HAMZA AL-İŞFAHANİ AND SÂSÂNID HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SINİMULÜK AL-‘ARĎW’AL-ANBİYÂ

Résumé

Mots clés
Ḥamza al-İşfahâni — Sassanides — Géographie historique.

Abstract
Much remains to be known of the life and times of Abû ‘Abdallâh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-İşfahâni (270 H.–circa 350 H./884–circa 961), the history of his native city, İşfahân, and the dominant influences on the author’s outlook as well as his work. What follows is a preliminary attempt in this direction. This brief analysis will also include a descriptive index of the historical geography of the Sassanids as they appear in one of Ḥamza’s extant works, Sinî Mülûk al-‘arďw’al-anbîyâ.

Keywords
Ḥamza al-İşfahâni — Sâsânîd — Historical Geography.

Like that of most early medieval scholars of Iran, the details of the life of the philologist and historian Abû ‘Abdallâh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan [al-Mu’addib], known as al-İşfahâni, are yet to be fully reconstructed. Pending research that further clarifies the biographical details of Ḥamza’s life, what follows is a cursory examination of some of the more important aspects of the author’s times and life, as we can reconstruct these at present, and the structure of one of the most important of his scholarly productions, Sinî Mülûk al-‘arďw’al-‘anbîyâ, under investigation here. Abû ‘Abdallâh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan was born in İşfahân (SPAHAN 3) around 270 A.H./884 C. E. and spent most of his life in his native city.4 He died between 350-360 A.H./961-971 C.E. İşfahân of the late ninth and tenth centuries had had a long heritage. As our classical sources seem to indicate, the region held a significant position in western Iran during the Achaemenid (550-330 B.C.E.) and Parthian (250 B.C.E – 226 C.E.) periods.5 In the Parthian romance of Všt o Râmûn, for example, Āb-Nâhid (whose theophoric name must be noted) appears as a “noble lady” of Ḥisfahân and the daughter of a scribe (dabîr) in the city.6 This latter also gives us a glimpse of aspects of the administrative infrastructure of the city during the Parthian period. During the Sâsânîd

1 To the extent necessary, we shall provide a detailed translation of the relevant passages here.
2 The Arabic edition of the work used here is the Beirut edition of the work by Yusuf Ya’qûb Maskuni, 1961. The Persian translation of the work has also been used. This is Ja’far Shi’ar’s translation and edition of 1985 which appeared under the title of Türük-i Payânbarân wa Shâhân.
3 The Middle Persian name of the region. Together with Ray, SPAHAN had an amârâr during the Sâsânîd period. For an assessment of the financial and civil administrative powers at the disposal of the amârâr, see Gyselen 1989, p. 35-37. For SPAHAN also see Gyselen 2002, passim.
4 Unless otherwise noted, the biographical information on Ḥamza is based on the introduction of Ja’far Shi’ar to his Persian translation of Ḥamza’s work, as well as M. E. Gottwaldi’s article on Ḥamza, also appended to Shi’ar’s translation.
6 Boyce 1985.

period one of the principal cities of the province of Spāhān seems to have been the rāsāt of Jayy, the Arabisized version of the Middle Persian name of the region, Gay, itself derived from (old Persian) Gaba, and known to classical authors by the name of (Greek) Gabai.7 Considered part of the Pahlav8 (Parthian) dominions during the Sāsānīd period,9 the region was a centrally important territory of western Iran at this time. During the Arab conquest of Iran, when the caliph ’Umar (634-644 C.E.) asked Hormozān — the famous dynastic leader, called a Mede10 — to prioritize those regions of Iran the conquest of which would cripple the Sāsānids, Hormozān is said to have selected Isfahān as the head, while Azarbāyjān and Fārs he considered to be analogous to the wings.11 In the “model of all Sāsānīd” towns, the city of Gay had four gates: The “Gates of the Jews,” the “Gate of Khūr,” the “Gate of Tīr,” and the “Gate of Isfīj.”12 As the name of these gates indicate, a variety of Iranian gods held prominence in the city. Khūr, which most probably stands for new Persian Khurshid (sun),13 and Tīr, standing for the Iranian yazata Tīr,14 were two of these. As the name of another gate indicates, there was also a substantial Jewish community in Isfahān during the Sāsānīd period. This continued to be the case in the history of the city thenceforth.15 In fact, as we shall see shortly, part of the Jewish community of Isfahān took part in a fascinating “heretical” movement in the early medieval history of the city. While the settlement of the Armenian population in the region is usually dated back to the Safavid period only,16 we have evidence of Armenian settlement in the city as far back as the Sāsānīd period during the reign of Khusrow Parvīz (591-628).17

While layers of tradition have garbled the accounts of the Arab conquest of Isfahān,18 the crucial strategic importance of the region during the period is highlighted in almost all of our fathī narratives. As mentioned, central in these is the role of the figure of Hormozān. While the agnatic, gentilial background of Hormozān cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty for now, there is every indication to assume that he was a “dynastic”19 figure who belonged to the “seven” great families of the Sāsānīd period.20 In fact Sayf b. ’Umar maintains that Hormozān’s family “was higher in rank than anybody in Fārs,”21 and thus we get a glance of a “noble” family of Isfahān under whose control must have come substantial wealth in land and otherwise. The ultimate defeat of Hormozān, after sustained warfare against the Arabs, and the strategic insights that he eventually betrayed, it seems reluctantly, were one of the important causal factors in the ultimate success of the Arab conquest of Iran.

While the details of Arab settlement22 and the consequent conversion processes affecting Isfahan

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8 For the Pahlav dominions during the Sāsānīd period, see the author’s forthcoming work, Pourshariati 2007.
9 Together with Rayy, and “other regions,” Birūnī includes Isfahān as amongst the “lands of Pahlā [i.e., Pahlav/Parthia].” Birūnī 1984, p. 355.
12 Barthold 1984, p. 150 especially n. 7.
13 Boyce 1969, passim.
14 So named after the Iranian rain god Tištrya. See Boyce 1996, p. 74-78.
15 When Benjamin of Tudela visited the city sometime in the 6th/12th century, he observed that there were 15,000 Jews in the city. Lambton 2003, p. 2.
16 Lambton 2003, p. 2.
17 Sebeos 1999, p. 41.
18 Noth 1968, p. 234-296.
19 For a definition of dynasticism, as used in this context, see the author’s upcoming work, Pourshariati 2007.
20 While we are almost certain that Hormozān was a powerful figure of the late Sāsānīd period, and while there is evidence that, like all other analogous figures, he brought his own substantial army to the front during the wars of conquest, it is not clear whether he belonged to the “Pahlav” (i.e., Parthian) or the “Paršīg” (i.e. ahl-i Fārs) umbrella factions. For a detailed exposition of the role played by these factions, i.e., what we have termed the Sāsānīd/Parthian confederacy, during the Sāsānīd period; see ibid.
21 Tabari 1989, p. 115.
22 Based on the information provided by the Ta‘rīkh Qum, it has been maintained that during the governorship of Hajjaj from 75/694 “there appears to have been some settlement” of Arabs in Isfahān. Lambton 2003, p. 1. Amongst these the Ta‘rīkh Qum mentions the settlement of Banū Tūmīn in Jayy. The rest, however, should be more properly located in the region of Qum, which in fact did experience a comparatively substantial — although the numbers of these are yet to be calculated through a sound methodology — settlement of Arabs, as the Ta‘rīkh Qum bears witness. The Banū Qays, therefore, are said to have settled in “the ‘abiyy of Anār (next to a river so-named in Qum) and Taymara, and the Askarītes in Kūmādān (the
— like that of most other major Iranian cities — are thus yet to be written, there is every indication that as an important Sasanian city — albeit it with a different urban and administrative structure than that which it eventually obtained by the tenth century — a substantial number from various Zoroastrian communities as well as adherents of non-Zoroastrian, Iranian religions, continued to exist in ninth century Isfahan. By the late ninth, early tenth century, and side by side of these, there was naturally a growing Muslim community. This latter was itself tremendously heterogeneous. All these communities must have maintained — whether through an oral or a textual tradition or both — their ancient lore alive. Hamza readily availed himself of these rich sources of information available to him.

Isfahan seems to have been one of the major centers for the collection and transmission of the various recensions of the Khwadday Nama (or the Book of Kings) tradition. A cursory examination of Sīn Muliḵ al-ard w’ al-ambīya testifies to the abundant use that Ḥamza made of this tradition.24 The transmission of a number of recensions of the Khwadday Nama tradition in general are attributed to the Isfahāni Iranian scholars.25 An ancient pre-Islamic library, in fact, seems to have existed in Isfahan, specifically within the city of Gay, a library which seems to have been discovered during the life-time of Ḥamza himself. In the Fihris, Ibn Nadim 26 (377/987) devotes a substantial section to the description of remains of the fortress within which ancient manuscripts were found.27 This in fact seems to be a complete borrowing of the material from Ḥamza, without proper citation. According to Hamza in 350 A.H. one side of the building of Sārūya, which was located inside the city of Jayy, was destroyed. Within a house there — 50 loads (‘adlan 28) of hide were found. On these, there were inscriptions in a language unknown to anyone. They asked me about this incredible place, Ḥamza maintains. I brought them one of the books of Abū Maʿshar 29 (787-886), which had been translated into Arabic as the Book of Zīj. Ḥamza here begins by quoting from Abū Maṣḥar, a scholar deemed by some as an Iranian “nationalist.” 30 Here, he provides what must have been popular stories, contained in the Book of Zīj of Abū Maṣḥar, that underscore the keenness of Iranian kings in preserving ancient sciences. In order to preserve the ancient knowledge, the Iranian kings used sheets made of white poplar (tīz), which were sturdy against natural disasters and not susceptible to decay. The Indians and the Chinese and other people living in their proximity followed them. Once they had found these, they sought territories which were devout of earthquakes, and where the climate was conducive to the protection of books from climatic hazards. Nowhere, Ḥamza maintains, did they find a more suitable territory than Jayy. Here, therefore, in the fortress (kuhān dīzh) of Jayy, they left their knowledge in safe-keeping. This “edifice exists to our own day” 31 and it is called Sārūya. Part of its construction, however, was destroyed many years ago, Isfahāni continues to elaborate. The books found in the library were in various ancient sciences, and were written in the old Persian script. Some of these were brought to a figure who became aware of their significance and could read them. Amongst these was one dealing with Iranian kings. A tradition

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23 The correct form of the author’s name, as Sundermann points out, is al-Nadim, Ibn Nadim having gained mistaken currency. Sundermann sd.
25 Isfahāni 1969, p. 149.
26 Pingree sd.
27 Pingree sd.
28 It is naturally not clear whether this refers to Abū Maṣḥar’s period or to that of Ibn Nadim.
describing the attribution of the construction of this library in Gay to Ṭahmūrath is then narrated here. Thus far, Ḥamza maintains, "I have quoted from Abū Ma‘ṣhar’s book describing one of the buildings that still remains in Iṣfahān. He [i.e., Abū Ma‘ṣhar] is describing that part of this construction which was destroyed around a 1000 years ago...". The building that collapsed in 305 A.H., however, Ḥamza continues, was another building. From there large books, the script of which was unlike that of other nations, were found. These could not be read. This building is still one of the lasting edifices of the eastern lands, as the pyramids are those of the west.

Attributed to Ibn Iṣḥāq, this section of Ḥamza is included in Ibn Naḍīm’s Fihrist with further information. I have heard from a trustworthy person, Ibn Naḍīm quotes Ibn Iṣḥāq, that in 350 A.H. one of the saḥās in Iṣfahān was destroyed. Many books were found there, books which no one had the ability to read. "What I myself have seen with my own eyes were books which Abū I Fāḍl b. ‘Aḍīd had sent [presumably to Baghdad] in the early 40s. These were torn books that had been found in trunks deposited in the walls (bārū) of the city of Iṣfahān. These were in the Greek language, and when those who were familiar with these, like Yūḥannā and others, obtained them, it became apparent that they were lists of soldiers and their salaries." While, as the accounts of Ibn Naḍīm makes clear, scholars with knowledge of the ancient Iranian, presumably Middle Persian, and other languages, were not numerous in Iṣfahān, while it is not clear whether Ḥamza himself had any knowledge of Middle Persian, his own testimony underlines the fact that in tenth century Iṣfahān, Ḥamza Iṣfahānī al-Mu‘addib was considered a scholar well-versed in pre-Islamic Iranian heritage.

Besides groups who consciously and systematically considered themselves custodians of pre-Islamic Iranian traditions, Iṣfahān of the late ninth and early tenth century was a buzzing center of scholars engaged in the preservation and articulation of a variety of Islamic traditions. In fact a cursory list of some of the contemporaries of Ḥamza testifies to the thriving intellectual and religious climate of the city during the author’s lifetime. Side by side of Ḥamza, traditionalists, mu‘tazilites, sufis, and scientists, all seem to have found a home in Iṣfahān of the tenth century. Significantly, some of these clearly came from ancient and established Iranian families of the city. Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣfahānī (948-1038), the famous “traditionalist” and sufi who collected sufi biographies in his Ḥelyat al-Owliyā’, for example, came from the Parthian Mīhrān family, a family whose ancestors had a “long established” history in the city. The history of the conversion of this particular branch of the Mīhrānids seems to fit the conversion curve established by Bulliet. To what extent their history corresponds to the history of the conversion of other important families in the region, remains to be seen. For, as we have established elsewhere, the Mīhrānids were in fact amongst those Parthian families who seem to have lost their power the earliest in the post-conquest centuries. The ancestor of this group of Parthian Mīhrānids had converted to Islam as clients of ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyya b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ja‘far b. Abū Tālib (d. 131/748-49). The famous traditionalist and sufi Abū Nu‘aym, therefore, seems to have been a third generation Muslim.

While the Ḥanafī law school was not as successful in western Iran, as it was in the east, by the first half of the third/ninth century significant Ḥanafīte communities seem to have been established there as well. Ḥanafism seems to have spread into Iṣfahān through the circle of “prominent” Iṣfahānī scholars surrounding Ṣufyān al-Thawrī. The Shāfi‘ī school had also spread to Iran from Egypt in the

33 Iṣfahānī 1969, p. 151.
34 Iṣfahānī 1969, p. 151.
36 A saḥā is a long tunnel like edifice with dome-shaped roofs. Dīkhkhoda 1998.
40 Once again for an elaboration of this see the author’s forthcoming, Pourshariati 2007.
41 Madelung sdb.
43 Taṣfīr 1988, p. 12. “At least seven and perhaps ten Iṣfahānī Ḥanafī scholar who died in the third/ninth century are recorded – some of them quite prominent...” ibid., p. 13.
were, nevertheless, still predominant in the native homeland of Ḥamza. A telling indication of this is Ḥisafān’s integral participation in the “khurramidin” movement — a movement that began to seriously undermine the “Abbāsid caliphate in the first half of the ninth century. About half a century before Ḥamza’s birth, around 218 A.H./833 C. E. during the caliphate of Mu’taṣim, therefore, we hear that the population of Ḥisafān, together with those of Hamadan, had joined the “khurramidins,” and occupying the neighboring regions, had participated in the revolts that had reached their heights during Bābak’s rebellion in Āzarbāyjān. The “khurramidin” dimension of the city’s history, together with other socio-political upheavals that subsequently engulfed it, should not be ignored in any assessment of the life and times of Ḥamza, his outlook and his scholarly predilections.50 Ḥamza, therefore, was born into a city in the recent history of which there was a substantial “khurramidin” current. And this and other analogous aspects of Ḥamza’s social milieu, must certainly be taken into account when investigating the charges hurled on him of harboring ṣhuʿūbī sentiments.51

Amongst the more important sectarian rebellions that engulfed the city, mention must be made of the Jewish revolt of the Isawiya shortly after this. The Isawiya were the followers of Abū Isā Ḥisafānī. We have scanty information about the movement led by Abū Isā. Much of these come from heresiographers such as Shahrestānī (d. 548/1143) and the Karait author Qerqesānī in his Kitāb al-anwār wa ‘al-marāqib (circa 329/939).52 While these authors were not contemporary with Abū Isā and his movement, and hence their accounts seem to be embellished,53 we do in fact know a few fascinating details about Abū Isā and his movement. In Ḥisafān, the Isawiya

44 By the tenth century the great mosque of Ḥisafān had apparently come to be dominated by the Hanbalite faction. Madelung sdb.

45 As Madelung notes the introduction to Ḥamza’s Dhihr Akhbār Ḥisafānī, “a biographical dictionary of Ḥisafān’s religious scholars (chiefly traditionalists), completed in or after 419/1028 ... contains a collection of statements of the Prophet in praise of the Persians.” The topography and short history of Ḥisafān contained therein are apparently based on Ḥamza’s lost Kitāb Ḥisafānī. Madelung 1931, p. 354.

46 Madelung sdb.

47 His book, Kitāb al-ṣawwar al-kawākib al-thābita (Book on the Constellation of Fixed Stars), became a classic not only in the Islamic world, but in the Latin west, he himself becoming known as Azophi.” “One of the lunar craters in modern astronomy is named Azophi in his honor.” See Kunitzsch sdb.

48 Lewicki 2006.

49 Cited by Lambton 2007, p. 4.

50 As we have argued elsewhere, the contention that all of these revolts, “overly mixed Persian and Islamic religious beliefs and motives,” under the “generic name of ... khurramiyya,” needs to be reassessed, for this assessment clearly contradicts the argument that these were “anti-Arab and anti-Muslim” movements that “reached [their] climax in the great rebellion” of Bābak. Madelung 1998, p. 1-2; and Madelung 2007. Emphasis added. See Pourshariati 2007.

51 See below.

52 All information pertaining to the Isawiya is taken from J. Lassner’s interesting article, Lassner sdb.

53 Lassner sdb.
led a movement against the caliphate. While the date of their movement is open to dispute, it seems that their uprising took place in the early 'Abbasid period, during the rule of Mansur (136-58/754-75). At this point, Abū Īsā, who claimed prophethood, is said to have “led 10,000 partisans whom he commanded in battle as the forerunner of the Messiah.” His forces were apparently decimated, and Abū Īsā himself killed, significantly, near Rayy, one of the cradles of the Parthian Mihrānid family who were predominantly Mihr worshippers. As with all other “Messianic” movements of the time, after Abū Īsā’s death, his followers considered him to have disappeared. The potential connection of the Isawī movement with the various Iranian revolts that erupted at the end of the Umayyad and beginning of the ‘Abbasid period, points to a fascinating venue of research.

Besides the khurramānī movement, other political events that engulfed ʿIsfāḥān through the ninth and tenth centuries, are sure to have affected the hierarchy of power in ʿIsfāḥān and transformed its social structure. These need to be investigated in detail before we can make any unequivocal statements. A cursory list of the political transformations affecting the city, however, does provide a reliable gauge for conjecturing on the nature of some of these changes. Shortly after the khurramānī upheavals, during the short caliphate of Wāthiq (227-232 A.H./842-847 C.E.), the Kurds are said to have wrought havoc on ʿIsfāḥān. In order to calm these, the caliph sent the Turkish general Wāṣīf against them. Having been successful in his mission, Wāṣīf apparently distributed vast tracts of land, presumably in and around the environs of ʿIsfāḥān as iqtāʾ. Under whose control the ownership of these lands could have been prior to the arrival of Wāṣīf — and whether or not they had already been bought from their original Iranian owners by the caliphs — as it happened with extensive tracts of land in northern Iran under Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, their agents, or various early Arab-Muslim elite, we do not know. Be that as it may, we witness a second inroad into the socio-political and hence economic infrastructure of ʿIsfāḥān subsequent to Wāṣīf’s control over the region. For in 253/867 the governorship of ʿIsfāḥān was given to Abū ʿAzīz b. Abū Dulaf. Again, we remain in the dark about the possible effects of the governorship of the Abū Dulaf family on the social structure of the ʿIsfāḥānī society. The Abū Dulaf continued to remain in power in ʿIsfāḥān until 282/895-6 when al-Muʿtaʿīd is said to have seized the family’s properties.

Through the period of effective caliphate of Muwaffaq (870-891), i.e., when Ḥamza was born and reached about 10 years of age, ʿIsfāḥān came under the control of the anti-‘Abbāsids Ṣaffārīds. Once again, the implications of this, in terms of the social and political structure of ʿIsfāḥān, remains to be seen. For, as we know, not only did the Ṣaffārīds divert tribute to the ‘Abbāsids only intermittently, but Yaʿqūb, the progenitor of the dynasty “especially[,] was contemptuous of the ‘Abbāsids and of the aristocratic Arab political and social tradition which they and their governors like the Ṭāhirīds represented...” In the early decades of the fourth/tenth century, moreover, the city became a point of contention between the consciously

54 Qerešashti maintains that the uprising took place during the rule of the Umayyad caliph, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwân (65-866/685-705).
55 This date is given by Shāhrestānī, who nevertheless maintains that the movement started during the rule of ‘Abd al-Malik. Lassner argues that what we know of the nature of the movement parallels that of the numerous “pro-Shiʿite sects with messianic overtones during the final years...” of the Umayyad caliphate. The final eruption of the Isawīya revolt coincided, in other words, with the “local insurrections,” following the murder of Abū Muslim by al-Mansūr.
56 While in practice following Rabbinic Judaism, Abū ʿĪsā, who seemed to have believed in the prophet hood of Jesus and Muhammad, also imposed certain ascetic practices on his followers. The Isawīya and analogous sectarian Jewish movements to the east are believed to have had minimal contact with “traditional Jewish learning... [and] in part [to have] assimilated[d], various notions current among non-Jewish groups in the area.” Although, it has also been significantly claimed that it is “…too soon to declare Iran the cradle of Jewish sectarianism in early Islamic times.” Lassner sd.
59 Ibn Isfandiyār 1366, p. 190, 197-198.
60 With a brief interval, the Abū Dulaf were kept in their post during the Saffārid rule over the city. For the progenitors of the Abū Dulaf family, see Donner ad.; Lambton 2007, p. 100a.
62 Bosworth 2007a.
63 Bosworth 2007a.
iquarian Iranian dynasties of the Ziyārids and Buyids, and for a brief period of time even the mānids. When Iṣfahān was engulfed in the shi'ahs' wrath on the city by these Iranian nations, Ḥamzā was spending his adolescent and early adult years.

With its khurramdām currents, with various municipalities living in an administratively and structurally fast changing city, with Turkic and Arabic apparatus constantly engaged in redefining the social hierarchies of the city, and finally with various antiquarian Iranian dynasties vying for gaining the control of this ancient Sāsānid city on new ruling elements, the Iṣfahān of Ḥamzā and his contemporaries must have been a hotbed of contentious identities. As Ḥamzā's literary output bears witness, there is no doubt that the pervasive anian cultural currents in Iṣfahān of the ninth and rst half of the tenth century affected Ḥamzā's intellectual upbringing and account for his patent terest in the Persian cultural tradition. In fact there every indication to assume that in his native city, Ḥamzā came to establish a reputation for being one of the most learned authorities on the Iranian literary heritage. Ḥamzā's interest in the pre-Islamic anian heritage is, by far, the most prominent aspect of his literary output and preoccupation. From the look under investigation here wherein, as we shall see, a substantial section is dedicated to the histories of Iranian kings, to the treaties he wrote on the ajan New Year, Nowruz and the festival of fihrīgan, (Risāla al-ʾashʿar al-sāʿira fī ʿl-nayrūz aʿl-mihrījan), to the obsession he had with the etymologies of words Persian in his Al-muwāzana ayn al-ʿArabiyya wʿl-Fārisiyya, and finally to his vid interest in the works of the Perso-Arab poet ʿAbd al-Mawās (747-762/813-815), for the collection of whose opus he traveled to Baghdad, Ḥamzā's preoccupation with his heritage is patent. This aspect of his author's intellectual predilections is also reflected in the social circles that sustained his scholarly activities in the few trips that he undertook outside his native city.

For a while Ḥamzā seems to have been patronized by the Barmakids. His subsequent close friendship with the Nawbakhshīs—from whom he obtained not only the manuscripts of works of ʿAbd al-Muwās, but information on the life of the poet—further integrated him within that social milieu which was aggressively pushing for a resurgence of the Iranian cultural tradition. Whether or not one agrees with Goldziher's judgment that Ḥamzā was an advocate of the shuʿābīyya movement depends of course on one's assessment of the nature of the movement—about which, incidentally, a number of erudite works notwithstanding, the last words have yet to be said. However we perceive the shuʿābīyya, there is no doubt that Ḥamzā was perceived by his near contemporaries, and in fact in subsequent generations, as a shuʿābī. Given this, our contemporary discussion of whether or not Ḥamzā was a shuʿābī seems to be moot. For clearly, our assessment of this aspect of Ḥamzā's intellectual predilection is of far less value than that of his contemporaries. Ḥamzā is openly described by al-Qūfī "...as a Persian nationalist with strong prejudices against the Arabs." Thāʿalībī also blamed Ḥamzā for preferring the Iranians. We may note as well that Ḥamzā was born during the apogee of the movement. The charges of harboring šuʿābī sentiments, hurled at Ḥamzā, "...may well be true," argues Rosenthal. "We do find him greatly concerned with matters Persian," maintains Rosenthal. Ḥamzā, however, Rosenthal continues, "also shows himself fully aware of the importance of the cultural rôle of the Arabs." This, of course, as we have briefly argued, was only part of the picture. For Iṣfahān of the fourth century hijra was

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64 Bosworth 2007b.
67 Two of Ḥamzā's three visits to Baghdad took place in 308/920-1 and 323/935. Rosenthal 2007, p. 156a. In 323 he undertook his third trip to Baghdad in order to consult the manuscripts of the works of ʿAbd al-Muwās which were in possession of the Nawbakhshī family. Nawbakhsh and his son ʿAbd al-Salih, as we know, were both astronomers of Mansūr's (754-775) court. Abū Nuwās had befriended the sons of Abū Sahl Nawbakhsh, ʿIsāʾī, ʿAbdallāh, and Fadl. It was thus that the works of Abū Nuwās had come into the possession of the Nawbakhshī family. Mittwoch 1942, in Iṣfahānī 1988, p. hijrah.
68 Mittwoch, for example, while acknowledging Ḥamzā's interest in things Persian, disagrees with Goldziher's assessment that Ḥamzā was an important shuʿābī figure. Mittwoch 1942, in Iṣfahānī 1988, p. bist-o-dow.
70 Rosenthal 2007, p. 156a.
also, as we have seen, a den of the Muslim savant and literati, amongst whom one must count Ḥamza himself.⁷¹ According to Mittwoch the number of Arab literati in Isfahān was in fact so numerous that many anthologies of their lives and works were written.⁷² Without the lost works of Ḥamza and without a thorough examination of his extant works, rash conclusions are of course unjustified. There seems to be enough evidence, however, that points to Ḥamza’s clear proclivity for the pre-Islamic Iranian heritage.

Ḥamza’s Works

Ḥamza’s works naturally testify to his scholarly interests and pursuits. An historian as well as a prolific grammarian, Ḥamza, whose native tongue was Persian, wrote 12 books from amongst which only four survive: al-Tanbih ‘alā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīḥ; Kitāb al-amthāl ‘alā af’al; Sharḥ akhbār Abū Nu‘wās; and finally the present Sīnū mulāk al-‘ard w’al-‘andāyā. An incomplete manuscript of one of his books called Al-muwāzana bayn al-‘Arabiyya w’al-Fārisīyya, parts of which have been preserved in Yaqūt’s Mu’jam and Suyūṭī’s al-Muzhir fi ‘ulūm al-lughā wa ‘anwā’ihā,⁷³ is also apparently extant. One of Ḥamza’s regrettably lost works was his important history of Isfahān, the Ta‘rikh Isfahān. Fortunately, the work was used extensively by Ḥasan b. Muhammad b. Ḥasan Qumī in his Ta‘rikh Qumī.⁷⁴ Ḥamza’s al-Tanbih ‘alā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīḥ, a work on the “misspellings caused by the Arabic script...,” has also been called by Rosenthal “an outstanding achievement in the field of cultural history.”⁷⁵ His book on proverbs, Kitāb al-amthāl ‘alā af’al, dealt “with comparative proverbs and include[d] some appendixes on other types of proverbial expressions and on superstitious beliefs and amulets”; in his book on lexicography, the partially preserved Muwāzana, Ḥamza “...was greatly concerned with finding — often far-fetched — Persian etymologies...”.⁷⁶ If the following anecdote is any gauge, however, it is clear that Ḥamza’s persistent obsession with finding Persian etymologies did not distract from the information that he otherwise provides. In his etymological investigation of the word ta‘rikh, for example — with which some do not agree, and which has also been quoted by Bīrūnī — he provides us with a very interesting anecdote that betrays the difficulties posed for the early Muslim community as a result of the lack of a calendar: The word ta‘rikh, he maintains, is a new word that has entered the Arabic language and is the Arabized version of the Persian word “māh-rūz” he maintains. Fūrāt b. Salmān narrates from Maymūn b. Mīhrān⁷⁷ that the latter brought a financial deed [?], the date of which was Sha‘bān to ‘Umar b. Khṭāb. ‘Umar, exacerbated by the confusion over whether this would be the present Sha‘bān or the upcoming Sha‘bān, gathers the leading Companions and remarks: Wealth (amwāl) has increased tremendously and whatever we have divided has no date. How can we collect our dues on the basis of this calendar? They replied that one must learn accounting from the customs of the Iranians. So ‘Umar called upon Hormozān — the famous dynastic leader —, and enquired from him. Hormozān replied that we call our calendar “māh-rūz” which means the counting of months and days. They thus Arabized this word, Ḥamza maintains, into muwarrīkh and used its infinitive (maṣdar) as ta‘rikh. They then began to think of marking a beginning for the history of the Islamic government. Over this they became divided, until finally they decided upon the hijra as the beginning of their calendar.

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⁷¹ Mittwoch 1942, in Isfahān 1988, p. pānzdah.
⁷² Mittwoch 1942, in Isfahān 1988, p. pānzdah.
⁷³ Qazvīnī 1953, p. 163, as quoted in Ta‘rikh payāmbarān wa shāhān, p. davāzdah, n. 2.
⁷⁴ The original Arabic version of Qumī is likewise no longer extant. The manuscript we currently possess is unfortunately only an incomplete version of the Persian translation of the work by Ḥasan b. ‘Ali b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallālī Qumī in the early ninth century hijra.
⁷⁵ Rosenthal 2007, p. 156a. On the other hand, in his book Muwāzana he observes, for example, that there are 400 synonyms for the word “misfortune” in Arabic, but hastens to remark that the wealth of these synonyms is an ill-fortune in itself. Mittwoch postulates that Ḥamza might very well be joking here. I would like to thank my colleague, Dr. Asif Khooldani for highlighting this to me. Isfahān 1988.
⁷⁷ Note that this Maymūn b. Mīhrān, clearly from the dynastic Parthian Mīhrān family, was probably either not a convert or a first generation convert, as his name betrays. He seems to have been amongst that group of Iranians who communicated Persian lore and culture to the Arabs.
Amongst the important works of Ḣamza, one can count his collection of the diwān of the most celebrated Arabic poet of the early 'Abbaṣid period, ʿAbd al-Nuwas. Of this we have a number of versions. Here as well Ḣamza highlights the three dimensions of the poetry of ʿAbd al-Nuwas. As Wittcock observes, when citing the provenances the poet had directly translated from Persian, Ḣamza's diwān of ʿAbd al-Nuwas, while less critically selected than that of al-Ṣūrī, was nevertheless not an anthology of the poetry of this celebrated poet but "...contain[ed] much valuable literary information...".

**Sources and Structure of Sīnī Mulūk al-ʿArd Fī al-Anbīyāʾ**

One of strength's of Ḣamza's work in Sīnī mulūk al-ʿArd Fī al-Anbīyāʾ is his loyalty to the sources at his use. As Wittcock observes, Ḣamza's habit of indicating the authors and books which he had read, at times provides us with extracts that would have been otherwise lost. Ḣamza not only used rab and or Muslim scholars, but consulted with Jews, Greeks and Zoroastrians, when writing the respective histories of these communities. In each instance he cites his sources. A substantial section of the Sīnī on the chronology of Iranian kings is based on these. During his stay in Baghdad in 308, thereupon, Ḣamza collaborated with a Jewish scholar al-Sadqayn whom he commissioned to gather for him the history of the Israelites. Part of the chapter rat he includes on this subject, he attributes directly to al-Sadqayn. Other parts of this section on the history of the Israelites are attributed to the book of F-n-hāṣ b. Bāṭāy-i 'Ibār. His chapter on the kings of Constantinople also had an indigenous source. "I learnt these histories," Ḣamza maintains, from a Roman who had fallen captive into the hands of Al ād b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Ḣamza states, "He was a great man," Ḣamza maintains, "who knew how to read and write Greek, but was slow in speaking Arabic. He had a son called Y-m-n (?) who was a soldier in the sultān's army and was a learned astrologer. This son translated for me from a book in Greek that was read by his father." From this association of Ḣamza with the Abū Dulaf family, incidentally, it becomes apparent that Ḣamza had access to the ruling circles of his city as well.

As is apparent in Sīnī mulūk al-ʿArd Fī al-Anbīyāʾ, an important nucleus of personal collections and/or libraries containing various recensions of the Khwādīyā Nāma also existed in Isfahān. In chapter one, before discussing the chronology of pre-Islamic kings of Iran from the Pishdādīyān onwards, Ḣamza lists eight different sources: Kitāb siyar al-mulūk, translated by Ibn Muqaffa; Kitāb siyar al-mulūk al-furs, translated by Muhammad b. Jahm Barmakī; Kitāb tarikh al-mulūk al-furs, from the treasury of Maʿāmīn; Kitāb siyar al-mulūk al-furs, translated by Dhāḥīyā Isfahānī; Kitāb siyar al-mulūk al-furs, "written or translated" by Muhammad b. Bahram b. Mṭār-I Isfahānī; Kitāb tarikh mulūk bānī Sāsān "written or translated" by Hishām b. Qasim Isfahānī; and finally Kitāb tarikh mulūk bānī Sāsān "edited" by Bahram b. Mārdān Shīh the mobad of the province (wilāya) of shāpur from the region of Fārs.

In section two of the first chapter, and in continuation, Ḣamza begins by the work of Musā Kasravī. Kasravī, relates Ḣamza, has testified that he had seen and examined various copies of the Khwādīyā Nāma, but had not found two similar

87 Isfahānī 1988, p. 59.
88 He proceeds to argue in this chapter that according to Abū Maʿṣhar, the chronologies of the Iranians, the Greeks as well as the Hebrews, have become flawed due to the passage of time. As a result, their calculation of the time that has elapsed from the creation of the world up until the hijra has also become flawed. The observations and calculations of the astrologers, have rendered all these other time reckonings obsolete, Ḣamza maintains. Isfahānī 1988, p. 7-9.
89 One of the first translators of Middle Persian sources to Arabic, whose name has also been mentioned in the "Introduction" to the Shāhsānāma-i Abū Maḥṣūr as Mūsā Ḵusrawī [i.e., Kasravī], as well as in the introduction to the Turjūma-i Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabar summarized as Abū al-bāqiyā, al-Fīhrīsī and Mūsā al-Tawārīkh. Isfahānī 1988, p. 14, n. 1.
In section three, where he elaborates on the same theme, Ḥamza quotes from Bahram b. Mardān Shāh the mobad of the province of Shāpūr of the region of Fars. The theme of diversity in the various recensions of the Khwādāy Nāma manuscripts are reiterated here. Stories put in circulation by story-tellers, provide yet another source for some of the accounts that Ḥamza gives concerning pre-Islamic Iranian kings and Alexander in section four. Here he also quotes from Šuwar mulik banū Sāsān. The Avesta was used by Ḥamza in his "account of the Khwādāy Nāma on Creation" in section five. After giving his account of the Creation based on the Avesta, he observes that he has read different and more detailed versions of this account in other sources. At the end of the chapter on Iran, Ḥamza concludes by maintaining that this was a summary of the history of Iranian kings, only some of which can be found in various ta'īrkh and siyar books, the rest being based on "other sources." Abū Ma'shar's book Alīf provides Ḥamza's source for his "account of the kings of Rūm," in chapter two, while, in chapter three, for his "account of the kings of Constantinople," he gives the first source mentioned prior to this, i.e., a Greek who was in the service of Abū Dulf. In this last chapter he reiterates that he has also read an account of this history in a book by Wāki', one of the judges (qādīs) of Baghdad. Elsewhere Ḥamza maintains that Wāki' obtained his information on the chronology of the rulers of Rūm from "the history of one of the kings of Rūm translated from Greek into Arabic." Ḥamza continues to approach his sources critically, for here he observes that that which he has obtained from Wāki' is less trustworthy than that which he has narrated from his own Greek source. Ḥamza's remarkable efforts in gathering and citing his primary sources are underlined, yet again, when he maintains that one of his sources for the calendar of the kings of Greece (Yūnān), was a book on the histories of Greece, translated by Ḥabīb b. Bihriz, the leader of the kāhīns of Mowsil, which translation he had "read." He could not find the chronology of the Copts, he maintains, in any source except the Zīja, in particular, the Zīj of Nuzayr. Besides Ṣadīqiyya, he informs us, he had also used "other" books, including that of F-n-hās b. Bāṭā 'Ibrānī for his account of the history of the Israelites.

It was not only for the chronology of the Persians, the Israelites, the Greeks, the Romans, the Macedonians and the Byzantines, that Ḥamza availed himself of first hand information. He followed this same rigor when writing about the histories and chronologies of Arab kingdoms. For the history of the Lakhmids he used Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb's book Muḥabbār and the Ma'ārif of Ibn Qutayba. Here he continues to maintain a critical outlook. The sources, un-named, on which he based his own account, he maintains, agree with Ibn Ḥabīb's work, but not with that of Ibn Qutayba. For his account of the kings of Yaman he partly used, it seems, the akhbār of Ḥaytham b. 'Adī through Ibn 'Abbās. Here he also credits the narratives of Isā b. Dāb, the rāwīs of the akhbār of Yaman, the books on the histories of Yaman, as well as an inscription in the Ḥumayrī language. For the section on the histories of Kinda he mentions for his account of the events until 301. Ibn al-Adhir and Ibn al-Nadīm also quote from him. 98 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 69, n. 3.

90 One chronological calculation of the calendar of Iranian kings from the Fizhādāyān to the Sassānids is then provided here. 91 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 13. Almost all of the rest of section two is attributed to Kasravi. Here Kasravi's critical methodology in calculating the calendar of Iranian kings, based on these various manuscripts, and with the aid of Ḥasan b. 'Ali Hamadānī, the accountant (rāqgām) of Marāgha, is detailed. And yet another detailed list of the chronology of pre-Islamic Iranian kings provided. At the end of this section he takes fault with Kasravi's calculation of the chronology of the Sāsānids. Ibid., p. 13-18.

93 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 46, 47, 48.
94 Here he underlines the fact that he is giving accounts not found in Ibn Muqaffā' or Ibn Jāhīm. Ḥamzā 1988, p. 61.
95 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 61.
96 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 40.
97 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 67. Also see p. 77.
98 As Shi'ar notes this Wāki' was Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥuyyūn who died in 306 A.H. and from whom Ḥamza quotes

99 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 75.
100 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 81.
102 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 91.
103 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 90-91, 95.
104 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 103.
105 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 103.
106 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 130.
107 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 132.
108 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 137.
109 Ḥamzā 1988, p. 133.
the book "on the history of Kinda." For the histories of Ma‘ad before the hijra he names Waki‘, through two different chains of transmission, and Ia‘ız, and for the dates of the hijra, the birth of the Prophet and his call to prophethood, he names Ṭabarî’s al-Kitâb al-nadîhayal, the Sira, the râwîs, and Mādînîn. Finally in the last chapters of the book, he uses narratives from Shâdîh b. Bahr Kirmâniq via Abû Ma‘shar, his own book, Kitâb Isfâhânî, Muhammad b. Mîsâ Khwârzmî’s book on history, Ṭabarî, the translation of Abû Ma‘shar’s book, Kitâb Ikhtilâf al-Zij, and "other figures." 

Based on these sources in and through chapters that are divided to various subsections, the Sînî multâk al-tard thus gives a synopsis of the histories of the Persians, the Romans, the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Jews, the Lakhmids, the Yaman, the Ḥumayr, the Kinda as well as the Muslims. Here his concern, like Abû Rayhân Birûnî (362/973-442/1050) after him — who in fact used Ḥamza’s Sînî — is with the chronological tables of the nations he examines. The book betrays a refreshing "universal" outlook. What must be underlined, however, is that, in spite of the title of the work, the Sînî is predominantly concerned with the chronology of the kings of various nations, rather than that of the Prophets. Comparatively, and for obvious reasons — in that there are few prophets with the date of which Ḥamza is concerned — therefore, the latter occupy a small portion of Ḥamza’s exposition. In the case of the Islamic calendar, however, it must be emphasized that while Ḥamza includes only a few pages on the chronological accounts concerning the date of the call to prophethood, the hijra, and the birth and death of the Prophet and other important dates of early Islamic history, these, together with other comparative chronological indicators that he provides, are quite significant. Their use is therefore crucial in any attempt at a critical investigation of the calendar of early Islamic history. Ḥamza basing themselves on the book of Zoroaster, called the Avesta, which is their religious book, believe that it has been 4182 years and 10 months and 19 days from the time of Kayîmorth, the father of man-kind, to the kingship of Yazgird III.” Stating that the “accounts of the astrologers renders all these fallacious,” Ḥamza then elaborates on this latter account. Isfâhânî 1988, p. 9. A short account is also given on how the exodus of the Israelites with Moses from Egypt took place during the reign of Manûchîhr. Isfâhânî 1988, p. 34.

The following are the various chronological indicators that he gives concerning the Islamic calendar: 1) The birth of Prophet Muhammad took place on the “41st year of the rule of Anûshirvân.” Isfâhânî 1988, p. 57; 2) The birth of the Prophet took place on the “40th year of the rule of Nowshirvân.” Isfâhânî 1988, p. 110; 3) There were 85 Roman kings after Alexander, and up until the hijra; 4) “... During the rule of Marqûn[s]... [who ruled] for one year and four months, the call to Prophethood of the messenger of God took place... Fûqûs (Ploca 602-610 C. E.), at the end of whose kingship the hijra took place, [ruled] for eight years, and during the [combined rule of] Hirûq (Heraclius 610-641 C. E.) and his son, which lasted for 31 years, the wars against Syria and the death of the Prophet took place...” Isfâhânî 1988, p. 75-76; 5) The Prophet Muhammad received his call to Prophethood in the “1st year and sixth month of the kingship of Ayyûb b. Qubaysa [the Lakhmid king] (613-618 C.E.), which was equivalent to the 16th, or according to Muhammad b. Habîb, the 20th year of the kingship of Khusrow Parviz.” Isfâhânî 1988, p. 113-114; 6) The hijra of the messenger of God took place “in the 29th, or according to Muhammad b. Habîb, the 33rd year of the kingship of Khusrow Parviz. 15 years and eight months after the [inception] of the kingship of Dâdîhûa [sic] b. Mihrânbundîd Hamadânî, the Iranian Lakhmid king]... and this was contemporaneous with the fourth year of the kingship of Ardshîr, the son of Shîrûyân.” Isfâhânî 1988, p. 114: 7) The “arrival of Khâlid b. Wulîd in Hera took place during Pârangudkht’s rule and 12 years after the hijra of the messenger of God. Pârangudkht assumed power at the end of the caliphate of Abû Bakr, and ruled for seven months, after the arrival of Khâlid to Hera, three months during the rule of Abû Bakr, and four months during that of Umar.” Isfâhânî 1988, p. 115; 8) “The hijra took place in the 32nd year of the kingship of Khusrow Parviz... In the 38th year of his reign... Khusrow Parviz died. The prophet lived for four years after him and his death was contemporaneous with the month in which Yazgird, the son of Shahryâr, the son of Khusrow Parviz, assumed the throne.” Isfâhânî 1988, p. 140: 9) The "year of the Elephant," Ḥamza maintains elsewhere, “was the year in which the messenger of God was born. This
devotes section two of the tenth chapter to the accounts of the day and the month of hijra and the birth of the Prophet and his call to prophethood, and section three of the same chapter to an account of some of the events that took place according to the hijra calendar "after the death of the Prophet."

His obsession with pre-Islamic Iran is further underlined in the work under consideration. In the sixth section of the tenth chapter, Hamza indulges in an incredible undertaking that, to the author's knowledge, is unprecedented in the accounts of any other historian: viz., in a chart that he provides, he calculates, year by year, what he purports to be the exact date, to the day, of the Iranian celebration of the New Year in corresponding hijra chronology. Thus he calculates the date of Nowruz from the year one of hijra to the year 350. It has been observed that this chart is full of mistakes in calculation and seems to have been based on the popular reckonings of the dates of Nowruz. This, however, is yet again a moot issue. For surely it is Hamza's obsessive preoccupation with calculating what, to him, was the exact date of Iranian New Year for the past 350 years, that deserves notice rather than the potential veracity of the tables that he thus prepares.

In the next section on the "noteworthy events that have transpired after the hijra," Hamza gives, at times detailed, reports on the major natural calamities that afflicted the eastern lands, concentrating mostly on those transpiring between 222/837 to 305/918 in general and 291/904-344/956 in Isfahan in particular. Once again, besides his pre-occupation with his native city, his concentration here is predominantly on Iraq and the regions to the east of it, i.e., Baghdad to Sarakhs. Here he mentions the terrible famine that engulfed the "two cities" of Isfahan towards the end of 323/935 and the beginning of 324/936, when more than 200,000 people lost their lives in the region.

In the next section on the "rebellions that took place in Baghdad during the 'Abbasid period," Hamza details the revolts that took place in the city from 308/921 to 320/932, the bulk of his narratives here being concerned with the rebellions of the Qaramiya. Hamza's Sinī mutāfik al-'ard w' al-anbīya then ends with two significant sections, one on the "governors of Khurassan," and the other on the "rulers of Tabaristan." In the introduction to the first section he provides a justification for selecting these two regions from the midst of all the others. "I have included the history of these two regions from amongst all other regions in this book," he explains, on account of the fact, that it were "the people of Khurassan and Tabaristan who, under the,

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124 His obsession with the Iranian calendar is also reflected in the fact that at times he insists on calculating events also on the basis of this calendar. In the section on "some of the remarkable events that have occurred after the hijra," therefore, when he is describing the storm that engulfed Isfahan in 344 A.H., he gives the Iranian calendar as well. Thus, he maintains, for example, that the "next day, that is the night of the day of Asnad, a lightenext appeared from the horizon on the west ... and in the morning thereafter, that is on the day of Asma ... the river was filled with water ... Isfahan 1988, p. 181.


126 Amongst these, once again, he lists the "blanket of snow" that covered Isfahan on the morning of Nowruz. Isfahan 1969, p. 147-148; Isfahan 1988, p. 179-180.


leadership of two valiant figures, Abū Muslim and r’l Ḥusayn b. Būya, revolted against the Bani Ayyäh! The Buyids, we realize, of course, er revolted against the Umayyads, but the basids. Ḥamza, however, is couching his lanation in such patenty ahistorical terms, it ns, because he is in fact echoing the Messianic ectations of the end of the Arab rule circulating mgst his contemporary Iranians. That subsequent he ‘Abbasid revolution and contemporaneous the Buyid rise to power — that is, precisely ng Ḥamza’s life-time — such expectations were act clearly circulating and very popular, is tilted by Biruni. The pre-occupation of aẓa with popular sentiments that articulated the of Arab rule, and his obsession with the Arab as Persian ethos, are in fact further underlined he anecdotal narrative with which he chooses to tmence his section on the govenors of aristan. The Iranians, he maintains here, no the Daylam, the Kurds of Tabaristan,” as Arabs consider the population of Iraq as the ds of Suristan.” 134 Ali b. Hishām narrates from im b. Sulaymān Nishābūrī that Mu’ād b. Illī had told the latter that when caliph Maṣūr returning from Nishāpūr and reached the mtain of Tabaristan, he asked Mu’ād the name he mountains. The latter informed Maṣūr that or are called the mountains of Tabaristan. On this it, Ḥamza narrates, Maṣūr became disturbed and said: “The Bani ‘Abbās shall continue to rule untl … such a time that an Arab takes over the rule of the territories beyond these mountains, a rule whose pillars would, nevertheless, be the ‘ajam of these regions. At this juncture however, Arab rule will be transferred to the Iranians and government will be taken over by a group of Iranians. The Bani ‘Abbās, Mu’ād had continued for Maṣūr, will at this point come under their control.” It was as result of this, Ḥamza maintains, that a few years later, in 144 Maṣūr ordered Abu’l Khaṣīb to conquer Tabaristan. For Maṣūr, Ḥamza maintains, was afraid of such prognostications and thus occupied himself with the affairs of Tabaristan until he took over sovereignty from Isphahbūd Khurshīd b. Dād Burzmihī b. Farrukhān. 135 This then was an attempt to put, to the extent possible, Ḥamza and his work, the Sinī mulūk al-ʿard w’ al-anbiyyā in their proper context. To the Ṣāsānid historical geography contained in the Histories of the Kings and the Prophets we now return.

**THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE SĀSĀNIDS IN SINĪ MULŪK AL-ʿARD W’ AL-ANBIYYĀ**

A

Abarshahr (wilāya): qv Nishāpūr.

Abkhāz (rūstā): qv Azarmidukht.

Ādhar Shāpūr: qv Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird.

Ādharbād: qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf.

Ādharbād-i Ṣafāhān: qv Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird.

Afrūdshāh, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyīh: qv Shīrūyīh.

‘A-k-b-rā or Buzurj Shāpūr: qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf.

Alān (or Arrān): qv Khusrow Anūshīrwan.

Alān Shāh: qv Khusrow Anūshīrwan.

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2 Commenting on the messianic hopes of the Iranians, Ṣafāhānī maintains: They have hoped that during the rule of the anītes “kingship will return to the Persians...” I don’t v, however, Biruni objects, “based on what they have en the rule of the Daylamites,” for astrological signs rather nate that such a change should transpire during the ʿāsid rule, which is a Khurāsānī and eastern government. So, it is clear, however, Biruni continues, that neither the ʿAbbās nor the Alī Būya, were capable of reviving an rule and reestablishing their religion. Biruni, 1984, p.

3 Ḥamza’s chapter on the “astrological reasons for the ilarity of Islam to other religions,” for example, is quite vatent chapter that needs to be examined by one famili medieval astrology and astronomy. Sufficient to say here Ḥamza here brings evidence that the “rule of the Arabs begin to deteriorate from the events that transpire in the.” Ṣafāhānī 1969, p. 126-127; p. 161-163.

Alexandria: Amongst the stories that story-tellers have concocted is that Alexander constructed 12 cities in Iran and called all of them Alexandria. These are said to have included cities in Isfahān, Herāt, Marv, Samarqand, Sughd, Babylon and Meysān and four cities in the Sawād of Iraq. But this news is not trustworthy for Alexander was a destroyer and not a constructor. Sinī, p. 40; Tārīkh, p. 40.

a’māl, or Šanāl: Sinī, p. 35; Tārīkh, p. 35.

Anārbār (rūstā): qv Isfahān 3; Anārbār is located in Isfahān. In the qarīya of M-m-nūr of the village (rūstā) of Anārbār, Gushbas built a fire-temple. Sinī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 37.

Anbār: qv Firūz-Shāpūr.

Antākiyya (Antioch): qv Rūm 6; qv Bih-az-Andiv-Shāpūr; qv Bih-az-Andiv Khusrow; qv Khusrow Anūshīrwān; Antākiyya was the city constructed by the Roman king Antīkhus (Antiochus), the third king after Alexander. Sinī, p. 40-41; Tārīkh, p. 41-42.

‘Aqrāqūf: qv Babylonia or Bābil; Sinī, p. 35; Tārīkh, p. 35.

Ardashīr Abād (or H-māniyū): qv Zāb 2; Ardashīr Abād was the name of the city constructed by Kay Ardashīr on the Upper Zāb. Sinī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 37.

Ardashīr Khurra: Ardashīr constructed many cities: amongst these were Ardashīr Khurra, Bīh Ardashīr, Bahman Ardashīr, Ashā’ Ardashīr (or Inshā’ Ardashīr), Rām Ardashīr, Rām Hormozd Ardashīr, Hormozd Ardashīr, Būd Ardashīr, Vahshī Ardashīr and Bitan Ardashīr. Ardashīr Khurra is the same as Firūz Abād in Fārs (qv Fārs) which used to be called Gūr and, on the orders of ‘Ali b. Būya, was renamed Firūz Abād. Gūr and Gūr both mean a pit or a ditch and not a tomb or a niche, for the Iranians had no tombs and used to hide their dead in corms (dakhmih) and carved stones. Sinī, p. 43; Tārīkh, p. 44.


Ardistān (qarīya): qv Isfahān 4; Ardistān is a qarīya in Isfahān where Kay Ardashīr constructed the fire temple of Mīhr Ardashīr. Sinī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 38.

Arrajān (or Bih-az-Ămid-Kavād): qv Kavād, the son of Firūz.

Arrān (or Alān): qv Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Ashā’ Ardashīr (or Inshā’ Ardashīr): qv Ardashīr Khurra; Ashā’ Ardashīr is the name of a city next to the Dajīl which is also called Karkh-i Meysān. Sinī, p. 43; Tārīkh, p. 45.

Azān: qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf.

Āzarbayjān: qv Firūz, the son of Yazdgird; qv India; qv Yazdgird III; qv Khusrowzābd Khurram Hormozd; 1) Zoroaster, who had risen from Āzarbayjān, went to Kay Gushṭāb in the thirteenth year of the latter’s rule when the king was fifty years old. Gushṭāb accepted Zoroaster’s religion. The king then sent a group of people to Rūm in order to invite the Romans to the religion of Zoroaster. On account of the peace treaty that they had formed with Feraydūn, based on which they had been free to choose their own religion, however, the people of Rūm did not accept the invitation. So he [i.e., the king] left them in peace in order to abide by their [previous] contract. Sinī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 37; 2) Firūz, the son of Yazdgird, constructed a city in the region (nawāḥi) of Āzarbayjān. Sinī, p. 50; Tārīkh, p. 53.

Āzarmidukht, the daughter of Khusrow Parviz: In the village (diw) of Q-r-t-mān of the rūstā of Abkhāz, Āzarmidukht constructed a fire-temple. Sinī, p. 54; Tārīkh, p. 59.

Āzarmidukht, the daughter of Khusrow Parviz: qv Āzarmidukht.

Bāb al-Abvāb (or the dam of Darband): Bāb al-Abvāb was the dam constructed by Khusrow Anūshīrwān with a distance of approximately 20 farsakhs from the sea to the mountains. Sinī, p. 51; Tārīkh, p. 55.

Babylonia or Bābil: qv Zibāvand (Zināvand) Tāhmūrath-i: qv Kūshghar; qv Alexandria; 1) Alexander conquered Babylonia. Sinī, p. 24; Tārīkh,
and engage in entertainment without the presence of minstrels and entertainers (al-hawāshiyya w’ al-
\'akā’il). For this reason the price of [hiring] the minstrels rose, each performance (dast) costing a
hundred dirhams. Šinī, p. 49; Tārīkh, p. 52. One day he saw a group of people not engaged in merriment.
He asked: Have I not forbid you from not entertaining yourselves? They replied that they
couldn’t find any for less than a hundred dirhams. Bahram then wrote to the king of India and asked
for minstrels from him. The latter sent 12,000 to him. Bahram sent these to various cities and regions
of his realm. Producing offspring, the number of these increased. A small number of these still
remain. They are called the zur Šinī, p. 49; Tārīkh, p. 52-53.

Bahrayn: qv Badiyya; qv Bitan Ardashīr.

Bahrūsir: qv Bih Ardashīr.

Balkh: 1) Balkh was the seat of Key Kāvūs. Šinī, p. 35, 36; Tārīkh, p. 35, 36; 2) Humāy or Shemīrān,
the daughter of Bahman, had her seat in Balkh. Šinī, p. 38; Tārīkh, p. 38.

Bardshīr (Bardsrū): qv Bih Ardashīr.

bard: Dārā, the son of Bahman, was the first
king to construct roads for beasts of burden and use
horses whose tails had been cut off for the purpose.
They called these cut-tail (bard dūn). Becoming
Arabisized, the second part of the word was deleted
and shortened to bard. Šinī, p. 38; Tārīkh, p. 39.

Baṣra: The city that Kay Ardashīr constructed in
Meysān and called Bahman Ardashīr, was known as
the Tigris of Baṣra. Šinī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 38.

Bāsh-r-vān or Bāj-r-vān: qv Rūm 1.

Beyt al-Muqaddas: qv Jerusalem.

B-gb-rān Šāh: qv Khosrow Anūshirwān.

Bih Ardashīr: qv Ardashīr Khurra; Bih Ardashīr
is the name of two cities, one in Iraq and the other in
Kirmān. The first is one of the seven cities of

130 According to Hamza the Šābeans were a Christian sect
who differed from the majority of Christians in their particular
beliefs, and were considered innovators. Isfahānī 1988, p. 31.

Madāyin (qv Madā‘in) and is on the western [coast] of the Tigris. It is called Bahrusr in Arabic. The other is Bih Ardashir of Kirmān which has been called Bardshir (Bardsr) in Arabic. Sīnī, p. 43; Tārīkh, p. 45.

Bih-az-Āmid-Kavād (or Arrajān): qv Kavād, the son of Fīrūz.

Bih-az-Andīv Khusrow: qv Khusrow Anūšhrwān.

Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr: qv Shāpūr, the son of Ardashir; Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr is one of the cities of Khuzistān. Its etymology in Persian is bīh, meaning better, and thus as a whole the word means "a city better than Antioch." The design of this city is like a chess-board for within it eight roads intersect eight others. In ancient times they used to base the design of the cities on the model of things (asbāy) [sic?]. For example the design of the city of Shūsh (Sīs) (qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktf) is like that of a hawk and the city of Shāhsātar is like that of a horse. Sīnī, p. 45; Tārīkh, p. 47.

Bilāsh, the son of Fīrūz: Bilāsh, the son of Fīrūz, constructed two cities, one in the Sābāt of Mada‘in and the other next to Hūlwān, called Bilāshghar. Sīnī, p. 50; Tārīkh, p. 54.

Bilāshghar: qv Bilāsh; Bilāshghar is a city constructed by Bilāsh, the son of Fīrūz, next to Hūlwān. Sīnī, p. 50; Tārīkh, p. 54.

Bilāsh-Shāpūr: qv Shāpūr, the son of Ardashir.

Bishāpūr: qv Shāpūr, the son of Ardashir; Bishāpūr is one of the cities of Fars. It is also the name of the wiliyā. They shorten it in Arabic and call it Sābūr. Shāpūr constructed this city in lieu of the city constructed by Ṭāhmūrath and destroyed by Alexander. Its original name has been forgotten. Sīnī, p. 44; Tārīkh, p. 47.

Bītān Ardashir (or Tan Ardashir): qv Ardashir Khurra; Bītān Ardashir is one of the cities of Bahrāyn. It is so called because Ardashir constructed the walls (bārī) of the city on top of the bodies of its population who had disobeyed him — laying one row of bodies and one row of mud alternatively. It is as a result of this that it is called Tan Ardashir. Sīnī, p. 44; Tārīkh, p. 45-46.

Bīwarasb: Bīwarasb lived in Babylon (qv Babylon). There he constructed a house in the shape of a crane (kurkī). Sīnī, p. 33; Tārīkh, p. 32.

Bridge of Jamshīd: Constructed by Jamshīd over the Tigris river, the Bridge of Jamshīd is one of the remarkable works of this Pishdādāi king. The bridge lasted for a long while before being destroyed by Alexander. Other kings tried to reconstruct it unsuccessfully. Later the base of the bridge was used for constructing another bridge on it. The remnants of the Bridge of Jamshīd are still visible in the western entrance (ma‘bar) to the two cities of Mada‘in (Ctesiphon). When the waters of the Tigris go down the sailors can pass through there. Sīnī, p. 32; Tārīkh, p. 32.

Bridge over the Tigris: qv Bridge of Jamshīd.

Būd Ardashir: qv Ardashir Khurra; Būd Ardashir is a city in Mowṣīl. Sīnī, p. 44; Tārīkh, p. 45.

Būrāndukht, the daughter of Khusrow Parviz: It was Būrāndukht who returned the cross to the Catholicos (Jāthaliq). Sīnī, p. 54; Tārīkh, p. 59.

Buzurj Shāpūr or ‘A-k-b-rā: qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktf.

C

Catholicos (or Jāthaliq): qv Būrāndukht.

China (al-Ṣīn): When dividing his realm amongst his three sons, Feraydūn gave Tibet, China, as well as the eastern regions (bilād-i sharq) to his son Ṭūj [sic]. Sīnī, p. 34; Tārīkh, p. 33.

Constantinople: When they informed Bilāsh, the son of Khusrow, that the Romans are preparing to attack Iran, he wrote to the neighboring mulūk al-tawā’if (qv mulūk al-tawā’if) and asked for their aid. Based on their powers and resources, each king then sent him wealth and men. When Bilāsh became powerful [as a result], he gave the command of the army to Šāhib al-Khizr, one of the mulūk al-tawā’if, whose territory was close to Rūm. The latter fought the Roman army, killed their king, and returned with

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139 The Persian translation has (murgā) for (kurkī) by mistake.
the booty to Iraq (qv Iraq) where he gave one-fifth of it to Billāsh. This war forced the Romans to build a [new] well-built city and transfer their capital to it, so that they might be close to Iranian territories. This city became Constantinople. They constructed the city and made it their capital. The king of Rūm at this point was Quṣṭantīn, the son of Nīrūn. They therefore called the city Constantinople. Constantine was the first king who accepted Christianity and called his people to it. He then set out against the Children of Israel and drove them out of Jerusalem. Up to this day the Jews have not regained control of it. Sinī, p. 41; Ṭārīḥk, p. 42-43.

Ctesiphon: qv Madā‘īn.

D

Dam of Darband (or Bāb al-Abvāb): qv Khusrow Anūshirwān.

Dārā, the son of Dārā: During Dārā’s kingship Alexander rose in the west. Up to this time the people of the west, from the Copts to the Berbers, as well as the population of Northern Rūm, the Ṣaqāliba (Slavs), that of Syria and Palestine, i.e., the Jarmaqi and the Jarjams, were generally the taxpayers of Iran. When Alexander became king and the officials of Dārā went to him to collect the taxes, he told these to relay to Dārā that the hens which hatched these eggs are no longer laying eggs. This was the cause of the war between Dārā and Alexander where Dārā was killed. Sinī, p. 38-39; Ṭārīḥk, p. 39.

Dārā-ān (Dāriyān): qv Nasibine; Dārā-ān was the city that Dārā constructed to the North of Nasibine. Sinī, p. 39; Ṭārīḥk, p. 39.

Dārābījīrd (in Fārs): qv Rūm 5; qv Fārs 1; qv Rūm Vīshnāsān (Rūm Vīshṭāspān); qv ‘āmil (of Fārs); 1) Dārābījīrd, which means the city of Dārā, was constructed in one of the wilāyās of Fārs by Dārā the son of Bahman. Prior to this it was called Ustān Farkān[140] [sic] (or Aspānvar?). Sinī, p. 38; Ṭārīḥk, p. 39; 2) Gushās built a triangular city in the wilāyā of Dārābījīrd and called it Rūm Vīshnāsān (Rūm Vīshṭāspān). This is the same as the city of Fāsā. Later, a native of the region called Azādmand Kāmgār, who was the governor (‘āmil) of Ḥaǰjāb b. Yūsuf in Fārs, turned the wall (bārū) of Dārābījīrd into a circular wall. Sinī, p. 37; Ṭārīḥk, p. 37.

Dārak (qaɾîya): qv Iṣfahān 4; Dārak is a qaɾîya in the rūstā of Khwār in Iṣfahān where Kay Ardashīr constructed the fire temple of Zūrvān Ardashīr. Sinī, p. 37; Ṭārīḥk, p. 38.

Darband: qv Khusrow Anūshirwān.

Dastbey (or Dastbey): qv Rūm 1.

Desert of Tiyya: qv Egypt 2; When Moses brought the Children of Israel out of Egypt, he stayed in the desert of Tiyya for 40 years during which time he managed their affairs. He wrote the Torah in the same place for them. Sinī, p. 34; Ṭārīḥk, p. 34.

Diḥ: qv Ḥirvān (or Jirvān); qv Q-r-t-mān.

D-s-k-r-t al-Malik: qv Hormozd, the son of Shāpūr; D-s-k-r-t al-Malik was constructed by Hormozd the son of Shāpūr. Sinī, p. 45; Ṭārīḥk, p. 47.

E

Egypt: qv Miṣr. Sinī, p. 33, 34; Ṭārīḥk, p. 33, 34.

Ethiopia (or Ḥabashī): qv Yemen.

Euphrates: Manūchihr opened up the river Euphrates as well as the river Mihrān, which is bigger than the Euphrates. He also dug great canals from the Tigris and Euphrates. Sinī, p. 34; Ṭārīḥk, p. 34.

F

Farāt-i Meyēsān (or the Tigris of Baṣra): qv Bahman Ardashīr.

Fārs: qv Bahrām b. Mardānshāh; qv Shāpūr (wilāyā of); qv Dārābījīrd; qv Iṣṭakhr; qv Kuškūd mountain; qv Ardashīr Khurra; qv Rūm Vīshnāsān (Rūm Vīshṭāspān or Fāsā); qv ‘āmil (of Fārs); qv Bishāpūr; In one of the wilāyās of Fārs, Dārā, the

[140] The editor notes that according to Bahar Aspānvar was also one of the quarters of Ctesiphon. Iṣfahāni 1988, p. 39, n. 2.
son of Bahman, constructed a city which he called Dārdābjird, which means the city of Dārā. Prior to this it was called Ustān Farkān 141 [sic] (or Aspānvar?). Šīrūn, p. 38; Tārīkh, p. 39.

Fasā (or Rām Vishtāspān): qv Dārdābjird (in Fārs); qv Rām Vishtāspān (Rām Vishtāspān).

Filān Shāh: qv Khusrow Anūshīrwan.

Fire of Kūshīd: qv Kūshīd mountain; The fire constructed by Kay Khusrow atop of the Kūshīd mountain after he killed the dragon. Šīrūn, p. 36; Tārīkh, p. 36.

Firūz Ābād: qv Ardashīr Khurra.

Firūz, the son of Yazdgird: Firūz, the son of Yazdgird, constructed two cities, one in India and the other close to this region. He called these, after himself, Rām Firūz and Rōshān (Rowshan) Firūz. He also constructed a city each in the regions of Rayy, Gurgān and Āzarbayjān. He constructed a wall between Transoxiana and Irānshahr. And he completed the wall of the city of Jāy. He closed the gates of the city of Jāy through the efforts of Adhar Shāpūr, the son of Adharmāhān-ī Isfahānī. Šīrūn, p. 50; Tārīkh, p. 53-54. He gave the sijil (peace agreement) of the city named H-f-n-h 142 to the latter. By his orders, half of the Jewish population of Isfahān were killed. And their children were taken as slaves (barda) to the fire-temple of Sūrūsh Adhārān (qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktaf) which is located in the garīya of Ḥīrvān (or Jīrvān, qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktaf). It was in this same garīya that Firūz skinned two of the hirbad and sewing their skins together, had them used in the tanning industry. Šīrūn, p. 50; Tārīkh, p. 53-54.

Firūzānshāh, the son of Khusrow Parviz, the brother of Shīrūyih: qv Shīrūyih.

Firūz-Shāpūr: qv Shāpūr, the son of Ardashīr; Firūz-Shāpūr is one of the cities of Iraq which is called Anbār in Arabic. Šīrūn, p. 45; Tārīkh, p. 47.

Gar: qv Sākān Shah.

Gundishāpūr: qv Rūm 8; Once Mānī was killed by the orders of Bahrām, the son of Hormozd, he was skinned. His skin was then filled with straw and hung from one of the gates of Gundishāpūr. Šīrūn, p. 46; Tārīkh, p. 48.

Gurgān (Jurjān): Firūz, the son of Yazdgird constructed a city in the region (nawāhid) of Gurgān. Šīrūn, p. 50; Tārīkh, p. 53.

Habash (or Ethiopia): qv Yemen.

Hadithīh: qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktaf.

Haft Iqlim (‘aqāli is sabu’a): Tahmūrāth ruled the haft iqlim for 30 years, Jam ruled it for 616 years, and Biwarasp ruled it for a 1000 years. Šīrūn, p. 27; Tārīkh, p. 20.

Herāt: qv Alexandria.

H-f-n-h: qv Firūz, the son of Yazdgird.

Hirbad: qv Firūz, the son of Yazdgird.

Hīrvān (or Jīrvān, village of): qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktaf; qv Firūz, the son of Yazdgird.

H-māniyā (or Ardashīr Abād): H-māniyā is the city constructed by Kay Ardashīr on the banks of the Upper Zāb river. Šīrūn, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 37.

H-n-bū Shāpūr (or Kh-n-b Shāpūr): qv Kavād, the son of Firūz; H-n-bū Shāpūr is a city near Madā’in. Šīrūn, p. 50-51; Tārīkh, p. 54-55.

Hormozd Ardashīr: qv Ardashīr Khurra; Hormozd Ardashīr is the name of two cities which Ardashīr named after his own name and that of the all-Mighty God [i.e., Ohromzd], when he was setting up their boundaries. In one of these he settled the traders and in the other the elite and nobility. The city of the traders also got another name, Ḥūjistān-ī Wājār?, which, once Arabized, became Sūq al-Ahvāz. The city of the elite came to be called H-r-mshīr. When the Arabs came to Khuzistān, they destroyed this city of the nobility. But the city of the traders remained. Then, after the wars of Ḥājjāj with
the qurā, two of the other cities of Khuzistān, one called Rustam Kavād, which in Arabic became Riṣāqābād, and the other Jūştād [?], were also destroyed. Sinī, p. 43; Tārīkh, p. 45.

Hormozd, the son of Shāpūr: One of his deeds was the construction of D-s-k-r-t al-Malik. Sinī, p. 45; Tārīkh, p. 47.

H-r-mshīr: qv Hormozd Ardashīr.

Hūjisṭān-i Wājār? (or Sūq al-Ahvāz): qv Hormozd Ardashīr.

Hulwān: qv Bilāsh, son of Firūz; qv Kavād, son of Firūz.

Hunrizh (Khūnīras) Iṣqan-i: Fereydūn ruled over Hunrizh (Khūnīras) for 500 years. Sinī, p. 27; Tārīkh, p. 20.

I

India: qv Bahram-i Gūr, the son of Yazdgird; 1) Fereydūn gave Iraq, his youngest son, Iraq, the western regions and India. Sinī, p. 34; Tārīkh p. 33; 2) Firūz, the son of Yazdgird, constructed two cities, one in India and the other close to it. He called these, after himself, Rūm Firūz and Rowshān (Rowshan) Firūz. He also constructed a city each in the regions of Rayy, Gurgān and Āzarbayjān. He constructed a wall between Transoxiana and Irānshahr. And he completed the wall of the city of Jayy. Sinī, p. 50; Tārīkh, p. 53.

Iraq: qv Alexandria; qv India; qv Babylonia 3; qv mulūk al-tawā`īf; qv Constantinople; qv Kavād; qv Yazdgird III; qv Rūm; qv Sawād; qv River of Iraq (or River of the King); qv Bih Ardashīr; qv Izad-Kavād; qv Firūz-Shāpūr (or Anbār); 1) While dividing his realm amongst his three sons, Salm, Tūj, and Iraq, Fereydūn gave Iraq, his youngest son, Iraq, and the western regions and India. Sinī, p. 34; Tārīkh, p. 33, 35; 2) The Roman Emperor Julianus II “the Apostate” (r. 361-363), who left Christianity and returned to idol worship, attacked Iraq and was killed there. Shāpūr appointed one of the generals of the Roman army, called Bûniyānūs, who was a Christian, to the governorship of Rūm. The latter returned the Romans to their own land. Sinī, p. 66; Tārīkh, p. 73.

Irān vathārath Kavād: During Kay Kavād’s reign Irānshahr, like Rayy, had one wilāya (kūra). Key Kavād added another wilāya and called it Irān-vathārat-Kavād. In this same wilāya, during the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, there was a rūstū that connected it to the territories (a`māl) of Qum. Sinī, p. 35; Tārīkh, p. 35.

Irānshahr: Sinī, p. 43, 50; Tārīkh, p. 44, 53.

Irān-shād-Kavād: Kavād, son of Firūz, built a number of cities, amongst them Irān-shād-Kavād. Sinī, p. 51; Tārīkh, p. 54.

Iṣṭakhr: qv Rūm 5; The first Iranian king Hūshang-i Pishdādī, Pishdād meaning the first ruler, was enthroned in Iṣṭakhr. It is on account of this that Iṣṭakhr is called “the abode of the king” (būni-i shāh). The Iranians believe that both Hūshang as well as his brother Vik-r-t are prophets. Sinī, p. 31; Tārīkh, p. 30. The first undertaking of Ardashīr, the son of Bābāk, was the conquest of Iṣṭakhr. Then, with the aid of the population of Iṣṭakhr, he took control of some other provinces of Iran that had been under the control of the mulūk al-tawā`īf (qv mulūk al-tawā`īf) and crowned himself king. He then realized, however, that surrounding him were many petty rulers whose government was being sustained on the shoulders of their cultivators, and that the population of these regions, while agreeing on the fundamentals of their religion, [otherwise] differed from each other. Sinī, p. 42; Tārīkh, p. 43.

İsfahān: qv Kūshid mountain; qv Irān vathārat Kavād; qv Alexandria; qv Firūz, the son of Yazdgird; qv Yazdgird III; 1) Taḥmūrat built two great constructions called Mihrīn and Sārūya in İsfahān. Mihrīn then became the name of a village (rūstū) which was called Kūk and was located below it. After thousands of years the wall (būrū) of the city of Jayy enclosed Sārūya. The remains of both of these, i.e., Mihrīn and Sārūya, still stand. Sinī, p. 31; Tārīkh, p. 31; 2) During the rule of the Kayanid king Key Kavād, people started cultivating the lands. Key Kavād used to collect 1/10th (`ushr) 143

142 Gyselen 1982.
143 Generally referring to the elite of a region by medieval historians, in this case, presumably, the military elite.
144 Here, once again, we are most probably dealing with the Ctesian method whereby the measure taken by the Sāsānīd
[of the produce] and expend it on the army and protecting the frontiers. *Sīn*ī, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 35; 3) Gushṭāb built a fire-temple in the qarīyā of M-mānūr of the village (rūstā) of Anārbār which is located in Isfahān. *Sīn*ī, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37; 4) In one day [Kay] Ardashīr constructed three fire temples in Isfahān. One was built when the sun was rising. The other at noon when the sun is in the center of the skies and a third at sunset. The first, called Shahr Ardashīr — for Shahr means evening twilight, and Ardashīr is the name of Bahman (himself) — was located next to the fortress of Mārin. The second, called Zurrān Ardashīr, was located in the qarīyā of Dārak in the rūstā of Khwār, and the third was the fire temple of Mihr Ardashīr and was located in the qarīyā of Ardistān. *Sīn*ī, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 38; 5) Hūmāy constructed a beautiful city in Isfahān in a rūstā known as Taymarih and called it Khumīhān. The city was destroyed by Alexander. *Sīn*ī, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 38; 6) Ardashīr had Mihr b. Vardān divide the waters of Isfahān. Ardashīr also divided the waters of Khuzistān. And created rivers from these. Amongst these latter was the river of M-sh-r-gān or M-s-r-gān which FRING Persian is called Ardashīrakān. *Sīn*ī, p. 44; *Tārīkh*, p. 46.

Izad-Kavād (a city in the Sawād of Iraq): *qv* Kavād, the son of Firūz.

J

Jājāh (qarīyā): *qv* Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf.

Jājan: *qv* Kavād, the son of Firūz.

Jāthaliq (or Catholicos): *qv* Būrāndukht.

Javānshīr, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyīh: *qv* Shīrūyīh.

Jawy (rūstā): *qv* Isfahān; *qv* Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf; *qv* Firūz, the son of Yazgird.

Jerusalem: *qv* The city of the Jews; *qv* Rūm 7; *qv* Constantinople; *qv* Khusrow Parvīz 2; 1) Jerusalem was destroyed by Bukht al-Nāṣr during the rule of Luhrāsīb. Bukht al-Nāṣr took the population to the eastern regions in slavery and divided them amongst different cities. *Sīn*ī, p. 33, 77-82; *Tārīkh*, p. 33, 94; 2) Gūdarz, the son of Arsaces, destroyed Jerusalem twice and slaughtered some of its population and took others into captivity. *Sīn*ī, p. 41; *Tārīkh*, p. 42.

Jūrjān: *qv* Gurgān.

Jūstād: *qv* Hormozd Ardashīr.

K

Karkh-i Meysān: *qv* Ashā’ Ardashīr (or Inshā’ Ardashīr).

Kāshghār: After Alexander conquered Iran, he reached Kāshghār. He stayed there for a while after which, intending to return, he set out towards Babylon. Once he reached Qūmis, he fell ill and on his way to Babylon his illness increased. He died before reaching the city. *Sīn*ī, p. 39; *Tārīkh*, p. 40.

Kavād, the son of Firūz: Kavād constructed a number of cities. One, between Hulwān (*qv* Bilāsh) and Shahrzūr, he called Irān-shād-Kavād. A second city between Jājān (Jurjān) and Abasarshār (*qv* Nishāpūr), he called Shahr-ābād-Kavād. A third city in Persepolis he called Bih-az-Āmid-Kavād. This is the same as Arrajān. He also established a wilāya in this city. He constructed a city near Madā’in and called it H-n-bū Shāpūr. The population of Baghdad calls it Kh-n-b Shāpūr. Yet another city that he constructed was called Vilāshjīr (or Vilāshgard), and another, next to Mowšil, was called Khābūr Kavād. He also built a city in Sawād, the rūstā, of Iraq, called Izad-Kavād. He made Hārith b. ‘Amru b. Hajār-i Kindi the king of the Arabs. *Sīn*ī, p. 50-51; *Tārīkh*, p. 54-55.

Khābūr Kavād: *qv* Kavād, the son of Firūz.

Khumīhān: *qv* Isfahān 5; The city of Khumīhān was constructed by Humāy, the daughter of Bahman, in the rūstā of Taymarih in Isfahān. The city was destroyed by Alexander. *Sīn*ī, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

Khurra Shāpūr: *qv* Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf.

Khurrah, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyīh: *qv* Shīrūyīh.

Khurrazād b. Khurra Hormozd (the brother of Rustam): *qv* Yazdgird III; Khurrazād b. Khurra
Khusrow Parvīz: 1) Khusrow Parvīz constructed a fire temple in the qarīya of Bārmin in the rūstā of Kirmān and gave the villages in its vicinity as an endowment to it. Sinī, p. 53; Ṭārīkh, p. 58. 2) It was the Emperor Maurice (Mūriqūs) who aided Khusrow Parvīz against Bahrām Chūbīn. Maurice was killed by one of his soldiers called Fuqās. Fuqās assumed power. When Khusrow Parvīz was informed of Fuqās’ assumption of power, he sent Shahrzād (qv Shahrīzād sic Shahrvarāz) to Constantinople in revenge of Maurice. Shahrvarāz remained there for a while. Then one of the Patricius called Heracleus aided Khusrow Parvīz and gathered an army in one of the islands and attacked the city where Fuqās was staying and killed the latter. After the control of the Iranians over Syria, Ardashīr, the son of Shirīyāh (qv Shirīyāh), started reconstructing Jerusalem (Beyt al-Muqaddas). Then the Arabs came to Syria (qv Syria) after which the Romans were never able to take-over the region again. Sinī, p. 67; Ṭārīkh, p. 74.

Khusrow Shāpūr: qv Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Khuṣūstān: qv Rām Hormozd Ardashīr; qv Hormozd Ardashīr; qv Bih-az-Andiv-Shāpūr; qv Kūrang; Ardashīr divided the waters of Khuṣūstān. And created rivers from these. Amongst these latter was the river of M-sh-r-qān or M-s-r-qān which in Persian is called Ardashīrakān. Sinī, p. 44; Ṭārīkh, p. 46.

Ḵhwār (rūstā): qv Iṣfahān 4; Khwār is a rūstā in Iṣfahān in one of the qarīyas of which Kay Ardashīr constructed the fire temple of Zurvān Ardashīr. Sinī, p. 37; Ṭārīkh, p. 38.

King of Ḥabashīh [Ethiopia]: qv Yemen.

King of Yemen: qv Yemen.

Kirmān (rūstā): qv Bih Ardashīr; qv Sakānshāh; qv Khusrow Parvīz; qv Yazdgird III.

Kirmānshāh: qv Sakān Shah; Kirmānshāh was the epithet of Bahrām b. Shāpūr. Sinī, p. 48; Ṭārīkh, p. 52.

K-r-dīndād or Kurdbād: qv Zibāvand (Zināvand); K-r-dīndād is one of the seven cities of Ctesiphon. Sinī, p. 31-32; Ṭārīkh, p. 30-31.

The precise meaning of this last passage is not clear to me.

147 This passage of Hamza is very significant. It underlines the fact that one of the new elements in the military reforms undertaken by Khusrow I was the creation of frontier posts in the empire and not necessarily an overhaul of the existing system.

148 The editor notes that the dictionaries do not confirm this meaning, for sart is [in fact] Arabic. Iṣfahāni 1988, p. 56, n. 1.
Kūk: *qv Iṣfahān*; Kūk is a village in the vicinity of Iṣfahān.

*Kāra: Sinī, p. 35; Tārīkh, p. 35.*

Kūrang: Kūrang is the popular name given to the *rūstā* constructed by Hormozd, the son of Narsī, in Rām Hormozd in Khuzistān and called Vahasht Hormozd by the king. *Sinī, p. 47; Tārīkh, p. 49.*

Kūrānschāh, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv Shīrūyih.*

Kūshīd mountain (between Iṣfahān and Fārs): It has been said that Kay Khusrow was informed that between the borders of Fārs and Iṣfahān there is a red mountain called the Kūshīd mountain where there is a dragon who has come to control the population and the cultivated areas of the region. So, together with his men, Kay Khusrow went to that region and, killing the dragon, constructed a fire temple atop of the mountain which became known as the Kūshīd fire. *Sinī, p. 36; Tārīkh, p. 36.*

M

Madā’in (Madāyin, or Ctesiphon): *qv Zībāvand (Zīnāvand); qv mulūk al-tawāfīf; qv Bilāsh, the son of Fīrūz; qv Kavād, the son of Fīrūz; qv Khusrow Anūshirvān; qv Yazdgird III; qv Bridge of Jamshid; qv Constantinople; qv Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf; qv Bih Ardashīr; qv Rūm; qv Bih-az-Andīv Khusrow; qv Sābāt (of Madā’in); qv H-n-bū or Khn-b (a city near Madā’in); qv K-r-dindād; The boundaries of the city of Ctesiphon, the largest city of Madā’in, was set up by Jamshid. *Sinī, p. 33; Tārīkh, p. 32.*

Māhūya (the *marzbān* of Marv): *qv Yazdgird III.*

Malik-al-Safrī: *qv Khusrow Anūshirvān.*

Mardānshāh, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv Shīrūyih.*

Marāghih: Iṣfahānī quotes Mūsā Kāsravī as follows: I saw Ḥasan b. ‘Alī Hamadānī, the raqqām of Marāghih and one of “the most learned authorities in astronomical tables (ẓīf)” in collaboration with him, and based on the ẓīf, I compared the reignal years of the Arsacid and the Sāsānid kings with the Alexandrian calendar. We first calculated the period between the beginning of the Alexandrian year and the *hijra*. This we established as the base, and from this we calculated the rest. A detail of their methodology and the results that they obtained then follows. Kāsravī admits that as a result of the destruction wrought on Iran by Alexander and the burning of their books and the murder of their *mobads, herbads, scientists and physicians ...* etc., the calculation of the years of Arsacid rule was difficult for him. *Sinī, p. 14-17; Tārīkh, p. 14-18.*

Mārin (the fortress of): *qv Iṣfahān 4;* The fortress of Mārin is in Iṣfahān. Here Kay Ardashīr constructed a fire-temple called Shahr Ardashīr. *Sinī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 38.*

Markhurra, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv Shīrūyih.*

Marv: *qv Zībāvand; qv Alexandria; qv Yazdgird III; qv Niq (Gate of); qv Quhandiz;* After conquering Iran, Afrāsiyāb constructed a wall in Marv which was located between the *quhandiz* and the Gate of Niq. *Sinī, p. 35; Tārīkh, p. 34.*

*Marzbān: qv Yazdgird III.*

*Maṣṣāni‘i Iṣṭakhr (or Hīzār Sūtān or a Thousand Columns): qv Rūm 5.*

Meyšān: *qv Alexandria; qv Baṣra; qv Bahman Ardashīr; qv Tigris 4; qv Bahman Ardashīr; qv Alexandria; qv Ashā’ Ardashīr (or Inshā’ Ardashīr); qv Shādshāpūr; Meyšān is the region in which Kay Ardashīr created Bahman Ardashīr. *Sinī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 38.*

Mihr Ardashīr (Fire temple): *qv Iṣfahān 4;* The fire temple that Kay Ardashīr constructed in the *rūstā* of Ardistān in Iṣfahān. *Sinī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 38.*

Mihrīn (*rūstā*): *qv Iṣfahān 1;* Mihrīn was constructed by Tāhmūrath in Iṣfahān. *Sinī, p. 31; Tārīkh, p. 31.*

Mihrān River: The river of Mihrān, which is greater in size than that of the Euphrates, was opened up by Manūchīhr. *Sinī, p. 34; Tārīkh, p. 34.*

Miṣr: 1) According to some the appearance of Moses and the exodus of the Children of Israel from
Egypt took place during the rule of Manūchihr. Sinī, p. 33; Tārikh, p. 33; 2) When Moses brought the Children of Israel out of Egypt, he stayed in the desert of Tiyya for 40 years during which time he managed their affairs. He wrote the Torah in the same place for them. Yūshi综合实力, the successor of Moses, also led the Children of Israel from the desert to Palestine during Manūchihr’s reign. Sinī, p. 34; Tārikh, p. 34.

Mowsīl: qv Būd Ardashīr; qv Kavād, the son of Firūz.

M-sh-r-qān (or M-h-r-qān, or Ardashīrakān, river of): qv Iṣfahān 6.

mulūk al-tawā’if: When Alexander killed the elite and powerful men of Iran and destroyed the cities and fortresses and achieved his goal, he wrote to Aristotle and said: Through destroying their kings and elites, I have now vanquished the population of the east. I am fearful, however, lest after me, they set out against the western regions. I have therefore decided to also gather the princes of the realm and join them to their fathers [i.e., destroy them]. What do you think of this? Aristotle replied: If you kill the princes, then rule will pass to the lowlife and the commoners. And once these assume power they will commit even more oppression and corruption. You must gather the princes and give them each a province or a city. These then will start fighting amongst each other and hatred will spread amongst them. In this manner they will be preoccupied with themselves and will not pay any attention to the population of the west [i.e. the Romans]. Sinī, p. 39; Tārikh, p. 40. Alexander, therefore, divided the eastern territories amongst the mulūk al-tawā’if. Once Alexander died these set out against one another. It was during their rule that the books which are scattered amongst people, such as the Book of M-rūk, and S-n-dibād and B-r-nūs and Shimās and the likes of these, of which there is around seventy books, were written. Around twenty-one of the mulūk al-tawā’if assumed power. The total number of the mulūk al-tawā’if kings, however, was ninety. And all of them paid their respect to the King of Iraq whose seat of power was in Ctesiphon or Madāyin. In his correspondence with them, this latter would start [his salutation] with himself. Sinī, p. 39-49; Tārikh, p. 41.

N

Naṣibīne (or Dāriyān): Dārā constructed a city to the north of Naṣibīne and called it Dārā-ān (Dāriyān). It still exists today and is called Dāriyā. Sinī, p. 39; Tārikh p. 39.

Nīq (Gate of, in Marv): The wall which Afrāsiyāb constructed in Marv was between the quhandiz and the Gate of Nīq. Sinī, p. 35; Tārikh, p. 34.

Nishāpūr: qv Shapūr, the son of Ardashīr; Nishāpūr is one of the cities of the province (wilāya) of Abshahr. Sinī, p. 44; Tārikh, p. 47.

O

ostān: Sinī, p. 35; Tārikh, p. 35.

P

Palestine: qv Jerusalem; qv Dārā, the son of Dārā; qv Miṣr (Egypt); 1) Yūshi综合实力, the successor of Moses, led the Children of Israel from the desert to Palestine during Manūchihr’s reign. Sinī, p. 34; Tārikh, p. 34; 2) In his sixtieth year of rule, Luhrāsān sent Bukht Naṣr b. Viv (Gīv) b. Gūdarz to Palestine against the Jews. The latter destroyed Jerusalem and took its population in captivity under his own men. Before this he had sent the Ninevite S-n-hārib to the region [i.e., Palestine], but the latter had not been successful. Sinī, p. 36; Tārikh, p. 36.

Pūrāndukht: qv Būrāndukht.

Q

qarīya: qv M-m-nūr; qv Dārāk; qv Ardīstān; qv Jādih; qv Y-vān; qv Bārmūn.

Q-r-t-mān (village or dih): qv Azarmīdūkhāt.

Q-sbih, the son of Khosrow Parvīz, the brother of Shirūyih: qv Shirūyih.

Q-s-dil, the son of Khosrow Parvīz, the brother of Shirūyih: qv Shirūyih.

Quhandiz (of Marv): 1) The fortress (quhandiz) of Marv was constructed by Tāhmūrath-i zībāvand (qv zībāvand). Sinī, p. 31; Tārikh, p. 31; 2) The
wall which Afrasiyab constructed in Marv was between the qubandiz and the Gate of Niq. Sin, p. 35; Tarih, p. 34.

Qum: During Key Kavâd’s reign the king added another wilâya to Isfahan and called it Irán-
vathârâth-Kavâd. And in this same wilâya, during the time of Harun al-Rashid, there was a rištâ that connected the wilâya to the territories (a’māl) of Qum. Sin, p. 35; Tarih, p. 35.

Qumis: qv Kâshghar; Alexander fell ill in Qumis on his way back to Babylon. Sin, p. 39; Tarih, p. 40.

Râm Ardashîr: qv Ardashîr Khurra; I do not know where Râm Ardashîr is located. Today people call it Rayy-shahr. Sin, p. 43; Tarih, p. 45.

Râm Firûz: qv India; qv Firûz, the son of Yazdgird; Râm Firûz is a city constructed by Firûz, the son of Yazdgird, in India. Sin, p. 50; Tarih, p. 53.

Râm Hormozd Ardashîr: qv Ardashîr Khurra: 1) Râm Hormozd Ardashîr is the name of a city in Khuzistân. For the purposes of abbreviation they have deleted the last part of the name. Sin, p. 44; Tarih, p. 45; 2) Hormozd, the son of Narsî, constructed a rištâ in Râm Hormozd in Khuzistân and called it Vahshî Hormozd. People called it Kûrang. Sin, p. 47; Tarih, p. 49; 3) This rištâ is next to Idhaj which is part of the wilâya of Râm Hormozd.

Râm Vishnâsqaq (Râm Vishtâspân or Fasâ): Râm Vishnâsqaq is the triangular city built by Gushtâb in the wilâya of Dârâbjud in the region of Fârs. Sin, p. 37; Tarih, p. 37.

Rayy: qv wilâya; qv Firûz, the son of Yazdgird; During Key Kavâd’s rule, and before the king added the wilâya of Irân-vathârâth-Kavâd to Isfahan, Rayy, like Isfahan, had only one wilâya (kûra). Sin, p. 35; Tarih, p. 35.

Rayy-shahr: qv Râm Ardashîr.

River of Iraq: qv Rüm 6; The river of Iraq was the river which was dug by the Arscacid king, Shâpûr, the son of Arsaces, in Iraq, after he had defeated the Roman Emperor Antiochus. Sin, p. 40-41; Tarih, p. 42.

River of the King (or Nahr al-Malik): qv River of Iraq; qv Rüm 6.

Rowshân (Rowshan) Firûz: qv India; qv Firûz, the son of Yazdgird; Rowshan Firûz is a city constructed by Firûz, the son of Yazdgird, near India. Sin, p. 50; Tarih, p. 53.

R-siqâbâd (or Rustam Kavâd): qv Hormozd Ardashîr.

Rüm: qv Azârbâyjan; qv Constantinople; qv Iraq 2; 1) Upon his death, one of the Byzantine emperors sent his son to Yazdgird 149 in protection. He asked the Sásânid king to send an appointee to Rüm as vice-regent for his son until the latter reaches maturity. Yazdgird sent Shirwîn B-r-nîyân the governor (ra’sîs) of Dustbey (or Dashbey). The latter ruled for twenty years over Rüm after which he gave the Roman territories, except for the city of Bâsh-r-vân (qv Bâsh-r-vân) back to the son of the Emperor. The Arabized version of the name of this city became Bâj-r-vân. Sin, p. 21-22; Tarih, p. 14-15; 2) Fereydôn gave Rüm up until the regions of Farang (bilâd-i farang), together with the western regions (bilâd-i maghrib), to his son eldest son Salm. Sin, p. 34; Tarih, p. 33; 3) It has been said that the wars of Kay Ardashîr, or Bahman Isfandiyâr b. Gushtâb, reached Rûmya. Sin, p. 37; Tarih, p. 37; 5) The army of Humây, the daughter of Bahman, once fought the Romans and took a large population into captivity. Humây used the construction workers among these to construct the buildings known as the Mašâni’-i Ištâkhîr, which is known in Persian as a Thousand Columns (Hisâr Sutûn). These were three buildings in three locations: one was next to Ištâkhîr. The second was on the road that led to Dârâbjud. And the third was on the Khurâsân road. Sin, p. 38; Tarih, p. 38; 6) Amongst the Arscacid kings, Shâpûr the son of Arsaces, was a powerful king. Jesus Christ appeared

149 Note that, according to Hamza, this Yazdgird is the one whose name was deleted from the roster of Sasânid kings. Known as Yazdgird the Kind (târîkin), he is said to have been the father of Yazdgird the Sinner. He is supposed to have ruled for 82 years! Isfahânî 1398, p. 51, n. 3.
during his reign. Shāpūr fought against the Romans. At the time the Roman king was Antīkhus Antiochus), the third king after Alexander. It was he who constructed Antākiya (Antioch). Shāpūr held many of the Romans and took a group of them captive. He gathered the children of many of these in a ship and drowned all of them in revenge for the ood of Dārā. He returned much of the wealth that Alexander had taken from the land of Iran to his treasury and spent some of it in digging the river of aq which is called in Arabic the river of the king 'ah r-al-malīk). Sīnī, p. 40-41; Tārīkh, p. 41-42; 7) efore Gūdarz, the son of Arsaces, attacked rusulem (qv Palestine 2), forty years after Christ's ascension. Tiṭūs the son of Isfiyānts, the ruler of ūm, attacked the Children of Israel and set upon aughtering them and taking them into captivity. int, p. 41; Tārīkh, p. 42; 8) It was Shāpūr Dhu’l- ćāfī who went to Rūm in disguise and stayed in a surch before being taken captive. He ruled for 72 years and from the time that he was born up to the iieth year [of his rule] his seat was Gundishāpūr n Gundishāpūr. He then moved to Madāyin (qv lādā’in) where he stayed till the end of his life. nce he became victorious over the king of Rūm, horded the latter to fix the destruction that he had rought and to use sun dried brick, clay, and plaster n the purpose. In this way he also reconstructed the alls of Gundishāpūr, half with sun-dried bricks and all with bricks. Sīnī, p. 47; Tārīkh, p. 50.

Rūmiyya (of Madā’īn): qv Khusrow Anūshirvān.

rūstā: qv Anārbār; qv Īrān-vathārath-Kavād; qv Īsfahlān; qv Mīhrīn; qv Qum; qv Khwār; qv aymarīh; qv Vahasht Hormozd; qv Jayy; qv awād; qv Kirmān; qv Abkhāz.

Rustam (the general of Qādisiyyīh): qv Yazdgird I.

Rustam Kavād (or R-sīqābād): qv Hormozd Ardāshīr.

S

Sabaṭ (of Madā’īn): qv Bilāsh, the son of Firūz. Sābūr: qv Bishāpūr.

Sakān: qv Sakān Shah.

Sakān Shah: Sakān Shah was the epithet of Bahram b. Bahram b. Bahram (Bahram III). He was so called because, when the kings of Iran announced their sons or brothers as incumbent prince, they used to give them as epithet the name of one of the cities. When the prince would assume kingship, they would then call him the King of kings. It was for this reason that they used to call king Bahram Kirmānshāh and on account of this as well that during the life-time of his father Kavād, Nowshirwān used to have the epithet of Yaqārsjān Garshāh [sic], which means the king of Tabaristān for “Yaqar” [sic] is the name of the mountain, “Yaqārsjān” is the name given to level land, and “kar (gar)” is the name for mounds and hills. The Sakān in the epithet of Bahram is the name of Sistān. Sīnī, p. 46; Tārīkh, p. 48-49.

Samarqand: qv Alexandria; During Gushṭāb’s rule, his son Isfandiyār constructed a wall behind Samarqand against the Turks. Sīnī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 37.

Sarandib: qv Khusrow Anūshirvān.

Sarīr Shāh: qv Khusrow Anūshirvān.

Sārūya: qv Īsfahlān 1; Šahmūrath constructed Sārūya in Īsfahlān. Sīnī, p. 31; Tārīkh, p. 31.

Sawād (rūstā, of Iraq): qv Alexandria; qv Kavād, the son of Firūz; In the region of Sawād, on the banks of the Upper Zab, Kay Ardashīr constructed a city which he called, after himself, Ardashīr Abād. In the Nabatean language it is called H-māniyā. Sīnī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 37.

Sawād (rūstā, of Iraq): qv Alexandria; qv Kavād, the son of Firūz; In the region of Sawād, on the banks of the Upper Zab, Kay Ardashīr constructed a city which he called, after himself, Ardashīr Abād. In the Nabatean language it is called H-māniyā. Sīnī, p. 37; Tārīkh, p. 37.

Sāyf b. Dhi Yazan (king of Yemen): qv Yemen.

Shādmān, the son of Khusrow Partvīz, the brother of Shīrīyīh: qv Shīrīyīh.

Shādshāhpūr: qv Shapūr, the son of Ardashīr; Shādshāhpūr is one of the cities of Meysān which in the Nabatean language is called Vabhā. Sīnī, p. 47; Tārīkh, p. 47.

Shādzig, Arvandzig, the son of Khusrow Partvīz, the brother of Shīrīyīh: qv Shīrīyīh.

Shahr-ābād-Kavād: qv Kavād, the son of Firūz.
Shahriyar, the son of Khosrow Parviz, the brother of Shiruyih: \textit{qv} Shiruyih.

Shahrizad (\textit{sic} Shahrvaraz): \textit{qv} Khosrow Parviz; Shahrizad was the holder (\textit{shābīb}) of the western frontier. When news reached Shahrizad that they have appointed a child [i.e., Shiruyih] to kingship, he came to the king [i.e., Shiruyih] and murdered him in his house. \textit{Sinī}, p. 54; \textit{Tārikh}, p. 58-59.

Shahrūz: \textit{qv} Kavād, the son of Firūz.

Shāpūr (\textit{wilāya of Fārs}): \textit{qv} Bahram b. Mardānshah; The \textit{wilāya} of Shāpūr was located in Fārs. \textit{Sinī}, p. 26; \textit{Tārikh}, p. 19.

Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf: It was Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf who went to Rūm in disguise and stayed in a church before being taken captive. He ruled for 72 years and from the time that he was born up to the thirtieth year [of his rule?] his seat was Gundishāpūr (\textit{qv} Gundishāpūr). He then moved to Madāyin (\textit{qv} Madā’in) where he stayed till the end of his life. Once he became victorious over the king of Rūm, he forced the latter to fix the destruction that he had wrought and to use sun dried brick, clay, and plaster for the purpose. In this way he also reconstructed the walls of Gundishāpūr, half with sun-dried bricks and half with bricks. \textit{Sinī}, p. 47; \textit{Tārikh}, p. 50. Shāpūr constructed many cities: Among these were Buzurj Shāpūr or ‘A-k-b-rā, Azān?, Khurra Shāpūr or Shūsh (Sūs) (\textit{qv} Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr) and another city next to it. When the people of one of these rebelled against him, he brought elephants and destroyed and leveled the city. He also settled the captives that he had obtained from Rūm (\textit{qv} Rūm 8) and settled some of these in Ḥadithi.\textsuperscript{150} In the village (\textit{dīh}) of Hīrvān (or Jīrvān) (\textit{qv} Firūz, the son of Yazdgird) in the rūstā of Jayy (\textit{qv} Iṣfahān), Shāpūr constructed a fire-temple called Sūrūsh-Ādharān and endowed the \textit{qarīyas} of Y-vān and Jājāh to it. It was during his rule that Ādharbād came to him and burnt zinc on his chest. \textit{Sinī}, p. 47-48; \textit{Tārikh}, p. 50-51.

Shāpūr the son of Ardshīr: The blessed Shāpūr, the son of Ardshīr, constructed the dam of Shūštār which is one of the wonders of the East. He also constructed cities: Among these were Nīshāpūr, Bīshāpūr, Shādshāpūr, Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr, Shāpūr-Khwāst, Bīlāsh-Shāpūr and Firūz-Shāpūr. \textit{Sinī}, p. 44-45; \textit{Tārikh}, p. 46-47.

Shāpūr-Khwāst: \textit{qv} Shāpūr, the son of Ardshīr.

Shiruyih, the son of Khosrow Parviz: \textit{qv} Khosrow Parviz 2; When Shiruyih realized that his brothers were launching a mutiny against him, he killed 18 of them together with a group of their children. The names of his brothers were as follows: Shahriyār, Mardānshāh, Kūrānshāh, Firūzānshāh, Afrūdshāh, Shādmān, Zad-azbād-shāh, Shādzig, Arvandzig, Q-s-dīl, Q-sbīh, Khurrah, Markhurra, Zādān-khurra, Shīrūz, and Jāvānshāh. \textit{Sinī}, p. 54; \textit{Tārikh}, p. 59.

Shirwān: \textit{qv} Khosrow Anūshīrwān.

Shirwān Shāh: \textit{qv} Khosrow Anūshīrwān.

Shirzād, the son of Khosrow Parviz, the brother of Shiruyih: \textit{qv} Shiruyih.

Shūsh (or Sūs): \textit{qv} Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf: \textit{qv} Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr.

Shūšt (the dam of): The blessed Shāpūr, the son of Ardshīr, constructed the dam of Shūštār which is one of the wonders of the East. \textit{Sinī}, p. 44; \textit{Tārikh}, p. 46.

Shūštār: \textit{qv} Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr.

Sistān: \textit{qv} Sakān Shah.

Sūrūsh-Ādharān (Fire-temple): \textit{qv} Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf: \textit{qv} Firūz, the son of Yazdgird.

Sughd: \textit{qv} Alexandria.

Sūq al-Ahvāz (or Hūjīstān-i Wājār?): \textit{qv} Hormozd Ardshīr.

Sūs or (Shūsh): \textit{qv} Shāpūr Dhu’l-aktāf: \textit{qv} Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr.

Syria: \textit{qv} Dārā, the son of Dārā: \textit{qv} Babylonia or Bābīl: \textit{qv} Khosrow Parviz 2.
Manūchihr’s reign. During this time he dethroned Manūchihr and imprisoned him in the thickets of Ṭabaristān. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 34. 2) During the life-time of his father Kavād, Nowshirwān used to have the epithet of Faraşān Garshān, which means the king of Ṭabaristān. *Sinī*, p. 46; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 48.

 Taymarīh (*ristā*) : *qv* Ḣisfāhān 5; In the *ristā* of Taymarīh in Ḣisfāhān, Humāy constructed the beautiful city of Khumihān. *Sinī*, p. 38; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 38.

*A Thousand Columns* (*Mašānī-i Iṣṭakhr or Hīzār Sutūn*) : *qv* Rūm 5.

Tibet : When dividing his realm amongst his three sons, Feraydūn gave Tibet, China, as well as the eastern regions (*bilād-i sharq*) to his son Ṭūj [sic]. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 33.

Tigris of Bašra (or Furāt-i Meysān) : *qv* Bahman Ardashīr.

Tigris : *qv* Bridge of Jamshīd; *qv* Biḥ Ardashīr; *qv* Euphrates; *qv* Zāb; 1) The ebb of the Tigris. *Sinī*, p. 33; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 32. 2) Manūchihr constructed great canals from the Tigris as well as the Euphrates. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 34. 3) The waters of the Tigris were sweetened by Zū, the son of Ṭāhmāsib, who opened up the two rivers of Zāb into it. *Sinī*, p. 35; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 35. 4) The city that Kay Ardashīr constructed in Meysān and called Bahman Ardashīr, was known as the Tigris of Bašra (Farāt- Meysān). *Sinī*, p. 32; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 38.

Transoxiana : Firūz, the son of Yazdgird, constructed a wall between Transoxiana and Irānshahr. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 53.

U

Ustān Farkān (or Aspānvar?) : the previous name of Dārābjiḏ was Ustān Farkān (or Aspānvar?). *Sinī*, p. 38; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 39.

*ʿushr* : *qv* Ḣisfāhān 2. *Sinī*, p. 35; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 35.

V

Vabhā : *qv* Shādshāpūr.

Vahasht Ardashīr : *qv* Ardashīr Khurra; *qv* Rām Hormozd Ardashīr; I don’t know the [exact] location of Vahasht Ardashīr. *Sinī*, p. 43; *Ṭāriḵh*, p. 45.

Vilāšbjird (or Vilāṣghard) : *qv* Kavād, the son of Firūz.

W

Wilāṭa : *qv* Irān-vāthārath-Kavād; *qv* Rayy; *qv* Ḣisfāhān; *qv* Dārābjiḏ; *qv* Shāpūr (in Fārs); *qv* Qum; *qv* Abarshahr; *qv* Kavād, the son of Firūz; *qv* Yemen.

Y

Yagarsjān : *qv* Sakān Shāh.

Yazdgird III, the sōn of Shahriyār : *qv* Shīrīyih; The reason Yazdgird escaped death at the hands of Shīrīyih was that he had a nanny who took him out of Madā’in through a scheme and hid him. When Yazdgird assumed kingship, he was in constant warfare for 16 years, until he was murdered in Mary in the year 31 A.H. This was the eighth year of ‘Uthmān’s caliphate. When Yazdgird was leaving Iraq, he took with him as much as he could of the jewels, golden and silver plates, as well as his army and wives and children. Amongst these were a thousand cooks, a thousand minstrels, a thousand hound trainers, and a thousand falconers. Khurrazād b. Khurra Hormozd, the brother of Rustam, the general of Qādīsiyyiyī, left with him. He took Yazdgird first to Ḣisfāhān (*qv* Ḣisfāhān), then to Kirmān (*qv* Kirmān) and finally to Mary (*qv* Mary). And he put him in the custody of Māḥīyya, the marzbān of Mary. He [i.e., Khurrazād b. Khurra Hormozd] then obtained a contract from Yazdgird through which the latter relinquished the kingship of Iran to him.151 Khurrazād then goes to Azarbaijān. The king of the Hephtalites then set out in war against Yazdgird. In the murder of Yazdgird, Māḥīyya collaborated with the king of the Hephtalites. To this day, the progeny of Māḥīyya in

151 The mutiny of Khurrazād b. Khurra Hormozd against Yazdgird III is a crucial episode of the last years of Sāsānīd history, and is corroborated by Sebeos, amongst other sources. It clarifies a substantial part of the political history of Khurrazān and Ṭabaristān in decades subsequent to the death of the last Sāsānīd king. See Pourshariati 2007.
Marv are known as “king killers” (khudâ kushân). Sinî, p. 55; Târîkh, p. 59.

Yemen (wilâya): qv Khusrow Anûshîrwan; Yemen was conquered during the reign of Khusrow I. The story of its conquest, the likes of which only occurs in the sagas of the prophets, was as follows: Six hundred of Khusrow’s cavalry set out in war against 30,000 [of Yemenites]. They [i.e., Khusrow’s cavalry] killed all, none being saved except those who took refuge in the sea, who were, in turn, drowned. The reason [for Khusrow’s expedition] was that the king of Hâbashî [Ethiopia] had [prior to this] crossed the sea and had come to Yemen. He had expelled all the men of Yemen, establishing intimacy with their women folk. The king of Yemen, Sayf b. Dhib Yazan, then went to Khusrow and remained in his court for seven years. He informed Khusrow of the news of the king of Hâbashî and his rape of the Yemeni women. Anûshîrwan, who was a man of honor, thought to himself: it is not in my creed to dupe my army into aiding those who were not of the same faith [i.e., as the Iranians] and to set them on sea. I have, however, in my prisons those deserving of death. It is best, therefore, to send these against the enemy. If they are victorious, I will appoint them as the rulers of that kingdom. If they die, I have not committed any sins. Under the leadership of Vahraz, who was one of the progenies of Bihâfarîdân b. Sásân b. Bahman b. Isfandiyar, Khusrow then sent the prisoners, numbering 809 people, and mostly of the progeny of Sásân and Bahman b. Isfandiyâr, to the war against Hâbashî [Ethiopia]. These then set out with eight ships. Two of these were ship-wrecked. Six reached safety. Vahraz then ordered his men to eat and disposed the remainder of their food in the sea. When his companions objected to this, he replied: If you remain alive, you can eat fish. If you die, there is no regretting the lack of food after the soul departs. He then set the ships on fire and told his comrades: If you desire your freedom, you should strive to defeat the enemy for if you slacken, you will be killed. He then attacked the Ethiopian army and defeated and killed all of the enemy in five hours. The story of this victory reached the kings of many nations. Sinî, p. 51-53; Târîkh, p. 55-57.

Zâb (rivers of): 1) Zû, the son of Tahmâsib, opened up the two rives of Zâb and sweetened the waters of the Tigris with them, Sinî, p. 35; Târîkh, p. 34-35; 2) On the banks of the Upper Zâb river Kay Ardashîr constructed a city called, after himself, Ardashîr Abâd. In the Nabatean language it is called H-mâniyâ. Sinî, p. 37; Târîkh, p. 37.

Zâbulistân: In the south Kay Ardashîr fought against Zâbulistân and took many people captive. Sinî, p. 37; Târîkh, p. 37.

Zad-abzüd-shâh, the son of Khusrow Parviz, the brother of Shirûyîh: qv Shirûyîh.

Zâdân-khurra, the son of Khusrow Parviz, the brother of Shirûyîh: qv Shirûyîh.

Zibâvand (Zinâvand) Tahmûrathî: zibâvand means a full-armed man. Tahmûrathî zibâvand constructed the city of Babylon and the fortress (ghandiz) of Marv (qv ghandiz of Marv). It has been maintained in some books that he also built K-r-dîndâd which is one of the seven cities of Madâ’in. I believe that this name is a corruption of the word Kurdâbad where “Dastân” was. Sinî, p. 31-32; Târîkh, p. 30-31.

Zuf: qv Bahrâm-i Gûr, the son of Yazdgird.

Zūrvân Ardashîr (Fire temple): qv Iṣfahân 4. Zūrvân Ardashîr is the fire temple that Kay Ardashîr constructed in the Qârîya of Dârak in the rîstâ of Khwâr in Iṣfahân. Sinî, p. 37; Târîkh, p. 38.

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