

MONGOL PLACE-NAMES IN MUKRI KURDISTAN (MONGOLICA, 4)

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§ 1. STUDIES IN PERSIAN TOPONYMY

MY article written some twenty years ago had a twofold purpose : to insist on the importance of a systematic study of the toponymy of Persia and, by way of example, to examine the Mongolian stratum of place-names in the southernmost area of the Persian province of Azarbayjan.

Much of what I said in the first part of the original draft has happily become superfluous in view of the appearance of a very welcome series of volumes which, in the years 1328–32/1949–53, was published by the Persian Army Survey, under the title of *Farhang-i joghhrāfiyāyi-ī Irān*. The production of this series is chiefly due to the enlightened endeavours of the former chief of the Survey, General Ḥosayn ‘Ali Razmārā (brother of the assassinated premier).

The 10 volumes are arranged according to the 10 *ostāns* into which Persia is divided under the present-day administrative organization, namely :

- I. Centre (247 pp.)
- II. West-Central (324 pp.)
- III. Caspian provinces (331 pp.)
- IV. Āzarbayjān (593 pp.)
- V. Kurdistān (517 pp.)
- VI. Khūzistān (314 pp.)
- VII. Fārs (243 pp.)
- VIII. Kermān-Mukrān (458 pp.)
- IX. Khorāsān (444 pp.)
- X. Isfāhān (224 pp.)

Altogether the series consists of roughly 4,000 pages, large quarto, each volume containing a complete enumeration of the component parts of each *shahristān* (larger governorships administered from principal towns), *bakhsh* (smaller districts), and *dihistān* (rural units of several villages).¹ The names in

¹ These terms will be further referred to under abbreviations : *sh.*, *b.*, and *d.*

Persian script are also presented in an easy Latin transcription,¹ the items being accompanied by brief notices on their geographical and administrative location, distances, number of inhabitants, and their native speech and occupations. The names are marked on the accompanying maps, drastically reduced but not totally illegible.

It is a pity that no references are made to the older forms of the names² altered under the Pahlavi dispensation. Thus historical research is somewhat hampered, but, in any case, the mass of nomenclature thrown open for the first time is formidable. I understand that a catalogue of such geographical features as mountains, rivers, etc., has also been prepared by the same agency and no explanation is needed of the importance of its publication to scholars, especially if it is accompanied by clear plans and sketches.

Only at the present day has a systematic study of Iranian place-names become possible on a scale on which such studies have been conducted in most European countries. Places mentioned in historical texts will be easier to identify; philology will find an interest in the ancient forms which have survived in people's everyday use, or have undergone unusual alterations under the influence of local factors; ethnologists will be able to trace various ancient populations and examine the 'visiting-cards' left by migrations and invasions.

Contrary to the study of Iranian personal names, for which we have Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895 (now considerably antiquated), the study of the toponymy of Iran has been conducted unsystematically. We have no general study similar to G. Hoffmann's painstaking analysis of Aramaic place-names in his *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, 1880, or to H. Hübschmann's 'Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen'.³

The ancient toponymy of the Zagros range connected with Assyrian sources was studied by Billerbeck, W. Belck, M. Streck,⁴ Thureau-Dangin, Forrer, E. Speiser, Herzfeld, and others. At an early date the identification of the names mentioned by classical authors was accomplished by their original editors. W. Tomaschek in his remarkable studies of Nearch's cruise in the Persian Gulf, of the great 'Khorasanian' highway, and of the roads across the

¹ Non-Persian (Turkish, Kurdish, Aramaic) names are transcribed according to the Persian pronunciation, and some of them purely theoretically, as they looked in the misleading Arabic script (iv, 221: *Dorke-Targun* for **Dürge-Tärkävün*; iv, 290: *Qariq* for **Qiriq* (?); iv, 523: *Nalus* for **Nälös*, etc.). Nor is the alphabetical order of the lists always correct.

² It takes some time to realize that the new name *Shähpür* stands for the time-honoured Salmäs and Dilmän (*Dilmaqän*). The earlier registers and histories contain many archaic forms. Thus Bäsminj (east of Tabriz, *FJ*, iv, 74) appears in the 'Ālam-ārā, 657, as Fahūsfej. Somewhat inconsistently in *FJ*, v, 307, one finds the name of the present-day village of Parispe (west of Hamadan) restored as *Farsafaj*.

³ In *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvi, 1904, 197-490. Another systematic study of local toponymy is M. Hartmann's *Bohtän* (with notes by C. F. Andreas), 1886.

⁴ 'Das Gebiet d. heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien', *Zeit. f. Assyriologie*, xiv, 1899, 103-72.

Central desert, has shown what can be done with ancient and medieval sources. Alexander's campaigns have naturally provoked much discussion (lately by W. W. Tarn). To J. Marquart and his extraordinary erudition and acumen we owe such treasures of learning as *Ērānšahr*, the Pahlavi list of the provincial capitals of Iran, and a number of other studies. However, such tables as Ptolemy's catalogue of Median place-names still await a special study to continue the excellent approach made by C. F. Andreas in the series of some forty articles contributed to Pauli-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopaedie*.¹

Each Iranian scholar, from Windischmann, Geiger, and Nöldeke to the present-day specialists, like H. W. Bailey and W. B. Henning, has made notable contributions to the identification and explanation of place-names. Such particular questions as the origin of the element *-karta* were debated by O. Blau, A. D. Mordtmann, and Nöldeke in the pages of *ZDMG* in the years 1877–9, but in the special periodical *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* Iranian subjects have been hardly touched upon.² Recently W. Eilers has undertaken a very detailed examination of a series of old Iranian place-names which he connects with the present-day toponymy.³

Finally, on the Persian side, the efforts of Sayyid Aḥmad Kasravī⁴ should not be forgotten. This original and interesting historian (assassinated in 1945) was in no sense a philologist, but it is characteristic that he felt a need to explain local names, especially in his native Azarbayjan.

On the whole the results of our studies, though partial and scattered, are very considerable, but the general direction of the research has been mainly from literary remains to actual geography, and it is time to shift the observation point to the other end, namely to the mine of still existing names in which one should try to discover regularities and to explain local deviations. It is important to analyse the various strata of toponymy in which the historical destinies of the provinces are reflected. Persia teems with splinters of ancient and modern tribes and the tracing of their names, jointly with the study of local dialects, may disclose their former distribution and the roads of their migrations.⁵ As it is likely that the name of Mt. Balkhan, near the Krasnovodsk Bay of the Caspian (see Priscus, frag. 41 : Βαλαάμ), was transplanted by the Oghuz Turks to the Balkan peninsula (ancient *Haemus*), so the existence of a

¹ The articles do not go beyond the letter A. Some literature on historical geography (before 1900) is quoted in *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, II, 371–3, 387–94 (W. Geiger), and 605–11 (F. Justi).

² The main object of O. Paul, VIII, 1932, 105–10; X, 1934, 206–15 and J. Schnetz, X, 1934, 215–21, is to reject the alleged connexion of the names Γεργάνιοι and Kirmān.

³ 'Der alte Name des persischen Neujahrfestes', *Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. in Mainz, Abhandl. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl.*, 1953, Nr. 2 (see Index); 'Der Name Demavend', *Archiv Orientalni*, XXII, 1954, 267–374; XXIV, 1956, 183–224.

⁴ *Nām-hā-yi shahr-hā va dīh-hā-yi Īrān*, I, 1929, 21 pp. (Tehrān, Shamirān, etc.); II, 1931, 31 pp. (on the endings: *-vān*, *-gān*, *-hān*, *-khān*, *-dān*, *-zān*, *-lān*, *-rān*).

⁵ Only the name of the district Shūlistān and some other place-names in Fars remind one of the Shūl who were still known in the thirteenth-fourteenth century.

second Damāvand in the Baluchistan borderland may be accounted for by the southward migration of the Baluch who seem to have left traces of their language in the oases of the Central Iranian desert.¹

§ 2. GEOGRAPHY

As an experimental field for my limited essay I have chosen the basin of the southern tributaries of Lake Urmiya. I visited it three times: in 1905, when from Marāgha I went to see some places in the basin of the Tatavū; in 1911 when, jointly with my British colleague, the late S. H. Shipley, I was commissioned to inspect the then zone of Turkish occupation, and in 1914 when, on the eve of the first World War, I was one of the four delegates (Persia, Turkey, Great Britain, and Russia) for the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier, which *grosso modo* has survived two world wars and many political tribulations.

The region to the south of Lake Urmiya is extremely interesting in both the geographical and the archaeological respects.²

Four rivers discharge into the lake from the south. First from the east is the important JAGHATŪ. It rises in the south near the head of the corridor of Shilēr,³ which represents a deep indent of the present-day Iraq into Persian Kurdistan and through which at all times communications between the Mesopotamian lowlands and the Iranian highlands have been maintained. The Jaghatū makes a long sweep to the east, whence it receives the considerable tributary (now *Saruq*), on which the ancient Parthian fortress (now Takht-i Sulaymān) and the grottoes of Kereftū (with a Greek inscription) are situated. Then it takes a north-westerly direction towards the lake, leaving on the right the original site of the ancient Iranian capital Gazaca and its fire-temple (now Laylān).

Inside the bend of the Jaghatū a shorter river, called TATAVŪ, flows through hilly country to the east of the central Kurtak massif and on the shore of the lake comes very near to the Jaghatū, which it may have joined at one time or another.

The third, and much shorter, stream is the SĀ'UJ-BULAQ from which the present-day Mahābād received its former name. It rises north-west of the

¹ See *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 374; cf. W. Ivanow on the dialects of the Central desert, *JRAS*, 1926, 405–31, and *Acta Orientalia*, VIII, 1927, 45–61 (cf. in the dialect of Khūr: *gis* for *bist* '20', *god* for *bād* 'wind'). I have tried to show that the name of the Armenian capital Dvin was due to the Parthians coming from the steppes of the present-day Turkmenia, see my 'Transcaucasia' in *J.As.*, juillet 1930, 41–51. In my opinion the eastern (Soghdiān?) *-kanθ* was also brought to Azarbaijan and Transcaucasia by the Oghuz Turks during their westward migration, see below, p. 78.

² See my early article 'The Kela-shin and the earliest monuments in the basin of Lake Urmiya' (in Russian) in *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, xxiv, 1917, 145–84, and my articles *Sawdj-bulak* in *E.I.*, and 'Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene', *BSOAS*, xi, 2, 1944, 243–65.

³ *Shilēr* is the Kurdish name of a plant which at the Cambridge Botanic Garden has been identified as *Fistillaria imperialis* 'crown imperial'.

Kurtak and, by way of the narrow gorge, between the ancient rock-hewn chamber of Faqraqā (Indirqash) and the old irrigation works of Saukand, emerges into the plain of Vērān-shār ('Ruined town').

The fourth river is the important GĀDIR, which descends from the neighbourhood of the pass of Kela-shin (with its famous bilingual Assyro-Urartian stele), waters the fertile plains of Ushnū and Suldūz, and discharges into the south-western corner of the lake.

The situation is complicated by the fact that quite close to the Kela-shin pass are situated the sources of the K'ALU, or Zey, which flows in the opposite direction to the south, collects the waters of the eastern face of the high range (*Qandīl*) forming now the frontier between Persia and Iraq, and then, breaking through the imposing gorge of Alān, flows (under the name of Lesser Zāb) to join the Tigris. Thus the area under description belongs to the basins of Lake Urmiya and the Persian Gulf, and the interesting fact is that the sources of the important Lesser Zāb lie not on the Mesopotamian side but far behind the frontier range of Qandīl (*Zagros*).

Between the northern pass of Kela-shin and the southern passage through the gorge of Alān there are several other (and even easier) passes over the frontier range and this explains the facility with which the kings of Assyria invaded the present area of Mukri. In the north-east, the Jaghatū valley is everywhere open to penetration and along that line proceeded the infiltrations of such ancient peoples as the Medes, and in much later times, the Turks and the Mongols. *Grosso modo*, the Tatavū is regarded as a frontier between the Turks and the Kurds, who, to the west of it, live in a compact mass.¹ But even here the toponymy, as we shall see, bears witness to infiltrations, especially in Mongol times.

§ 3. HISTORICAL DESTINIES

At the dawn of history we learn from the Assyrian sources of the existence to the east of *Zagros* of a number of small principalities (Kharkhar, Ellipi, Allabria); they cannot be easily located on the map because of their pre-Iranian names which have been forgotten or have undergone too great alterations on the tongues of later inhabitants.²

To the south-east of Lake Urmiya, the existence of a more important kingdom of Manna³ is attested (from 840 B.C. till the end of the seventh century

¹ More to the south, the more easterly Jaghatū serves as such a borderline. Beyond the confines of Azarbayjan, the more southerly governorships of Kurdistān and Kermanshah are firmly occupied by Kurds.

² The village Khalkhāl, 26 km. east of Kermanshah, the considerable district Khalkhāl, south of Ardabil, and the southern residence of the old Albanian kings (Transcaucasia), Moses Kalankatvats'i, I, ch. 19, might indicate the dispersion of the Kharkhar people.

³ Jeremiah LI, 27: 'the kingdoms of Ararat (Urartu), Minni (Manna), and Ashchenaz (Scythians)'. Strabo, 11, 14, 8, calls Lake Urmiya *Μαυριανή*. Cf. W. Belek, 'Das Reich d. Mannäer', in *Verhandl. d. Berl. Gesell. f. Anthropologie*, 1894, 479-87, and G. Melikishvili, 'Voprosi istorii Maneyского tsarstva', in *Vest. drevney istorii*, 1949, No. 1, 57-72.

B.C.), and the unfortunately damaged inscription of the Urartian king Menua (810–781 B.C.) at Tash-tapa (on the Lower Tatavū) is a valuable landmark for the location of at least one point of its territory.¹

Early in the ninth century B.C. the Assyrian annals record the appearance in the area of the earlier Iranian Mada (Medes) and Parsua (Persians).² On a number of occasions the Assyrians and their northern rivals the Urartu, kings of Van, invaded the southern part of the basin of the lake, and the most detailed record of the eighth expedition of Sargon II (in 714 B.C.) has happily survived until our day.³

During the reign of Cyaxares, Scythians invaded Media and became masters of Asia for 28 years, until the Median king recovered his empire (Herodotus, I, 105–6). Their traces too may be looked for in the toponymy and in archaeological finds. The recent discovery of the astonishing treasure of Ziviya,⁴ in which Assyrian and Scythian jewellery are mingled, is a symbol of the melting-pot that was the area to the east of the Zagros range even in those ancient times!

In Alexander's time the region was part of Media Atropatenê ruled by its eponym, the Achaemenid general Atropates, and after him by his successors. The Median dialects (the putative ancestors of Kurdish) must have continued to be spoken in the area.⁵

During the Parthian domination in Iraq and Armenia, Azarbayjan often formed a separate area governed by a branch of the ruling house.⁶ The fortified hill of Takht-i Sulaymân (on the Sârūq) is now recognized to be a vestige of the Parthian epoch. Some Parthian admixtures to the population and the toponymy of the area are to be expected. Neither are the Alân (Ossete) infiltrations from Armenia and northern Azarbayjan excluded. The Alâns invaded Parthia in A.D. 26, 72, and 136, and on this last occasion penetrated into Atropatenê.⁷

Under the Sasanians, the provincial capital, Gazaca, and its famous fire-temple (at Laylân) further contributed to the Iranicization of the region to the south of Lake Urmiya. According to I. Khurdâdhbih, p. 120, and Mas'ûdî, *Tanbih*, 95, the great kings on their accession travelled from Ctesiphon to

¹ Or perhaps of its frontier province Missi (Meishta ?), see Melikishvili, op. cit.

² F. W. König, 'Älteste Geschichte der Meder und Perser', *Der Alte Orient*, xxxiii, 3/4, 1934. For the rôle of the local Zagros tribes in the formation of the Median kingdom cf. I. Aliyev, in *Ocherki po drevney istorii Azerbayjana*, Baku, 1956, 57–169.

³ F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, 1912. Cf. more recently Herzfeld, 'Bronzener Freibrief eines Königs von Abdadana', *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, ix, 3, 1938, 159–77 (an independent revision of the Assyrian records), and Col. E. M. Wright, 'The eighth campaign of Sargon II', *J. of Near Eastern Studies*, ii, 3, 1943, 173–85 (considered remarks by a former officer of the American Intelligence Service who closely studied the area and crossed Mt. Sahand over seven different trails). The recent work on the history of Urartu is by Professor B. B. Piotrovsky, *Istoriya i kultura Urartu*, Erevan, 1944, 364 pp.

⁴ 50 km. east of Saqqiz, see A. Godard, *Le trésor de Zivié*, 1950.

⁵ See Minorsky, 'Les origines des Kurdes', in *Actes du XX^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Louvain, 1940, 143–52.

⁶ See N. Debevoise, *A political history of Parthia*, 1938, Index under Ariobarzanus, Artabanus III.

⁷ See also Moses of Khoren, II, chapters 50, 52 (the Alâns in Artaz-Mākū), and 58; v. inf., p. 75.

the temple of Shīz, via Shahrazūr, where there stood the town characteristically called *Nīm az-rāy* ('half-way house'). The Byzantine troops came to Gazaca in A.D. 589 to support the rights of Khusrau Parvīz against the rebel Bahrām Chūbīn, and soon afterwards the Emperor Heraclius several times crossed the region which must have been one of the sensitive points in the organization of the great Persian Empire.

Then came the Arabs, and we hear of the south Arabian Audī amirs established in Barza (Saqqiz?) and Salaq (Lāhījān?), and of the Ṭā'ī amirs of the Rudaynī family whose original fief was Nirīz (Suldūz).¹

They were replaced by the Hadhbānī Kurds² with whom were probably connected, on the distaff side, the Rawwādid dynasties of Tabriz and Marāgha.³

During all that period, and possibly already in much earlier times, the Daylamite highlanders from Gilān occupied many points of the present-day frontier region in Salmās, in Lāhījān (at the sources of the Lesser Zāb), and in Awrāmān.⁴

In the early eleventh century the Oghuz Turks appeared on the stage and even at that time the Turkish colonization of the region between the Jaghātū and Marāgha must have commenced.

In the thirteenth century the Mongols on their arrival made Marāgha their capital and we several times hear of the il-khans wintering in the warm valley of the Jaghātū.⁵ Rashīd al-dīn (Jahn, *GMS*, 303–9) quotes the manifesto of 703/1303 by which Ghazan-khan established the system of *iqṭā'* (grants of land) for the 'thousands' of the Mongol army, on the stretch of territory 'between the Oxus and Egypt'. Rashīd al-dīn does not indicate the location of such fiefs but the names, like Suldūz, Oyrat, or personal names, like El-Tamur, etc., surviving in the toponymy of Azarbayjan are important landmarks in this regard.⁶

After the extinction of the line of Chengiz, its immediate successors struggled often in southern Azarbayjan and, under the Jalāyirs, the area lay on the line of communication between the two capitals, Baghdad and Tabriz. Timur's troops operated on the eastern bank of the Jaghātū.⁷

¹ See Balādhurī, 331, Iṣṭ., 182, A. Kasravī, *Padshāhān-i gum-nām*, II, 34; Minorsky, *Nirīz, Ushnū* in *E.I.*

² i.e. 'those of Heḍayyab (Erbil)', see Abū-Dulaf Mis'ar's *Second risāla*, ed. by V. Minorsky, Cairo, 1955, § 25.

³ See 'Marāgha' and 'Tabrīz' in *E.I.*

⁴ The capital of Salmās until recently was called Dilmaqān ('the Daylamites'), and Lāhījān is originally a well-known district of Gilān. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 245, calls Salakh (now Lāhījān) 'das Einfallsthur der dēlumitischen Barbaren, z. B. in das Bisthum Hnaithā'. Cf. Minorsky, *La domination des Daīlamites*, Paris, 1932.

⁵ See Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Quatremère, under 660/1263; ed. Jahn (Prag), 44: the family mourns the death of Abaqa on the Jaghātū, see the *Life of Yabalāhā*, below, p. 73, n. 2.

⁶ In another region (north of Ardabil) closely connected with the Mongols one easily recognizes the name of the Mongol tribe Öngüt, Rashīd, VII, 145, in the name of the district Öngüt, *FJ*, IV, 52. See below, p. 72.

⁷ *Zafar-nāma*, I, 628. I also presume that the name of the plain quoted in the same chapter should be read Dasht-i Qulāghay (in Mong. 'a thief').

Under the Turkman dynasties and even under the Şafavids the Turkman elements in the region south of Marāgha must have been reinforced especially after Shāh 'Abbās's punitive expedition against the Mukri chiefs in 1019/1610 (see below, n. 1).

Under Nādir-shāh the Afshārs of his own tribe, who were settled east of the Jaghatū, were partly transferred to other regions but their place seems to have been occupied by the Turkish Muqaddam.¹

Under the Qajars, the Qara-papakh fugitives from Georgia were settled in Suldūz and local Kurds (especially in the south-eastern corner of the district) became their *ra'iyats*.

Under such circumstances it is astonishing how the Kurds have succeeded in preserving their special area to the west of the middle Jaghatū and lower Tatavū. They were apparently reinforced by the settlement of the Bilbās near the sources of the Lesser Zāb (K'alu).

In accordance with the new nationalist tendencies of the Pahlavi regime, the older Turkish name of Sā'uj-bulaq was replaced by the modern Persian Mahābād, with a possible hint at ancient Media (*Māh*). After the second World War, the region unexpectedly came into the limelight when the autonomy of Persian Kurds (within Persian Azarbayjan) was proclaimed at Mahābād and the movement was severely suppressed by government troops.²

Illustrations of all these historical developments, from the Assyrians to our days, can be sought in local toponymy.

§ 4. MONGOL TOPONYMY

Among the traces left in the area by very dissimilar strata of population, I have decided to limit my study to the forgotten and not yet discussed Mongol elements. They strike one's imagination, if one considers the facts that the home of the Mongols lay some 3,000 miles east of Lake Urmiya, and their not too long domination in the area ceased some six centuries ago.

I must decline any competence in Mongol, and the explanations of the names which specialists in several countries have most generously suggested to me did not always agree. Being unwilling to involve my kind advisers in any controversies, I shall concentrate on the evidence which I could find in Persian histories, in the *Secret history of the Mongols*, and in Mongol vocabularies, among which the first place belongs to the Mongol-Turkish *Muqaddimat al-adab*, ed. by N. Poppe, Moscow, 1928 (quoted *MA*).

I have divided the elements under consideration into special groups referring to rivers, mountains, districts, villages, and tribes.

¹ Sultan Mir Muqaddam was appointed to Marāgha after the destruction of the Mukri chiefs, *Ālam-ārā*, 574.

² See A. Roosevelt, Jr., 'The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad', *Middle East Journal*, 1, 3, 1943, 247-69.

(a) Rivers

The names of watercourses are usually the most stable part of the toponymy,¹ but in Persia the few larger rivers have often changed their names under the influence of historical events. From the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (written in 740/1340), p. 217, we know that the important Safid-rūd (ancient Amardus), which in its upper reaches drains the north-western part of the Iranian plateau, was called by the 'Turks' (in this case, the Mongols) Hūlān-mūrān (*Hūlān-mōren 'the red river'). Such a Mongol innovation was later replaced by the synonymous Turkish name *Qizil-özān*.² On the other hand, the Mongol names of the rivers Jaghatū and Tatavū have survived on the borderline between the Turkish and Kurdish subjects of the Shāh.³

In the report on the events of 661/1263, Rashīd al-dīn (ed. Quatremère, p. 401) says that 'when the autumn came, Hulagu, intending to winter on the Zarrīna-rūd, which the Mongols call Jaghātū and N.ghātū (*Taghātū), left for Marāgha'. In this sentence 'Zarrīna-rūd' seems to cover the basin of the two rivers,⁴ and, as already suggested, at times the Tatavū in its lower course on the marshy bank of Lake Urmiya, may have joined the Jaghatū.⁵

A still more ancient name of the river is given by Theophylact Simocatta, ed. Bonn, 223: *ποτάμῳ τῷ Βαλαράθῳ*. The same ancient name is apparently reflected in the Life of Mar Yabalāhā, trans. by Chabot, p. 151: in 1304-5 the Catholicos joined Öljejtū on the banks of the river 'called in Mongolian Jaghatuy [*sic*] and in Persian *Vakya-rud*', and the latter name should probably be restored as *Vālā-rūd.⁶

The name Jaghatū is one of the very numerous Mongol names formed with the possessive suffix *-tu* 'belonging to, provided with'. My Mongol authorities

¹ As in the fluvial system of the European part of Russia.

² Which can even belong to the pre-Mongol Seljuk Turks who in the eleventh century settled in the north-western provinces of Iran. For a short period in the fourteenth century the Chaghatay Turks of Timur rebaptised the Safid-rūd as Aq-say ('the white river'), *Zafar-nāma*, I, 627. This Aq-say should not be confused with the tributary of the Kur in Transcaucasia, of which Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), p. 9, says: 'The Chaghān-mūrān which they call *Aq-su*' (in which *aq* translates Mongol *chaghān/tsaghān* 'white'). ³ See above, p. 62, n. 1.

⁴ At present the ancient name of the Jaghatū has been restored as *Zarīn-rūd* 'Gold river', and concurrently the Tata'ū has been given the name *Sīmīn-rūd* 'Silver river'.

⁵ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 223: 'Jaghatū (جغتو), see also *Zafar-nāma*, II, 371) rises in the mountains of Kurdistan in the neighbourhood of the village Siyāh-kūh; having flowed past the province of Marāgha, (together) with the rivers Šāfi and Taghatū, it discharges into the salt lake of Tasūj (i.e. Lake Urmiya)'. The author of the Syrian Life of Yabalāhā III, transl. by Chabot, 1895, p. 121, says that in 1296, after the persecution of the Christians in Marāgha the Christian queen Burghachin (Bulaghan?) hid the Catholicos and his bishops in her house. Then they went to a place called Shāqātu and on to Mt. Siyāh-kūh, to be received by the king near Hamadan. Shāqātu seems to be but another spelling for Jaghātū, and Siyāh-kūh the range east of Shilēr which forms the watershed between the Jaghātū and the Qizil-özān.

⁶ On which see my 'Roman and Byzantine campaigns', *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 1944, 248.

⁷ Equivalent to Turkish *-lu*. The suffix *-lu* tends now to become *-lī* and the no more comprehensible *-tu* seems to follow the same evolution towards *-tī*, as the late A. Kasravi (himself an Azarbayjan Turk) heard it. Having no idea of Mongol suffixes, he then quite erroneously tried to explain *-tī* as 'a mountain' in the old Azarbayjan tongue!

were unwilling to accept my surmise that the name might represent *chaghā(n)-tu* ‘having something white’, see *MA*, 130 : چاغاتو,¹ and in fact our name begins with a *j* and has no indication of length. Therefore the most likely explanation is that first suggested to me in 1935 by Prof. W. Kotwicz, who derived the name from *jaqa* (cf. Turkish *yaqa*) ‘border, bank’, cf. *MA*, 201, ‘collar’, 356, ‘trouser-belt’. In fact the Jaghātū in its sweep encloses a definite geographical region (see above, p. 61).

In its present shape *Tatavū* might be connected with *tataqū*, *MA*, 342 : ‘such as can haul’, or even with *tata’ūl* ‘a channel, a ditch’, cf. the name of a small river north of Darband in Daghestan : *Tatavul*. However the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* gives **Taghatū*² which might be explained as *taqa(n)-tu* ‘possessing, related to ravens’, *MA*, 341.

The name of the third river, Sā’uj (Sāvuj)-bulaq, looks Turkish (*bulaq* ‘spring’), but the element spelt in Persian *sā’uj* (*sāvuj*) is not clear. A homonymous district forms one of the dependencies of the Persian capital Tehran. The actual form (in both cases *sā’uj*, *sāvuj*-) does not support the interpretation of the initial element by Turkish *so’uq* ‘cold’.³ A *q* is unlikely to give *j*. Would, then, the name be derived from Turkish *sauji* ‘speaker, messenger, prophet’?⁴ The name is not Mongol, though it could have been imported by the Mongols.

The name *Gādir* is one of the strange local names without any parallel.

More to the south of our region, a headwater of the Qizil-özän is called Talvāntū (N. Poppe : **talbangtu* ‘having a plain’).

At this place it will not be amiss to mention an example of the violent contractions of a probably Turkish name. The important right affluent of the Jaghātū on which a Parthian fort is still standing, *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 1944, 258, is now known as Saruq, whereas in Mongol times it is many times referred to as سوقورلوق or سوغورلوق *Suqurluq*, or *Soqurluq*, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, Index.

(b) Mountains and passes

One of the places to the south of Bāne, Qarj-daban,⁵ has actually preserved the original Mongol term *daban* ‘a pass’, and in this connexion I should mention a pass situated more to the south, between Shahrazūr and the small valley of

¹ The Life of Yabalāhā at one place (see above) has Shāqātu (*Chaghātu ?) but later gives Jaghatuy, in conformity with the present-day pronunciation.

² In the report on the visit of Shaykh Ṣafī (A.D. 1252–1334) to the Mukri Kurdistan the *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā*, ed. 1329/1911, p. 333, spells the names of the two rivers چغاتو و نغاتو. In the *Jihān-nūmā*, Istanbul, 1145, p. 388, the names are disfigured *J.f.t* and *T.f.tū*, while the latter follows the pattern of the *Nuzhat*.

³ However, in my 1911 diary I noted : ‘a cold ferruginous spring’, at half-an-hour’s distance to the west of Sāvuj-bulaq near the confluence of its two headwaters.

⁴ For the reduction of *ji* (*chī*) to *j* (*ch*) one might quote the names of the Uyghur months used by the Mongols : *altinch*, *onunch*.

⁵ Thus spelt in the report of Dervish-pasha, Istanbul, 1287, p. 51. In Gamazov’s additions to Col. Chirikov’s *Putevoy zhurnal*, SPb., 1875, 545 : *Qirish-daban* ; Khurshīd-efendi, *Seyāhat-name-i hudūd*, trans. by Gamazov, 393 : *Qirāz-daban*.

Pīrān (Merīwān) which is called *Chaghān*, which would be 'white' in Mongol, see above, p. 67.

Many mountains and peaks of the region have names ending in *-tu*.¹ Such is the peak CHOĠHĀNTŪ, on the watershed between the Sā'uj-bulaq river and Lāhijān; the ending is decisive, though it is added to a word which is attested only (?) in Turkish: *choghan* (also *chögen*) = 'gypsophila', a plant the roots of which are used as soap, Budagov, 495; M. A. Ağakay, *Türkçe Sözlük*, Ankara, 1955, p. 173. *Tändürtü* in the Saruq valley is a mountain 'having an oven, i.e. a crater'. The well-known range stretching between Miyāna and Tabrīz and now called Qaflān-kūh was earlier called *Qaplan-tu* 'having panthers', as still attested in Dervish-pasha's report, § 49. Even now the village of Qaplan-tu (east of Saqqiz, *FJ*, v, 315) preserves the original Mongol form. The bare peak standing to the south-east of Sā'uj-bulaq (now Mahābād) bears the name of Tarāqa, in Mongol 'bald', cf. also the personal name *Taraqhay* of the fifth son of Hulagu, etc.

(c) *Districts and villages* ²

On the eastern side of the area the names of districts and villages often bear a Mongol appearance and reflect now Mongol administrative terms, now the tribal and personal names of the earlier fief-holders.

BŪKĀN, on the middle course of the Jaghātū, is now considered a borough and the administrative centre of a *bakhsh*, and seems to have a Kurdish name (*būk-ān* 'brides'), though in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 97, the name spelt *Būkān* is borne by a messenger of the Merkit princes. The district of Būkān used to be called BEHĪ (Bāhī?), but now this name applies only to a *dihistān* of Būkān. A village Behī-ābād is known in Akhtāchī, *FJ*, IV, 101. The *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 87, under the *tuman* of Marāgha quotes a district: B.histān without any particulars. More important is what the '*Ālam-ārā*', 575, says on the tribes (*oymaq*) Bā'i and Uryād which lived among the Mukri, but were *distinct* from them. In 1610 their chiefs were comprised in the disgrace which befell the Mukri and were massacred with them. The present toponymy of Behī is mixed (Turkish and Kurdish). Who were the Bā'i coupled with the Mongol Uryād? I can only refer to the borough Bā'i, existing in Chinese Turkestan to the west of Kuchā. In Persian transcription the Mongol hiatus is often replaced by an *h* (*ke'er* 'desert' becomes *keher*, see Rashīd, VII, 233) and under the influence of the following *ī*, *a* could easily become *e* in Persian. In the district of Behī one finds the striking QĀTĀNQŪR which might be compared with Mongol *qatanghīr* 'slender', and have a parallel in QĪTĀNQŪ (Chār-oymaq).

In connexion with the Bā'i (Behī) it will be useful to mention the district

¹ The name of the mountain Arqatī which Kasravī quotes (with the present-day change of the sequence *a-u* into *a-ī*) would be *Arqa-tu* 'related to wiles, stratagems'. Cf. ارغجاوت 'false fires, stratagems' in Mirkhond's report on Ulugh-beg's campaign in Mughulistan.

² In this section we are brought to mention also some other neighbouring districts lying east and south of the Mukri area properly so called.

اورباد ORYĀD, on the communication line between Marāgha and Miyāna (now *d.* Chār-oymaq 'the Four Tribes',¹ *b.* Qara-aghach, *sh.* Marāgha). This strange name is nothing but a mutilation of *Oyrāt*, the powerful tribe of which there were numerous representatives in Iran, see Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 107. The *Oyrāt* amirs took an active part in the troubles after the collapse of the il-khans, see Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, ed. K. Bayānī, 148, 156, 160, 168. The *Zafar-nāma*, I, 647, still mentions a Shaykh 'Ali *Oyrāt*, who was governor of Ardabil under Timur, but we have seen that under Shāh 'Abbās the name was spelt Uryād (in Rawlinson, *JRGS*, x, 1840, 58, wrongly *Uryard*, with a parasitic English *r*). The village of Oryādjiq still stands as a reminder of the old name in the present-day Chār-oymaq and several names in the district have Mongol forms: *Chūkatū* (**Chōketū*? 'with small stones'), *Makatū* (*Meketū* 'wily'). A village called Oryād exists in the eastern part of Senendj (*b.* Qorva), *FJ*, v, 29.

North-west of Būkān, on the Tataṽū, one finds the district AKHTĀCHI 'grooms' undoubtedly connected with the studs (Turkish *ilkhī*) even now existing in this region. Several villages in Akhtāchi (now split into two *dihistāns*) have Mongol names. Most curious is perhaps the village bearing the name BURHĀN, which looks entirely Islamic, although on principle one should expect **Burhān al-dīn*. Curiously enough on Khanikov's 'Map of Azerbaijan', *Zeit. f. Allgem. Erdkunde*, XIV, 1893, map III, the village is called *Byrkhan*, which transcription would suggest Mong. *burkhan* 'idol, statue of Buddha', see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), 67: *Shakmūnī Burkhān* 'Çākyamuni Buddha'. The impression is corroborated by the existence south of Rezaiye (Urmia) of a village called similarly: *Qutlu-Burhānlu*, in which *qutlu* 'blessed' would refer to a saint.² SUNJAQ is a Mongol name, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 231, of a Suldus amīr who came to Iran with Hulagu-khan. TUBUT (in *FJ*, IV, mis-spelt *Tabat*) would point to the presence of some Tibetans, and AKH-TATAR (not in *FJ*) to that of the 'White Tatars'.³ NĀCHĪT ('faucons') is only another form of *Nāchīd* appearing in the Chār-oymāq district of Marāgha.

The name of the neighbouring district: QARALAR (now reckoned to Marāgha), despite its Turkish name, suggests the Mongol use of the term *khara/qara* for 'peasants and labourers'.⁴

The island between the Jaghatū and Tataṽū is called Miyān-du-āb ('between two rivers') and among its dependencies there is a village called CHELIK (whose doublet is found in Ardabil). In Turkish this would mean a game ('tipcat'), but, in view of the strangeness of such an appellation, one might think of a corruption of **cherik*, the usual Mongol term (*tserik*) for 'militia, and the duty to supply levies', see Rashīd al-dīn, *passim*.

¹ It would be interesting to have an exact enumeration of all the four tribes, one of which must surely be the *Oyrāt*.

² The name of Siril lying close by is mysterious but it would be too risky to compare it with Mong. *shāril* 'a part of Buddha's relics', cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), 67.

³ See Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 82, on the Chaghān-Tātār 'White Tatar' chiefs in Iran. Another Qaralar exists near Kalkhorān (Ardabil).

East of Būkān, on the right bank of the Jaghatū, lies the district SĀ'IN-QAL'Ā (now renamed : *Shāhīn-dež* and reckoned to Marāgha). In Mong. *sa'in* is 'good' and a homonymous place exists half-way between Abhar and Zanjān. A village called Sā'in lies south of Ardabil, and the pass between Ardabil and Sarāb bears the name of Sā'in-gedük (*gedük* in Turk. 'a pass'). One of the villages of Shāhīn-dež is ĀJARĪ. Rawlinson, *JRGS*, x, 1840, 40, heard the name as *Ājārī*, and the spelling in *FJ*, iv, 5 : *Ājorī*, is only a popular etymology to connect it with Pers. *ājor* 'brick'. The real name looks like a contraction of the original *Aghaj-āri* 'woodmen', as an Oghuz tribe was called. According to Rashīd, vii, 25, it was of later formation and its name corresponded to the Mongol term *hoyin-irgen* 'people of the woods'. The Aghaj-āri must have arrived before the Mongols. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 174, mentions an Abul-Muzaffar Anūsh-tegin *al-Aghājārī* who in 405/1014 was captured together with the Kurdish prince Hilāl b. Badr. This is a precious indication of the early penetration and dispersal of the Aghaj-āri. The author of the *Nuzhat* (A.D. 1340), p. 81, rather vaguely says : 'they used to call the governors (of Khalkhāl, south of Ardabil) Aghājārī (*hukkām-ish rā Aqājarīyān mī-guftand*)'. The name is also known in the region of the oil-wells in southern Persia where it has been misunderstood and officially spelt *Aqā-Jārī*, instead of *Aghāj-ārī*, see *FJ*, viii, 18 : اغاجارى.

Adjoining Būkān on the west, lies the *dihistān* of Tūrjān (on the middle course of the Tativū). Its name looks Iranian and its population is Kurdish, but its toponymy is mixed with Turkish. The two names which can interest us are : HABAKĪ, perhaps from Mong. *habāki* 'a spider', and SHĪLĀN-ĀBĀD. The element *shīlān* undoubtedly refers to public feasts with distribution of soup, see *MA*, 333, and *Sīlīlat al-nasab-i Safaviya*, 111.

The middle course of the Sā'uj-bulaq river is occupied by the district officially called EL-TEYMUR (*FJ*, iv, 66), or in Kurdish pronunciation *Yel-tāmur*, the *y* in *Yel-* being only a parasitic Kurdish element before an initial vowel, like in *Yakhtachi*. El-Timur is known as a personal name of a Jalayir, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, vii, 13. A village in this district (no more shown in *FJ*, iv) was called TOKHTĀ (perhaps **Tokhtoghā*), a name common among the Mongols, see the name of a Bayāut, in Rashīd al-dīn, vii, 236, of the ruler of the Merkit, *ibid.*, 92 (Toqtā), etc.

Lower down the river lies the administrative centre Sā'uj-bulaq, now renamed Mahābād (where *Mah-* is meant for 'Media'). Downstream from it, the plain stretching towards Lake Urmiya forms the district of Shār-i vērān (see below, p. 79) which possesses another Shīlān-ābād (see above under Tūrjān). In modern Turkish parlance, the name of the village INDIRKASH is sometimes heard as *Āgri-qash* 'a crooked eyebrow', or *Hündür-qash* 'a high eyebrow', the Mongol *hündür* being used in Azarbayjan Turkish, but both these popular etymologies stand for some unintelligible ancient name.¹

¹ Close to Indirkash lies the ancient rock-cut chamber of Faqraqā.

The south-western corner of Lake Urmiya is occupied by the district SULDUZ bearing the name of the Mongol tribe Suldus, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 244. The Suldus amirs played an important rôle under the last il-khans and even succeeded the latter (the Chobanid dynasty). The district of Suldus must have been occupied by the Kurds, especially under the Mukri rulers, but at present its population consists almost exclusively of Qara-papakh emigrants from Transcaucasia after 1828.

As appears from our enumeration, the Mongol names in local toponymy can be especially ascertained either by the use of the suffix *-tu* or by a comparison with personal names.

As regards the first category, a very typical case is presented by KĀRĀFTŪ, a small district in the side-valley of the Saruq (see above, p. 61), where grottoes with a Greek inscription were discovered by Sir R. Porter (see Sir A. Stein, *Old routes*, 324–46). Light on the name is thrown by the report on the expeditions which Timur, from his camp on the Aq-say (*persicè* : *Safīd-rūd*), sent northwards to Sariq-qurghan¹ and کردتو (see *Zafar-nāma*, I, 628). I am sure that this latter name should be restored as *کروتو *Kārūtū* (N. Poppe : *kere'ütü* 'having a wood on its northern side'). The Mongol character of the name is supported by the existence in Transbaikalia (Barguzin) of the gold-fields called (with a Russian ending) *Kereftitskaya*.

Considerably south of the Mukri region, on the road from Saqqiz to Senendej, there exists a district called HOBĀTŪ (now officially : *Obātū*, *FJ*, v, 26) 'possessing an *obo/oba*', i.e. a commemorative column, or stone cairn, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, 47, 53 : *barāyi nishān mīli sākhtand ki mughulān ān rā ōbā guyand*. The attested *h* before *obā* is typical for the earlier Mongolian.²

To the category of villages named after their founders and former possessors one can add a few examples from the districts adjoining Mukri. In a side-valley of the Saqqiz river (which flows into the Jaghatū) lies the large village MARKHOZ, apparently named after some Christian Mongol, or Uyghur, Marcus, cf. the name of the ancestor of the Kereit, Marghūz Buyuruq-khan, Rashīd, VII, 123. In the valley of Mirede (on the road Saqqiz-Bāna) lie the villages TAMŪGHA and QARACHĀR. Tamūqa was the name of a *noyon* of the Bārin tribe in the time of Chengiz-khan, Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 264. Qarachār (*FJ*, v, 321) sounds Mongol (perhaps 'blackish, swarthy'), cf. the names Toquchar, *Secret history*, § 280, Tughāchār, Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), 9, etc. On the suffix *-char* see Pelliot, *La horde d'Or*, 52. Qarachar was the name of one of Tamerlane's ancestors. A place called *Karachar-ov* is known in Russian epic poems (*bilina*).

To end this enumeration I shall quote the village of KONDALĀN near Saqqiz

¹ South of *Marāgha*, cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 294; apparently Sari-qurghan in the district of Takāb (formerly Tikān-tapa), on the road from Sa'in-qal'a to Bijār.

² It remains to be seen whether this form is purely imitative or has any philological grounds, cf. Pelliot, 'Les mots à *H* initiale, aujourd'hui amuie', *J. As.*, avril, 1925, 193–263. In view of the *h-* and *-tu*, the name can hardly be derived from the Turkish *oba* 'a felt hut'.

(*FJ*, v, 383). This term is frequently used in the Mongol epoch (though it may be not of Mongol origin). It means 'a large tent, pavilion', but usually stands for 'royal camp'. See Arghun-khan's letter to the 'Roi de France' (*irad Barans*): 'written at Këndelen'. W. Kotwicz, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, xvi, 1950, 376, takes Këndelen for a place-name. A northern tributary of the Araxes, south-west of Shusha (Transcaucasia), is called Këndelen-su. Kahdalān which *FJ*, iv, 436, mentions near Sarāb, may be a mutilated form of the same word.

(d) *Tribes*

We have seen that the names of two well-known Mongol tribes, SULDUS and *OYRĀT, still account for the appellation of the districts Suldūz¹ and Uryād (now re-named *Chār-oymāq*).

More unexpected is the name of the great Kurdish tribe MUKRI. No one seems to have noticed its outward likeness to that of the *Μουκρί* whom Theophylact² mentions as living in the neighbourhood of *Ταυγαστ* (**Tabghach*, denoting North China), at about the time when the Emperor Mauricius was sending his expedition to the shores of Lake Urmiya (A.D. 589).

However, Theophylact might be a dangerous guide. His Mukri seem to be the people whom the Chinese called Mu-Ki (Wu-Ki?) and later Mo-ho and who lived in northern Korea. Chavannes³ considered them as a Tunguz (?) nation. Haussig, op. cit., 340, restores Theophylact's name as **Murkit/Markat* and admits the possibility of their being identical with the Merkit of Mongol sources.⁴ I am incompetent to discuss this question, but I see that Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, I, 28, identified the Mo-k'o-li with a different tribe, the 'Mekrin' (the vocalization of *Mekrin* being somewhat uncertain). It is true that according to Rashīd, vii, 90, the *M.rkit* were sometimes called *M.krīt*, but quite different from them were the *B.krīn*, otherwise called *M.krīn*, Rashīd, vii, 166.⁵ They were 'neither Mongols, nor Uyghurs'⁶ but lived in the difficult mountains of Uyghuristān⁷ and were renowned cragsmen (*qayachi*). Among the great confusion of almost homonymous names of the two tribes, this particular

¹ This is the Turkish form of the Mongol *Suldus*, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, vii, 224, which is reflected in Kurdish *Sundus* or *Sindus*, see O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, 1906, 15, 258.

² See H. W. Haussig, 'Theophylakts Exkurs über die skytischen Völker', *Byzantion*, xxiii, 1953, 282, etc.

³ Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, 230, etc.

⁴ In his Addenda, p. 431, Haussig restores *Μουκρί* as **Μουκαί*, which should refer to the neighbours of the Tabghach, called *Mu-kūan*, whose name is further confronted with Mong. *moghay* 'a snake'. This complicates the problem still more.

⁵ Cf. also Plano Carpini, ed. C. R. Beazley, 1903, 80, on the distinction between *Merkit* and *Metrit* (ed. Risch, 1930, 109, *Merkit* and *Mecrit*), of whom the former were pagans and the latter Christians.

⁶ Were the two groups, *M.rkit/M.krīt* and *B.krīn/M.krīn*, of the same Tunguz origin?

⁷ It is not clear whether this refers to the old home of the Uyghurs on the Orkhon, or to the later kingdom near the T'ien-shan, Rashīd, vii, 161-6. The chapter on the *B.krīn* follows immediately on that on the Uyghurs.

and typical nickname (*gayachi*) is of great utility. Chingiz destroyed the Merkit, *Secret history*, §§ 197, 198, and Rashīd does not mention any Merkit in the west,¹ whereas he avers that a group (*tāyifa*) of B.krīn accompanied Hulagu 'and in this kingdom (Iran) they were known as *gayachi* and (experts in) mountaineering (*kūh-ravī*)'.

In fact we find a most illuminating passage on the *gayachi* in the Syrian Life of the Nestorian Catholicos Yabalāhā III (1281–1317).² According to this source, towards 1297 the Christian soldiers of the garrison of Arbela (Erbil), belonging to the tribe of 'the *gayachi* mountaineers', killed a Muslim notable. The Mongols of the faction of the Muslim convert Naurūz and some Kurds and Arabs besieged the citadel. The quarrel was patched up but it flared up in 1310, when the *gayachi* brought a complaint to the court against their amir Zayn al-dīn Balū, whose duty it was to distribute salaries to 3,000 men. The il-khan imprisoned the amir but then Arbela was surrounded by Muslims and Kurds, and the Christians and the *gayachi* were requested to come down from the citadel. The all-powerful amir Choban, who seems to have been the protector of Zayn al-dīn, intervened for the *gayachi* (p. 167), but the Muslims provoked contradictory orders. The Christians and the *gayachi* who, trusting in the promises, came down, were massacred, and the *gayachis* who remained in the citadel were thrown down from the top of the town walls. In this story the collusion of the local Christians with the *gayachis* was quite obvious.

For our purpose one point is important, that the *gayachi*, i.e. the B.krīn/M.krīn were in considerable force in Arbil. The disaster of 1310 did not result in the total destruction of the tribe, for even in 806/1403 Timur, during his campaign in Georgia, used the particular skill of the M.krīt.³

The author of the *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 288–96, states that the origin of the Mukri governors (*hukkām-i Mukrī*) of the country to the south of Lake Urmiya goes back to 'the Mukrī tribe established in Shahrazūr, and some say that they branched off from the Bābān governors'. The first Mukri chief whom Sharaf al-dīn mentions was Sayf al-dīn who gathered a large number of clansmen of Bābān and other tribes of Kurdistan and, at the time of the Turkman rulers (second half of the fifteenth century), occupied Daryās, thence to spread to the districts of Dol-i bārik, Akhtāchī, El-Tamur, and Suldūz. We know that the Kurds Hadhbānī, Zarzārī (now Zarzā),⁴ etc., for centuries had lived in the region,

¹ However, the *FJ*, IV, 492, mentions a *Margīd* near Marand, and another one on the road Tabriz-Ahar!

² *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, tr. by Chabot, 1895, ch. xviii, pp. 122–30, 152–77. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The monks of Kūblāi Khān*, 1928, 230, 260: *tūrāyē kāyājīyē*.

³ Nizām al-dīn Shāmī, ed. Tauer, 282, was the witness of their exploit. Sharaf al-dīn, *Zafar-nāma*, II, 527, praises the *M.krīt* 'who in mountaineering (*kūh-ravī*) have no rivals in the world (az *Qāf tā Qāf*)'.

⁴ Sharaf-khān does not seem to know anything of the Hadhbānī ('those of Hedāyyeb', i.e. Adiabene-Arbela) and the chapter on the Zarzā is missing in all the MSS of his work. On the Hadhbānī see Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, 1953, 129.

and the migration of Sayf al-dīn did not amount to a colonization of the region, but only to a reunification of the local population under the leadership of a new military group. Such changes in the organization of tribes are frequent in the history of the Kurds. The Mukri chiefs and their henchmen only superimposed a new *‘ashārat* over the local peasants (*ra‘īyat, gōrān*) and splinters of smaller, or weakened, tribes.

In fact there are no earlier mentions of the name of Mukri in the basin of Lake Urmiya, and the Egyptian encyclopaedia *Masālik al-abṣār* (written before 1350) omits the Mukri in its list of Kurdish tribes.¹ The period between the massacre of the *qayachi* in Erbil (1310) and the second half of the fifteenth century is a blank, but the available material gives no other clue to the explanation of the name Mukri, except by assuming that the new leaders were the fully Kurdicized representatives of those earlier ‘cragmen’ who belonged to the *B.krīn, M.krīn, M.krīt*² tribe which had been settled among the Kurds in Arbil.³

Another curious tribal name is DEBOKRĪ. This tribal group is not mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma*, but Rawlinson, op. cit., 34, quotes the ‘Dehbokri’ under the Mukri, adding that they supply the financial governors of the tribe. O. Mann⁴ regarded the Debokrī as the original population of the Sā’uj-bulaq region which was subjugated by the Mukri. This statement may be slightly out of focus because the Debokri too consist both of wealthy landowners and the *ra‘īyat*, and Mann’s suggestion applies to the latter dependent class. Outwardly *Debokrī* should be derived from the village Debokr,⁵ situated 11 km. to the south of Savuj-bulaq (*Dih-i Bokr, as Degurji in Ushnū is **Dih-i Gurjī*). The difficult element is *-Bokr*. In 1914 the Debokri family affirmed that their

¹ See Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, XIII, 1838, 300–29.

² The difference in the ending is explainable by Mongol suffixes. Final *-n* in Mongol is easily elided: *morin* > *mori*, and *-t* is a plural ending. A sept (affiliated to Goklan Turkmans) is called Mukri, see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund, 1939, 39 (quoting Tumanovich), and a village Mukri is shown on the Amu-darya, south of Kerki. The form Mukri, whether original, or secondary (under the influence of a labial initial) is very suggestive for our case. Are these Mukri too a splinter of the *qayachi*? I cannot say whether the name of the Uzbek clan Murkut, which according to Khanikov, *Opisaniye Bukharskogo khanstva*, SPb., 1843, 61, existed in Bukhara, refers to the same element, or to the ‘Merkit’.

³ In the Turkish kaza of Saray (west of Persian Qotur) one finds a small tribe called Muqurī (or Muqrī). According to Sir M. Sykes, *The Caliph’s last heritage*, 1915, 564, these ‘Mukeri [sic. V.M.] are said to have migrated to Persia 50 years ago’. This vague statement might lead to misunderstandings. The Kurd Maḥmūd-efendi of Bāyezid, who collaborated with A. Jaba (*Notices et récits kurdes*, St. Petersburg, 1860, Kurdish text, p. 5) clearly spells the name as مقری and adds that this group belongs to the Shikākī (Shekkāk) tribe. The Muqurī are separated from the nearest point of the Mukri region by some 225 kms. and many mountains and, unless some historical facts are produced, it is not easy to establish any link between the two tribes.

⁴ *Die Mundart*, I, p. XVIII: ‘Die ackerbauenden Klassen, die *ra‘īyāt*, nennen sich grössenteils zum Stamme der Dēbokrī gehörig und man darf wohl vermuten, dass diese Dēbokrī, welche in grösseren Massen die östlichen Teile des Mukrilandes, den Distrikt Shār-wērān, und die nach Miān-dū-āb hin gelegenen Täler des Tatāu und Jagatū bewohnen, die Reste der einstigen Bevölkerung darstellen, die von den stammes- und sprachverwandten Mukrī aus dem Besitze verdrängt worden ist’.

⁵ In *FJ*, IV, 226, mis-spelt: *Dehbogr*.

ancestor in the fourth generation, Bayrām-aqā, had arrived from Diyār-Bakr. The change of Arabic *Bakr* into *Bokr* is unlikely,¹ as the name *Bā-Bakr* (*Abū-Bakr) is common among the Kurds. In view of the fact that the tribe *M.krīn* was also called *B.krīn*, one might perhaps consider the element *-bokrī* as another variant of *Mukri*, but such speculation would involve some difficulties with the name of the village (*Debokr*, without *-ī*) and some difference of the vowels *o/u*. *Nondum liquet*.

Another important Kurdish tribe established in the west of the area, on the southern bank of the Gādir and on the headwaters of the Lesser Zāb, is BILBĀS. According to Sharaf-khan, I, 358, his own federation of Rōzhikī (of Bitlis) consisted of two branches, Bilbāsī and Qawālīsī reckoned to the Hakkārī area (on the Greater Zāb). In fact the name Qawālīsī seems to be known in Bohtān. Both Hakkārī and Bohtān lie very far from Lake Urmiya, and Sharaf-khan himself is not sure of his statement, because he quotes another tradition, according to which the Bilbāsī and Qawālīsī (perhaps at a later stage) belonged to the Bābān federation (of Shahrazūr), from which the Mukri are also said to have stemmed. Nowadays the Bilbās live astride the Qandīl range and their basic sept (*Ojaq*) used to spend the winter in Mesopotamia and the summer in the *sarān* ('heights') of the eastern side of the Qandīl range. Nothing can be said about the origin of the name, unknown among the Mongol and Turkish tribes.² One of the clans of the Bilbās federation, now firmly settled in Mukri country, is called MANGŪR, and the late Mongolian scholar Professor W. Kotwicz once wrote to me (31 March 1935) that it reminded him of the name Mangūt. Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 253, spells this name Mangūt and quotes the names of its amirs who served in Persia. A village in the district of Sarāb (in *FJ*, IV, 183 : *Mangūtāy*) apparently reflects the name of the amir Mangquday (father of the famous Qutlugh-shāh noyon), see Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 254. Consequently, one should not reject the idea that the origin of Mangūr might be parallel to that of *Mukri*, though Mangūr, as a singular to the Mongol plural *Mangūt*, is not attested.³

The names of the other tribes of the area, GOURUK (on the eastern bank of the K'alū) and SŪĒSNĪ⁴ on the right bank, look Kurdish. The Sūēsni, whose name should regularly represent an earlier *Sōsni, seem to belong to the earliest settled stratum of the Kurdish population. The names of their septs sound Iranian : *Beryājī*, *Milkārī*, and *Alān*. The latter name, so strikingly identical with that of the Caucasian Alān (Ossetes), is most interesting, and we know that the Alāns several times penetrated into Parthia and Media (see above, p. 63, n. 7).

¹ In the *sh.* of Bam (Kerman) there exists a village called *Deh-Bakrī*, whose inhabitants speak Persian, *FJ*, VIII, 169.

² I have been unable to ascertain the origin of the Russian family name Бильбасов, which is certainly not Kurdish but might point to Turco-Mongol affinities.

³ The difference between *g* and *q* also makes a difficulty.

⁴ The name of the village Sūsāwā, outside the Mukri area—in the district of Mergever (west of Urmiya-Rizāiyya)—points to a colony of the same tribe.

ANNEX I

ADDITIONAL LIST OF MONGOL PLACE-NAMES

From some 6,000 or 7,000 names quoted under Azarbayjan in the *Farhang-i joghrāfiyāyi*, IV, I have made a further selection of names which look obviously Mongol. I quote them in the order of the Arabic alphabet. Outside the Mukrī area (South), already treated above, I have divided Azarbayjan into the following areas :

- I. East : Ardabīl—Sarāb—Khalkhāl—Mughān
- II. Centre : Tabriz—Miyāna—Qaraja-dagh
- III. North-west : Khoy—Mākū
- IV. South-east : Marāgha
- V. West : Urmiya, now Rezā'iya

These Roman numbers have been added to the names of districts which follow the names of towns and villages. For parallels to less common Mongol words I am obliged to Professor N. Poppe.

In addition to the 13 villages of the Southern area (Mukri), this list contains 50 names, of which 11 belong to area I, 16 to II, 8 to III, 12 to IV, and 3 to V.

Achāchi	Miyāna II	' carriers of loads (<i>achān</i>) '
Arbatān	Yāmchi II	' chief of ten men ' ¹
Orātlu	Miyāna II	' possessing craftsmen (<i>urat</i>) '
Arqūn	Marāgha IV	personal name, Arghun
Arkavīn	Chāldirān III	' Christians (<i>erkeūn</i>) '
Orgotīn	Qaraja-dagh II	' having a chief's camp (<i>ōrgōten</i>) '
Alpāvūt (1)	Ahar II	<i>alpā'ut</i> , ' a privileged class '
Alpāvūt (2)	Hiris II	" "
Ālqū (1)	Benājū IV	personal name, Alghū ²
Ālqū (2)	Chār-oymāq IV	" "
Onar	Meshkīn I	personal name, Öner
Ūlāmchī	Ājerlu IV	' purveyor of relay horses '
Ongūt	Garmi I	Öngüt, tribe
*Bārchūq	Chār-oymāq IV	proper name ³
Bārūq (1)	Dijūvijīn I	' large, ample (<i>barugh</i>) '
Bārūq (2)	Gāvdūl IV	" "
Bārūq (3)	Sarāb I	" "
Bārūq (4)	Chār-oymāq IV	" "
Bakhlachi	Aland III	' bundle-makers '
Barānqāz	Kāghaz-konān I	' right wing (<i>*baranqar</i> ?) '
Bilarqū	Sōmāy V	' lost property ' ⁴
Bolqan	Chār-oymāq IV	feminine personal name ⁵
Tūpūlqā	Barzand I	? sounds Mongol
Tūdān	Aland III	personal name, *Todoyon (?) ⁶
Toulāchi	Öngüt I	' a catcher of hares '

¹ cf. Rashid al-dīn's correspondence, ed. M. Shafī, 177 : *Harbatān*.

² Hāfiz-i Abrū, ed. Bayānī, 60 : amir Alghū, atābek of Abū-Sa'id, etc.

³ Rashid, ed. Berezin, VII, 163 : Barchuq, an Uyghur chief, etc.

⁴ See *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1941, 786.

⁵ Several princesses were called Bul(a)ghan ' sable-marten '.

⁶ Rashid, ed. Berezin, VII, 59, etc.

Jālīq	Ahar II	' an idol ? ' ¹
Chār-oymāq	Marāgha IV	' the 4 tribes (Mong. <i>aymaq</i>) ' ²
Chukatū	Chār-oymāq IV	' with small stones ' ³
Sā'in	Ardabil I	' good ' ⁴
Sāṭī	Ahar II	personal name ⁵
Sapūrghān	Urmiya V	' a stupa (<i>suburghan</i>) ' ⁶
'Araqtū	Ātesh-beg II	suffix <i>-tū</i>
Qānchī	Sharaf-khāna II	' a sleeve ' ⁷
Qartāvul	Sarājū IV	? suffix <i>-aul</i>
Qūtān	Mākū III	' a pelican ' ⁸
Kārdchīn (?)	Meshe-pāra II	personal feminine name, Kardūjin ⁹
Kivī	Hero ^v I	Kū'ī, tribe ¹⁰
Mānqutāy	Sarāb I	personal name ¹¹
Mārgān (1,2,3)	Qara-qoyun III	' a clever hunter ' ¹²
Margid (1)	Marand II	Merkit, tribe
Margid (2)	Hiris II	" "
Margid (3)	Yamchi II	" "
Makatū	Chār-oymāq II	' sly (<i>meketū</i>) ' ¹³
Mūkhor (1)	Qara-qoyun III	' obtuse, short (<i>muqur</i>) ' ¹⁴
Mūkhor (2)	Aland III	" "
Movil	Meshkīn I	' bird-cherry (<i>movil</i>) ' ¹⁵
Nāchid (1,2)	Chār-oymāq IV	' falcons ' ¹⁶
Nachiq	Dizmar II	' lazy ' ¹⁷
Nāvur	Aland III	' a lake ' ¹⁸
Hārūlān	Silvānā V	Arulan (Arulat), tribe

ANNEX II

EARLIER STRATA IN LOCAL TOPONYMY. PARSUA AND DARIAUSA

Our short review of the ' visiting cards ' which the Mongols left in the region of the southern tributaries of Lake Urmiya refers only to one of the latest strata (thirteenth-fourteenth century) in the local toponymy. Soon after, the Mongol elements were entirely absorbed, chiefly by the Turkish population.⁷ A few

¹ The *History of the Muzaffarids*, GMS, xiv, 1, 642, in describing the war of the amir Mubārīz with the Aughān Mongols (not to be confused with the Afghāns) states that the latter ' had a *jālīgh* and worshipped it according to the Mongol custom, and made sacrifices to those [*sic*] idols (*butān*) '. Cf. also *Chālīq* near Ahar (II). Radloff, III, 1884, gives *chalū* ' the shaman's tambourine, idol ' (Altai).

² Daughter of Öljejtū, Sāti-beg, who reigned A.D. 1338-9, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 606, but also an amir of the Jalayirs, Sāti-bahādūr (about 765/1364), *ibid.*, 691.

³ Perhaps: *gotan*, Turk. ' enclosure for sheep '.

⁴ See *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 533, daughter of Mangu-Timur, son of Hulagu. Hāfiz-i Abrū, ed. Bayānī, 131, 134, wife of amir Chohan.

⁵ The spelling in *FJ*, iv, 440, tries to imitate the sound of *ū*, but the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 82, spells *Kūyī*. The Kūyīn (*Kū'īn) were a branch of the Tātār tribe and Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 82, quotes several Kūyīn in Iran.

⁶ Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 253, a Manqut, father of Qutlugh-shāh.

⁷ The Oghuz tribes who arrived in Azarbayjan together with the Seljuks, and in the fifteenth century were reinforced by their Turkman brothers, brought back from Armenia by the Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu rulers.

Mongols may also have been assimilated by the Kurds, though the typical appearance of the latter shows no traces of such admixtures. The basin of the K'alū (Lesser Zāb) is almost free from Turco-Mongol names. In the area of the southern affluents of Lake Urmiya one can trace a pretty clear line between the names with the Turkish¹ component *-kand* (Sharaf-kandi, 'Īsā-kandi), with Turkish suffixes like *-liq*, and with definitely Turkish elements like *aghach*, *bulaq*, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Kurdish series of names ending in *-āwā* (Persian *-ābād*), names with Iranian suffixes (plurals in *-ān* or *-ākān*), names beginning with *kānī* (*Kānī-resh* 'black spring'), or *gird* (*Girda-sūr* 'red hill'), those containing easily recognizable Kurdish elements like *Baska-drēž* 'long arm (prong)', *Kona-mishka* 'mouse-hole', etc. Kurdish is still an insufficiently known language and many technical Kurdish words await an explanation.²

Outside the Kurdish, Turkish, and Mongol strata, a stock of very unusual names is noticeable in local toponymy. Some names, especially in the Gādir basin, are undoubtedly Christian Aramaic (Sargis, Dinha 'Epiphany', Salos, Bem-surta 'the small pulpit'—at present Bem-zurta, *FJ*, iv, 94).³ Perhaps a different strain of Aramaic infiltrations is reflected in the area between Sardasht and Bāna where the K'alū makes a bend to escape into the Mesopotamian plains. Here one finds such names as Shmōla (*FJ*, iv, 306: Shamū'ilā), Shilmān in Sardasht; Siyaumā (cf. Syr. *siyāmā* 'plantation') in Bāna (not in *FJ*), and a number of names beginning with *bē* (**bēt* 'house'?): Bētūsh, Bērān, Bēura.⁴

But what are the names Aļōt, Arnabūs (Arbenūs?), Dunēs, Gādir, Gagash, Lagīz, Naļōs, Narzames (?), Teyet, etc., scattered throughout the western part of the area?

Whether any vestiges of the pre-Iranian 'Zagros principalities', like Surikash (Saqqiz?), Lāruete (in the province of Allabria), etc., can be traced in the area under consideration, may become clearer when we have full lists of geographical features (valleys, passes, smaller streams). Would Tirkash in the Mangūr territory (on the western bank of the K'alū), or Tarkāsha (near Būkān, *FJ*, iv, 120) reflect the name of *Tikrish* in the land of Manna (see L. Waterman, *Royal correspondence*, Michigan, 1930, 231)? Would the name of Indirkash,⁵ near which the rock-tomb of Faqraqā is situated, include an element comparable with Tir-kash, or Suri-kash mentioned by Sargon II? Such problems should be solved by specialists but, to conclude my article, I shall venture some considerations on two names belonging to the earlier strata of the local toponymy.

1. It is a well-known fact that to the south of Lake Urmiya the Assyrians

¹ Originally Sogdian! The Turks must have brought this term from Central Asia. It is common only in Azarbayjan and Transcaucasia.

² *Sora-pungān* 'red thistles'; *shilēr* 'crown imperial', see above, etc.

³ cf. Rawlinson, op. cit., 17, who connects some of these names with those of the Nestorian bishops mentioned in these parts in the ecclesiastical sources (Assemani, Bar Hebraeus). Cf. also Qal'a-Kōka in Lāhijān and the name of the church which Yabalāhā built in Baghdad, trans. Chabot, 30, 42.

⁴ Also *Bētās* in El-tamur, *Bēkōs* in Mangūr, etc., but not perhaps *Bēzhua* which sounds Kurdish (one village of this name is found in Alān and another north of Ushnū).

⁵ See above, p. 70.

mention two peoples, *Mada* (first in 836 B.C.) and *Parsua* (first in 844 B.C.), and that these peoples must represent the early infiltrations of ancient Medes and Persians, before the latter moved much further south to the region of the present-day Fārs (Pārs), to which they give their name.

In the account of his campaign of 714 B.C., Sargon II, moving northwards, says that from Lāruete he 'descended' into *Par-su-ash*. Parsua seems to be the only place in the area about whose location on the lower *Gādir* (near the south-west corner of Lake Urmiya) there exists a consensus of opinion among scholars. In the context, I should particularly insist on the term 'descended'. The extremely fertile area of the lower *Gādir* is now known under the name of Mongol origin: *Suldūz*. At the time of the Muslim conquest it bore the name *Niriz* (mis-spelt: *Nirir* in Balādhurī, 331), which I interpret as *ni-rēzh* 'flow down',¹ and one had to 'descend' into such an area. From Parsua Sargon marched eastwards to Missi in the territory of Manna. Missi should be placed on the lower course of the Tativū, on the left bank of which the Urartian king Menua left a cuneiform inscription saying that he built a palace at Meishtakha (?) after his victory over Manna.² It is likely that *Missi* and *Meishtakha* correspond to the same spot (cf. Melikishvili's conclusions in *Vest. drev. istorii*, 1949).

I think that the dilapidated fort of Paswē has considerable claims to represent Parsua both phonetically and geographically. Yāqūt, I, 626, who visited the little borough himself, spells the name پَسْوَى, apparently **Paswē*, see also *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 87. The usual present-day transcription is پَسْوَه *Pasva* (to be pronounced *Pasvé*). There are numerous cases known of the disappearance in Modern Persian of older *r* in various groups of consonants, see Horn, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, I, 2, 89, 98, and in the area in question many other influences may have contributed to the reduction and simplification of incomprehensible ancient names.

Paswē occupies a position important in petty wars, on the easy pass between Lāhijān (on the headwaters of the K'alū flowing into the Tigris) and a small affluent of the *Gādir* belonging to the basin of Lake Urmiya. Mentions of Paswē are found in the reports of Kurdish intertribal feuds, *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 280, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Märtyrer*, 245. If the Parsua lived in the rich plain of Suldūz, such a point was their natural frontier post towards the south, and Sargon II may have 'descended' into their country at this place. At the same time the name Paswē must have been a kind of signboard for enemies and peaceful visitors crossing the frontier.

The Paswē which I saw in 1911 was utterly desolate, but from Sir A. Stein's sketch and photograph in *Old routes*, 1940, 305, 358, one can judge of the imposing character of its mound.

2. The plain on the lower course of the Sā'uj-bulaq river bears the name of *Shār-i vērān* (in Persian *Shahr-i vērān* 'the ruined town, or country'), and its interesting ruins have been referred to by Sir H. Rawlinson, op. cit., 19,

¹ The Niriz of Fārs near Lake Mahālū is in a similar category.

² Already, in Rawlinson's time, op. cit., 12, the greater part of it was altogether destroyed. A 'Missionsfeldprediger' Faber carelessly removed the fragments which are now in the British Museum. The inscription was translated by W. Belck. See C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus inscriptionum Chaldæicarum*, Textbänd, I Lief. 1928, p. 45, No. 20.

38, 74, de Morgan, and Sir A. Stein, *Old routes*, 408–12. One of its sites is called Daryās, where according to the *Sharaf-nāma*, 288–9, the Mukris settled after their arrival from the west. Rawlinson knew the name but overlooked the existence of the site to which it belongs (op. cit., 19). On the other hand, he compared the name with Ptolemy's *Dariausa*. In the same breath he referred to the village of Sirgān (in Ushnū, on the upper course of the Gādir) as possibly representing the Sincar which Ptolemy mentions side by side with Dariausa.

Sirgān, as already remarked by N. V. Khanikoff, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, III, 1859, 76, should in fact read **Singān*. Rawlinson further suggests, *ibid.*, 74, that Sirgān (**Singān*) may be the place which the Byzantine troops sent by the Emperor Mauricius (in A.D. 589) to support his protégé Khusrau II found on their way to the basin of Lake Urmiya.¹ This last suggestion is very probably right for **Singān* controls the eastern approaches to the Kela-shīn pass, over which the expedition was advancing from Mesopotamia. Phonetically the comparison of Daryās with Dariausa is extremely tempting, and, by the side of Paswē (see above), *Dariausa/Daryās*, with its Iranian assonance, would be an additional and welcome support to the location of Iranian Parsua on the south-western shore of Lake Urmiya.

We should retain the identity of the Byzantine Siraganôn with **Singān* and the location of Daryās, but their further identification with Ptolemy's Sincar and Dariausa meets with considerable difficulty. According to Ptolemy, VI, ch. 2, their position was :

	Long.	Lat.
Δαριαύσα	87° 30'	38° 30'
Σίνκαρ	88°	38° 30'

Consequently they lay on the same parallel, while Sincar was situated slightly to the *east* of Dariausa. Moreover we have for

Ecbatana	87° 10'	37° 45'
Pharaspā	85° 30'	40° 30'
Aganzana	89°	39° 30'

If Aganzana is Zanjān, and if Pharaspā is Marāgha (Balādhurī, 330, *Afrāh-rūdh), as assumed in *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 261, Sincar lay much closer to Hamadan, somewhere near the sources of the Qizil-özān (Safid-rūd). Sincar (var. *Syncar*) might possibly correspond to the present-day Sinna (Balādhurī, 310 : *Sīsar*).² Even imagining some major confusion in Ptolemy of Sinna and Sincar, the difficulty of the location of Dariausa to the *west* of Sincar is insoluble for the present.

Meanwhile Daryās, in the district of the 'ruined town (or province)' and lying slightly east of the supposed Parsua area, retains all its archaeological interest and its early Iranian appearance.

* * * *

¹ See Minorsky, 'Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene', *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 1944, 244–5 (where instead of *Theophanes* read *Theophylact*, 317: *εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην λίμνην . . . καὶ γίνονται πλησίον κόμης τινος ἢ Σιραγανῶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὀνομάζουσι*).

² To the east of Dariausa-Sincar Ptolemy places the sources of his confused Strato, which at this place would look like the southern headwaters of the Amardus. In Pauli-Wissowa, E. Honigmann identifies Strato with Harhāz-pey in Mazandarān!

The present study of a special stratum of place-names within a limited area needs no particular summing up. The Mongol and Turkish names which have been examined in my contribution are more solid and rigid than the Iranian names which in the course of time undergo manifold changes. Their study will form an interesting contribution to philology. My direct purpose in the present article was to stimulate a more systematic approach to the toponymy of the old land of Iran. As a subsidiary instrument of work for historians, toponymy should occupy its due place, by the side of numismatics and epigraphy.

P.S. The three earlier articles in my series 'Mongolica' are :

1. 'A Mongol decree of 720/1320 to the family of Shaykh Zāhid', *BSOAS*, xvi, 3, 1954, 515-27.
2. 'Pūr-i Bahā's "Mongol" ode', *BSOAS*, xviii, 2, 1956, 261-78.
3. 'Pūr-i Bahā and his poems', *Charisteria Orientalia*, Praha, 1956, 186-201.
Cambridge, 5 February 1957.