

public procession (*mawkiḅ*) [see MAWĀKIB]. To the *mawkiḅ* and *maḏlis* was soon added an official banquet (*simāt*), and the whole ceremony was known as *khidma*.

The *khidma* reached its most elaborate form under the early Mamlūks. Baybars I [q.v.] transferred the hearing of *maḏlīm* petitions to a new *dār al-ʿadl* in Cairo in 662/1264, just below the Citadel, and this also became the site for the *khidma*. The *mawkiḅ* now included a growing number of military officers of state, and the *maḏlis* widened its functions to include most official public ceremonial, such as the reception of foreign emissaries, the publication of government decisions, the granting of royal favours, etc. Hearing *maḏlīm* cases soon became a minor formality, symbolised by the continuing presence of *kādis* and *kātib al-sirr* and the new office of *muftī dār al-ʿadl* in the official seating order (cf. *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 44 f.). Sultan Ḳalāwūn's move of the *khidma* to his new *iwān kabīr* and the demolition of Baybars's *dār al-ʿadl* a few decades later confirmed the position of *maḏlīm* as a function of the bureaucracy.

Throughout the early Mamlūk period, the identity of *maḏlīm* as a bureaucratic process meant that there was little definition of its jurisdiction. Al-Makrizī's claim (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 220 f.) that it was the forum for the implementation of the Mongol Yāsa can be discounted (cf. D. Ayalon, in *SI*, xxxiii [1971], 97-140). The sources report petitions dealing with every conceivable aspect of government activity, including requests for offices or *iktāʿs*, the suppression of particular *ʿulamāʿ* and their teachings, the implementation of law and order, as well as appeals for justice and the application of *kādis*' decisions. This situation prevailed in all the provinces of the Mamlūk state.

The confusion of *maḏlīm* and the general apparatus of government was common in other parts of the pre-Ottoman Arab world, but there were exceptions, such as Ḥafṣid Tunisia (R. Brunschvig, in *SI*, xxiii [1965], 27 ff.), where *maḏlīm* remained a more distinct jurisdiction. Towards the end of the 8th/14th century, measures were also taken by the Mamlūks to clarify the situation. In 789/1387, Sultan Barḳūḳ detached *maḏlīm* from the *khidma* and moved it to the Royal Equerry (*iṣṭabl al-sultān*) [see AL-ḲĀHIRA]. The term *dār al-ʿadl*, however, remained synonymous with the *khidma* in the *iwān*. The jurisdiction of *maḏlīm* was likewise clarified, and in the 9th/15th century a distinction is made between petitions for justice in the face of injustice and oppression and petitions requesting *iktāʿs* or official posts (*al-Ṣāliḥī*, Copenhagen Royal Library ms. 147, fols. 32b-33a).

*Bibliography* (additional to references given above): Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, Cairo 1298, 64-82, and Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʿ, *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, Cairo 1966, 58-74. H. F. Amedroz, in *JRAS* (1911), 635-74, provides an extensive paraphrase and commentary to al-Māwardī's text. E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Leiden 1960, 433-520, surveys the history of *maḏlīm* with an emphasis on juridical theory. S. M. Stern deals in great detail with the bureaucratic processes in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 172-209, and in *BSOAS*, xxvii (1964), 1-32, xxix (1966), 233-76. The Mamlūk period and the role of *dār al-ʿadl* are discussed by J. S. Nielsen, *Secular justice in an Islamic state: Maḏlīm under the Bahrī Mamlūks*, Istanbul 1985. H. Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden*, Wiesbaden 1960, has published some of the petitions and decrees preserved at St. Catherine's, Mount Sinai, and a basic source for Mamlūk bureaucratic procedure is Ahmad b. Faḏl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Ayasofya ms. 3416, fols.

138a-142a. On *maḏlīm* in Persia, see MAḤKAMA. 3. (J. S. NIELSEN)

**MĀZANDARĀN**, a province to the south of the Caspian Sea bounded on the west by Gilān [q.v.] and on the east by what was in Ḳaḏjār times the province of Astarābād [q.v., formerly Gurgān]; Māzandarān and Gurgān now form the modern *ustān* or province of Māzandarān.

1. The name. If Gurgān to the Iranians was the "land of the wolves" (*vahrkāna*, the region to its west was peopled by "Māzaynian dēws" (Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, col. 1169, under *māzaynia dāwva*). Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii, 373, n. 32, thought that Māzandarān was a "comparative of direction" (*\*Mazana-tara*; cf. *Shūsh* and *Shūsh-tar*) but Nöldeke's hypothesis is the more probable (*Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 178), who thought that Māzan-dar = "the gate of Māzan" was a particular place, distinct from the part of the country known as Tapuristān. (A village of Mesderan (?) is marked on Stahl's map 12 km. south of Firūzkūh). In any case, the name Māzandarān seems to have no connection with *Τῶν Μασσαράνων ὄρος* which, according to Ptolemy, vi, ch. v., was situated between Parthia and Areia (Hārī-rūd) and was connected by Olshausen (*Mazdoran und Mazandarān*, in *Monatsberichte Ak. Berlin* [1877], 777-83) with Mazdūrān, a station 12 *farsakhs* west of Sarakhs; cf. Ibn *Ḳhurrahādīb*, 24; al-Mukaddasī, 351 (cf. however the late source of 881/1476 quoted by Dorn, in *Mélanges asiat.*, vii, 42).

The Avestan and Pahlavi quotations given by Darmesteter, *loc. cit.*, show to what degree the people of Mazandarān were regarded by the Persians as a foreign group and little assimilated. According to the *Bundahishn*, xv, 28, tr. West, 58, the "Māzandarān" were descended from a different pair of ancestors to those of the Iranians and Arabs. The *Shāh-nāma* reflects similar ideas (cf. the episode of Kay Kāvūs's war in Māzandarān, and esp. Vullers ed., i, 332, v, 290; the war is waged against Ahriman; 364, vv. 792-3; Mazandarān is contrasted with Iran; 574, v. 925: the bestial appearance of the king of Māzandarān).

Among historical peoples in Māzandarān are the Tapyres (*Τάπυροι*), who must have occupied the mountains (north of Simnān), and the Amardes (*Ἀμαρδοί*), who according to Andreas and Marquart, have given their name to the town of Āmul (although the change of *rd* to *l* is rather strange in the north of Persia). These two peoples were defeated by Alexander the Great. The Parthian king Phraates I (in 176 B.C.) transplanted the Mardes (Amardes) to the region of *χώραξ* (*Kh*<sup>w</sup>ār to the east of Warāmin) and their place was taken by the Tapyres, whose name came to be applied to the whole province.

The Arabs only knew the region as Ṭabaristān (<Tapuristān, on the Pahlavi coins). The name Māzandarān only reappears in the Saldjūk period. Ibn al-Aṭṭār, x, 34, in speaking of the distribution of fiefs by Alp Arslān in 458/1065, says that Māzandarān was given to the *amīr* Inandj Bīghū. Ibn Isfandiyyār, 14, and Yāqūt, iii, 502, 9, think that Māzandarān as a name for Ṭabaristān is only of fairly modern origin (in Arabic?), but according to Zakariyyāʿ Ḳazwīnī, 270, "the Persians call Ṭabaristān Māzandarān". Hamd Allāh Mustawfī distinguishes between Māzandarān and Ṭabaristān. In his time (1340), the 7 *tumāns* of the "*wilāyat* of Māzandarān" were *Djurdjān*, *Mūrūstāk* (?), *Astarābād*, *Āmul* and *Rustamdār*, *Dihistān*, *Rūghad* and *Siyāh-rustāk* (?); on the other hand, the *diyār-i Kūmis wa-Ṭabaristān* included Simnān, *Dāmghān*, *Firūzkūh*, a town of

Damāwand, Firrīm, etc. We find a similar distinction in *Kh<sup>w</sup>āndamīr*, ed. Dorn, 83.

2. Geography: The actual extent of Māzandarān (Rabino) is 300 miles from east to west and 46 to 70 miles from north to south. Except for the strip along the coast—broader in the east than the west—Māzandarān is a very mountainous country. The main range of the Elburz forms barriers parallel to the south of the Caspian, while the ridges running down to the sea cut the country up into a multitude of valleys open on the north only. The principal of the latter ridges is the Mazārčūb, which separates Ṭabaristān from Tunakābun. The latter is bordered on the south by the chain of the Elburz in the strict sense, which separates it from the valley of the *Shāhrūd* (formed by the waters of the Alamūt and Talakān and flowing westward into the Safid-rūd).

To the east of Mazārčūb, a number of ranges run out of the central massif of the Elburz: 1. to the east, the chain of Nūr, which cuts through the Hārāz-pay; and 2. to the south-east, the southern barrier which forms the watershed between the Caspian and the central plateau. Between the two rises in isolation the great volcanic cone of Damāwand [*q. v.*] (5,604 m./18,386 ft.).

To the east of Damāwand, the southern barrier rejoins the continuation of the Nūr and the new line of the watershed of eastern Māzandarān is marked by the ranges of Bānd-i-pay, Sawād-kūh, *Shāh-mīrzād* (to the south of Simnān), of Hazārđjarīb (to the south of Dāmghān), of *Shāh-kūh* (to the south of *Shāhrūd*), etc.

The rivers of Māzandarān are of two kinds. A hundred short streams run straight down into the sea from the outer mountains of Māzandarān. Much more important are the rivers which rise in the interior and after draining many valleys form a single great river when they break through the last barrier. Such are (from west to east); the Sard-ābrūd; the Čālūs; the Hārāz-pay, which drains the region of mount Damāwand and then runs past Amul; the Bābul (the river of Bārfurūsh); the Tālār (river of ‘Alīābād); the Tīdjin (river of Sārī) and the Nīkā (or Āspayzā) which flows from east to west; its valley forms a corner between the southern chain (cf. above) and the mountains which surround the Gulf of Astarābād on the north.

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(good map: Gulhak - Gilyārd - Firūzkūh - Gūrsafid - Khing Rūdbār - Čashma - 'Alī - Čārdih - Shamshīrbur - Aspinzia - Shārūd); V. Baker, *Clouds in the east*, London 1876 (62-89: Ashraf - Sārī - Shīrgāh - Zīrāb - Firūz-kūh - Sarbandān - Būmīgin - Tehrān; 87-142: Lār - Ask - Khāloe (?) - 'Alībād - Zīrāb - Casaleone (?) - 'Alībād - Attené (?) - Surkada - Čashme - 'Alī - Dih-mullā - Dāmghān); E. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, chs. vii and viii, London 1882, ii, 170-202 (Tehrān - Mount Damāwand - Mashhadisar); Beresford Lovett, *Itinerary notes of route surveys in Northern Persia*, in *Procs. RGS*, v (Feb. 1883), 57-84 (Tehrān - Čālūs - Nūr - Balada - Lār - Ask - Firūzkūh - Fūlād - mahalla - Čārdeh - Zīyarat - Astarābād); G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 354-89, ch. xii (Māzandarān and Gilān) with a sketch; Sven Hedin, *Genom Khorasan*, Stockholm 1892, i, 57-69 (Dāmghān - Čārdih - Djahān-numā - Astarābād); E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, 557-68 (Tehrān - Mashhadisar); J. de Morgan, *Missions scientifiques, Études géographiques*, i, 1894, 113-208 (numerous illustrations); A. F. Stahl, *Reisen in Nord- und Zentral-Persien*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft no. 118 (1896), 7-18 (Tehrān - Kelārestak - Nūr - Lār - Damāwand; Tehrān - Amul; Firūzkūh - 'Alībād; Amul - Astarābād - Tāsh - Čahārdih - Simnān) (with a detailed map); H. L. Wells, *Across the Alburz mountains*, in *The Scottish Geogr. Magazine*, xiv (1898), 1-9 (supplement to Lovett: Afča - Varasun - Kudjūr - Nawrūdbār - Mullākā'a); Sarre, *Reise in Mazanderan*, in *Z. Gesell. Erdkunde* (1902), 99-111 (Damāwand - Amul - Ashraf - Bandargaz); Stahl, *Reisen in Nord- und Westpersien*, in *Pet. Mitt.* (1907), Heft vi, 121-31 (with a map: Bārfurūsh - Firūzkūh); O. Niedermayer, *Die Persien-Expedition*, in *Mitt. d. Geogr. Gesell. in München*, viii (1913), 177-88 (Firūzkūh - Turud - Pelwār - Sārī; Nīka - Sefīdje); H. L. Rabino, *A journey in Māzandarān*, in *JRGS* (Nov. 1913), 435-54 (Rāsh - Sārī); Golubiatnikov, *Petrol in Northern Persia* [in Russian], in *Neftiyanoye i slantsevoye khoziystvo*, Moscow (Sept.-Oct. 1921), 78-91; Noel, *A reconnaissance in the Caspian provinces of Persia*, in *JRGS* (June 1921), 401-18 (Tehrān - Amul - Farāhabād - Nūr - Kudjūr - Tunakābun); Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, in *ZDMG* (1926), 278-9 (Bīstām - Rādkān - Shamshīrbur - Dāmghān); Stahl, *Die orographischen und hydrographischen Verhältnisse des Elburs-Gebirges in Persien*, in *Pet. Mitt.* (1927), Heft 7-8, 211-15 (with a map); Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, GMS, London 1928 (itineraries on the coast, administrative divisions with lists of villages, Muslim inscriptions); cf. p. xx, complete list of previous works. G. M. Bell, *Geological Notes on part of Mazanderan*, in *Geol. Transactions*, series ii, vol. v, 577.

3. Ethnology. N. Khanykov, *Mémoire sur l'ethnographie de la Perse*, Paris 1866, 116-17; C. Inostrantsev, *The customs of the inhabitants of the Caspian provinces in the tenth century* [in Russian], in *Živaya Starina* (1909), part ii-iii, 125-52.

4. Language. Cf. Geiger, *Die Kaspischen Dialecte*, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, i/2, 344-80, where the literature of the subject is given (esp. Dorn's works).

5. Historical geography. This is still full of difficulties, although Vasmer's very full study has considerably reduced their number. The matter is complicated by the fact that certain well-known names are used in different periods for more or less identical districts.

The eastern frontier of Māzandarān (Tabaristān) in the strict sense, with Astarābād (Djurdjān) seems to have always run near Kulbād (on the river Kirind;

cf. Ptolemy's Χρῖνδοι), where there used to be a wall (*djar-i Kulbād*) which barred the narrow strip of lowland between the Gulf of Astarābād and the mountains; cf. Ibn Rusta, 149, who speaks of the brick wall (*adjiurr*) and of the Gate of Tamis through which travellers had to pass (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 303). To the west, the town of Shālūs (Čālūs) was situated on the frontier of Daylam (Ibn Rusta, 150: *fi nahw al-'aduww*) but later the valley of the Sard-āb-rūd (Kalār-dāsh) seems to have been annexed to Tabaristān. Farther west, the coast of Tunakābun was governed sometimes with Māzandarān and sometimes with Gilān.

The Arab geographers distinguished between the plain (*al-sahlīyya*) and the mountains (*al-djābaliyya*) of Tabaristān (al-Ištakhri, 211, 271). The important towns of Tabaristān were in the lowlands: Amul, Nātil, Shālūs (Čālūs), Kalā (Kalār), Mīla, Tardjī (Tūdjī, Bardjī?), 'Ayn al-Humm, Māmīr (= Bārfurūsh), Sārī, Tamīsha (cf. al-Ištakhri, 207; cf. al-Mukaddasī, 353). The principal town (*madīna*) of Tabaristān in the time of al-Ya'qūbī, 276, was still Sārīyya [q.v.], but in the time of al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 179, Al-Ištakhri, 211, and Ibn Hawkal, 271, the principal town (*kaṣaba*) and the most flourishing one in Tabaristān was Amul (larger than Kazwīn).

The mountain area was quite distinct, and its connection with the plain is not very clear in the Arabic texts; cf. the confused summary in al-Ištakhri, 204. Al-Tabarī, iii, 1295, under the year 224/838, distinguishes three mountains in Tabaristān: 1. the mountain of Wandā-Hurmuz in the centre (*wasaf*); 2. that of his brother Wandāsandjān (*sic*) b. Alandād b. Kārin; and 3. that of Sharwīn b. Surkhāb b. Bāb. Now according to Ibn Rusta, 151, [the Kārinid] Wandā-Hurmuz lived near Dunbāwand. On the other hand, the same writer, 149, says that during the rule of Tabaristān by Djarīz b. Yazīd, Wandā-Hurmuz had bought 1,000 *djaribs* of domain lands (*sawāfi*) outside the town of Sārī. These *alf djarīb* seem to correspond to the region round the sources of the rivers Tidjīn and Nikā, which in Persian is called Hazār-djarīb. Later, the lands of Wandā-Hurmuz included the greater part of eastern Māzandarān. \*Wandāspdjān seems to have ruled over the greater part of Māzandarān, for his capital Muzn was the rallying point from which expeditions set out against Daylam. Finally, the mountain of Sharwīn comprised the south-eastern part of Māzandarān, for according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, 305, it was close to Kūmis.

In the time of al-Ištakhri, the three divisions of the mountains specified are the mountains of Rūbandj, of Fādūsban and of Kārin. "They are high mountains (*djībāl*) and each of them (*djībal*) has a chief".

Rūbandj, according to Ibn Hawkal, lay between Ray and Tabaristān. Barthold, *Očerk*, 155, emends the name to \*Rūyandj and identifies it with Rūyān. Ibn Rusta, 149, says that Rūyān, near the lands of Sārī, did not form part of Tabaristān but formed a special *kūra* with the capital Kadjdja, which was the headquarters of the *wālī* (cf. Kačarustāk in the *bulūk* of Kudjūr). According to this, \*Rūyand = Rūyān is to be located in the south-western part of Māzandarān (north of Tehrān). In the Mongol period, Ḥamd Allāh Kazwīnī, 160, is the first to mention Rustamdār (on the Shāh-rūd). As Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 122-5, has shown, Rustamdār later included all western Māzandarān between Sakhtasar (Gilān) and Amul. Rustamdār therefore included Rūyān, without the two terms being completely synonymous.

Djībāl Kārin had only one town, Shahmār, a day's journey from Sārīyya. The local chiefs of the

dynasty of Kārin lived in the stronghold of Firrīm [q.v. in Suppl.] which must have stood on the western branch of the river Tūjīn, which later flows past Sārī. The modern *bulūk* of Firrīm is in the Hazār-Djarīb (more accurately in its western half which is called Dudānga). According to Ibn Isfandiār, 95, the possessions of the Kārinids included the mountains of Wandā-ummīd (*ibid.*, 25; the water supply of the mosque of Āmul came from this mountain), Āmul, Lafūr (on the eastern source of the river Bābul which runs to Bārfurūsh) and Firrīm, "which is called Kūh-i Kārin". According to Yāqūt, iii, 283, the lands of the Kārinids included Djabāl Sharwīn (cf. above) which I'timād al-Salṭana, *Kitāb al-Tadwīn*, 42, identifies with Sawād-kūh i.e. the sources of the Tālār (river of 'Alīābād between Āmul and Bārfurūsh); the pass leading to Sawādkūh is still called Shalfīn <Sharwīn.

The Djabāl Pādūspān lay a day's journey from Sārī. The district had no Friday mosque; the chief lived in the village of Uram (Ibn Hawkal, 268, 17: Uram-khāst, Ārum). As Vasmer has shown, 127-30, this must be sought on the middle course of the rivers of Bārfurūsh and 'Alīābād (to the north of Lafūr and near Shūrgāh).

*Bibliography*: BGA, s.v. Daylam, Tabaristān, Āmul, Sāriyya, etc. Ibn al-Fakīh, 301-14, in particular, gives very detailed information about Tabaristān. Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, index; Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, ii, 169, 179-80, 333, 337-8 (of little originality); Zakariyyā? Kazwīnī, *Athār al-buldān* (clime iv.): Āmul, 190; Bilād al-Daylam, 221; Rūyān, 260; Tabaristān; Yāqūt, cf. Dorn, *Auszüge*, 1858, 2-45, where are collected all the articles relating to Tabaristān (but the text of Wüstenfeld's edition is preferable); Hamd Allāh Kazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, GMS, 159, 161; Dorn, *Auszüge aus 14 morgenl. Schriftstellern betreffend d. Kaspiische Meer*, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vi, 658, vii, 19-44, 52-92; cf. also the *Bibl.* to section on History below. European works: Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde*, 1871, i, 64-74; Dorn, *Caspia*, 1875 (a mass of rather undigested information); Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 1882, index; Brunnhofer, *Von Pontus bis zum Indus*, Leipzig 1890, 73-93; Alburs and Mazanderan (the author seeks to explain Iranian geography from Sanskrit texts); Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 158-161, Pers. tr., Tehrān 1930, 289-95, Eng. tr. Princeton 1984, 115-20; Le Strange, *The Lands of the eastern caliphate*, 368-76; Vasmer, *Die Eroberung*, etc.

6. History. The local dynasties of Māzandarān fall into three classes: 1. local families of pre-Islamic origin, 2. the 'Alid *sayyids*, and 3. local families of secondary importance.

I. At the coming of the Sāsānid dynasty, the king of Tabaristān and of Padaṣhwārgar (Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 130: "the district opposite the region of Khwār"; Farshuwādgar is a misreading of the name, which is also found in the *Bundahishn*, xii, 17) was Gushnasp, whose ancestors had reigned since the time of Alexander. In 529-36 Tabaristān was ruled by the Sāsānid prince Kāwūs son of Kawādh. Anūshirwān put in his place Zarmihr, who traced his descent from the famous smith Kāwa [see KĀWAH]. His dynasty ruled till 645 when Gīl Gawbara (a descendant of the Sāsānid Djamāsp, son of Pērōz) annexed Tabaristān to Gīlān. These families, on whom their coins might throw some light (cf. below), had descendants ruling in the Muslim period.

The Bāwandids [see BĀWAND] who claimed descent from Kāwūs) provided three lines: the first 45-

397/665-1007 was overthrown on the conquest of Tabaristān by the Ziyārid Kābūs b. Wushmagīr [q.v.]; the second reigned from 466/1073 to 606/1210 when Māzandarān was conquered by 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh; the third ruled from 635/1237 to 750/1349 as vassals of the Mongols. The last representative of the Bāwandids was slain by Afrāsiyāb Čulāwī.

The Kārinids [q.v.] (in the Kūh-i Kārin) claimed descent from Kārin, brother of Zarmihr (cf. above). Their last representative Māzyār [see KĀRINIDS] was put to death in 224/839.

The Pādūspānids or Bādusbānids [q.v.] (Rūyān and Rustamdār) claimed descent from the Dābūyids of Gīlān (their eponym was the son of Gīl Gawbāra; cf. above). They came to the front about 40/660 and during the rule of the 'Alids were their vassals. Later, they were vassals of the Būyids and Bāwandids, who deposed them in 586/1190. The dynasty, restored in 606/1209-10, survived till the time of Timūr; one of its branches (that of Kāwūs b. Kayūmarth) reigned till 975/1567 and the other (that of Iskandar b. Kayūmarth) till 984/1574.

II. Alongside of these native dynasties, the 'Alids were able to establish themselves, principally in Tabaristān. In 250/864 the people of Rūyān, rebelling against the governor, sent to Rayy for the Zaydī Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, a descendant of the caliph 'Alī in the sixth generation. This (Ḥasanid) branch ruled in Tabaristān till 316/928. The Ḥusaynid branch ruled from 304/916-17 to 337/948-9 (?). Another dynasty of Mar'ashī Sayyids [q.v.] ruled in Māzandarān between 760/1358 and 880/1475. The founder of this dynasty was Kīwām al-Dīn, a descendant of 'Alī in the twelfth generation. A third family of Murtaḍā'ī Sayyids is known in Hazār-Djarīb between 760/1359 and 1005/1596-7.

III. The noble families who enjoyed considerable influence, mainly in their fiefs, are very numerous. Rabīno mentions the Kiyā of Čulāw (at Āmul, Ṭalākān and Rustamdār) between 795/1393 and 909/1503-4; the Kiyā Djalālī of Sārī in 750-63/1349-61; the house of Rūzafzūn of Sawādkūh, 897-923/1492-1517; the Dīw in the period of Shāh Tahmāsp in certain parts of Māzandarān; the Banū Kāwūs 857-957/1453-1550; the Banū Iskandar 857-1006/1453-1598 and the different princes of Tamīsha, of Miyāndūrūd, of Lāridjān, of Māmīr, of Lafūr, etc.

Besides this confusion of feudal dynasties, a series of conquerors from outside has ruled in Māzandarān: the Arabs beginning in 22/644, the Tāhirids, the Šafāfārids, the Sāmānids, the Ziyārids, the Ghaznawids, the Salḍjūks the Khwārazmshāhs, the Mongols, the Sarbadārs, Timūr and the Šafāwids. For the detailed consideration of the period of domination by outside powers from the Arab conquest to the suzerainty of the Salḍjūks, during which Māzandarān appears in the historical sources as Tabaristān, see TABARISTĀN.

It is in the Salḍjūk period, as already noted, that the name Māzandarān reappears in historical literature. Towards the end of the period of Great Salḍjūk rule in eastern Persia, Māzandarān was ruled by the ambitious and expansionist Bāwandid prince Shāh Ghāzī Rustam I (534-58/1140-63) (see Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 28-9, 156, 185-6). It then passed briefly, after the murder in 606/1209-10 of Shāh Ghāzī Rustam II, into the control of the Khwārazmshāhs, but in 617/1220 was devastated by Mongol incursions under either Djebe or Sübetey (both commanders being mentioned by Djuwaynī as leading the Mongol forces). It was, of course, on an island off the

coast of Māzandarān that the fugitive Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmian ruler 'Alā' al-Dawla Muḥammad died in this same year [see KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. Māzandarān in the Mongol and Il-Khānid periods was frequently a corridor through which the Mongol armies passed, but it and Gīlān do not seem ever to have been directly governed by the Mongols, presumably because of their relative inaccessibility and their uncongenial climate. Māzandarān, however, often played a rôle as the winter camping-ground [see KH<sup>w</sup>ĀRAZM-SHĀHS] of such Khāns as Abāka, Ghazan and Öldjeitü, in conjunction with Khurāsān, which was favoured as a summer pasture ground for the Mongol hordes and their flocks. In the later 8th/14th and the 9th/15th centuries we hear of governors appointed over Māzandarān by the Sarbadārīs and then the Tīmūrīds, but in practice, the local princes seem largely to have been undisturbed. Also in the period of the Mongols and their successors, we know that trade was carried on across the Caspian Sea to South Russia and the lands of the Golden Horde from the port of Nīm Murdān off the coast from Astarābād (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 160, tr. 156).

Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī had failed to take over Māzandarān in 909/1503-4 from the local Shīrī prince Ḥusayn Kiyā Čulawī, who had sheltered fugitive troops of Ismā'īl's Aḳ Ḳoyunlu opponents. He also sent an expedition into Māzandarān in 923/1517, but it remained substantially independent under its native princes (a Ṣafawid governor ruled part of it 977-84/1569-76) until Shāh 'Abbās I's definitive annexation in 1005-6/1596-7; he claimed hereditary rights in Māzandarān through his family's connections with the Mar'ashī Sayyid Kīwām al-Dīn (see Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Ta'rikh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, Tehran 1350/1971, i, 518-22, 534-7, 542-3, 579-86, tr. R. M. Savory, Boulder, Colorado 1978, ii, 693-8, 713-17, 722-3, 765-73). 'Abbās's mother Mahd-i 'Ulyā was the daughter of a local Māzandarān chief who claimed descent from the Fourth Shīrī Imām Zayn al-'Abīdīn, and the Shāh showed a particular liking for the province, constructing there two winter palaces, which formed a kind of northern Iṣfahān for him. Farahābād was founded in 1020/1611 or 1021/1612, and Ashraf in 1021/1612; they were visited and described by European travellers like Pietro della Valle (1618) and Sir Thomas Herbert (1627), and it was at Farahābād that the Shāh died in 1038/1629 (cf. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, 96-100). It was Shāh 'Abbās who implanted in Māzandarān 30,000 Georgian and Armenian Christian families, many of whom proved unable to survive the unhealthy climate there.

Māzandarān was originally one of the *mamālik*, i.e. *dīwānī* or state land provinces, but under Shāh 'Abbās II (1052-77/1642-66), Māzandarān and Gīlān became *khāṣṣa* or royal domains. It suffered in 1668 from the attack of Stenka Razin and his Cossacks, and in the early decades of the 18th century Māzandarān and Gīlān were coveted by Peter the Great; this was of course the period when the Ṣafawid state was falling into dissension and anarchy under pressure from the Afghāns in the east. Hence the two provinces were in 1723 in principle ceded to the Tsar by the faintest Ṭahmāsp II (1135-45/1722-32) in return for the promise of help against his rival Ashraf. The plan was cut short by Peter's death in 1725, and the Empress Catherine I offered to abandon the Russian claim on the south Caspian provinces in return for recognition of Russian annexations in Daghīstān and Shīrwān. Ṣafawid control over Māzandarān was however established by Ṭahmāsp with the aid of the chief of the

Kfzīlbāsh [q.v.] Turkmen chief of the Qādjar tribe there, Fath 'Alī Khān. The Qādjar now began to consolidate their power in the region, despite Ṭahmāsp's enforced grant of Māzandarān, Khurāsān, Sistān and Kirmān to Nādir Shāh Afshār after the latter's expulsion of the Afghāns from Persia, and in 1744 the Qādjar of Māzandarān in fact rebelled against Nādir.

Under the Qādjar Shahs, Māzandarān and Gurgān continued to be of strategic importance against Turkmen incursions, and were royal governorates. The local economy seems to have flourished, with its staples of rice, cotton, sugar, timber and the fisheries of the Caspian, the latter however leased in the latter part of the 19th century to Russia in return for an annual rent. Curzon noted that the revenue of Māzandarān in 1888-9 was 139,350 *tūmāns* in cash, with government expenditure on public buildings, expenses of collection, etc., amounting to a mere 4,590 *tūmāns* (*Persia and the Persian question*, i, 354 ff.). The ancient town of Sārī declined in the 19th century, whilst Āmul and above all Bārfurūsh [q.v.] expanded commercially; much of the trade with Russia went from the port of Bārfurūsh at Mashad-i Sar (later Bābul-i Sar) at the mouth of the Bābul river, and there was a Russian consul for trade in the town. In the middle years of the century, this district was a centre of Bābism, one of whose leaders was Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Bārfurūshī [q.v.]. The convention of Badashṭ took place in Mazandarān, and a fortified site near Bārfurūsh called Shaykh Ṭabarsī was the centre of the Bābī rising of Shaykh Ṭabarsī was the centre of the Bābī rising of 1848-9, barbarously suppressed by government forces [see BĀBĪS]. The father of Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī, the later Bahā' Allāh [q.v.], was a native of Nūr in Māzandarān. In 1889-90 there was a pioneer attempt at railway-building in Persia when a short line was built by Belgian engineers from Āmul to the Caspian coast; a road over the Elburz Mountains from Āmul to Tehran, 120 miles/190 km. long, had already been constructed by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1877-8.

In the present century, with the confusion after the First World War, Māzandarān was, with Gīlān, involved in the Bolshevik rising of 1920-1 in the Caspian provinces under Kūčak Khān [q.v.] and Amīr Mu'ayyad, in the ending of which the commander of the Cossack Brigade Riḍā Khān, later Shāh, achieved prominence; he was himself a native of Māzandarān, having been born at Elaṣht in the Elburz mountains (see L. P. Elwell-Sutton, in *Iran under the Pahlavis*, ed. G. Lenczkowski, Stanford 1978, 4-6). After he was made Shāh (December 1925), much of Māzandarān became crown land (*khāliṣa* [q.v.]), actually in the form of personal estates (*amlāk-i shāhī*) of the Shāh himself; but these were returned to their original owners in 1941 and subsequently distributed to small proprietors under the land reform policy of Riḍā Shāh's son Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh (see A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1979, 11-12, 120-2, 218-21).

*Bibliography*: On the campaigns of Alexander the Great and Antiochus III (in 209 B.C.; cf. Polybius, x, 28-31), cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, s.v. Alexander; idem, *Reise*, 156-61; Marquart, *Alexander's Marsch von Persepolis nach Herāt*, in *Untersuch. z. Gesch. von Eran*, ii, 1905, 45-63; Stahl, *Notes on the march of Alexander the Great from Ecbatana to Hyrcania*, in *JRGS* (Oct. 1924), 312-19. On the Arsacid and Sāsānid period: Darmester, *Lettre de Tansar à Jasnaf, roi de Tabaristan*, in *JA* (Jan.-March 1894), 185-250, 502-55 (Tansar [Tūsar?], the priest of the Sāsānid Ardashīr I, exhorts Djušnāsf to submit;

the document translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' is given in Persian in Ibn Isfandi-yār; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 430-5 (tables); idem, in *Grund. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 547; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 129-36. For the Muslim period: Balādthurī, 334-40; Tabarī, index; Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 329-30, 355, 447, 465, 479, 514, 582; *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*, ed. Jong and de Goeje, 399-405, 502-16, 520-3; Ibn al-Fākih; Ibn al-Athīr, index; as well as the local histories given below (an asterisk marks the works which seem to be lost): Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'īnī (d. 225/890), \**Kitāb Futūḥ Dībil al-Ṭabaristān*; \**Bāwand-nāma* (written for Shāhriyār b. Kārīn who reigned 466-503/1072-1109); 'Abd al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Yazdādī, \**Ukūd al-sihr wa-ḵalā'id al-durar*; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandi-yār, *Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān* (written in 613/1216) abbr. tr. E. G. Browne, GMS, Leiden-London 1905; the manuscript mentioned by Dorn has been continued to 842/1488; Badr al-Ma'ālī Awliyā' Allāh Amulī, \**Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān* (written for Fakhr al-Dawla Shāh Ghāzi, 761-80/1359-78); 'Alī b. Djamāl al-Dīn b. 'Alī Mahmūd al-Nadjībī Rūyānī, \**Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān* (written for the Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī before 881/1476, used by Zāhir al-Dīn); Sayyid Zāhir al-Dīn (born in 815/1412) b. Sayyid Našīr al-Dīn al-Mar'ashī, *Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān wa-Rūyān wa-Māzandarān*, completed in 881/1476, ed. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1266/1850; Dorn's German tr. was printed in 1885, but only a few copies are known; Ibn Abī Musallim, \**Ta'rikh-i Māzandarān* (date unknown); *Kitāb-i Gīlān wa-Māzandarān wa-Astarābād wa-Simnān wa-Damghān wa-ghayrīh* (Pers. ms. of 1275/1859, cf. Dorn, *Berich*); Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān 'Iṭimād al-Salṭana, *Kitāb al-Tadwīn fī ahwāl Dībil Sharwīn*, Tehran 1311 (geography and history of Sawād-kūh, lists of the Bāwandids, Pādūspānids, etc.). Cf. also the local histories of Gīlān: Zāhir al-Dīn Mar'ashī, *Ta'rikh-i Gīlān wa-Daylamistān* (to 1489), ed. Rabino, Rašt 1330/1912 (Annex 476-98: correspondence of Khān Aḥmad Gīlānī); 'Alī b. Shams al-Dīn, *Ta'rikh-i Khānī* (880-920/1475-1514), ed. Dorn, 1858; 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Fūmānī, *Ta'rikh-i Gīlān* (923-1038/1517-1629), ed. Dorn, 1858; and the local histories of Djurdjān: Abū Sa'īd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (d. 405/1014), \**Ta'rikh-i Astarābād*, continued by Ibn al-Kāsim Hamza b. Yūsuf al-Sahmī al-Durdjānī (d. 427/1036) who is the author of a *Ta'rikh Djurdjān* or *Kitāb Ma'rifat 'ulamā' ahl Djurdjān*, Hyderabad 1369/1950; 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Durdjānī al-Idrīsī, *Ta'rikh-i Djurdjān* (date unknown). A large number of Islamic sources relating to Māzandarān have been collected by Dorn, *Die Geschichte Tabaristans und der Serbedare nach Chondemir*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1850, viii; and *Auszüge aus Muham. Schriftstellern betreffend d. Gesch. und Geographie*, St. Petersburg 1858 (extracts from 22 works). For Timūr's campaigns: *Zafar-nāma*, i, 348, 358, 379, 570, ii, 577; Mūnedjdim-bashī (1040-1114/1630-1702), *Shahā'yif al-akhbār*, Istanbul 1285/1868 (dynasties of Māzandarān; cf. Sachau's translation, *Ein Verzeichniss d. muhamm. Dynastien*, Berlin 1923: *Die Kaspischen Fürstentümer*, 3-13). Cf. further, Storey, i, 359-63, 1298; Storey-Bregel, 1070-7. European works: d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, 1835, iii, 2, 10, 44, 48, 106-9 (Čintimur as governor in Māzandarān), 120-2, 193, 414-18 (Abaka), iv, 4, 42, 44-5 (Māzandarān an apaanage of Ghāzān), 106, 124, 155, 159, 600 (Abū Sa'īd in M.), 613, 622 (revolt of Yasawur),

685 (Hasan b. Čobān in M.), 726, 730 (Tughā Timūr), 739 (the Sarbadārs [q.v.]); Melgunov, *op. cit.* (lists of the dynasties and governors of Māzandarān); Rehatek, *The Bāw and Gaobārah sepahbuds*, in *JBRAS*, xii (1876), 410-45 (according to Zāhir al-Dīn, Mīrkh\* and and the *Muntakhab al-tawārikh*); Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, index (publ. in 1927); Horn, in *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 563 ('Alids); Lane-Poole, *The Muhamm. dynasties*, cf. the additions by Barthold in the Russ. tr., 1899, 290-3; Casanova, *Les Ispehbeds de Firim*, in *A Volume... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 117-26 (the identification of Firim with Firūzkūh is wrong); Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, xlii (Paris 1922), index; Barthold, *The place of the Caspian provinces in the history of the Muslim world* (Russ.), Baku 1925, 90-100 (Timūr in Māzandarān); Rabino, *Les dynasties alaouides du Mazandarān*, in *JA*, ccx (1927), 253-77 (lists without references); Zambaur, *Manuel*, ch. ix. and tables C and P; Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Tabaristāns durch die Araber zur Zeit des Chalifen al-Manšūr*, in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 86-150 (very important analysis of the Islamic sources); Rabino, *Māzandarān und Astarābād*, 133-149 (lists of dynasties and governors: detailed, but without references; idem, *Les dynasties du Māzandarān... d'après les chroniques locales*, in *JA*, ccxxviii (1936), 397-474; idem, *Les préfets du califat au Tabaristan...*, in *JA*, ccxxxi (1939), 237-74; idem, *L'histoire du Māzandarān*, in *JA*, ccxxxiv (1947-5), 211-43. On the Russian expeditions to Māzandarān, see Dorn, *Caspia*; Kostomarov, *Bunt Stenki Razina (1668-1669)*, in *Sobranie sočinenii*, St. Petersburg 1903, Kniga I, vol. ii, 407-505 (Persian sources call the Cossack chief Stenka Razin "Istīn Gurāzi"); Butkov, *Concerning the events which took place in 1781 at the time of a Russian establishment on the Gulf of Astarabad* (Russ.), in *Žurn. Min. Vnutr. del.* (1839), xxxiii, 9; idem, *Materiali dlia novoi istorii Kavkaza*, St. Petersburg 1869, index (in the Persian sources the leader of the Russian expedition of 1781 Count Voinovič is called "Kārāfs [= Graf-khān]"). Archaeology. Bode, *On a recently opened tumulus in the neighbourhood of Astarabad*, in *Archaeologia* (London 1844), xxx, 248-55 (on the circumstances of the find made at Tūrang-tāpā cf. idem, in *Otečestvennyia Zapiski* [1865], no. 7, 152-60); Rostovtsev, *The Sumerian treasure of Astarabad*, in *Journ. of Egyptian Archaeol.*, vi (1920), 4-27; Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, in *JA* (1930); De Morgan, *Mission scientifique, Recherches archéologiques*, part i, Paris 1899, 1-3 (prehistoric sites of Māzandarān); Crawshaw-Williams, *Rock-dwellings in Raine*, in *JRAS* (1904), 551-2; (1906), 217; Hommaire de Hell, cf. above (atlas); Häntzsche, *Paläste Shah Abbas I in Mazanderan*, in *ZDMG*, xv (1862), xx (1866), 186; Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1901-10, *Textband*, 95-116: Die Bauwerke d. Landschaft Tabaristan (Grabtürme von Mazandarān; Amul; Sari; die Palastanlage von Aschref; Safī-abad; Farah-abad); Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, 88, inscription of Rādkān of the Isphāhd Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. Wandarīn Bāwand of 407/1016, see Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1022-3, 1721-3. See also MAR'ASHĪ SAYYIDS. (V. MINORSKY - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

7. The coins of Māzandarān. The question whether the Sāsānids struck coins in Māzandarān is still an open one and can only be settled when the groups of letters that mark the mints on Sāsānid coins have been properly explained. According to the so far insufficient attempts to explain them, the letters AM

found from the time of Fīrūz onwards are an abbreviation for Āmul, but this explanation is quite without proof.

The Dābwayhids and the earlier Arab governors of Ṭabaristān struck in the 2nd/8th century coins of the type of the Sāsānid *dirhams* of Khusrāw II; on the obverse, with the bust of the ruler, his name is given in Pahlavi characters and on the reverse is the fire-altar with its two guardians and on the right the mint *Tpurstan* and on the left the year in the Ṭabaristān era (began on 11 June 652). These silver coins average in weight 1.90 gr. = 29.3 grains and are hemidrachms. Of the Dābwayhid rulers, Ferkhwān, Dātbūrdjimatūn and Khūrshīd are mentioned upon them. The coins of the first bear the years 60-77 (711-28), of the second 86-7 (737-8) and of the third 89-115 (740-66); these dates enable us to correct the chronology given by the historians. On some coins with the name Khūrshīd, earlier students read the dates 60-3, but this is to be explained by the similarity of *ghast* and *dehsat* in the Pahlavi script and these coins are really of the years 110 and following. The assumption of a Khūrshīd I, who reigned in the sixties of the Ṭabaristān era (Mordtmann), is thus quite unfounded. As Khūrshīd died in 144 A.H. = 110 Ṭabaristān era, and there are coins with the names of Arab governors earlier than the year 116 Ṭab. era, it must be assumed that the Arabs continued to strike coins in the name of the earlier ruler of the land for a period after the conquest of Māzandarān, just as they did after the conquest of Persia under the caliph 'Umar.

It was not till after Khūrshīd's death in 144/761 that 'Abbāsīd control was established over Ṭabaristān, and after a series of posthumous coins in Khūrshīd's name 110-14 Ṭab. era = 144-8 A.H./761-5 A.D., we get the first coins of the Arab governors, Khālīd b. Barmak (coins from 150/767, Pahlavi legend *Halūt*), and then 'Umar b. al-'Alā' (coins from 155/772, Pahlavi legend *Aumr*). Kūfic legends appear in 122 Ṭab. era = 157/774 under 'Umar b. al-'Alā', and thereafter, governors' names are exclusively in this script (for Sa'īd b. Da'ladj, Yaḥyā b. Mikhnāk, etc.). See J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum, i. Arab-Sassanian coins*, London 1941, pp. lxxix-lxxx (list of 'Abbasid governors and their coins at pp. lxxiv-lxxx), 130-61. The issue of these coins with Sāsānid types ended in the year 143 Ṭabaristān era (794, anonymous) but we have a coin of 161/812 on the obverse of which in place of the king's head—as earlier on the coins of the governor Sulaymān (136-7)—there is a rhombus with the puzzling Arabic letters *bh* and on the margin al-Faḍl b. Sahl Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn (in Arabic) is named; on the reverse, instead of the altar with its guardians are three parallel designs like fir branches, between them an inscription in four lines giving the Muslim creed in Kūfic and the date and mint in Pahlavi (Tiesenhausen, in *ZVOAO*, ix, 224).

The mint name of these Arab-Sāsānid coins of the Arab governors of Ṭabaristān appears in Pahlavi script as *Tpurstan*, and the name of the actual town is not given. Presumably, it was mostly Āmul, but may have been at times other places, e.g. Sārī/Sāriyya, which was on occasion the capital of the province; only on one coin of the period, a *fals* of 168/784-5, is Āmul mentioned specifically. It should be noted, however, that odd Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd *dirhams* of conventional type are known from 102/720-1 onwards with the Arabicised name of the mint *Ṭabaristān*.

In the 3rd/9th century, in addition to the coins of the caliphal governors, we begin to find coins of the 'Alid *dā'īs*, beginning with al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b.

Muḥammad, al-Dā'ī al-Kabīr [q.v.], from 253/867 onwards, and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-U'rūsh al-Nāšir li 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [q.v.] and his successor al-Ḥasan b. Kāsim al-Dā'ī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [q.v. in Suppl.], who controlled Āmul at times. From 395/966 onwards, we possess coins of the Zaydī *imām* Abu 'l-Faḍl Dja'far b. Muḥammad, al-Thā'ir fi 'llāh [q.v.] and his son al-Mahdī, minted at Hawsam or Rūd-i Sar on the borders of Gīlān and Daylam (see S. M. Stern, *The coins of Āmul*, in *Num. Chron.*, 7th ser., vii [1967], 210 ff., 269-77, and HAWSAM in Suppl.). Interspersed with these coins bearing Shī'ī-type legends are found those of Sunnī type acknowledging the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, e.g. those minted by the Sāmānids, who held Āmul from 289/902, and then by the Ziyārid Wushmagīr b. Ziyār, who held it from 323/935, generally as a Sāmānid vassal. With the capture of Rayy in 334/945-6 by the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, there began a long period of rivalry between the Būyids, the Sāmānids and the Ziyārids over possession of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān, reflected in coin issues of all three powers, sometimes with coins with more than one of them from the same year, e.g. 341/952-3 (Sāmānids, and unknown? 'Alid prince and Būyids) and 356/967 and 357/968 (Sāmānids and Ziyārids). Also in this period begins the series of coins (353-mid-6th century/964-mid-12th century) of the Bāwandid *isṭabādīs* or local rulers of Firrīm in the highlands of Ṭabaristān [see BĀWAND, and FIRRĪM in Suppl.], minted at first in Firrīm but latterly at Sārī, which bear Shī'ī-type legends which nevertheless acknowledge other suzerains like the Būyids, the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and the Saldjūks, see G. C. Miles, *The coinage of the Bāwandids of Ṭabaristān, in Iran and Islam, a volume in memory of Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 443-60. No coins are extant of the Ziyārid *amīr* Kābūs b. Wushmagīr [q.v.] and his descendants (cf. Bosworth, in *Ist.*, xl [1964], 25-6), and coins of the Saldjūk sultans who replaced them only appear under Berk-yaruḳ from 481/1095 onwards.

After the Mongol invasions, we find issues of Māzandarān by the Il-Khānids, Sarbardārids, Ṭimūrīds, Ṣafawīds, Afshārīds and Qādjārs. In Āmul, anonymous copper coins were struck from the 10th/16th century onwards. On several pieces of this period the mint Ṭabaristān occurs. As these are all very rare, the issue must have been an occasional one. The dates are not preserved on any specimens. More common are copper pieces of the value of 4 *kāzbeḳī* (18-22 grammes = 280-340 grains) with the lion and sun and mint Māzandarān, which belong to the 12th/18th century. During the Russian occupation of Gīlān in 1723-32, to meet the shortage of currency provoked by the financial crisis in Russia at this time, Persian copper coins were overstruck with a Russian die (double-eagle) and circulated in the occupied provinces in place of Russian money. These coins are often called Māzandarān pieces, but this is not correct, as only Gīlān and not Māzandarān was occupied.

*Bibliography*: Olshausen, *Die Pehlevi-Legenden auf den Münzen der letzten Sasaniden*, Copenhagen 1843; Krafft, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, cvi, *Anzeigebibl.*, 1844; Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, viii, xii, xix, xxxiii; idem, in *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1871); Dorn, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i-iii, vi, viii; Thomas, in *JRAS*, 1849, 1852, 1871. For the later period, see the coin catalogues by S. Lane-Poole and R. Stuart Poole; Markov, *Inventarnyi Katalog*; E. von Zambaur, in *Numism. Ztschr.*, xlvii, 136; R. Vasmer, in *Sbornik Ermitaža*, iii, 119-32 (Russ.); J. M. Unvala, *Numismatique du Tabaristan et quelques monnaies sassanides provenant de*

Suse, Paris 1938; idem, *Supplementary notes on the coins of Tabaristan*, in *Jnal. Num. Soc. of India*, vi (1944), 37-45; Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 34-5 (Āmul), 136 (Sārī/Sāriyya), 170 (Tabaristān), 185 (Firrīm), 221 (Māzandarān); A. H. Morton, *Dinars from western Māzandarān of some vassals of the Saljūq sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh, in Iran, JBIPS*, xxv (1987), 77-90.

(R. VASMER - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

**MĀZAR** [see ŠIKILĪYYA].

**MAZĀR** [see MAḤBARA, ZIYĀRA].

**MAZĀR-I ŠHARĪF**, a town in northern Afghānistān, situated in lat. 36° 42' N. and long. 67° 06' E., at an altitude of 1,235 feet/380 m. in the foothills of the northern outliers of the Hīndū-Kush [q. v.].

The great classical and mediaeval Islamic town of Balkh [q. v.], modern Wazīrābād, lay some 14 miles/20 km. to the west of Mazār-i Šharīf, and until the Tīmūrīd period was the most important urban centre of the region. Previously to that time, the later Mazār-i Šharīf was marked by the village of Khayr, later called Khōdja Khayrān. On two different occasions, in the 6th/12th century after 530/1135-6 in the time of Sultan Sandjār [q. v.], and in 885/1480-1, in the reign of the Tīmūrīd Sultan Ḥusayn, the tomb of the caliph 'Alī was "discovered" here and its genuineness declared to have been proved. A place of pilgrimage (*mazār*) at once arose around the tomb with a considerable market; the second tomb which is still standing (the first is said to have been destroyed by Čingiz-Khān), was built in 886/1481-2. The *mazār* does not seem to have been of any particular importance during the time of the Özbegs and is hardly mentioned, although several Özbeg sultans were buried there. In the first half of the 19th century, the place is usually simply called *mazār* by travellers, the name *Mazār-i Šharīf* seems only to have arisen within the last hundred years. 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed. Schefer, 4) does not mention Mazār at all among the towns of Afghānistān; in 1832 when Alexander Burnes passed through it, it was a little town with about 800 houses. In 1866, the Afghān governor Na'ib 'Alim Khān, a Shī'ī, chose Mazār-i Šharīf as his residence; since then Mazār-i Šharīf has been the capital of Afghān Turkistān. In 1878 it was described by the Russian general Marveyev as one of the best towns in Northern Afghānistān with about 30,000 inhabitants (L. F. Kostenko, *Turkestan'skiy kray*, St. Petersburg 1880, ii, 157).

It was the selection of Mazār-i Šharīf as the administrative capital of northern Afghānistān which caused the town's fortunes to rise, so that in recent times, it has become a centre for local government as well as continuing to fulfill its old commercial role arising from its position on a route from Kābul to the ferry-point of Pata Kesar on the Oxus [see ĀMŪ-DĀRYĀ], by means of which goods have for long been exported to Russian Central Asia. In particular, it is a centre for the trade in karakol fur [see KARĀ-KŌL]. The visits of pilgrims seeking healing and blessing at the shrine are still important, as are the religious festivals there of the Nawrūz "raising of the standard" and that of its lowering 40 days or so later. Mazār-i Šharīf now has civil and military airfields, a power station and a fertiliser plant. It is the chef-lieu of the province (*wilāyat*) of Balkh; in ca. 1959, Humlum estimated its population at 75,000.

*Bibliography*: On the first discovery of the tomb of 'Alī, see Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāfi, *Tuhfat al-albāb*, ed. G. Ferrand, in JA,

ccvii (1925), 145-8, and on the second discovery, Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, lith. Tehran 1271/1855, iii, 260-1. For the town in recent times, see C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan or letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission*, Edinburgh and London 1888, 279 ff.; J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 132, 153-4, 327; L. Duprée, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 105-6, 631; L. Golombek, *Mazār-i Šharīf—a case of mistaken identity?*, in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 335-43; L. Adamec, *Historical and political gazetteer of Afghanistan. iv. Mazār-i Šharīf and north-central Afghanistan*, Graz 1979, 411-14.

(W. BARTHOLD - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

**AL-MĀZARĪ**, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD b. 'Alī b. 'Umar, jurist of Ifrīkiya who was surnamed "al-Imām" on account of his learning and his renown. His *nisba* refers to the Sicilian town of Mazāra (*Māzar* in Arabic), the native place of his family, but it is not known whether the latter had emigrated to Ifrīkiya before his birth, which may be dated at 453/1061 since he died in Rabī' I 536/October 1141, at al-Mahdiyya [q. v.], at the age of 83 lunar years. It was in this last-named town that he settled after completing his traditional studies at Sfax as a pupil of al-Lakhmī (d. 478/1085), and at Sousse, under the guidance of Ibn al-Šā'igh. These two masters, who had left Kairouan (al-Kayrawān) after the Hilālian invasion, transferred to the Mediterranean coast the Ifrīkiyan Mālikī tradition, which was linked to the founder of the *madhhab* by a continuous chain; notable figures belonging to this chain include Saḥnūn, Ibn Abī Zayd, Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, etc. (see the table in M. M. Ould Bah, *La littérature juridique et l'évolution du Mālikisme en Mauritanie*, Tunis 1981, 25). Al-Māzarī perpetuated this tradition by establishing it at al-Mahdiyya, where he became head of the local judicial school, while representing a link in the chain which came to its end with Khalīl b. Iṣḥāk [q. v.], the supreme authority of Maghribī Mālikism.

Although sympathetic to the doctrine of the Shāfi'is, as well as to the opinions of the Ash'aris in *kalām*, since he is said to have passed on to posterity the *Tamhid* of al-Bākillānī (d. 403/1013 [q. v.]), he founded his numerous and henceforward renowned *fatwās* on strictly Mālikī doctrine, without feeling himself completely bound by the interpretations of his predecessors; in general, he opted for what was *mashhūr*, applied the principle according to which "of two evils, the lesser must be chosen", and, in a sense, tended towards a moderate practice of *idjtiḥād*. Al-Māzarī attracted a considerable number of disciples and had dealings with other individuals who were to become famous, including Ibn Tūmart (d. 534/1130 [q. v.]), whose life he saved when the latter was being chased by the governor of al-Mahdiyya after having broken jars of wine at a market in the town. Ibn al-Abbār (in the *Takmilat al-Šīla*, ed. Codera, Madrid 1887-9) mentions prominent Andalusians who attended his lectures or corresponded with him, in particular, Ibn al-'Arabī (Abū Bakr, d. 543/1148 [q. v.]); the *kādi* 'Iyād (d. 544/1149 [q. v.]), who nevertheless gives no biography of him in the *Madārik*; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1179 [q. v.]); and Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198 [q. v.]).

This jurist seems to have cultivated the humanities and poetry, and to have studied mathematics and medicine, but he does not appear to have excelled in these disciplines, even if the *Kitāb fi 'l-tibb* which is attributed to him is indeed his own work. In fact, his name remains linked specifically to the *fatwās* which