry



Arab women of Yemen, but that the Arabs should not marry Persian women. Ma'di Karib also agreed to give a tribute to Persia. Wahrâz placed a crown on the head of Ma'di Karib as the king of Yemen. Wahrâz left in Yemen a garrison of Persian troops. The Abyssinian rule, *i.e.*, the rule of the Abyssinians with Abrahah and his successors as rulers, lasted for 72 years. This happened in the 45th year of the reign of Noshirwân. This attempt of the Persians to free the Yemen Arabs—the Himarites, the descendants of Himir (حمير)—from the tyranny of the Abyssinian rulers, has been sung by Arab poets. Maçoudi quotes some Arabic verses, wherein the Persian soliders, who fought against the Abyssinians (الحبسان) have been spoken of as heroes of the race of Sassan (نسل ساسان). In the above battle, Wahrâz had, knocked down, with a well-shot arrow, a superb red ruby which Masrouk had put on, on his forehead. This feat of archery is referred to in the above poem. An Arab poet, named Abou Âbâdah al Bahtari (أبو عبادة البهتري), has, a long time after this event, referred to this Persian victory, in a poem which he addressed to a Parsee nobleman of Persia. He addresses him and asks him to remember the above noble deed of Noshirwân. It seems from this poem, that Aden (عدن) together with Sana'â (صنعاء) took part against the Persians in this war.<sup>1</sup>

This victory established Ma'di Karib as king over all the Arabs and even over the Abyssinians who lived there in great numbers. Some time after, the Abyssinians treacherously killed Ma'di Karib. Thereupon, the officer whom Wahrâz had left in Yemen at the head of the Persian garrison, hastened with his troops to the town and driving away the Abyssinians occupied it and informed Wahrâz who was then at Madâyan (مَدَائِن Ctesiphon) with Noshirwân, of the event. Wahrâz, with the permission of his royal master, at once started with 4,000 cavalry *viâ* the land route, to re-establish order in Yemen. The order given to this band of cavalry was to kill all the Abyssinians, and also all

---

<sup>1</sup> Maçoudi par Barbier, de Meynard III, pp. 167-68.

those whose woolly or crispy hair <sup>1</sup> showed them to have a mixture of black negro (القبسم) blood. Wahrâz came, conquered and ruled over Yemen in the name of Noshirwân. He died there and his son Noushân (نوشجان) succeeded him. Then, on Noushjan's death another governor named Sabhân (سبعان) came from Persia. His successors who, one after another, governed there, were Khurzâd (خرزان), a son of the above Sabhân whose name is not given, Marzbân, who was a member of the royal family, Khur Khosro (خر خسرو) who was born in Yemen, and Bâdân, son of Sassan (بادان بن ساسان).

The above account shows, that, (a) at first there ruled in Yemen the Kahtanides, *i.e.*, the descendants of an Arab progenitor Kathtan, and (b) then, for about 80 years, the Christian Abyssinians, and then (c) the Zoroastrian Persians. The Persian rule continued till the time of Prophet Mahomed, of whom it is said, that he took pride for having been born during the time of the rule of Noshirwân Adal (Noshirwân the Just).

It appears from Firdousi, that Noushirwân had, besides the Arabs in the further south, closer relations with the Arabs of the north. It seems that there, some Arab tribes lived under the suzerainty of the Romans and some under that of the Persians. These two tribes or sections fought among themselves, and then, appealing to their respective sovereigns for help created causes of quarrel between the Romans and the Persians. The chief of the Arabs under the Persian sway was Manzar, the Almondar of the Romans. The chief of the other tribes, who lived under the Roman sway and was known as the Gassans, was Arethas. On the south of Palmyra, there existed a large grazing-ground in the midst of a desert. The Arabs under Manzar claimed it as belonging to their tribe who grazed their cattle

---

<sup>1</sup> In the Pahlavi translation of the 9th chapter of the Yaçna (S. 10), a commentator Mahvindat is quoted as saying that the Arabs had a particular way (dâtâ) of keeping the curls (giswar) of hir. (Spiegel's Pahl. yaçna p. 72. Dr. Davar's Pahl. version of yaçna IX, p. 19).



there from old times. The Roman Arabs claimed it as their own.<sup>1</sup> When Noshirwân during one of his circuits in his dominions was at Madâyan<sup>2</sup> (مدائن), the modern Ctesiphon, Manzar saw him and complained about the Arabs under the Roman rule. This led to a war with the Romans. Thus, the Arabs were one of the causes of the wars between the Persians and the Romans. As said above, these wars weakened the Persians and the Romans. The Arabs on the other hand, fighting on both the sides, learned the art of war from both the countries and gained in strength and intelligence, which, when they got united, under the temporal and spiritual leadership of the Prophet, stood them in good stead. It was at about this time that the old Arab poetry began to be somewhat influenced by outside countries, among which one was Persia.

Arabian poetry, though the product of the soil of Arabia, and though connected with the indigenous early civilization of Yemen, was affected by some outside influence at the time when the clans of Yemen dispersed, and when, later on, they formed two kingdoms in the North—the kingdom of Ghassan which fell under the sway of the Kaisar (Cæsar) of Byzantine Rome and the kingdom of Hira, which fell under the sway of Kesr (Chosroes) of Persia. Lady Blunt, while speaking on the subject, says: "It was through the medium of the two rival Courts of the north that the poets of Arabia got indirectly their knowledge of the world outside . . . Faith echoes of the resplendent imperial names are to be heard in the Arabian poetry,

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the war between the Roman Emperor Justinian and the Persian Emperor Noshirwân, *vide* Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Chap. XLII. Edition of 1844, Vol. III.

<sup>2</sup> Madâyan pl. of Madineh, (مدینه) *i.e.*, a city. As the city was situated on both sides of the river, it was known by the plural form, meaning the city made up of two cities on both sides of the river. According to the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Airân, it was called Ctesiphon because it was founded by one Tus of Sifkân. Thus, the name appears to be an abbreviated form of Tus-i Sifkân. *Vide* my translation of the Pahlavi text.

but they are echoes only, coming from afar and received at second hand."<sup>1</sup>

According to Firdousi, in the time of Hormazd, the son of Hormazd, the son of Noshirwân, about ten years after his accession to the throne, an Arab army commanded by Abbas and Amr, invaded that portion of Mesopotamia which was ruled over by the Persians and from which annual tributes were gathered. This Arab army is said to have come from the deserts of Arabia with lances and to have devastated a good part of the fertile dominions on the banks of the Euphrates, which were under Persian rule. According to Maçoudi, it was the Arabs of the tribes of Kahtan<sup>2</sup> and Madd in Yemen who invaded the Persian territories. As his country was invaded by the Turks also from another direction, Hormazd had to make peace with the Arabs.

When Khosru Parviz was hard pressed at the hands of Behram Chobin, he wanted to ask the help of the Arabs,<sup>3</sup> but his father Hormazd prevented him from doing so. The reasons which Hormazd gave for his refusal were these: They had not sufficient means both of men and money. Again, Khosru had not taken much interest in the welfare of the Arabs, in return of which he could ask their help. So there was no chance of any substan-

1 "The Seven golden Odes of Pagan Arabia," known also as the Moallakat, by Lady Anne Blunt. Introduction, p. x.

2 According to Maçoudi (II, 243-44), some traced the origin of the Yunânis, i.e., the Greeks, from one Yunân, the brother of Kahtan, who founded the tribe of Kahtan. Yunan had some differences with his brother, so he left Yemen and proceeded with his family and followers to the West to the country of Greece (called Yunân after his name). His Arabic language, lost by degrees its purity, and, then, its existence in the new country. Another tradition says, that Alexander the Great also was descended from the above Kahtân. Some Arabs, who occupied one of the cities under the rule of the Romans, left the city and founded a new colony of those who had come from Yemen. It is from these Arabs of Yemen that Zoul-Kernein or Alexander is taken to have descended.

3 گرايدونكه فرمان دهد شهريار . . سواران تازي بوم بسيار



tial help from the Arabs. It would be better to ask the help of the Romans. However, later on, during the Persian king's flight, Kais, son of Harith, helped him and gave him food and the help of a guide.

# XI.

## THE PERIOD AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST OF PERSIA.

As pointed out by Prof. Darmesteter, when Alexander conquered Persia, the conquest was more material than intellectual. Greece instead of influencing Persia, was influenced by it. He says: Alexander "a persisé la Grèce, il n'a pas hellénisé la Perse."<sup>1</sup> In the case of the conquest of Persia by the Arabs also, the case was to some extent similar. Persia was conquered materially, but not intellectually. The Iranians, instead of being Arabianised, Iranianized the Arabs to some extent. The Arabs took a good deal from the science, art and literature of Persia. To illustrate the great influence of ancient Persia upon Arabia, we may refer to the influence of the Arabs upon the West in the early times of their rise and to the later influence of Mahomedanism. Though Mahomedanism has spread over a larger area of the world now than before, its influence is not so great now as it was then. At one time, the Arab Universities in Spain were seats of learning to which the then learned world turned for culture and higher education. The reason was, that besides possessing the zeal, ardour and industry of a new rising people, they had, as it were, the accumulated experience of their contact with the civilizations of the Romans and the Persians. With their downfall, the two latter empires lost exerting any influence on the outside countries. Again, on the downfall of the Sassanian empire, the Arabs made a permanent stay in their country and began acquiring fresh experience and knowledge of their accumulated learning of centuries. This long contact with the Iranians, both before and after the

---

<sup>1</sup> Coup d'œil sur l'Histoire de la Perse, par James Darmesteter (1885), p 21

conquest, gave them a good deal of culture. A recent writer, referring to the later decline of Arab influence in Central Asia, says :—" This contemporary religious fanaticism, however, does not play the cultural rôle which it did when Mahometanism was introduced into this region in the 10th and 11th centuries, as a rival to the earlier Christianity influences of Buddhism and the well-developed local animistic religion. At that time, under the influence, of Iranian culture, Mahometanism meant also the development of science and art, literature and architecture. The present theologians of Turkestan have banished from their religion every thing which is not in accordance with strict devotion and asceticism. In a way, they play the rôle of Calvinists in the Mahometan world."<sup>1</sup>

Though the new religion of Mahomed overthrew the religion of Zoroaster, that new religion itself was pervaded by a good deal of Zoroastrianism. Prof. Darmesteter thus speaks on the subject : " However, if one sees it closely, he sees that the national element has disappeared more from the surface than from the bottom, and that Persia, in accepting the stranger (*i.e.*, the new religion) has transformed it more than being itself transformed, that she has adapted its life and its new faith to the hereditary customs and traditions and it is not without reason that for the mass of the Mussulman people, Persia is any thing but Islam. In reality, the Islam of Persia is not Islam. It is the old religion of Persia, encircled with Musulman formulæ." The question of the influence of the Iranian religion on Islam is a large question and we need not enter into it here.

---

<sup>1</sup> The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the present day, by M. H. Czaplicka, p. 28.