

ورك: خواهر جمشید: ۱۱	ناخت: ۱۶
وشتاسب بن طهباسب: ۱۴: ۱۴	نرسه بن بلاش: ۱۷
وشتاسب بن لهراسب: ۱۵: ۲۰:	نرسی اشغاتی: ۱۹
۴۸ ۵۲	نرسی بن بهرام بن بهرام بن هرمز:
وشتاسف: انظر وشتاسب	۲۱: ۲۶
وشتاسف بن امیرویه: ۱۶۷	نرسی بن یزدجرد الاثیم: ۷۹: ۸۱:
وهرز بن به آفرید بن ساسان: ۹۵:	۸۲
۹۶	ابو نصر بن باکالیحجار: ۱۷۲
ویرک: ۱۲	ابو نصر تیرمدانی: ۱۴۴: ۱۵۸
ویکرت: ۱۰: ۲۷: انظر برد	ابو نصر بن عمران: ۱۱۹
ویونجهاد: ۱۰	ابو نصر بن ابی محمد فزاری: ۱۱۷:
ویونجهان: ۲۴: ۲۹	۱۱۸
هارون الرشید: ۱۷۰	ابو نصر بن هلاک: ۱۶۶
هامرز: ۱۰۵	نضیره بنت ضیضن: ۶۲
هرثیه بن جعفر البارقی: ۱۱۳	نظام الملک: ۱۲۱: ۱۶۶
هردس: ۱۶	نعمان بن المنذر: ۷۴: ۷۵: ۷۶: ۷۸:
هرقل: ۱۰۴: ۱۰۵	۱۰۴: ۱۰۵
هرمز: ۱۰۲	نمرد بن مجیبی: ۱۶۵
هرمز بن انوشروان: ۲۴-۲۳: ۲۵:	نمروذ بن بخت النصر: ۵۲
۹۹-۹۸: ۱۰۰: ۱۰۹	نوارک: ۱۱
هرمز بن بلاش: ۱۷	نوبه: ۱۶
هرمز بن حیان العبدی: ۱۱۴	نوح النبی: ۲: ۲۶
هرمز بن شاپور بن اردشیر: ۲۰:	نوذر: ۱۴: ۱۴
۶۳ ۶۴	نوفیل: ۱۶
	ویهزسنک: ۱۱

یزدانداز بنت انوشروان: ۲۵	هرمز بن نرسی بن بهرام: ۲۱: ۲۶
یزدجرد ائیم: ۲۲: انظر یزدجرد بن	هرمز بن یزدجرد بن بهرام: ۲۲:
بهرام بن شاپور	۸۲-۸۳
یزدجرد بن بهرام بن شاپور: ۲۲:	هرمس: ۱۶:
۷۴: ۷۵: ۷۶	هزاراسب: ۱۲۱:
یزدجرد بن بهرام جور: ۲۲: ۸۲:	هواسب: ۱۳:
یزدجرد بن شهریار: ۴: ۲۶: ۱۰۸:	هوشنگ: انظر هوشنگ
۱۱۲-۱۱۱: ۱۱۴	هوشنچ: انظر هوشنگ
یزدجرد گناه کار: ۱۱۰: انظر یزدجرد	هوشنگ پیشداد: ۹: ۱۰: ۱۱:
بن بهرام بن شاپور	۲۷-۲۸
یزدجرد نرم: ۲۲: انظر یزدجرد بن	ابو الهج (?): ۱۶۷:
بهرام جور	یافت: ۲۶:
یوسانوس: ۷۰: ۷۱:	ابن یامین بن یعقوب: ۱۴: انظر
یوشع بن نون: ۴۸:	بن یامین
یونان: ۱۶:	یحیی بن زکریا: ۶: ۱۸:

فهرست الاماکن والقبائل والکتب وغیرها،

بنی ازد: ۱۱۴	آبادان، انظر قلعتها آبادان
اسپیددز: انظر قلعة اسپدز	آباده: ۱۲۳: ۱۲۹: ۱۵۴: ۱۶۱: انظر
استاك: ۱۵۸	قلعة آباده
بنی اسرائیل: ۵: ۶: ۱۸: ۳۸: ۴۰: ۵۴:	آذربيجان: ۴۷: ۵۰: ۷۹: ۸۳: ۸۵:
۵۴	۱۰۲: ۹۹
اسفیدان: ۱۲۴	آش: ۱۲۹
اسکندریه: ۱۰۴	آمد: ۸۸
اسمعیلیان: قومی از شیانکارگان:	ابرج: ۱۲۵: ۱۵۷
۱۶۴ ۱۶۵	ابرقویه: ۱۲۱: ۱۲۴: ۱۶۴
الاشتر: ۶۴	ابزر: ۱۴۵: ۱۵۲
اشغانیان: ۸: ۹: ۵۹: انظر اشغانیان	ارجان: ۸۴: ۱۱۵: ۱۲۱: ۱۴۸:
اشغانیان: ۱۹-۱۶: انظر اشغانیان	۱۴۹: ۱۵۰: ۱۵۲: ۱۶۲
اصطخر: ۲۶: ۲۷: ۲۸: ۴۲: ۴۹: ۵۰:	ارجهان: ۱۲۴
۵۱: ۶۰: ۶۹: ۱۱۱: ۱۱۶: ۱۱۷:	اردشیر خوره: ۶۰: ۱۱۴: ۱۴۷: انظر
۱۲۱: ۱۲۸-۱۲۵: ۱۴۲: ۱۶۰:	کوره اردشیرخوره
۱۶۴: انظر کوره اصطخر: قلعة	اردن: ۶
اصطخر	اردوانیان: ۵۹
اصطخر یار: ۱۵۹: انظر قلعة اصطخر	ارزان: انظر دشت ارزان
اصطهبان: ۱۴۱	ارزن: انظر بحیره دشت ارزن:
اصطهبانات: ۱۶۵	مرغزار دشت ارزن

اصطهباناتان: انظر قلعة اصطهباناتان	اصطهباناتان: انظر قلعة اصطهباناتان
اصفهان: ۲۹: ۵۸: ۷۲: ۸۴: ۱۱۲:	اصفهان: ۲۹: ۵۸: ۷۲: ۸۴: ۱۱۲:
۱۱۸: ۱۲۰: ۱۲۱: ۱۲۷: ۱۴۰:	۱۱۸: ۱۲۰: ۱۲۱: ۱۲۷: ۱۴۰:
۱۴۲: ۱۴۴: ۱۵۶: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۵:	۱۴۲: ۱۴۴: ۱۵۶: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۵:
۱۶۸	۱۶۸
افزونی: انظر جزيرة افزونی	افزونی: انظر جزيرة افزونی
اقلید: ۱۲۴: ۱۶۰: انظر دز اقلید	اقلید: ۱۲۴: ۱۶۰: انظر دز اقلید
انبار: ۷۲	انبار: ۷۲
انبوران: ۱۴۴	انبوران: ۱۴۴
انديو: ۶۴	انديو: ۶۴
انطاکیه: ۶۴: ۹۴: ۱۰۳:	انطاکیه: ۶۴: ۹۴: ۱۰۳:
اورد: ۱۲۲: ۱۵۵: انظر دشت اورد:	اورد: ۱۲۲: ۱۵۵: انظر دشت اورد:
مرغزار اورد	مرغزار اورد
اهواز: ۶۰: ۶۹:	اهواز: ۶۰: ۶۹:
ایج: ۱۴۱: ۱۶۵:	ایج: ۱۴۱: ۱۶۵:
ایران: ۹: ۱۲: ۱۴: ۴۸: ۴۵: ۵۲:	ایران: ۹: ۱۲: ۱۴: ۴۸: ۴۵: ۵۲:
۵۶: ۸۴: ۹۸:	۵۶: ۸۴: ۹۸:
ایران گرده: ۱۴۸	ایران گرده: ۱۴۸
ایراهنستان: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۵: ۱۴۹:	ایراهنستان: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۵: ۱۴۹:
۱۴۰: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۹:	۱۴۰: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۹:
ایگ: ۱۴۱: انظر ایج	ایگ: ۱۴۱: انظر ایج
ایوان کسری: ۲۱: ۶۹: ۷۲: ۹۷:	ایوان کسری: ۲۱: ۶۹: ۷۲: ۹۷:
بابل: ۲۸: ۴۴: ۴۸: ۴۰: ۵۳: ۵۸:	بابل: ۲۸: ۴۴: ۴۸: ۴۰: ۵۳: ۵۸:
۶۰: ۷۲:	۶۰: ۷۲:
بادغیس: ۹۸	بادغیس: ۹۸
باز آورد: گنج: ۱۰۴	باز آورد: گنج: ۱۰۴
بازرنک: ۱۴۴: ۱۵۲:	بازرنک: ۱۴۴: ۱۵۲:
باشت: انظر ديه باشت	باشت: انظر ديه باشت
باشت قوطا: ۱۴۴	باشت قوطا: ۱۴۴
باغ: ۱۲۴	باغ: ۱۲۴
بجه: ۱۲۲: ۱۵۴:	بجه: ۱۲۲: ۱۵۴:
بجر اخضر: ۱۵۴	بجر اخضر: ۱۵۴
بجر پارس: ۱۵۴	بجر پارس: ۱۵۴
بجر محیط: ۱۵۴	بجر محیط: ۱۵۴
بحرین: ۶۰: ۶۸: ۶۹: ۱۱۴: ۱۱۴:	بحرین: ۶۰: ۶۸: ۶۹: ۱۱۴: ۱۱۴:
۱۲۰	۱۲۰
بحیره ارزن: ۱۵۴	بحیره ارزن: ۱۵۴
بحیره بختیگان: ۱۲۸: ۱۵۲: ۱۵۴:	بحیره بختیگان: ۱۲۸: ۱۵۲: ۱۵۴:
بحیره درخوبد: ۱۵۴	بحیره درخوبد: ۱۵۴
بحیره دشت ارزن: ۱۵۴	بحیره دشت ارزن: ۱۵۴
بحیره ماهلوبه: ۱۵۴	بحیره ماهلوبه: ۱۵۴
بحیره مور: ۱۵۴	بحیره مور: ۱۵۴
بختیگان: انظر بحیره بختیگان	بختیگان: انظر بحیره بختیگان
برازه: نهر: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۷: ۱۵۱:	برازه: نهر: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۷: ۱۵۱:
براق: ۱۲۶	براق: ۱۲۶
برزخ شاپور: ۷۲: انظر عکبرا	برزخ شاپور: ۷۲: انظر عکبرا
بروات: نهر: ۱۵۴	بروات: نهر: ۱۵۴
بسیرا: ۱۲۵: ۱۵۵:	بسیرا: ۱۲۵: ۱۵۵:

بومی شاه: ۲۷: انظر اصطنخ	بشاپور: ۶۴: ۱۱۵: ۱۱۶: ۱۴۱:
به اردشیر: ۶۰	۱۵۲: ۱۴۵: ۱۴۲
به قباد: ۸۴	بشاوور: انظر بشاپور
بیت المقدس: ۵: ۶: ۴۸: ۵۲: ۵۴:	بشکان: ۵۴
۱۰۴: ۵۴	بصره: ۶۹: ۱۱۴: ۱۱۶: ۱۲۰: ۱۴۷:
بید: انظر ديه بید: مرغزار بید و	۱۵۴: ۱۵۰
مشکان	بغداد: ۶۴: ۷۲: ۱۱۸:
بی شاپور (بیشاپور): انظر بشاپور	بنی بکر بن وایل: ۶۹: ۱۰۶:
بیضا: ۱۲۹-۱۲۸: ۱۴۵: ۱۶۱:	بلاد شاپور: ۶۴: ۱۴۷:
پارس: ۲: ۴: ۴: ۷: ۸: الخ	بلاشانیان: ۱۸
پارسیان: ۴: ۶: ۷: ۸: ۱۱: ۱۳: الخ	بلخ: ۴: ۴: ۴۵: ۴۸: ۵۰: ۵۱: ۵۴:
پاودست: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۴:	۹۸
پربال: ۱۶۲	بلور: انظر جزيرة بلور
پرگ: ۱۲۹: ۱۳۰: ۱۵۹: ۱۶۱:	بند راجرد: ۱۵۱
۱۶۲	بند عضدی: ۱۵۱: ۱۶۱:
پرواب: دبه: ۱۵۲	بند قصار: ۱۵۲
پرواب: نهر: انظر نهر پرواب	یوان: ۷۲: ۱۲۵: ۱۲۹:
پسا: ۱۱۵: ۱۳۰: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۹: ۱۶۲:	بودن: انظر ديه بودن
انظر قسا	بوستانک: ۱۶۲
پول ثکان: ۱۴۸: ۱۵۰:	بوشتکان: ۱۶۳
پول نهروان: ۹۶	بوشتکان: ۱۴۵:
پوند: انظر ديه پولند	بوشتکانات: ۱۳۵: ۱۶۳: انظر قلعة
پهندز: انظر قلعة پهندز	بوشتکانات
	بوم پیر: ۱۴۸
	بوم جوان: ۱۴۸

نکان: دیه: ۱۵۲	پیشدادیان: ۸: ۱۴: ۹: ۳۹: ۲۶:
نکان: نهر: انظر نهر نکان	۱۵۶
نبود: ۵	
جنرویه: ۱۵۲	تارم: ۱۲۹: ۱۵۹: ۱۶۱: ۱۶۲:
جرجان: ۸۴: ۸۴	تاریخ طبری: ۸
جرمق: ۱۶۱	تازیان: ۱۱: انظر عرب
جرواءان: ۷۳	تبت: ۵۱
جره: ۱۱۵: ۱۴۲: ۱۵۱: ۱۶۳:	ترك (ترکان): ۴۰: ۴۴: ۴۶: ۵۱: ۵۲:
جزیرکان: ۱۶۴	۷۸: ۸۰: ۹۷: ۹۹: ۱۰۴: ۱۴۳:
جزیره افرزونی: ۱۴۱	ترکستان: ۹: ۱۴: ۲۴: ۲۴: ۳۷: ۴۱:
جزیره بلور: ۱۵۰	۴۲: ۴۴: ۴۵: ۴۷: ۷۸: ۸۳:
جزیره خارك: ۱۵۰	۸۵: ۹۴: ۱۰۲: ۱۰۴: ۱۰۹:
جزیره رم: ۱۵۰	ترکمان: ۱۴۳
جزیره قیس: ۱۱۴: ۱۳۶: ۱۴۱:	بنی تغلب: ۶۹
جزیره لار: ۱۴۱	نکریت: ۶۱
جزیره هنگام: ۱۵۰	تل عفرقوف: ۴۰: ۴۱:
جلاجان: ۱۴۸: ۱۵۱:	بنی نسیم: ۶۹: ۱۱۴:
جلادجان: انظر جلاجان	تنگ رنبه: ۱۴۱: ۱۵۹:
جنابا: ۱۴۹: ۱۵۲: ۱۶۲: ۱۶۳:	توج: ۱۱۴: ۱۴۵: ۱۶۳:
جنبد: ۶۴: انظر جنبد ملغان	توران: ۱۲: ۸۴:
جنبد ملغان: ۱۴۴: ۱۶۰: انظر	توریه: ۴۸: ۵۴:
جنبد: گنبد ملغان	تومره بست: ۱۶۴
جنبدیساپور: انظر جنبدیساپور	تهامه: ۱۰۶
	نیرما بجان: ۱۲۵: ۱۶۱:
	نیرمردان: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۵: ۱۶۲:
	نیز: ۱۱۷: ۱۴۰: ۱۷۲:

حوض عضدی: ۱۵۶	جندی شاپور: ۶۳: ۶۵: ۶۶: ۶۹
حیره: ۷۴	جور: ۱۱۶: ۱۳۷: انظر فیروزآباد
خابور: ۸۴	جویکان: ۱۴۳: ۱۵۱
خارک: انظر جزیره خارک	جویم ابی احمد: ۱۴۲: ۱۵۵: ۱۵۹:
خبر: ۱۲۴: ۱۵۲: ۱۵۳	۱۶۱: ۱۶۲
خبرز: ۱۲۳: ۱۵۳	جهرم: ۵۴: ۱۱۵: ۱۳۱: ۱۵۷
خبرک: ۱۲۳	جهودان: ۵: ۶: ۱۸: ۴۸: ۵۳
خبس: ۱۴۸: ۱۴۹: انظر حبس	جیعون: ۳۸: ۴۰: ۴۵: ۹۸: ۱۲۰
خجند: ۸۳	جیس: ۵۰: ۷۹
خراره: ۱۴۳: ۱۴۴: ۱۶۶	جیلویه: کوه: ۱۴۸
خراسان: ۳۷: ۴۴: ۴۵: ۶۱: ۷۲: ۷۹:	چهار دبه: ۱۴۸
۹۴: ۹۸: ۱۰۲: ۱۰۴: ۱۱۰: ۱۱۲:	
۱۴۷	
خرقان: ۱۴۳	حبس: ۱۶۲: انظر حبس
خرمه: ۱۲۹: ۱۶۲: انظر قلعه خرّمه	حبشه: ۸۲: ۹۵: ۹۶
خزر (خزران): ۴۵: ۹۴: ۹۵: ۹۷:	حتیزیر: ۱۳۹
خشت: ۱۴۳: ۱۵۲: ۱۶۳	حزه: ۶۰
خط: ۶۱: ۶۸	حسینان: ۴
خلار: ۱۴۴: ۱۶۲	حسو: ۱۳۱
خما سبجان: ۱۴۵	حسینان: ۴
خنافگان: ۱۳۴: انظر خنینقان	حفرک: ۱۲۶
خنینقان: ۱۴۴: ۱۵۱: ۱۶۳	حلوان: ۸۴
خوابدان: دبه: ۱۶۲	حیر: ۵۰: ۵۱
خوابدان: نهر: انظر نهر خوابدان	بنی حنظله: ۶۹
	حورشی: ۱۴۱

دز خرشه: ۱۶۶: انظر قلعة خرشه	خوادان: انظر قلعة خوادان
دز کلات: ۱۴۹	خوار: ۱۲۴: انظر ديه خوار: قلعة
دسکره: ۶۴	خوار
دشت ارزان: ۱۶۳	خوارزم: ۷۹: ۸۰
دشت ارزن: انظر بحيرة دشت ارزن:	خوزستان: ۶۰: ۶۱: ۶۲: ۶۴:
مرغزار دشت ارزن	۶۸: ۶۹: ۷۲: ۱۲۰: ۱۲۱: ۱۴۷:
دشت آورد: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۴	۱۴۹: ۱۵۰: ۱۶۲
دشت باری: ۱۴۳: انظر غنجان	خیره: ۱۲۸: ۱۴۲: ۱۵۹: ۱۶۲
دشت رون: ۱۶۰	
دشت شاه ستون: ۴۵	دازین: ۱۴۷
دمشق: ۵: ۱۴۷	دارا بجرد: ۵۵: ۱۱۵: ۱۲۹: ۱۴۱:
دوان: ۱۴۷	۱۵۹: ۱۶۲: ۱۶۵: انظر کورة
دودمان: ۱۴۳	دارا بجرد: مرغزار دارا بجرد
دورق: ۱۴۶	دار بگرد: انظر دارا بجرد
دیار بکر: ۶۸	داریان: ۱۶۱
دیبیل: ۸۲	دارین: ۶۹
دیر: ۱۴۸	دامغان: ۱۲۰
دیلم (دیلمان): ۷: ۹۵: ۱۱۷: ۱۱۹:	دباوند: ۲۶: ۲۷: ۴۶
۱۴۲: ۱۴۳: ۱۴۶: ۱۴۱: ۱۶۴:	دجله: ۹۰
۱۶۵: ۱۶۶	دراکان: ۱۴۱: ۱۶۵
دین دلا: ۶۳: ۱۴۲: انظر بشاپور	درخوید: انظر بحيرة درخوید
دیه باشت: ۱۶۰	دریاء نیکستان: ۱۴۰
دیه بودن: ۱۶۱	دریست: ۱۴۵
دیه بید: ۱۶۱: ۱۶۴	دز ابرج: ۱۵۷
دیه پولند: ۱۶۱	دز اقلید: ۱۵۷

رمّ روان : انظر قلعة رم روان	ديه ترسان : ۱۶۱
رمّ زوان : ۱۳۷ : انظر رمّ الذیوان	ديه خوار : ۱۶۱
رمّ الکاریان : ۱۶۸	ديه شنانا : ۱۶۴
رمّ اللوالمجان : ۱۶۸	ديه شیر : ۱۶۴
رنبه : انظر تنگ رنبه : قلعة رنبه	ديه علی : ۱۴۵
رود بشاپور : ۱۴۲ : انظر نهر بشاپور	ديه کرم : ۱۶۲
رود شیرین : ۱۴۴ : انظر نهر شیرین	ديه گرگ : ۱۶۰
رود کاسرود : ۴۴	ديه گوز : ۱۶۲ : ۱۶۰ : ۱۴۴ : ۱۲۴
رود کُر : انظر کُر	ديه مالک : ۱۶۴ : ۱۵۲
رود گرّه : ۱۴۲ : انظر نهر جرّه	ديه مورد : ۱۶۱ : ۱۲۹
رود مشرقان : ۶۱	ذوقار : ۱۰۵ : ۱۰۶
رودان : ۱۲۱ : ۱۶۱	رادان (رادان) : ۱۶۱ : ۱۲۹
رودبال سنجان : ۱۶۴	رامانیان : قومی از شبانکارگان : ۱۶۶
روشن فیروز : ۸۴	رامجرد : ۱۲۶ : ۱۲۸ : ۱۵۱
روم : ۵ : ۴۷ : ۴۸ : ۵۵ : ۵۷ : ۵۸	رامفیروز : ۸۴
رومیان : ۹ : ۱۶ : ۵۵ : ۵۸ : ۵۹ : ۶۹	رامهرمز : ۶۴
رومیه : ۵۲ : ۷۲ : ۹۴	راهبان : ۱۴۵
رون : ۱۲۴ : ۱۶۰ : انظر مرغزار رون	رستاق الرستاق : ۱۴۱ : ۱۶۲
رونیز : ۱۳۰	رم : انظر جزيرة رم
روبین دز : ۵۲	رمّ البازنجان : ۱۶۸
ری : ۸۴ : ۱۲۰ : ۱۶۷	رمّ جیلویه : ۱۶۸
	رمّ الذیوان : ۱۶۴ : ۱۶۸ : انظر
	رمّ زوان

سروات: ۱۲۴: انظر مرغزار کمه و سروات	ریشهر: ۱۱۴: ۱۴۹: ۱۵۰
سروستان: ۱۴۹: ۱۵۴: ۱۶۲	زاب اسفل: ۴۹
سغد: ۱۴۷	زاب اعلی: ۴۹
سپهران: انظر قلعه سپهران	زاب اوسط: ۴۹
سپهرم: ۱۲۱: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۸: ۱۵۰:	زابلستان: ۴۳: انظر زاوولستان
۱۵۲: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۱	زابین: ۴۹
سند: ۷۳: ۹۴: ۱۵۴	زاوولستان: ۴۱: ۴۳: ۹۴
سوس: ۲۸	زرقان: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۴
سه گنبدان: ۴۲: ۱۲۶: ۱۵۶	زنجبار: ۱۵۴
سپاره: انظر قلعه سپاره	زند: کتاب: ۴۹: ۵۱: ۶۲: ۱۲۸
سیراف: ۱۲۷-۱۴۶: ۱۴۰: ۱۴۱:	زند و پازند: کتاب: ۵۰
۱۴۹: ۱۵۲: ۱۶۳: ۱۷۱: ۱۷۲	زندان باد: ۱۲۷
سیرجان: ۱۲۱: انظر شیرجان	زیر: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۸
سیستان: ۴۴: ۵۲: ۶۵: ۷۲	سارویه: ۲۹
سیف: ۱۴۱: ۱۴۵: ۱۴۰: ۱۶۳	ساسانیان: ۸: ۹: ۱۵: ۲۶-۱۹:
سیف آل ابی زهیر: ۱۴۰	۶۰-۱۱۳
سیف عماره: ۱۴۰	ساوه: ۹۷
سیکان: انظر مرغزار سیکان	ساویه: ۱۴۱
سیمخت: ۱۴۴: ۱۵۲	سبعیان: ۱۱۹
سیمینیز: ۱۱۴: ۱۴۹: ۱۵۰: ۱۵۲:	سجّان: انظر رودبال سجّان
۱۶۲: ۱۶۳	سنوح: ۱۱۵
شاپورخواست: ۶۳: ۱۱۶	سجستان: ۶۵
	سرمق: ۱۲۴: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۱

شهر رستم : ۵۲	شاپورخوره : ۱۱۵ : ۱۶۷ : انظر كوره
شهرآباد کواد : ۸۴	شاپورخوره
شهرزور : ۵۸	شادروان شوشتر : ۶۳ : ۷۲
بنی شیبان : ۱۰۵	شادشاپور : ۶۳
شیدان : انظر مرغ شیدان	شادفیروز : ۸۳
شیراز : ۱۱۵ : ۱۱۷ : ۱۴۴ - ۱۴۳ :	شام : ۲۸ : ۵۲ : ۶۸ : ۱۳۵
۱۲۹ : ۱۴۴ : ۱۵۲ : ۱۵۳ : ۱۵۴ :	شاهستون : انظر دشت شاهستون
۱۵۵ : ۱۶۰ : ۱۶۱ : ۱۶۲ : ۱۶۳ :	شبانکارگان مسعودی : ۱۳۵ : انظر
۱۶۴ : ۱۷۰ : ۱۷۲	مسعودیان
شیرجان : ۱۵۲ : انظر سیرجان	شبانکاره (شبانکارگان) : ۱۳۰ : ۱۳۳ :
شیرین : ۱۵۲	۱۴۵ : ۱۵۸ : ۱۶۷ - ۱۶۴ : ۱۶۹
صابئان (صابیان) : ۳۴ : ۴۹	شتشگان : ۱۴۶
صاهه : ۱۳۵ : ۱۶۱ : ۱۶۲	شروان : ۹۵
صرام : ۱۴۴	شعب بوآن : ۱۴۷ - ۱۴۶
صفت شبدیز : ۱۰۷	شق رودبال : ۱۳۰
صمکان : ۱۴۹ : ۱۵۲ : ۱۶۳	شق میشانان : ۱۳۰
صین : ۲۰ : ۳۴ : ۴۷ : ۴۵ : ۴۸ : ۵۰ :	شکانیان : قومی از شبانکارگان : ۱۶۷
۵۱ : ۵۸ : ۶۲ : ۶۵ : ۸۵ : ۹۴ : ۹۷ :	شکی : ۹۵
۱۱۲ : ۱۵۳	شکنوان : انظر قلعة شکنوان
ضادشوبانان : ۱۶۴	شنانا : انظر ديه شنانا
طاب : نهر : انظر نهر طاب	شنانان : ۱۳۵
طبرستان : ۴۷ : ۸۴ : ۱۲۰	شورستان : ۱۳۳ : ۱۶۱
	شوش : ۷۲
	شوشتر : ۶۳ : ۷۲
	شهر بایک : ۱۶۱

عَبَّان: ۶۹: ۱۱۳: ۱۱۴: ۱۱۷: ۱۲۱:	طبریه: ۵
۱۵۳: ۱۷۰: ۱۷۱: ۱۷۲:	طخارستان: ۹۴
غزنه: ۱۱۸	طربال: ۱۴۸
غندجان (غندیجان): ۱۴۳: ۱۵۱:	طبیدر: کوه: ۵۲
۱۶۳: ۱۵۷	طور: ۱۲۹: ۱۶۱
غوطة دمشق: ۱۴۷	طهران: ۱۴۴
فارس: انظر یارس	طیسبون: ۷۱: ۷۲: ۷۵: ۱۰۸: ۱۰۹:
فاروق: ۱۲۵: ۱۶۵	انظر مداين
فخرستان: ۱۲۸: ۱۵۱	طیمرجان: ۱۵۴
فرات: ۳۷: ۹۸: ۱۰۰: ۱۱۹: ۱۲۰:	عاد: ۵
فرزك: ۱۴۸: ۱۶۲	بنی عبد قیس: ۶۹: ۱۱۳: ۱۱۴:
فُرس: ۲: ۴: ۷: ۸: ۹: ۴۲: ۴۳: الخ	عدن: ۹۶: ۱۵۳
فرشاپور: ۷۳	عُذیب: ۱۱۱
فرع: ۱۷۲	عراق: ۵: ۲۸: ۳۷: ۴۹: ۴۸: ۵۲:
فرعان: ۱۳۰	۶: ۷۱: ۸۴: ۱۰۲: ۱۱۷: ۱۲۰:
فرغانه: ۹۴	عرب (العرب): ۴: ۸: ۱۱: ۱۳: ۲۱:
بنی فزاره: ۱۱۷	۲۲: ۴۲: ۵۰: ۵۱: ۶۱: ۶۳: ۶۶:
فسا: ۵۴: انظر پسا	۶۷: ۶۸: ۶۹: ۷۰: ۷۱: ۷۲: ۷۴:
فستجان: ۱۱۵: ۱۴۱: ۱۶۲: ۱۶۵:	۷۵: ۷۸: ۸۵: ۹۷: ۱۰۳: ۱۰۵:
فلسطين: ۶: ۱۷: ۳۸:	۱۰۶: ۱۰۷: ۱۱۲: ۱۱۳: ۱۱۴:
فهرج: ۱۷۱: ۱۲۲:	۱۱۷: ۱۲۰: ۱۴۱: ۱۴۵: ۱۴۸:
فهل: ۱۷۱	۱۴۰: ۱۶۴
	عقرفوف: نل: ۴۱
	عکبرا: ۷۲

قلعہ بوشکانات : ۱۵۶	فیروزآباد : ۶۰ : ۱۴۲ : ۱۴۴
قلعہ برگ و تارم : ۱۵۹	۱۴۹-۱۴۷ : ۱۵۱ : ۱۵۸ : ۱۶۴
قلعہ پھندز : ۱۴۴ : ۱۶۶	۱۶۷
قلعہ تیر خدای : ۱۵۹	فیروزرام : ۸۴
قلعہ جنبد ملغان : ۱۶۰	فیروزشاپور : ۷۲ : انظر انبار
قلعہ خرشہ : ۱۴۱ : ۱۵۷	
قلعہ خرّمہ : ۱۲۹ : ۱۵۹	قادیسیہ : ۱۱۱ : ۱۱۲
قلعہ خوادان : ۱۵۹	قالی : ۱۲۳ : انظر مرغزار قالی
قلعہ خوار : ۱۲۴ : ۱۵۷	قبادخورہ : ۸۴ : ۱۱۵ : انظر کورہ
قلعہ رم روان : ۱۵۷	قبادخورہ
قلعہ رنبہ : ۱۵۹	قبی : کوه : ۷۹
قلعہ سپید : ۱۴۷	قرآن : ۵ : ۷ : ۴۰ : ۵۰ : ۶۲
قلعہ سپیران : ۱۴۲ : ۱۵۹	قرمیسین : ۱۰۷
قلعہ سپارہ : ۱۴۹ : ۱۵۸ : ۱۶۷	قریش : ۴
قلعہ شکستہ : ۴۲ : ۱۲۶ : ۱۵۶	قسطنطینیہ : ۶۹ : ۷۰ : ۷۱ : ۹۴
قلعہ شکنوان : ۴۲ : ۱۲۶ : ۱۵۶	۱۰۴
قلعہ کارزین : ۱۵۹	قصر شیرین : ۱۰۷
قہستان : ۱۶ : ۴۸ : ۴۹ : ۵۸ : ۱۲۰	بنی قضاہ : ۶۱
۱۲۲	قطرہ : ۱۲۸ : ۱۶۲
قہستان : از کورہ اصطخر : ۱۲۳	قلعنہاء آبادان : ۱۵۸
قیر : ۱۴۵ : ۱۵۲	قلعہ آبادہ : ۱۵۷
	قلعہ اسپیددز : ۱۵۸
کارزین : ۱۴۵ : ۱۴۰ : ۱۵۲ : ۱۶۴	قلعہ اصطخر : ۴۲ : ۵۱ : ۱۲۶ : ۱۵۶
انظر قلعہ کارزین	۱۵۹ : ۱۶۶
کاریان : ۱۴۵	قلعہ اصطہبانان : ۱۵۷

کازرون: ۱۱۵: ۱۱۶: ۱۳۷: ۱۴۲:	کرمان: ۶۰: ۶۹: ۷۳: ۸۲: ۱۱۲:
۱۴۶ ۱۴۵: ۱۵۴: ۱۶۳: ۱۶۷	۱۱۷: ۱۱۸: ۱۲۰: ۱۲۱: ۱۲۵:
کاس: ۱۳۰	۱۲۹: ۱۳۱: ۱۳۶: ۱۴۱: ۱۶۱:
کاسرود: رود: ۴۴	۱۷۰: ۱۷۱: ۱۷۲
کالان: انظر مرغزار کالان	کرمانیان: ۱۵۹
کامفیروز: ۱۲۴: ۱۶۱: انظر مرغزار	کشن: ۱۶۲
کامفیروز	کفره: ۱۶۳
بنی کاوان: ۱۱۴	کلات: انظر دز کلات
کبرین: ۱۳۵	گلار: ۱۲۳: ۱۲۸: ۱۵۱: ۱۶۱:
کتاب خراج: ۱۷۰	کمارج: ۱۴۳
کتاب زند: ۴۹: ۵۰: ۵۱: ۶۲:	کبه: ۱۲۵: ۱۶۰: ۱۶۴: ۱۶۵: انظر
۱۲۸	مرغزار کبه و سروات
کتاب مذیل تاریخ محمد بن جریر	کهنک: ۱۶۱: ۱۶۴
الطبری: ۸	کنعان: ۵۰: ۵۴
کت: ۱۶۲	کنعانیان: ۴۰
کته: ۱۲۲	کوار: ۱۴۴: ۱۵۲: ۱۵۴: ۱۶۳:
گر: رود: ۱۲۳: ۱۲۴: ۱۲۸: ۱۲۹:	کوبنجان: ۱۳۹: ۱۴۰:
۱۵۱: ۱۵۴: ۱۵۵: ۱۶۰:	کورد: ۱۲۳: ۱۶۱:
کران: ۱۴۰: ۱۶۳:	کورش: کتاب: ۵۴
کریال: ۱۲۸: ۱۵۱: ۱۵۲:	کوره اردشیر خوره: ۱۲۱: ۱۴۱-۱۴۲:
کرخ: ۷۲	کوره اصطخر: ۱۲۹-۱۳۱:
گرد (کردان): ۱۶۴: ۱۶۸:	کوره دارا بجرد: ۱۲۱: ۱۳۲-۱۳۹:
کرزوبیان: قومی از شبانکارگان:	کوره شاپور: انظر کوره شاپور خوره
۱۶۷	کوره شاپور خوره: ۱۱۶: ۱۲۱:
کرم: ۱۳۰: انظر دبه کرم	۱۴۸ ۱۴۱

ماهلویه: ۱۶۲: انظر بحیره ماهلویه	کوره قباد خوره: ۱۲۱: ۱۵۰-۱۴۸
مایین: ۱۲۴: ۱۲۴: ۱۶۰	کوسجان: ۱۶۲
مداین: ۲۱: ۶۹: ۷۲: ۹۰: ۹۴: ۹۸:	کوشک زر: ۱۶۰
۹۹: ۱۰۲: ۱۰۸: ۱۱۱: انظر	کوشک شهریار: ۱۶۰
طیسبون	کوفه: ۱۲۰
مدینه: ۱۰۶	کهرجان: ۱۴۰
مدینه شاپور: ۷۱: ۷۲: انظر طیسبون	کهندز: ۲۸
مرج شیدان: ۱۴۷	کیانیان: ۸: ۱۶-۱۴: ۵۹-۴۹:
مرداسیان: ۱۱۸	۱۲۷
مرغ بهمن: ۱۵۵	گرد فنا خسرو: ۱۲۲: ۱۷۲
مرغ شیدان: ۱۵۵: انظر مرج شیدان	گره: ۱۴۲: انظر جرّه
مرغزار آورد: ۱۵۴	گنبد: ۱۵۲: انظر گنبد ملغان
مرغزار بید و مشکان: ۱۵۵	گنبد کیرمان: ۱۲۸
مرغزار دارا بجرد: ۱۵۴	گنبد ملغان: ۱۵۲: ۱۶۲: انظر
مرغزار دشت ارزن: ۱۵۴	جنید ملغان
مرغزار رون: ۱۵۵	گننه: ۱۳۹: انظر جنابا
مرغزار سیکان: ۱۵۴	لار: ۱۱۲: انظر جزیره لار
مرغزار قالی: ۱۵۴	لاغر: ۱۴۰: ۱۵۲: ۱۶۲
مرغزار کالان: ۱۵۴	ما وراء النهر: ۸۵: ۹۴
مرغزار کامفیروز: ۱۵۵	ماصرم: ۱۴۲: ۱۵۱: ۱۵۲: ۱۶۲
مرغزار کبه و سروات: ۱۵۵	ماندستان: ۱۲۵: ۱۵۲: ۱۶۲
مرو: ۲۶: ۲۸: ۵۸: ۱۱۲	ماه البصره: ۱۲۰
مرو دشت: ۱۲۵: ۱۲۷: ۱۲۸: ۱۵۴	ماه الکوفه: ۱۲۰
مروست: ۱۲۵	
مسجان: ۱۵۱	

میشکانات: ۱۴۲	مسعودیان: قومی از شبانکارگان:
میهند: ۱۴۹	۱۶۷: ۱۵۸
بنو ناجیه: ۱۱۴	مسن، انظر نهر مسن
نایین: ۱۲۲	مشعه، ۱۶۲
نجیرم: ۱۴۱: ۱۵۲: ۱۶۴	مشعه ابراهیمی: ۱۶۱
نصبین: ۷۱	مشعه مهفته: ۱۶۲
نفتت: کوه: ۴۹: ۵۱: ۱۲۸	مشرقان: رود: ۶۱
نهر دیان: ۱۶۵	مشکان: انظر مرغزار بید و مشکان
نوبنجان (نوبندجان): ۱۱۵: ۱۴۷:	مص: ۱۴۱
۱۴۲: ۱۴۷: ۱۴۶: ۱۵۱: ۱۵۸:	مصر: ۶: ۴۸: ۵۸: ۱۰۴: ۱۱۹
۱۶۲	مغرب: ۵: ۶: ۲۸: ۴۷
نودر: ۱۴۵	مکران: ۸۲: ۱۱۷: ۱۲۰
نهایوند: ۱۱۲	مکه: ۱۰۶
نهر برازه: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۷: ۱۵۱:	ملوك الطوائف: ۱۶: ۱۹: ۲۰: ۵۸
نهر بروات: ۱۵۴	۵۹: ۶۰: ۶۱
نهر بشاپور: ۱۵۱: ۱۵۲: انظر رود	مور: ۱۴۶: انظر بحیره مور
بشاپور	مور جرّه: ۱۴۴: ۱۵۴
نهر پرواب: ۱۲۷: ۱۵۲: ۱۵۴	موصل: ۵۰: ۵۹: ۶۰: ۸۴
نهر تکان: ۱۴۴: ۱۴۵: ۱۴۸: ۱۵۰:	موهو: ۱۴۵
۱۵۱: ۱۵۲: ۱۵۹	مهوریان (مهربان): ۱۴۶: ۱۴۹:
نهر جرّه: ۱۵۱: انظر رود گرّه	۱۵۰: ۱۶۲: ۱۶۴: ۱۷۲
نهر خوابدان: ۱۵۱	مهرین: ۲۹
نهر شیرین: ۱۵۱: ۱۵۲: انظر رود	مهفته: انظر مشعه مهفته
شیرین	میبد: ۱۲۲
	میشان: ۶۴

همجان: ۱۳۵	نهر طاب: ۱۴۸: ۱۵۰: ۱۵۲
هند: ۲۸: ۲۹: ۴۸: ۵۰: ۵۸: ۶۹	نهر مسن: ۱۵۲
۷۳: ۸۲: ۸۳: ۹۴: ۹۷: ۹۸: ۱۰۴	نیریز: ۱۲۲: ۱۲۸: ۱۴۲: ۱۵۴: ۱۶۲
هندوستان: ۳۷	نیو: ۱۴۸
هندیجان: ۱۴۸	ویشکان: ۱۴۱
هنگام: انظر جزيرة هنگام	هبرک: ۱۶۳: انظر هبرک
هیاطله: ۸۳: ۹۴: ۱۱۲	هجر: ۶۸: ۶۹
هبرک: ۱۳۹: انظر هبرک	هراه: ۱۲۵
بزد: ۱۲۱: ۱۲۲: ۱۲۴: ۱۶۴	هراه: ۵۸
بزد خواست: ۱۲۱: ۱۲۳: ۱۶۰	هرم: ۱۳۵
۱۶۱	هزار درخت: ۱۲۲
ببامه: ۶۸: ۶۹	هزو: ۱۲۱: ۱۴۱
بین: ۱۱: ۴۱: ۴۲: ۵۰: ۸۲: ۸۵	هفت ده: ۱۶۲
۹۵: ۹۶: ۱۰۶	هفت هلکه: ۲۹
یونان (یونانیان): ۵۸: ۶۹: ۷۰	

- P. ۷۱, l. ۱۴. For **وظائف**, an unnecessary emendation, read **مواضعه** and cf. the List of archaic forms, etc., where other examples are cited.
- P. ۷۲, l. ۱۴. **برزخ شاپور**. So also Hamza (p. ۵۲), but the correct reading is **بزرگ شاپور = بزرگ شاپور**. Cf. Tab., I, 839, last line, and *Sasaniden*, p. 57, note 5.
- P. ۸۴, l. ۹. For **شهر آن** read **ابرشهر** (Hamza, p. ۵۶, l. ۳ fr. foot has **ایرشهر**). Abrashahr and Jurján are mentioned together in Tab., I, 819, 13. The former is the ancient name of the Nishápúr district (*Sasaniden*, p. 17, note 2).
- P. ۹۵, l. ۶. **مسلمانان**. *Sic!*
- P. ۹۵, l. ۱۸. For **جوات** read **جواب**.
- P. ۹۸, l. ۳. For **هند** read **فرس**. Cf. p. ۱۱۹, last line and fol.
- P. ۱۰۵, l. ۱. Here the *Fársnáma* has preserved the correct form of the name which in Tab. appears as **راهزار**.
- P. ۱۱۳, l. ۳. Read **پس این کتاب مقصور گردانیده آمد**.
- P. ۱۱۶, l. ۸. For **شاپور** read **شاپور**.
- P. ۱۳۴, l. ۱۴. For **شومومات** read **مشمومات**.
- P. ۱۳۴, l. ۱۹. For **مخوف** read **مخوف**.
- P. ۱۳۵, note ۹. *Dele* "but the word is probably corrupt."
- P. ۱۴۲, l. ۱. For **بشاپور را** read **بساپور**, or supply **بساپور نویسند** after the words **چون بتازی نویسند**.
- P. ۱۴۳, l. ۹. For **باریاب** read **پاریاب**.
- P. ۱۴۴, l. ۵. For **باریاب** read **پاریاب**.
- P. ۱۴۵, l. ۳. For **خمایجان** read **خمایجان**.
- P. ۱۵۱, l. ۱۹. For **مقدارانرا** read **مقدرانرا**.
- P. ۱۵۲, l. ۱۲. For **جتانا** read **جنابا**.
- P. ۱۵۶, l. ۱۱. For **عسیری** read, perhaps, **عشیری**, "a tithe."
- P. ۱۷۵. Under **پروین** *dele* **گرسبوز**. Cf. note on p. ۴۶, l. ۳ above.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

- P. ۲, l. ۱۹. For سلطان read سلطانی.
- P. ۶, l. ۷. قضیه is probably a mistake of the copyist for قصه.
- P. ۹, l. ۱۹. For جمر read جیم.
- P. ۱۰, l. ۳. The correct spelling of برد is یرد (یارد). Cf. Ṭabarí, I, 166, 3 foll.
- P. ۱۰, l. ۸. و گفته اند الخ. This genealogy agrees with codd. C and Tn. of Ṭabarí, I, 175.
- P. ۱۱, l. ۲۰. افریدون بن اثفیان الخ. For this genealogy of Farídún cf. Ṭab., I, 227, 4 foll.
- P. ۱۴, l. ۱۱. For کنابیه read کیابنه.
- P. ۱۵, l. ۱۳ fol. According to Ṭab., I, 689, ۱ شهرزاد was the *laqab* of Khumání.
- P. ۲۴, l. ۱۶. For خرماز read خرهان, as on p. ۱۰۹.
- P. ۲۵, l. ۷. The mother of Búrándukht and Shirúya was the Roman princess, Maria (cf. *Sasaniden*, p. 390, note 2).
- P. ۲۵, l. ۱۴. Ṭab. and the *Mujmil* have یزدانداذ بن انوشروان, which is correct.
- P. ۲۶, l. ۱۶. For گبران read گبرگان and cf. the List of archaic forms etc., under گبره.
- P. ۲۷, l. ۱۷. For دست ابراز read دست ابزار.
- P. ۲۸, l. ۱۴. زیناوند. The correct form is زیباوند (Hamza, p. ۲۹).
- P. ۳۰, l. ۹. For دست افزاره‌اء read دست افزاره‌ا.
- P. ۳۳, l. ۲۲. For اسفور Ṭab., I, 181, 12 has اسفتوز.
- P. ۴۴, l. ۸. زرافه. Ṭab., I, 605, 9 has برزافره.
- P. ۴۶, l. ۳ and l. ۹. پروین is a corruption of بروی or گروی. The *Sháhnáma*, ed. Macan, p. ۸۷۳, l. ۶ from foot, calls him بروا بن فشنجان. Ṭab., I, 611, 3 has گروی زره.
- P. ۴۶, l. ۱۳. بزرگ فرمای Cf. *Sasaniden*, p. 9, note 2.
- P. ۴۹, note ۱. Instead of اندرزغر ایران I would now propose to read either ابراز اندرزغر (High Counsellor) or اندرزغر alone. The corrupt form ایرانمازغر occurs again on p. ۹۱, l. ۱۷.
- P. ۵۶, l. ۶. احصار is probably a mistake for حصار.

- ماندن (۹۶, ۵), transitive, "to leave."
- مردمزاده (۷۲, ۶), "of noble birth."
- مواضعه (۷۱, ۱۴; ۹۱۴, ۱۸, ۱۹; ۱۷۱, ۱۲; ۱۷۲, ۱۱), "tribute," "revenue" (derived from taxes). At ۷۱, ۱۴ مواضعه, the reading of **B**, should be restored.
- میانہ (۱۰۱, ۲۴). Here میانہ کردن, apparently, means "to escape"; no doubt the idea is that the fugitive puts a space between himself and his pursuers.
- نبرده (۷۵, ۲). نبرده جهان, "the champion of the world."
- نکارگری (۳۲, ۴), "the art of painting."
- نو (۶, ۶; ۹۱۴, ۳), "hostage." The plural نواان (from نوا) occurs at ۵, ۲۰.
- هر followed by plural noun (۹۰, ۶).

The foregoing list illustrates the fact that the Persian element in the language of the *Fārsnāma* is exceptionally large: in some passages the Arabic words amount to no more than 20 or 25 per cent. of the whole.

- سایه (۱۳۸, ۱۴). Mr le Strange translates سایه here by "shady places," "pavilions," but the reading is probably corrupt.
- ستوه (۸۰, ۱), "exhausted." از بستوه آمدن (۷۵, ۱۵; ۹۹, ۱۱), "to become weary of."
- سراهنک (۱۴۶, ۱۴; ۱۴۹, ۱۰) = سرهنك.
- سولاخ (۱۳۷, ۲۱; ۱۳۸, ۱) = سوراخ. With کردن, "to bore" (through a mountain).
- شوزه (۱۲۵, ۱), of lions, "fierceness," "fury." The dictionaries have it only as an adjective.
- شططی (۱۴۰, ۴), "violent," "overbearing."
- شمرد (۲۹, ۱۷) = شمرده. In the phrase بروزی چند شمرد it is synonymous with the Arabic معدود.
- طیارات (۱۳۲, ۲۰). On this rare word, which Mr le Strange translates by "rents" or "surplus revenues," see his note in *JRAS* (1912), p. 316. He points out that it occurs in the *Mu'jam* of Shams-i Qays, p. 11*, l. 10.
- طیلسان (۱۵۳, ۷; ۱۵۳, ۱۴), "arm (of a sea)," "gulf."
- عبرت (۱۳۳, ۱), "estimate" (of the value of a crop).
- علاقه (۱۳۹, ۱۰). Mr le Strange renders the word by "condiment," "preserve." Dozy gives the meaning "grappe de raisin suspendue au plancher."
- فرا preposition (۱۰۵, ۵).
- فضولی (۱۴۹, ۱۱), "pride" (in a good sense), opp. to زیبونی.
- کنده‌گری (۵۰, ۱; ۱۲۶, ۱۰), "sculpture."
- که B writes کی for که, آنک for آنکه, چنانک for چنانکه, etc.
- گبرگی (۱۴۹, ۱۶; ۵۰, ۶) = گبری, "Zoroastrianism."
- کبره (۲۶, ۱۶) = گبر. In this passage گبرگان, for which the text has گبران, should be restored; it is supported by the form گبرگی noted above.
- گرفت و گیر (۱۷۰, ۹).
- گندگی (۱۴۹, ۱۶), "malodorousness."
- گوارا (۱۳۹, ۴; ۱۴۷, ۷), of a river, "sweet and wholesome."
- لگام‌گیر (۱۳۴, ۱۹). Meaning obscure.

- بَرْدُگِی (۵, ۲۳), "captivity."
- بَرزگِری (۳۱, ۱۸), "sowing," "agriculture."
- بَریده (۹۳, ۳), "courier."
- بودن The pluperfect بوده بود occurs at ۳۰, ۶; ۶۰, ۵; ۱۱۸, ۱۸.
- بوزی (۱۳۶, ۷), "a kind of ship or boat." Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, under بوص.
- پارْدَنْب (۷۴, ۱۳) = پارْدَم.
- پاریاب (۱۴۳, ۹; ۱۴۴, ۵), "irrigated (land or crops)." Apparently derived from پاری, "the produce of trees or cultivated land" and آب, "water." Another spelling is فاریاب.
- پیشه‌وری (۳۱, ۱۷), "trade," "handicraft."
- تاختن (۱۱۳, ۱۵, ۱۸), used as a noun, "incursion," "warlike expedition."
- توختن (۱۴۴, ۴; ۱۴۵, ۱۰; ۹۴, ۱۷; ۹۹, ۲۱; ۱۱۰, ۱۸), in the *Fārsnāma* always کینه خواستن = کینه توختن, "to seek vengeance." An example is cited from Asadī by Vullers, I, 478. Cf. *Masnawī*, Búlāq ed., Bk 1, p. 134: عدل توزیم و عبادت آوریم.
- چون چون او (۱۰۱, ۱۱) = چون.
- چیرگی (۱۲۵, ۱), "strength," "courage."
- خوشیدن (۱۵۵, ۱۴), "to become dry." The reading is conjectural but almost certain. At p. ۱۳۹, ۱۰ I think بخوشند, "they dry," should be read instead of بجوشند, "they boil."
- داشتن compounded with بر (۸۳, ۷), intransitive, "to continue." Cf. the English use of "hold on" and "hold out."
- دریابندگی (۳۱, ۸), "intelligence," "acute perception."
- دست‌ابزار (۲۷, ۱۷) and دست‌افزار (۳۰, ۹), "hand-tool," "implement."
- دست‌گیر (۸۱, ۱۴), with کردن, "to make captive."
- دو The plural form دوان occurs with هر, meaning "both" (۱۰۰, ۱۶). هردوان is also found in the *Shāhnāma*.
- دوگانه (۷۷, ۲۰), "pair." شیری از آن دوگانه, "one of those two lions."
- ریختگری (۱۵۶, ۸), "the art of moulding."
- زاد (۶۷, ۶), "age."

A LIST OF ARCHAIC FORMS AND UNUSUAL WORDS
FOUND IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM MS. OF THE
FĀRSNĀMA.

- آب دزد (۱۵۹, ۲), the diminutive form آب دزدك (۱۳۵, ۱۲). Mr le Strange translates it by "syphon-tube." In both passages the word denotes some contrivance for drawing off water (from a river) in order to supply a castle. On p. ۱۵۸, ۱۵ آب دزدند (آب را) seems to mean "they draw off the supply of water."
- آزادنامه (۱۴۳, ۱۲), "letter of emancipation."
- آغالیدن compounded with بر (۹۸, ۱۱), explained in the dictionaries as meaning "to provoke (any one) to fight"; but here, probably, "to beset," "to encompass." Cf. آغاریدن and آگردن, "to swallow."
- اسپرغم (۸۶, ۷) = سپرغم.
- اسفہسالار (۹۸, ۱۰) = سپہسالار.
- اشکره (۲۸, ۲۰) = شکره, "a bird used in hunting."
- اشکم (۱۰۹, ۸; ۱۲۷, ۱۰) = شکم.
- اصفہبید (۷۹, ۴; ۸۵, ۶; ۹۹, ۹, etc.) = سپہبید, اسپہبید.
- اوگندن (۵۵, ۱; ۸۶, ۱; ۹۰, ۲۳; ۱۰۳, ۴; ۱۳۲, ۱۰; ۱۳۷, ۱) = افگندن.
- بادی (۲۷, ۱۰). لغت بادی, "rustic dialect," "patois."
- بارگی (۸۱, ۸), "horse."
- باریاب See پاریاب.
- باز = با or ب (۷۱, ۱۸; ۹۴, ۲; ۹۴, ۱۱; ۱۰۶, ۱۹). In all these instances باز is followed by a noun and the meaning "back to" is implied, but the word seems to be used as a preposition, not as an adverb. Cf. my edition of the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliyá* of Farídu'ddín 'Aṭṭár, pt. ii, Preface, pp. 7 and 13.
- بخس (۱۳۵, ۲۱; ۱۴۰, ۱۰; ۱۴۳, ۹), "lacking irrigation," opposed to پاریاب, *q.v.*

ánk and *chunánk* for the modern *ánkih* and *chunánkih*. Further, we meet with a small number of words, mostly technical terms of revenue assessment, that are often wanting in the dictionaries, but the general meaning of which it is not difficult to come to from the context."

The present edition, therefore, is based upon the British Museum MS., Or. 5983 (referred to as **B**), which I have collated throughout with the Paris MS. (referred to as **P**), using the photographs that were made for Mr le Strange. He himself had already copied, collated, and prepared for press the last thirty folios (62-90); and this copy he handed over to me, together with a transcription of ff. 1-61 made at his instance by Dr Ahmad Khán. Thus ff. 62-90 have practically been edited by Mr le Strange, while I am solely responsible for the remainder. In other words, he has taken charge of the geography, on which he is so great an authority, and the local history, leaving to me the general history and, of course, a free hand in all textual questions. Here the chief difficulties arise from the corruption of many names occurring in the legendary history of Persia. Probably most of them were incorrectly written by the author: we need not suppose that his copyists alone are to blame. In a few cases these names might be restored by conjecture, but their emendation lies beyond my scope, and as a rule I have not attempted it either in the text or in the footnotes. For the later period, Nöldeke's researches in his *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (referred to as *Sasaniden*) have enabled me to correct a number of errors; and with the help of Hamza and Ṭabarí one may hope to have cleared the path more or less adequately, though some dark places must always remain in a text depending, as this virtually does, upon a single MS. written six hundred years ago. I have retained the archaic forms and spellings which characterize **B** and of which a list will be found below. The printed text, however, departs from the original in this respect, that پ is distinguished from پ, چ from چ, and گ from گ, for I agreed with Professor Browne, who advised me to follow the modern practice as being more convenient to the reader, while the defective script would also have left uncertain the pronunciation of many geographical and historical names.

rently undated¹, but by the writing and archaic spelling judged to be not later than the early fourteenth century (eighth A.H.). The other clearly a copy made of this MS., which belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and came there from the Schefer Collection (Blochet, *Cat. MSS. persans*, i, p. 309, No. 503, and *Supplément*, 1052), and which was written in 1273 (1856). The Paris copy is indeed of little use except to show how a Persian of the present day read the older MS., and as occasionally giving us a word that has disappeared, partially or wholly, in the mending process to which the British Museum MS. was subjected when it came a few years ago, after presentation in loose leaves, to be bound for the Museum use. In some outstanding cases where lacunae occur I have been able to fill these in by a reference to the Geography of Háfiz Abrú, the Secretary of Tímúr—of which the India Office and the Museum (Or. 1577) both possess good copies—who has copied most of the *Fársnáma* into the work he composed in 820 (1417). Further, of course, the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* very often serve to emend a reading. The Museum MS. is written for the most part in double columns², a complicated system, which has led to the modern (Paris) copy having the articles very often transcribed out of order through the carelessness of the copyist, who thus has given many towns (under their separate headings) to the wrong District (*Kúra*). In the longer articles, however, the scribe of the Museum MS. has written across the page (*i.e.* in single column), and the order of this copy will be best understood by a reference to the following footnote³. The Persian text is in the British Museum MS. somewhat archaic, and in the spelling retains the older forms of *kí* for *kih*,

¹ Faintly written, and much disfigured by the mending, there is a colophon on fol. 90 *b* which may possibly read: "and the transcription thereof was completed in the year 671" (A.D. 1271).

² This and the following observations refer to the geographical part of the work. The remainder, with the exception of a few folios, is written across the page in the usual way.

³ If R. and L. be taken to indicate the right- and left-hand columns respectively, *a* and *b* standing for *recto* and *verso* of the folios, the Ištakhr District begins with the R. column fol. 65 *a*, following on with the R. columns of fols. 65 *b*, 66 *a* and *b*, then back to L. column of fol. 65 *a*, followed by fols. 65 *b* L., 66 *a* L. and *b* L. Next, on 66 *b* below, the MS. reads across for Ištakhr City, fols. 67 *a* and *b* and the top of 68 *a* being all in one column. After this, again, 68 *a* below goes back to the double column, the next article beginning 68 *a* R., followed by 68 *b* R., then back to 68 *a* L. and 68 *b* L., which gives the last town of the district.

١٠٨). Much of this agrees with Ṭabarí, but there is also a considerable amount of new matter, e.g. concerning Mazdak (pp. ٨٧-٩١) and the administrative reforms introduced by Anúsharwán, including his appointment of two ministers for the purpose of checking the dangerous power which had hitherto been concentrated in the hands of the Vizier (Buzurjmíhr). Ibnu 'l-Balkhí places the last ten Sásánian monarchs in the following order: 1. Shírúya. 2. Ardashír ibn Shírúya. 3. Shahrbaráz (Farrukhán). 4. Kistrá Khurahán ibn Arslán. 5. Kistrá (ibn) Qubád ibn Hurmuz. 6. Búrándukht bint Kistrá (Aparwíz). 7. Fírúz Jushnaspdah. 8. Ázarmídukht bint Aparwíz. 9. Farrukhzád Khusraw ibn Aparwíz. 10. Yazdajird ibn Shahriyár. Ṭabarí omits the fourth and fifth names in this list, which otherwise follows the same order as his. For Kistrá ibn Qubád ibn Hurmuz (also mentioned by Hamza), see *Sasaniden*, p. 390, note 1. His predecessor, Kistrá Khurahán¹ ibn Arslán², is apparently unknown, except from Ibnu 'l-Balkhí. It should be noted, as further indicating the quality of our author's work, that besides the fact of Búrándukht's marriage to Shahrbaráz (on which I have commented above) he has preserved the names of seven ancestors of Fírúz Jushnaspdah, who traced his descent from Shápúr the son of Yazdajird al-Athím, while no other authority has recorded the names of more than three³. In short, if I may venture to pronounce an opinion, the history of the Persian kings which Ibnu 'l-Balkhí lays before us in this part of his book is compiled from palmary sources, adds something to our knowledge, and has the merit of being written in an easy and excellent style.

The manuscripts of the *Fársnáma* are described by Mr le Strange as follows:

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

¹ Khurahán is another form of Farrukhán (*Sasaniden*, p. 292, note 2). The MSS. of the *Fársnáma* have خورهار, جرهار, and خرماز. His full genealogy is given on pp. ٢٤-٢٥.

² Arslán is of course a Turkish name and inadmissible here.

³ The *Fársnáma* gives the following pedigree (p. ٢٥, l. ١٢): Fírúz Jushnas(p)dah, son of Bahrám, son of Manúzá Khusraw, son of Ádarnarsí, son of Bahrám, son of Ardashír, son of Shápúr, son of Yazdajird al-Athím; and adds that his mother was Khamrábukht, daughter of Yazdándádh, daughter (son) of Anúsharwán. Cf. Bírúní, *Áthár*, 122, 16; Ṭabarí, 1, 1066, 8.

Píshdádian, Kayánian, Ashkánian, and Sásánian—of which he treats in two sections, the first being devoted mainly to chronology and genealogy, while the second deals at greater length with the legendary or historical events of their reigns¹. The former section owes a good deal to Ḥamza as well as to Ṭabarí, the latter depends directly or indirectly on Ṭabarí to a very large extent², and takes little from Ḥamza. Comparison shows that Ibnu 'l-Balkhí used other sources besides these, and that he has now and then preserved information which is not found in the books known to us. For example, in his list of the Píshdádiyán he includes Shahrírámán, a grandson of Nawdhar (p. 13), on what authority I have so far failed to ascertain; the name does not appear to be recorded elsewhere. On p. 25 he alone among Muḥammadan historians mentions the marriage of Búrándukht³ to Shahrbaráz and her putting him to death: this is confirmed by Armenian authorities (Nöldeke, *Sasaniden*, p. 390, note 2). His account of Jamshíd bears such a close resemblance to that given by Firdawsí (*Sháhnáma*, ed. Macan, pp. 18-21), that both may go back to a common source, for it is unlikely that he copied Firdawsí; and in the *Fársnáma* we read that Jamshíd was captured and sawn asunder by Zāḥḥák *in the neighbourhood of the Sea of China*, a detail which occurs in the *Sháhnáma* (p. 21, l. 10) but not in Ḥamza or Ṭabarí. On p. 133, after a passage describing how all the king's subjects, even the greatest nobles, were deemed to be his slaves, our author adds the text of the letter of emancipation (*ázádnáma*) which Rustam received from Kay Ká'ús, conferring upon him the kingdom of Sístán and Zábulistán and the insignia of royalty (cf. the abridged version in Ṭabarí, I, 604, 3-5). Coming to the Sásánians, we find full and interesting articles on Shápúr Dhu 'l-Aktáf (pp. 77-83), Bahrámgúr (pp. 83-87), whose romantic adventures in his expedition against the Kháqán of the "Turks" are related at some length, Qubád ibn Fírúz (pp. 87-88), Anúsharwán (pp. 88-91), and Khusraw Aparwíz (pp. 91-

¹ The second section comprises only three dynasties—the Píshdádian, the Kayánian, and the Sásánian, but some account is also given of Alexander and of Ashk ibn Dárá.

² Consequently the *Fársnáma* may be of use for establishing the text of Ṭabarí: instances have been given in the critical notes and in the List of Corrections and Additions.

³ Incorrectly written Púrándukht (cf. *Sasaniden*, p. 390, note 2).

remarked that in many cases the name of an ancient town, or village, that has disappeared is preserved in the modern district; and sometimes vice versâ."

Here Mr le Strange brings to an end his summary of the *Fársnâma* proper, *i.e.* of the sections relating to Fârs, which beyond question form the most original and valuable part of the work. Concerning the remainder he wrote in 1912 that "it is merely a Persian version of Ḥamza Işfahání and contains, apparently, nothing new," but I am sure he would have modified this judgment if he had been able to carry out his intention of editing the text. In the first place, we should note that Ibnu 'l-Balkhí's account of the pre-Islamic kings of Persia (pp. 1-112 *infra*) is the oldest independent Persian prose history of those dynasties that has come down to us, being about fifteen years earlier than the *Mujmilu 't-tawárikh*, which was compiled in A.H. 520 (1126) in the reign of Sanjar¹. Secondly, although our author may be described as an epitomist, he did not derive his materials from any single book; on the contrary, it seems likely that he was familiar with many historical works, both Arabic and Persian. Thirdly, if he has no claim to be called a critical writer, he is not without some elements of criticism: he distinguishes between conflicting traditions and occasionally expresses his own view as to which is the more trustworthy. These facts give his work a certain importance, which only those can estimate precisely who possess a thorough knowledge of the Arabic and Persian authorities for the history of the period. Besides Ḥamza of Işfahán, with whom he often disagrees in chronological matters, Ibnu 'l-Balkhí mentions (p. 1, l. 14) as one of his sources of information the *Kitáb-i mudhayyal-i Táríkhi-i Muḥammad ibn Jarír at-Ṭabarí*, *i.e.*, probably, the abridgement of the Annals made by Ṭabarí himself, which has been published at Leiden². He adopts the traditional arrangement of the kings under four dynasties—

¹ See J. Mohl, *Extraits du Modjmel al-Tewarikh relatifs à l'histoire de la Perse* in *Journal Asiatique* (1841), troisième série, vol. XI, pp. 136 foll., 258 foll., 320 foll.; vol. XII, pp. 497 foll.; and *ibid.* (1842), vol. XIV, pp. 113 foll.

² See De Goeje's Introduction to Ṭabarí, p. xiv. Sometimes, as in the notice of Kay Khusráw, Ibnu 'l-Balkhí translates Ṭabarí almost word for word. It is possible, however, that instead of *mudhayyal-i* we should read *mudhayyil-i*, in which case the above-mentioned title might refer to the *Mudhayyil*, compiled by Ṭabarí's pupil Abú Muḥammad al-Farghání (cf. De Goeje, *ibid.*, p. xx).

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

"With this anecdote our author concludes his notice of the Chief Justices, and next comes the description of the province of Fárs (fols. 63 *b*–86 *b*)¹, which will be found translated in the pages which follow. For a general description of the province and its towns, I may refer the reader to the chapter on Fárs in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. References to the earlier Arab geographers are to the texts printed in the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (BGA.) of De Goeje. For the present condition of the province I have consulted the (modern) *Fársnáma-i Násirí* (referred to as *FNN.*), written by Hájjí Mírzá Hasan Ṭabíb of Shíráz (folio lithograph, Ṭihrán, A.H. 1313, A.D. 1895), of which the great map, in Persian, on the scale of about ten miles to the inch, gives us the position of every village and stream throughout the province. This work has enabled me to identify many names written defectively in the manuscript, and also to verify the fact in regard to the names which, in the lapse of eight centuries since Ibnu 'l-Balkhí wrote, have disappeared leaving no trace². And it may be

¹ Pp. 119–174 *infra*.

² This map, which is difficult to procure, I have had on loan from Mr A. G. Ellis, to whom I am also indebted for having in the first instance brought the *Fársnáma-i Násirí* to my notice.

and 'Omán, with the city of Tíz in Makrán. Ibnu 'l-Balkhí adds that the Qádí Abú Muḥammad, who had composed no less than eighteen works on jurisprudence, 'had every care to order well, with good intent, both the (orthodox) Faith and the (Sunni) Tradition, thus firmly laying the foundations in the matter of the Law.' 'Aḍudu'ddawla, the Búyid prince of that day, in spite of his own strong inclination towards the Shí'a doctrines, had honoured the Qádí with his trust and esteem, for, putting him to the proof, he had ever found him to be incorruptible. This Abú Muḥammad left five sons: Abú Naṣr, the youngest, succeeded him in the judgeship, of whom later; next Abú Dharr and Abú Zuhayr, who settled down as Dihqáns, or provincial nobles, in Kirmán; Abú Ṭáhir, who acted as his father's deputy in the Kirmán judgeship, and was called to the Sublime Court (*Dargáh-i A'lá*, Baghdád presumably) for consultations on the affairs of that province; and lastly Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who, after having been associated with his younger brother (Abú Naṣr) in the Fárs judgeship, was sent for by Sultan Maḥmúd, some time between 388 and 421 (998 and 1030), who appointed him Qádí at Ghazna, and his descendants still held the office of judge there at the time when Ibnu 'l-Balkhí wrote. Abú Naṣr, the youngest of the Qádí Abú Muḥammad's five sons, as already said, succeeded him as Judge of Fárs. He was a man of great learning and influence throughout the province, his power coming to be increased upon his marriage with the only daughter of the Mirdásí chief, a family of local nobility. His son was named 'Abdallah, and when in due course he succeeded to the office of Chief Justice he became also, in his mother's right, the hereditary chief noble of the Fárs district. This power, judicial and tribal, Ibnu 'l-Balkhí adds, had afterwards passed to both his son and grandson, whose names our author does not specify, and the grandson was Judge of Shíráz when our author wrote. The Judge 'Abdallah had flourished in the reign of Bákáljár, the penultimate Búyid prince, whose heterodox Shí'ite proclivities the orthodox 'Abdallah had always valiantly striven to combat; and further, to his exceeding honour, a brother of the Qádí 'Abdallah had through scruples of conscience always refused to be made judge in Isfahán. But, as our author writes, 'in the days of Bákáljár, the sect of the Seven Imáms had become

been the flower of the Persian armies; hence, at the time of the Moslem conquest, of the Kurd warriors all, save one man only, had fallen in the numerous battles against the Arab invaders. The one survivor, 'Alak¹ by name, had subsequently become a Moslem, and some of his descendants were yet living when our author wrote. He adds that the Kurds settled in Fárs in his day were of a tribe that had been brought down there by 'Aḍudu 'ddawla the Búyid from the neighbourhood of Isfahán.

"Ibnu 'l-Balkhí closes this section of his book (fols. 88 *b*-89 *b*) with a short discussion as to how the Persians, who are a refractory folk, may best be governed, whether by force or by clemency. In regard to the Shabánkára more especially, he remarks that you will certainly be respected by any one of these turbulent tribesmen if by force you take his turban and then restore it, and this much more than if in the first instance you had generously given him a new turban of your own as a present, for doing which indeed he would only despise you.

"Immediately following after the very meagre notice of the Moslem conquest of Persia Ibnu 'l-Balkhí has inserted a short account of the family of the Chief Justice of Fárs (fols. 62 *a*-63 *b*)²; a summary of these paragraphs will be of use, before passing to the translation of the Geographical Section of his work, where an allusion to the family of the Shíráz judge occurs. As is patent throughout his work, our author was an orthodox Sunní, and he held in horror the Shíite tendencies of the Búyids, whose heterodox beliefs (he further avers) had always when possible been combated by the Qádis of Shíráz. These judges were of a family come down in direct descent from Abú Burda of the Arab tribe of Fazára³, and during the reign of the Caliph Rádí, that is to say between 322 and 329 (934-40), the grandson of the grandson of this Abú Burda, by name Abú Muḥammad 'Abdallah, was promoted from being Judge in Baghdád to be Qádi 'l-Qudát, or Chief Justice of Fárs, his jurisdiction being afterwards extended to include the outlying provinces of Kirmán

¹ The British Museum MS. has, I think, **نام او علك بود**, Mr le Strange read **علك بود**.

² Pp. 117-119 *infra*.

³ He is usually known as Abú Burda son of Abú Músá al-Ash'arf; and he was Qádi of Kúfa and died in 103 (721). His father was a well-known Companion of the Prophet and had been Governor of Baḡra.

possession of the Castle of Sahára, near Fírúzábád, together with some neighbouring fiefs. The Atabeg Khumártagín, coming to Fárs, allowed him to hold all these under the Seljúq overlordship, and then Amírawayh got into his possession the city of Fírúzábád. Next the Mas'údí, now become a powerful tribe, seized most of the district of Shápúr Khúra, round Kázirún, in addition to the lands of Fírúzábád. The rise to power of Abú Sa'd, the chief of the Karzuwí clan, however, proved the ruin of Amírawayh and his people: fighting took place, and the town of Kázirún, held by Amírawayh, having been taken by storm, Abú Sa'd forthwith put that chief to death. Amírawayh left a son, Vishtásf by name, and after Abú Sa'd had himself come to his end, and when the Atabeg Cháwulí had Fárs firmly under rule, he confirmed Vishtásf, who was related to Hásúya of the Ismá'ílí clan on the mother's side, in possession of Fírúzábád, where he governed till his death. When our author wrote, the Mas'údí were ruled by a certain Siyáh Míl, descended from this Vishtásf. In the geographical part of the work he is stated to have held the Castle of Búshkánát, and there were also of this family the two sons of a certain Abu 'l-Habaḥ (?), who still held rank in our author's time. The last clan of the Shabánkára to be mentioned is that of the Shakání, who lived in the mountain-lands of the coast or hot region. They were for the most part robbers and highwaymen, Ibnu 'l-Balkhí states, but had been brought to order in recent times by the Atabeg Cháwulí.

"Our author next speaks of the Kurd tribes, who in Fárs were divided among the Five Ramms (clans)¹ named the Jflúya (or Jflawayh), the Rammu 'dh-Dhíwán, the Lawáliján, the Káriyán, and the Bázinján (Bázíján), and these five clans had occupied, he says, originally one hundred thousand Jawmas (Hawmas), villages or households. In the days of the Sásánians, according to Ibnu 'l-Balkhí, the Kurdish troops of the Great King had

¹ In the British Museum MS. the word is clearly written, and with the vowel marked, *Ram* or *Ramm*. Possibly, but by no means certainly, in error the MSS. give it at times with initial *s*, written *Zamm*. See De Goeje in Glossary to *BGA*, IV, p. 250. *Jawma*, otherwise *Hawma* (the word is now pronounced *Húma*) means "a village," also "the chief town of a district"; but it must here stand for "a household." The above list of the Ramms Ibnu 'l-Balkhí has copied verbatim from *Iṣṭakhrí* (pp. 98 and 99). For Rammu 'dh-Dhíwán our MS. may read *az-Zabwán*; *Yáqút* has *az-Zizán*, and *Muqaddasí az-Ziráz*. For other variants see the notes to *Iṣṭakhrí*, pp. 98, 99.

where, in the times of Bákáljár, they were ruled by two brothers, Muḥammad and Namrad, the sons of Yaḥyá. The descendants of these two brothers, of course, quarrelled as to who should be chief of the tribe. Muḥammad had left two sons, Bayán and Salk, the latter again leaving a son called Ḥasúya, while Namrad had a son called Mamá, who became the father of Ibráhím ibn Mamá. The first chief of the clan had been Muḥammad, the elder brother of Namrad; and he, our author states, in sign of his rank 'was wont to strike (the Kettledrum) five times, the same becoming a custom among these people almost down to the present time, but which has now been forbidden by the Atabeg Cháwulí' (successor in Fárs of the Atabeg Khumártagín). On the death of this Muḥammad the elder son Bayán succeeded, but was put to death by his uncle Namrad, who seized on the chiefship of the tribe, establishing himself in Dárábjird. Salk, Bayán's younger brother, thereupon called in the aid of Faḍlúya, at this time ruling supreme throughout Fárs, as described above. Faḍlúya re-established Salk in the chiefship, routed (and presumably killed) Namrad, and at the date when our author wrote, Ḥasúya, son of Salk, was chief in his father's room, governing the towns of Íj, Fustaján, Iṣṭahbánát, and Darákán, with other places of the Dárábjird district. But, as Ibnu 'l-Balkhí adds, between the cousins there could be no peace, Salk ibn Muḥammad, and his son Ḥasúya after him, living in perpetual war with Mamá ibn Namrad and his son Ibráhím ibn Mamá, and this state of things still obtained at the time when our author wrote.

"The three remaining Shabánkára tribes were of less importance. The chief of the Karzuwí clan was a certain Abú Sa'd, who is mentioned more than once in the geographical part of the work. Abú Sa'd was the son of a certain Muḥammad ibn Mamá; he took service under Faḍlúya, and in the disorders of the last Búyid days obtained possession of Kázirún with its districts. All this country he held till the arrival of the Atabeg Cháwulí in Fárs, who before long dispossessed him of Kázirún. Abú Sa'd, when our author wrote, was apparently already dead, having left a son named, after his early patron, Faḍlúya (ibn Abí Sa'd), now become chief of the remnant of the Karzuwí clan.

"Of the Mas'údí tribe, the chief had been a certain Amírawayh, who, making himself powerful in the time of Faḍlúya, was put in

his mother have been narrated above, the outcome of which events being that Faḍlúya found himself before long the virtual master of Fárs. The Seljúqs, however, had now become the ruling power in the Caliphate, and Qáwurd, brother of the reigning Sultan Alp Arslán, was sent into Fárs to bring that province to due order. Faḍlúya, finding that matters were going against him, submitted, presented himself at the Court of Alp Arslán, and was thereupon re-established as deputy-governor of the province. He, however, had not yet learnt wisdom, for once more seeking to be independent, he revolted. The celebrated Nizámu 'l-Mulk, the Wazír of Alp Arslán, thereupon besieged him, taking him prisoner in the Castle of Diz Khurshah, where he had sought refuge. From here he was sent to the Castle of Iṣṭakhr, but managing in time to corrupt his guards, got this stronghold into his own hands. Sultan Alp Arslán on this lost patience, Faḍlúya was hunted down and caught, and to avoid further trouble, after being put to death, his skin was stuffed with straw as a manifest warning to his neighbours¹. Fárs, after the death of Faḍlúya, was put under the rule of the Atabeg Ruknu'ddawla Khumártagín, the patron of our author's grandfather, as already narrated, but Ibnu 'l-Balkhí adds that in his day some of the Rámání still were to be found living under a chief called Ibráhím ibn Razmán, also under a certain Mahamat, son of Abú Naṣr ibn Malák (Halák), whose name was Shaybán.

“According to Ibnu 'l-Balkhí, the noble tribe of the Ismá'ílí Shabánkára were descended from Minúchihr, grandson of the celebrated Farídún, an ancient and mythical king of Persia, and the chiefs of the Ismá'ílí had aforesaid been Ispahbads, or sub-kings, under the Sásánians. After the Arab conquest their tribe was settled in the Dasht Úrd meadowlands, and in this neighbourhood remained, till the coming into those parts of Sultan Mas'úd, son of Maḥmúd of Ghazna, some time between 421 and 432 (1030 and 1040). His general Tásh Farrásh, finding the Ismá'ílí tribe in possession of Iṣfahán, expelled them, causing them to migrate south to the lands round Kamah and Fárúq. The Búyids having reason to object to their presence here, they next wandered westward and ultimately settled round Dárábjird,

¹ See also Ibnu 'l-Athír, X, 48. These events apparently took place in the year 464 (1071).

of Faḍlúya, the Shabánkára chief, who managed to get the Lady Khurásúya into his power and then, shutting her up in a waterless hot-bath, suffocated her. Next Abú Maṣṣúr was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castle of Pahan Diz (near Shíráz), where before long he too met his death, and Fárs passed to the government of Faḍlúya, and under the overlordship of the Seljúqs¹. The *Guzída*, however, adds that after the death of this Abú Maṣṣúr in 448 (1056) his brother, Al-Malik Abú 'Alí, was given, during nearly forty years, nominal rank by the Seljúq Sultans, being allowed the privileges of the Kettledrum and Banner (*Ṭabl wa-'Alam*) until the date of his death in 487 (1094) in the reign of Sultan Barkiyáruq.

"Ibnu 'l-Balkhí gives at some length (fols. 87*a* to 88*b*) the history of Faḍlúya and his Shabánkára tribesmen, with details of their descent and doings that apparently are not to be found in the accounts of other historians. The men of the Shabánkára tribe (he writes) had originally been herdsmen in Fárs, until, with the progressive disorganization of the Búyid rule in the latter days, the Kurds had become a power in the land. At this time, according to our author, the Shabánkára were divided among five tribes, namely, the Ismá'ílí, the Rámání, the Karzuwí, the Mas'údí, and the Shakání. Of these, the Ismá'ílí were the noblest in descent, but the most important tribe was that of the Rámání (or Ráhání, as the MS. may be read), of which Faḍlúya² was chief. He inherited this dignity from his father 'Alí (ibnu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Ayyúb), and had in early youth, when only a neatherd, taken service under the Ṣāḥib 'Ádil, the Wazír of the last Búyid prince, becoming a great warrior, and rising to command the army in Fárs. The fate of this Wazír and the subsequent imprisonment and death of this Búyid prince and

*¹ Of Bákáljár's five sons Ibnu 'l-Balkhí (fol. 90*b*) only gives the names of two, Abú Naṣr, the eldest, and Malik Abú Maṣṣúr, the last of the Búyids. The *Zúj*, however, gives their names as follows. The eldest, Abú Naṣr of Ibnu 'l-Balkhí, is presumably the one the *Zúj* calls Amíru 'l-Umará Abú Shujá', and the last Búyid prince is named in the *Zúj* al-Malik al-'Azíz al-Malik ar-Raḥím Abú Maṣṣúr Khusruh (Khusraw) Fíríz. The three remaining sons were al-Amír Abu 'l-Fawáris Khursháh, then al-Amír Abú Dáma Rustam, and lastly al-Amír Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alí. Ḥáfiz Abrú names the last Búyid Malik ar-Raḥím Abú Naṣr, instead of Abú Maṣṣúr as given by Ibnu 'l-Balkhí.

*² Ḥáfiz Abrú sometimes writes the name Faḍlún, and this is the spelling given in Ibnu 'l-Athír.

written as Abú Kálízár. On the other hand, Háfiz Abrú always writes Bá or Abú Kálinjár, and this is the modern spelling (e.g. in the *Fársnáma-i Násirí*). The original meaning of the name is apparently unknown, but from its form it would seem to have been a nickname. The *Fársnáma*, unfortunately, does not state who was the father of Bákálíjár. The Persian historians and Ibnu 'l-Athír, however, agree in the statement that he was the son of Sulţánu'ddawla, son of Bahá'u'ddawla, and hence the great-grandson of 'Áđudu'ddawla. The *Guzáda* (p. 432), followed by the *Habíbu 's-Siyar* (ii, pt. 4, p. 55), gives Bákálíjár the titles of 'Izzu 'l-Mulúk and 'Imád li-Díni'llah, the latter authority also adding the third title of Husámu'ddawla¹. Ibnu 'l-Balkhí, however, makes no mention of these honorary names, and gives no dates. Our other authorities say this prince reigned from 415 to 440 (1024 to 1048), and at his death he left five sons. The eldest, to whom our author gives the name of Abú Naşr, died soon after his father, being succeeded by his brother, called Abú Mansúr, whose government was thrown into disorder by the meddling of his mother Khurásúya, a political busybody, who in the *Zíj* is referred to under the title of As-Sayyida—'the Lady.' Abú Mansúr at first had governed according to the advice of his Wazír, called the Şáhib 'Ádil (he had served Bákálíjár, according to the *Habíbu*, in the same capacity), a man of mark who, Ibnu 'l-Balkhí writes, had given a fine library to the town of Fírúzábád; but instigated by his mother, Abú Mansúr put this Wazír and his son to death, after which confusion became worse confounded throughout Fárs. Matters finally reached a crisis by the revolt

one giving a table of the Búyid dynasty will easily be recognized, for it bears the heading *Jadwalu Mulúki áli Buwayh min ad-Daylamati bi 'l-'Iráq*. Abú Kálinjár is the spelling in the *Guzáda* (Gibb Fac-simile, p. 416) and in the *Habíbu 's-Siyar* (Bombay lithograph, ii, pt. 4, p. 55), both these histories being written in Persian. Among previous Búyid princes Şamsámu'ddawla (son of 'Áđud) had also borne the name of Abú Kálízár, and this spelling with the long *z* in the second syllable is probably the one we should adopt. See also the note by Mr Amedroz in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 672.

*¹ On the other hand, the *Zíj*, which it will be remembered was written only a century after the death of Bákálízár (Abú Kálízár), gives a different account from that found in these later authorities. It is here stated that Abú Kálízár al-Marzubán, surnamed 'Izzu 'l-Mulúk, was the son of Sulţánu'ddawla, and that he left no descendants. It was his uncle, Jalálu'ddawla Abú 'Táhir Shírzáil (brother of Sulţánu'ddawla and son of Bahá'u'ddawla), who was the father of the five last Búyid princes. [Instead of Shírzáil Mr le Strange writes Shír Zayd, but see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 298.]

brother, 498-511 (1104-17), the patron of Ibnu 'l-Balkhí, and the prince to whom he dedicates his book. After the overthrow of the Búyids these Seljúq Sultans who ruled in their stead were wont to send their Atabegs, originally the *Governors* of their sons, to govern the outlying provinces, and the first of these, in Fárs, was the Atabeg Ruknu'ddawla Khumártagín, under whom the grandfather of Ibnu 'l-Balkhí, as already stated, had served. The next Atabeg was Fakhru'ddín Cháwulí (or Jáwulí in the Arab chronicles), who was still living when our author wrote¹. This Cháwulí was famous for his many great buildings, and further, he had after much fighting succeeded in restoring order throughout Fárs by curbing the power of the Shabánkára and subduing the various affiliated Kurdish tribes.

"This much of the general history of the fifth century (eleventh A.D.) being premised, we come to what Ibnu 'l-Balkhí himself relates, which is the more valuable as being the almost contemporary history of the author's own time. The last of the Búyids to exercise any real sovereignty in Fárs was (he says) Bákálíjár or Bákálinjár (for the name is given under both forms in the British Museum MS. of the *Fársnáma*)², otherwise Abú Kálíjár or Abú Kálinjár. In regard to the proper spelling of his name, it is to be remarked that in the Arab chronicle of Ibnu 'l-Athír it is given as Abú Kálíjár, while in the MS. of the *Zíju 's-Sanjart* in the British Museum³ (likewise in Arabic) the name is clearly

*¹ The exact dates of appointment of these two Atabegs, who are specifically noticed by Háfiz Abrú, are not given by our authorities. Ibnu 'l-Athír, however, states that Cháwulí died in 510 (1116), and he reports him in Fárs as early as the year 493 (1099). This must have been the year of, or the year following, his appointment, for Ibnu 'l-Balkhí mentions Khumártagín as in Fárs in 492 (1098), and this probably was the year of his death. Ibnu 'l-Athír names Khumártagín more than once in his chronicle from the years 450 (1058) to 485 (1092), but never with the title of Ruknu'ddawla. He is called Najmu'ddawla, surnamed at-Tughrá'í, and ash-Sharábí (the Cupbearer); then he is referred to under the name of Khumártagín an-Ná'ib (the Lieutenant), who was Police Magistrate (*shíhna*) of Baghdád in 482 (1089). Further, at about the same time there is mentioned Khumártagín at-Tutushí, but possibly this is a different person.

*² I can find only two clear instances of the spelling Bákálinjár (p. 119, l. 2 and l. 15). These have inadvertently been omitted in the notes *ad loc.*

*³ Or. 6669, consisting of astronomical and chronological tables, written by Abú Manşúr al-Kházini for Sultan Sanjar (son of Maliksháh), who died 552 (1157). The British Museum MS. appears to be a copy of the Autograph, and was written in 620 (1223). The folios are loose, and have not yet been set in order or numbered, but the

fol. 83 *b*¹. The author afterwards returns, fol. 87 *a*, to the history of Fárs, giving an account of the Shabánkára tribes and the Kurds, and this narration of details of almost contemporary history is of importance, as it mentions facts and personages not noted, apparently, elsewhere². A summary follows of the revenues of Fárs down to the time of the writer, and some of this too is new matter, for the author, as already said, was of a family of accountants, and wrote from first-hand knowledge³. And, finally, fol. 90 *b*, the MS. closes with a short note describing the days of the last Búyid rulers of Fárs, and the advent of the Seljúq Sultans.

“In the following pages a complete translation will be given of the Geographical Part, but before coming to this it will be useful to summarize what our author has narrated about personages and events immediately preceding his own time, and more especially the account he gives of the Kurdish tribes and of the Shabánkára, who, at a later date, gave their name to the eastern part of the Fárs province round Dárábjird. The reader will recall to mind how about the middle of the fourth (tenth) century, namely, a century and a half before the time of our author, the Búyids, under ‘Aḍudu’ddawla, from 338–72 (949–82) had been at the height of greatness: by the middle of the following century, however, this dynasty had collapsed before the rising power of the Seljúqs. Ṭughril Beg, the founder of the new dynasty, on his death in 455 (1063), had left as heir his nephew Alp Arslán, whose brother, Qáwurd, had already, during the lifetime of Ṭughril Beg, been put in possession of the government of some of the Eastern provinces, he thus ruling the most part of Persia under his uncle and brother from 433 (1041) down to the date of his death in 465 (1072). Alp Arslán was succeeded as Great Seljúq by his son, Maliksháh, 465–85 (1072–92), whose Wazír was the famous Nizámu’l-Mulk. Four of the sons of Maliksháh in succession came to the throne, of whom, however, two only concern us here, and these have both been mentioned before, namely, the eldest, Barkiyáruq, 487–98 (1094–1104), in whose reign the grandfather of our author served as Revenue Accountant in Fárs; and Sultan Ghiyáthu’ddín Muḥammad, his

¹ P. 119, l. 28—p. 120, l. 7. The Itineraries extend to p. 122, l. 7.

² P. 122, l. 8—p. 123, l. 12.

³ P. 120, l. 2—p. 122, l. 11.

the Atabeg Ruknu'ddawla Khumártagín, who had been sent to govern that province in the name of the Seljúq Sultan Barkiyáruq, 487-98 (1094-1104), the son of Maliksháh. Ibnu 'l-Balkhí, who accompanied his grandfather, was educated in Fárs, and becoming well-acquainted with the physical and political condition of the country, was in due course of time commissioned by the brother and successor of Barkiyáruq, namely Sultan Ghiyáthu'ddín Muḥammad, 498-511 (1104-17), to compose the present work. No exact date for its completion is given, but since the book was dedicated to this Sultan, who died in 511, and further that the Atabeg Cháwulí is frequently mentioned in the text as still living, who we know died in 510 (1116), it follows that this *Fársnāma* must have been completed during the first decade of the sixth century A.H., equivalent to the twelfth A.D.

"The Museum MS. at present consists of ninety folios. Fol. 1 *b* begins with a short preface, followed by the dedication, fol. 2 *a*, to 'the Sultan—King of kings—may his glory increase, Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú Shujá' Muḥammad son of Maliksháh,' who further is given the title of Qasím-i-Amír-al-Múminín, 'the Associate (in the government) of the Caliph.' The author then relates how his august master commissioned him to write the present work, 'seeing that I had been brought up in Fárs, although by lineage descended from a native of Balkh...and knowing that I was well acquainted with the present condition of the people of Fárs...being well versed also in the events of their history, and exactly acquainted with the story of their kings and rulers, even from the days of Gayúmarth down to this present time.' Then on fol. 3 *a*, after a summary description of the province, and citing a few of the chief Traditions about Fárs ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad, we start with the long line of the early Persian kings, whose history, much in epitome, closes with the last of the Sásánians and the rise of Islam, on fol. 60 *a*¹. Next very briefly the story of the Arab conquest of Fárs is narrated, ending with the reign of the Caliph 'Alí². Here follows an interesting account, fol. 62 *b*, of the Qádís—chief justices—of Fárs³, to which we shall return later, and then, fol. 63 *b*, the Geographical Part (translated below) begins, concluding with the Itineraries,

¹ P. 4, l. 6—p. 113, l. 2.

² P. 113, l. 9—p. 115, l. 5.

³ P. 115, l. 5—p. 119, l. 5.

the geographical chapters of this work, and this will be followed by a full translation, with notes to elucidate geographical questions¹. Ḥamdu'llah, who is our earliest systematic geographer writing in Persian, collected his materials from the works of the earlier Arab geographers, and from various Persian monographs² which had been written each to describe a single province of the Moslem Empire; and it is found that the texts of some of these monographs, thereto adding somewhat of his own knowledge, after much curtailment and a rearrangement of the order in the articles, he has transcribed almost verbatim, to form the various chapters of the *Nuzhat*. A good instance of this method of writing a new book is the chapter describing the provinces of Fárs and Shabánkára, which in truth is little but a shortened transcript of the *Fársnáma*, a work written two centuries before the time of Ḥamdu'llah, and of which the British Museum possesses an excellent MS.

“The name of the author of this *Fársnáma* is as yet unknown, but he states in his preface that his ancestor was a native of Balkh, and Ibnu 'l-Balkhí will serve as a convenient title by which to refer to him until his identity be better established³. From the MS. all that appears is that the grandfather of Ibnu 'l-Balkhí (twice mentioned, fols. 2*b* and 63*a*)⁴ was Mustawfí, or Accountant for the Taxes, of Fárs about the year (4)92 under

¹ The Persian text, forming vol. XXIII, 1 of the Gibb Memorial Series, was published in 1915, the English translation (vol. XXIII, 2) in 1919.

² Ḥamdu'llah mentions the *Fársnáma* amongst his authorities (Rieu, *Persian Catalogue*, p. 418, col. 2).

³ It is, of course, a slip of memory that has caused Professor Browne to suggest (in his *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 99) that Ibnu 'l-Balkhí may be identical with Abú Zayd Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhí (Brockelmann, I, 229), whose *Suwaru 'l-Aqálm* is one of the sources used by Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfí in the *Nuzhat*. The name Ibnu 'l-Balkhí is given to our author by Ḥamdu'llah and also by Hájjí Khalifa (ed. Fluegel, IV, 344, No. 8681), where we find the following brief notice:

فارسنامه لابن البلخی كان مستوفياً بها في زمن السلطان محمد السلجوقي. All that we know of him, and it is not much, is derived from the *Fársnáma*. To the particulars mentioned by Mr le Strange I may add that the author's original plan included a general history of Islam from the time of the Prophet to his own day (see p. ۱۱۲, l. ۱۹ foll.); but as this would have made the book too long, he promises to compile a separate work on the subject, such as will be approved by his royal patron. There is no evidence that he completed it.

⁴ See *infra*, p. ۴, l. ۶ foll. and p. ۱۱۸, l. ۱۸ foll.

INTRODUCTION

THE *Fársnāma* of Ibnu 'l-Balkhī was first made known to European Orientalists by Mr G. le Strange, who in 1912 published a translation of the geographical portion of the work in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society¹. In the same year his sight failed and he was thereby prevented from completing the edition which he had already projected and which, but for this calamity, would have appeared under his name alone. To him, however, it owes not only its inception but a great part of its preparation (as will be explained below) and certainly the larger share of its merit; for I have no special knowledge of Muḥammadan geography, while Mr le Strange is an expert of high eminence in that field. The introduction to his translation gives such an admirable account of Ibnu 'l-Balkhī's book, so far as the geography and history of Fārs are concerned, that I cannot do better than transcribe it here², only adding a few footnotes³ and supplementing it by some remarks on the history of the ancient Persian kings, which—though occupying nearly two-thirds of the whole—did not fall within the limits surveyed by Mr le Strange in 1912, in which year the following paragraphs were first published.

“In the *Journal* (of the Royal Asiatic Society) for the year 1902 a summary was given of the description of Persia and Mesopotamia found in the *Nuzhatu 'l-Qulūb*, a geographical and cosmographical work written by Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfī in 740 (1340)⁴. In the course of next year I hope to publish (in the series of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund) the Persian text of

¹ *Description of the Province of Fars, in Persia, at the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., translated from the MS. of Ibn-al-Balkhī in the British Museum (JRAS, 1912, pp. 1-30, 311-339, 865-889)*. Published also separately in Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. XIV.

² For the sake of uniformity, the spelling of Oriental names has been altered, when necessary, so as to correspond with the system of transliteration which I have adopted elsewhere.

³ The original notes of Mr le Strange are distinguished by means of asterisks.

⁴ Published also separately in the Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. v. The map drawn to accompany this paper will serve to illustrate Ibnu 'l-Balkhī.

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*تِلْكَ أَعْمَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا * فَانظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ*

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