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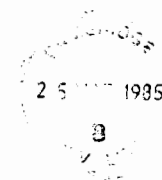
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AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY
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siderable number of followers;¹⁰³ the Muslim population, according to Khanikoff, is noted for its fanaticism.¹⁰⁴ According to other reports, the population is relatively tolerant and moderate, perhaps as a result of its proximity to the *gabrs*; the explosion of fanaticism, whose victims in 1891 became the Bābīs, was deliberately provoked by the government.¹⁰⁵ The present town is surrounded by ruins; from among the existing buildings the most ancient—the so-called Mosque of Amīr Chaqmaq—was built, as an inscription on one of its walls shows, in 699/1299-1300 by the amīr Sunqur.¹⁰⁶ There is a plan of Yazd in Khanikoff's book.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ According to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 354, 425, there were 8,000 *gabrs* in Yazd, and 11,000 in all of Persia; according to Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 423, there are 7,000 *gabrs* in Yazd, of whom only 1,000 "live in the actual city." For their rituals, Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 366: "Upon reaching the temple I found it to be a simple unpretentious building. . . . Mohammedanism allows no rivals to its beautiful mosques with turquoise domes, arabesques, arches, and slender tessellated minarets." [E. G. Browne, during his stay in Iran 1887-1888, had much contact with the Zoroastrian and Bahā'ī communities of Yazd, and records of the former that "though less liable to molestation now than in former times, they often meet with ill-treatment and insult at the hands of the Muhammadans, by whom they are regarded as pagans, not equal even to Christians, Jews, and other 'people of the book,' " and mentions some of the violence and persecution that they had to suffer (*A Year amongst the Persians*, 2nd ed., pp. 404-56). The surviving Zoroastrian communities of the Yazd region, now shrinking under relentless pressures from the surrounding Muslim environment, have been recently studied at firsthand by Mary Boyce; see her "The Zoroastrian Houses of Yazd," *Iran and Islam. In Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*, pp. 125-47, and *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism. Based on the Ratanbai Katrak Lectures 1976* (London, 1977).]

¹⁰⁴ *Mémoire*, p. 202.

¹⁰⁵ Zhukovskii, "Nedavnii kazni."

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 350; Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, pp. 420-21; the mosque was built by 'Alā' al-Dawla Garshāsp in 513/1119; it was rebuilt by Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn in 777/1375, on the mosaic there is the date of 877/1472; in that year Mīr Chaqmaq "covered it with beautiful designs." The fortress was built in 532/1137 "by Abū Jafar Sultān, Alā-u-Dīn, Kanjār" (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 421). A fourteenth-century observatory in Yazd, according to Sykes (*ibid.*); same source for Chaqmaq. Qal'at al-Majūs five farsakhs from Yazd, on the road to Abarqūh (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 130). Yazd as being "extremely cold" in Maqdisī, p. 437; Cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 349. In Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 285, quotation from Mustawfī, who says that "Yazd is built with unfired bricks, which are here as durable as fired bricks in other places, for it almost never rains in Yazd."

¹⁰⁷ (*Mémoire*. For the history and monuments of Yazd, see also *Survey of Persian Art*, II, v; 'Abd al-Husayn Āyatī, *Ta'rikh-i Yazd ya ātashkada-yi Yazdān* (Yazd, 1317/1938); Muḥammad Mufid Bāfqī, *Jāmi'-i mufīdī*, III, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1340/1961); Ja'far b. Muḥammad Ja'farī, *Ta'rikh-i Yazd*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1343/1965).) [Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 106-11.]

Iṣfahān, Kāshān, and Qum

THE center of Fārs is connected by several roads with the large towns of northern Persia. In the Middle Ages, the road from Shīrāz to Iṣfahān did not pass through Iṣṭakhr, as it does now; the shorter route through the town of Māyīn was considered the main road. This road joined, it would seem, the present-day one near the town of Yazdikhwāst, situated on a cliff in the middle of a valley; this town, despite its ancient name, is not mentioned in the tenth-century itineraries. It is the fourteenth-century itinerary by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī that mentions the chief towns along this route, Qūmīsh and Yazdikhwāst;¹ the route from Yazdikhwāst to Shīrāz through Māyīn was called the "summer [route]" (*rāh-i tābis-tānī*) and the present-day detour the "winter [route]" (*rāh-i zimis-tānī*).²

The town of Iṣfahān is mentioned by the classical geographers as Ἰσφαδάνα, but it had no importance in those days.³ In Sāsānid times, there was here the town of Jay.⁴ Its founding was attributed to Alexander of Macedonia, and the name of this town is frequently encountered even on the coins of the Arab period. There exists a work about Iṣfahān by the fourteenth-century historian Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-'Alawī; its name is *Ta'rikh aḥwāl Iṣfahān*; the English orientalist E. G. Browne has analyzed this work in a special study.⁵

¹ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. 171, fol. 245a [ed. Le Strange, p. 185, tr. *idem*, p. 176].

² According to Le Strange (*The Lands*, p. 283), Yazdikhwāst is mentioned for the first time in the *Fārs-nāma*; in Maqdisī, pp. 437, 458, in the form Ikkās. The border between Fārs and Iṣfahān now passed to the north of Yazdikhwāst (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 331); for the external appearance of Yazdikhwāst, see *ibid.*, p. 330.

³ Cf. M. D'iakonov, *Ocherk*, pp. 288, 407.

⁴ There is also a settlement called Jay one farsakh from Tehran, on the road from Karaj (Berezin, *Puteshestvie*, pt. 2, p. 141). (For the etymology of the name Jay, Old Iranian *Gaba-, transmitted in Greek as Γάβα, Middle Persian Gay, Parthian Gaß, see Henning, "Gabae," *Asia Major*, n.s., II (1952), p. 144.)

⁵ ("Account of a Rare Manuscript History of Iṣfahan," *JRAS* (1901), pp. 411-46, 661-704. For the Arabic original of this work see Barthold, *Iran*, *Soch.* VII, 288; for the editions of the Arabic text and Persian translation see Spuler, *Iran in früh-*

summer palace with a citadel, and had dreamed of restoring the city under the name of Sultānābād; some three hundred families lived in it at the time. After the Russo-Persian war of 1826-1828, however, Fath 'Alī's plan was abandoned. At present Sultāniyya is remarkable only for its ruins of buildings from the fourteenth century, in particular those of the two large mosques. In the great mosque, which was seriously damaged by an earthquake early in the nineteenth century, is the tomb of Sultān Ōljejtū, who is better known by his Muslim name of Khudābanda.²² The building, according to Mustawfī, stood within the citadel. Of the latter, as one can see from illustrations in Ker Porter's book,²³ only an insignificant part of the wall with a tower on the northwestern side remains. The dimensions of the citadel are indicated by a square ditch: each side measures 300 yards or 900 feet, so that the circumference of the citadel would thus be just under one verst, a size that approximately corresponds to that given by Mustawfī of 2,000 paces.²⁴ Best preserved is the so-called "outer mosque" with a 120-foot-high dome, four minarets, and two entrance arches. Historical sources

²² Verse about Khudābanda in Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 75:

*Ay Shāh Khudābanda,
Zulm kunanda,
Iki šawruq bir banda!*
[Browne's translation:
Oh Shāh Khudābanda,
Practiser of tyranny,
Two fowls to one village!]

The height of Khudābanda's tomb, according to Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, p. 91, is 51 meters above the platform of the parvis. Cf. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, II, 235, about the dome: 84 feet in diameter, "the largest in Persia"; "the whole mausoleum was "certainly the first building of this kind erected under the Mongols"; according to Barbaro, *Viaggi*, the dome was larger than that of San Joanni Paulo in Venice; it was built ostensibly for a translation of the remains of 'Alī and Ḥusayn from Najaf and Karbalā'. Data in C.F.M. Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* (Paris, 1839-1852), pt. 2, pp. 76-77: an octagon, 26 meters in diameter inside, the inner height to the cornice equals the diameter; a round gallery of 24 arcades to the height of 15 meters; from among its eight minarets, only one has been preserved. It is the only building in which the inner, spherical, dome is not covered by an egg-shaped external one; all the other large mosques of Persia, which are also later, have a double dome. The other, more recent travelers in their description always mean the large mosque and not the "outer" one. (For the history and monuments of Sultāniyya, see also Minorsky, *ET*¹, art. "Sultāniyya"; *Survey of Persian Art*, II, V; Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khanid Period* (Princeton, 1955).)

²³ *Travels*, I, 278.

²⁴ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed., p. 178 [ed. Le Strange, p. 55, tr. *idem*, p. 61].

also mention a madrasa, with sixteen teachers and two hundred students, built by Khudābanda alongside the large mosque, as well as numerous buildings by the sultān's vizier 'Alī Shāh.²⁵

To the east of Sultāniyya was a district with a settlement that even today bears the half-Mongol name Šāyin Qal'a (*šāyin* means "good" in Mongolian); the pre-Mongol name of this village was Quhūd.²⁶ The road from Sultāniyya to Zanjān passes along the valley of the Zanjān Rūd, an affluent of the Isfid Rūd (now Safid Rūd), a river that was of considerable length but not navigable; alongside this Persian name mentioned even by the Arab geographers, the Safid Rūd also bears the Turco-Mongol name of Qizil Uzun.^b To the south of Sultāniyya and of this valley stretched the mountains of Sujā, where in 1291 was buried one of the Mongol rulers of Persia, Arghūn.²⁷

The town of Zanjān had little importance in the Middle Ages; at present its population may reach some 20,000 souls. In the nineteenth century, it attracted attention as one of the bases of the Bābīs; in 1850 it was stormed by government troops and the Bābī uprising was crushed after fierce resistance. Just as in the time of the tenth-century geographers and during the Mongol period, two roads led from Zanjān to Azerbaijan; one northeastward across the Safid Rūd to Ardabil, the other to Tabriz and Marāgha.^c

²⁵ C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 542, 545-46.

²⁶ Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extracts in Schefer's ed., p. 187 [ed. Le Strange, pp. 64-65, tr. *idem*, p. 69].

^b Huart, *ET*², art. "Kizil-Ūzen."

²⁷ Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extracts in Schefer's ed., p. 186 [ed. Le Strange, p. 64, tr. *idem*, p. 69; Mustawfī says that, according to Mongol custom, the area around the grave was made into a *qurugh* or sanctuary.]

^c On Zanjān (which Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. p. 34, #11, comm. p. 71 archaically spells Zhanjān), see Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 2nd ed., pp. 79-81; Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 222. The population in ((ca. 1950 was approximately 48,000 (*Farhang*, II, 141))) [and in 1976 was 99,967 (*Le monde et iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], p. 242)].

definition four and one half farsakhs, that is, a little under thirty versts;²⁶ as a result of his death this construction was not finished. Like his father, he took a liking to the village of Shanab, which under him received the name Ghāzāniyya; most often it was called Shanab-i Ghāzān Khān.²⁷ Here Ghazan erected for himself a mausoleum that surpassed that of Sulṭān Sanjar in Marw, which had until then been considered by the Muslims to be the tallest building;²⁸ also a mosque; two madrasas, one of these for Ḥanafis and one for the Shāfi'īs; and a whole number of other buildings. His vizier, the historian Rashīd al-Dīn, erected buildings in one of the quarters, which received after him the name Rab'ī Rashīdī or Rashīdiyya, in the eastern part of the city.²⁹ To the other vizier, Tāj al-Dīn 'Alī-Shāh, the person responsible for Rashīd al-Dīn's death, is due the building of a mosque that is still partly standing in the citadel in the southwestern part of the city.³⁰ A detailed description of the buildings, owed to the fifteenth-century Arab historian al-'Aynī, was published by the late Baron V. Tiesenhansen.³¹ According to Mustawfī,³² "an immeasurable quantity of marble" was used for this construction.³³ By the seventeenth century, only the cupola was intact. In the nineteenth century, the remainders of the buildings were turned into a military depot and an observation tower, and in 1850 the Bāb, founder of the sect of the Bābīs, was executed here.

Mustawfī affirms in 1339 that all of the rest of Iran did not have

²⁶ C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 276. Ten gates down to the time of the Mongols, six gates in the fourteenth century, eight gates today (after Berezin, *Puteshestvie*, pt. 2). The gate Waliyān, where the Rab'ī Rashīdī was situated, lay, according to Mustawfī, inside the walls built under Ghazan Khan.

²⁷ According to Minorsky (personal communication), Shamghāzān is now the northwestern quarter of the Tabrīz.

²⁸ See above, p. 42. For Ghazan Khan's mausoleum, see Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khanid Period*, pp. 124-26.

²⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. LVII. (For the Rab'ī Rashīdī, see information in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Mukātabāt*.)

³⁰ Under Shāh 'Abbās in 1610, the old citadel, easily flooded from the river, was destroyed, and a new one was built in the Rab'ī Rashīdī (Iskandar Munshi, ms., fol. 238b) [ed. Tehran, p. 826, tr. Savory, pp. 1,032-33]. According to Chardin, this fortress too was abandoned under 'Abbās's successors.

³¹ ("O mecheti Alishakha.")

³² *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extr. in Schefer, p. 205 [ed. Le Strange, p. 77, tr. *idem*, p. 80]. The mosque of 'Alī-Shāh was built at the gate called Kharbanda (Tiesenhansen, "O mecheti Alishakha," p. 116); *ibid.*, for the Turkish sacking in 1635. However, according to Chardin, the lower part of the mosque was subsequently rebuilt and in his time was used for worship.

³³ For marble quarries near Tabrīz, see Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, I, 802; marble was used for the construction of the palace called Bāgh-i Shimāl in 1397.

as many high and beautiful buildings as Tabrīz. After the fall of the Mongol dynasty of Persia, the city became the capital of the dynasty of the Jalāyirids, then of the Türkmens of the Black Sheep (Qara Qoyunlu), and finally of those of the White Sheep (Aq Qoyunlu), and it retained its importance in the fifteenth century despite the calamities that befell it at the end of the fourteenth century. In 1385 Toqtamīsh plundered it, and in 1386 Timūr. How quickly the city managed to recover is seen from the report of Clavijo, who passed through it in 1404. Tabrīz made on him the impression of an enormous and rich city with 200,000 inhabitants; a vast amount of goods passed through it every day. He describes the huge house built by Sulṭān Uways (1356-1374) of the Jalāyirid dynasty: it comprised 20,000 rooms and had the name of Dawlat-khāna. The city had no walls at the time.³⁴

To the fifteenth century, namely, to the time of Jahānshāh, khan of the Qara Qoyunlu Türkmens (1437-1467), pertains the best of those buildings of Tabrīz, the remainders of which are preserved to this day, namely, the so-called "blue mosque," Masjid-i Kabūd, which received its name from the color of the magnificent glazed tiles that had once adorned it. An illustration of the ruins of this mosque is to be found in Curzon's book.³⁵ The building suffered a great deal from the earthquakes that frequently afflict Tabrīz.³⁶ Mustawfī asserts³⁷ that after the earthquake of 434/1042,³⁸ measures were taken during the reconstruction of the city, upon the

³⁴ Clavijo, tr. Sreznevskii, pp. 167-70; tr. Le Strange, pp. 153-54.

³⁵ *Persia*, I, 520.

³⁶ "The blue mosque" is in a still more westerly location than the citadel. The mosque is a Sunnī one, with a Sunnī cemetery nearby. The plan and description appear in Texier, *Description*, II, 48-50. Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. 1811, II, 330 ff., atlas, pl. XI, and Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, I, 58-59, saw the building in its entirety; it suffered from the earthquake of 1776. The colors are blue, white, gold, black, and green. Texier, *Description*, about the simplicity and at the same time impressiveness of the plan; the entrance arch was 15 meters high, the first hall 16 meters square, the second 11 meters square; the extant base of the minaret is 2 meters 60 centimeters in diameter, the cupola some 30 meters high (estimate). The Masjid-i Kabūd is also in Dubeux, *La Perse*, p. 25; Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 42. (For the date of the mosque's construction, see Minorsky, "Geographical Factors in Persian Art," *BSOS*, IX (1938), 633.) [Also in *Iranica*, *Twenty Articles*, p. 50 n. 1. For earthquakes in the district, see C. Melville, "Historical Monuments and Earthquakes in Tabrīz," *Iran*, *JBIPS*, XX (1981), 159-77.]

³⁷ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extr. in Schefer, p. 204 [ed. Le Strange, pp. 75-76, tr. *idem*, p. 79].

³⁸ The earthquake of 434 is also mentioned in Nāṣir-i Khusraw (Thursday, Rabī' I/4 November 1042); one part of the town was destroyed, the other did not suffer; up to 40,000 people perished.