

The Frontiers and Place-Names of Kurdistan in the Ilkhanid Period

Based on *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*

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Abstract:

Based on Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, this study examines how Kurdistan became a distinct province and locates the boundaries and the cities during the Ilkhanids. Kurdistan was first separated from the Iraq-i 'Adjam during the period. Given the location of Kurdistan, and given the role of the province in historical events, historical understanding can increase if borders and cities of Kurdistan are definitely located, which is hard work since there is little information thereof, and since the names of such places are erroneously recorded in classical texts.

This study shows that Kurdistan became a distinct province after the Seljuqids due to its geography and after the domination of Īvih Turkmen. The province extended from Kangawar to Hulwan, and from the Karkhih River to the Little Zab River. This study determines the locations of towns listed by Mustawfī, as follows: Bahār, the provincial capital, was within the current Ilam province; Khuftiyān, Nīmrāh, Darband-i Tādj Khātūn, and Darband-i Zangī were within Sulaymāniyyih province in Iraq; Alānī, Drbīl (Dartang), Kirind, Khūshān, Māhidasht, Kirmanshah, Wistām, Sultanabad-i Chamchamal, Harsin, Kangawar, and Dinawar were within current Kirmanshahan; Alīshar was, and still is, within Luristan. Moreover, this study finds that the current Kurdistan in Iran had no urban center.

Keywords: Historical Geography, Ilkhanid, Kurdistan, Īvih Turkmen, Kirmanshahan, Bahār

1. Introduction

Kurdistan, as a province was located between Iraq and Central Iran, had a key role in historical events of Iran. Therefore, although, it is necessary that its geographical situation will be studied in order to understand its historical events, but there were no information this aim in the early Islamic Period. The early Muslim geographers regarded the whole Islamic territory as a single integrated land of al-Andalus (extending to Transoxiana), and Iran was considered to be a part of this vast territory. Therefore, these geographers have not mentioned Iranian provinces in detail. With the decline of Seljuqids, the rise of such ruling dynasties as the Atabegs of Azerbaijan, Fars, Lur, and the like, changed the administrative divisions of Iran, and the few existing geographers only repeated the reports of early geographers, with little, if any, considerable information on the contemporary geography.

In the 14th century (c.1339), Hamdullah Mustawfī wrote a geographical text which was entitled *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*. He explains the geography of Iran in details, and explains the geography of Iran in details the contemporary geography (not only repeats just the words of previous geographers, but also compares and contrasts various texts concerning the contemporary geography). Also, he gives some important information about the borders and the cities of provinces, since the writer as the state accountant had access to authentic records and documents. Therefore, he introduces some regions and provinces (like the Major Lur, the Minor Lur, and Kurdistan) in Iran as distinct provinces. These regions were known as Djibāl (=Iraq-i 'Adjam) in the past. Since the bureaucratic separation of the province initiated shortly before the Ilkhanid Period, one can consider the *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* as the only reliable and authentic text on the geography of Kurdistan.¹ Also, in the following centuries, the borders of the province had been changed. Therefore, nowadays, the name of Kurdistan refers to parts of Iran and Iraq, and some of Kurd people live in the regions that had located outside of Kurdistan borders in the Ilkhanid Period. Consequently, there are different claims from different groups in Iraq concerning the boundaries of Kurdistan. Therefore, it is important and necessary to conduct studies on the boundaries of this province since its separation from the Djibāl to clarify many facts and examine the claims on Kurdistan. During the Ilkhanid Period, the province has some places which some of them still exist and others have been destroyed, which the locations of some of them are unknown, and therefore, one can to locate them just through some researches.

1.1 Literature Review

Researchers of the medieval history have, particularly on the history of the Kurds, paid scant attention to the identification of the borders and places of toponyms in Kurdistan province in the Ilkhanid period. Based on the archaeological evidence and documents, Al-Taweel has examined the position of Shahrazur.ⁱⁱ Although he has described the position of Shahrazur in the Sassanid period very well, he has written very little about the city in the Ilkhanid period. Boris James has investigated the effect of rivalry between the Mamluks and Ilkhans on the ethnic identity and socio-economic situation of Kurds dwelling between their borders (and not just the province of Kurdistan).ⁱⁱⁱ Asatrian has focused on the ethnic history, identity, religion, language, and literature of the Kurds.^{iv} In one article, Minorsky has briefly investigated the political and economical situation of Kurdistan in the Ilkhanid period,^v and in the other has managed to only determine the Mongolian toponyms surrounding Zrrinih-Rud and southern parts of Urmiyyih Lake.^{vi} Therefore, Guy Le Strange is the most prominent researcher who has investigated the geography of Kurdistan. He translated the geographical part of the *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, and then, he compiled two remarkable books in this field. In these books, Guy Le Strange, by a close analysis of various geographical texts, tries to outline the borders, and to locate the cities, the towns, and the castles of Kurdistan.^{vii} Since he just relied upon Mustawfi, and given that the names of towns had been erroneously recorded in the *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, there are some mistakes in Guy Le Strange's books. For example, he has taken the Bahār Castle, the capital of Kurdistan, for the town of Bahār in Hamadan.^{viii} Unfortunately, this mistake has been repeated by other researchers like V. Minorsky, M. Qazvini, M. Rowshan, and 'A. Shamim.^{ix} These writers have said that the Bahār of Hamadan was both a part of Kurdistan and the capital of Sulaymanshah of Īvih.^x

The present study tries to discuss the developments of Kurdistan, and to answer the following questions: What places are covered by the word Kurdistan during the Ilkhanid Period? Where are the locations of towns and castles in this province?

2. Separation of the Kurdish Province from the Iraq-i 'Ajam

The Iraq-i 'Ajam was the name of the western and central Iran in the Pre-Mongol Period. This region stretched to Khwar-i Ray in the east, to the Tigris River in the west, to Khuzistan and Fars in the south, and to the Sefidrūd River in the north. With the separation of Kurdistan, the Iraq-i 'Ajam was limited to the lands between the Sefidrūd River and Yazd, and its Eastern border was limited to the Qūmis Desert, and its Western borders to Asadabad and Nihavand.^{xi} According to the archaeological researches the Kurds have been living in western parts of Iran and northern regions of Iraq since the late second millennium BC; however, it was not until the advent of the past millennium that were these areas named by the term *Kurdistan* in the Armenian sources in their descriptions about the 11th and 12th centuries events.^{xii} Later Mustawfi, and, following him, other writers have used Kurdistan as a distinct administrative- geographical term.

Although we do not exactly know when Kurdistan was divided off from the Iraq-i 'Ajam, Mustawfi is the first person who mentioned Kurdistan and the Iraq-i 'Ajam as two distinct provinces. Also, he associated Kurdistan with Sulaymanshah of Īvih. Therefore, Guy Le Strange, who erroneously identified Sulaymanshah of Īvih with Sulaymān Ibn Muḥammad the Seljuqid (1160-61), has determined that Kurdistan separated about the middle of the 12th century, as a result of misunderstanding of the Mustawfi's account. Consequently, he believes that Sultan Sandjar (1096-1157) has separated the Kurdistan, and appointed his nephew, Sulayman as governor of it.^{xiii} This mistake has been repeated in the following researchs.^{xiv} Based on Mustawfi's account, and given that Sulaymanshah of Īvih lived in the first half of the 13th century, one can conclude that Kurdistan was separated from the Iraq-i 'Ajam in the early 13th century, when the Seljuqids had been extincted. This might be explained by two factors:

- a. The geographical situation. The region that was later reputed as Kurdistan was a mountainous region, which rulers were not able to exercise their domination over the region since it was surrounded by mountains, and this allowed rebels to have a safe haven and therefore, it was a matter of concern for rulers.^{xv} Thus, the central government of Iran allowed the semi-autonomous governments to exercise their full powers against the rebels. Among these local semi-autonomous governments before the Mongol invasion, one can mention the following: 'Ishanid, Barzikanid, and 'Annazid. The existence of such semi-autonomous governments for more than three centuries (i.e. 9th to 12th) paved the way for the separation of Kurdistan from the Iraq-i 'Ajam.
- b. The power gained by Turkmen chieftains. In the Seljuqid Period, a number of Turkmen entered Iran, and as it was their wont, they settled in mountainous areas, and they acted as the main supporters of Seljuqid government. The decline of Seljuqids paved the way for the Turkmen lords to come to power. Therefore, in the late of the 12th century, in spite of the apparent domination of the Seljuqs of Iraq on

the Iraq-i ‘Adjam, several Turkmen tribes took powers in different parts of country.^{xvi} Moreover, as a result of the political weakness of the Seljuqids, the Abbasid caliphs began to revived their material and spiritual strength by expelling the *Shihna* “military commander”, appointed by Seljuqid Sultan in Baghdad after 1155.^{xvii} This led to a confrontation between the Caliphate and the Sultanate, which continued after the Khwarizmshah’s conquest of Hamadan in 1194.^{xviii} Given the tense relations between Hamadan and Baghdad, the Īvīh Turkmen tribes served as the borderlines for the other side, and no side was powerful enough to have the upper hand in the region, and therefore, there emerged some military moves on the parts of Īvīh Turkmen in the forms of trespassing on urban areas, termed as “*Fitna wa fisād*” by some historians.^{xix} Therefore, tensions between the Caliphate and the Sultanate paved the way for Sulaymanshah of Īvīh to gain power in the Kurdish areas of Iraq-i ‘Adjam, and in this way, the region became independent.

3. The boundaries of Kurdistan in the Ilkhanid Period

According to Mustawfī, Kurdistan was bound to the Iraq-i ‘Arab in the west, to Azerbaijan and Diyarbakr in the north, to the Iraq-i ‘Adjam in the east, and to Khuzistan in the south. However, he does not say where the borders of these provinces meet. According to him, Nihavand and Asadabad were the westernmost towns in the Iraq-i ‘Adjam. He says that Kangawar marks the starting point of Kurdistan on the Sultaniyyih route to Baghdad, and elsewhere, he implies that Kangawar is near Nihavand. He regards the Minor Lur, consisting of Burūdjjird, Khorramabad, Seymarih, and Kūrsht (کورشت, or Kūhdasht?) as a component of the Iraq-i ‘Adjam.^{xx} This implies that the Seymarih River also was the south-eastern border of Kurdistan. Given that Mustawfī believes that Alīshar was a component of Kurdistan, and given the short distance between Khorramabad and Alīshar, it is difficult to outline the borders between Kurdistan and the Minor Lur.

Moreover, Mustawfī mentions that Kurdistan was a neighbour of Khuzistan, and he mentions Shūsh, Dizfūl, and Andīmishk as the cities of Khuzistan. Elsewhere, he says that the Bayāt River originates from Kurdistan.^{xxi} Given that this river is now known as the Tīb (and it originates from the Kabīrkūh Mountain), it can be easily inferred that he regarded the Kabīrkūh Mountain as part of Kurdistan.^{xxii} This shows that the mountainous region in W. Seymarih River (known as Ilam today) was a part of Kurdistan at that time. Therefore, one can conclude that the boundaries between Kurdistan and Khuzistan were the same boundaries of the present Ilam and Khuzistan.

As for the Western border of Kurdistan, Mustawfī says that Hulwan, Khanaqīn, Zangiabad and Qaṣr-i Shīrīn are parts of the Iraq-i ‘Arab (and not parts of Kurdistan). In addition, he regards the narrow margin on the west slopes of the Zagros Mountains, including Bandanīdjīn (=Mandalīdjīn, Mandalīj, Mandalī), Bādrāyā, and Bāksāyā as parts of Iraq-i ‘Arab.^{xxiii} Therefore, the south western boundaries of Kurdistan could be the same as the Iran-Iraq frontier.

As for the northern border of Kurdistan, Mustawfī says that the Taghatū and Djaghatū Rivers (now Sīmīnih-rūd and Zarrīnih-Rūd) originated from Kurdistan. In addition, he maintains that Kurdistan was a neighbour of Azerbaijan. According to him, Ushnawīyyih and Nīlān near the Taghatū and Djaghatū Rivers were the southernmost cities of the province.^{xxiv} Therefore, the northern coast lands of the Little Zab River, consisting of the present Sardasht, Piranshahr, and Naqadīh were dependent on Ushnawīyyih. Consisting of impassable peaks such as Qandīl, this mountainous region was a single entity known as Salq in the early Islamic Period.^{xxv} Therefore, it seems that the Kurdistan-Azerbaijan border at that time was the same as the present border between Kurdistan and two Azerbaijan provinces (i.e. West and East Azerbaijan).

In the northwest, Kurdistan was a neighbour of Diyarbakr. Seemingly, Mawṣil was the capital of Diyarbakr, and Arbīl was a part of it. Therefore, given that Daqūqā belonged to the Iraq-i ‘Arab, and that Shahrazur belonged to Kurdistan, it is clear that the Little Zab River was served as the borderline between Kurdistan and Diyarbakr.^{xxvi} Therefore, the lands of Diyālīh River basin (today, Sulaymaniyyih province in Iraq) belonged to Kurdistan. In this way, clearly, the Kurdistan of Ilkhanid Period consisted of the present provinces of Kirmanshahan, Ilam, Sulaymaniyyih, and parts of Luristan, in addition to the present-day Kurdistan.

4. The Mongol Conquest of Kurdistan

As noted above, Kurdistan has been separated by efforts of Sulaymanshah of Īvīh in 1213 onwards. Seemingly, Sulaymanshah was subordinated to Jalal al-Dīn Khwarizmshah (1220-31) so long as he lived. Then, he was compliant toward caliphs.^{xxvii} Although we do not know enough details about internal conditions of his territory and his relationship with sultans and caliphs, Kurdistan had a distinct identity under his government, and he paid a determined amount of

taxes (nearly 2 million dinars) to his lord (sultan or caliph).^{xxviii} The Iraq-i 'Adjam was conquered by Mongols in 1220, but Kurdistan under Sulaymanshah resisted against Mongols, as the first formal Mongol army's advance into Kurdistan territory occurred in 1257, when Hulagu was marching to Baghdad. According to historians, Hulagu, who had to pass through Kurdistan to reach Baghdad, divided his army to 3 parts: 1. one part launched from Azerbaijan to Baghdad through Arbīl, Shahrazur, and Daqūqā. 2. Another part launched through Luristan, Girīt, and Bayāt to Baghdad. 3. The last part led by Hulagu set on Kirmanshah to Baghdad.^{xxix}

Considerations on courses of these expeditions show that all of 3 parts of Mongol army passed through Kurdistan. We do not know enough how carried out these expeditions and how the local residents defended against them, but one can conclude that Mongols encountered many resistances in some parts of the province, since all of these 3 armies were not able to advanced at the same speed. And consequently, all of them did not reach together to Baghdad.^{xxx} Also, it was prevalent among the Mongols that invited the people to subdue of them, and they massacred those who did not surrender to them.^{xxxi} Therefore, it is clear that they faced some resistance in these parts, since the people of some parts of Kurdistan were massacred by Mongols.^{xxxii} Anyhow, the Mongol army crushed under foot all across Kurdistan and dominated on it, but there are no records which describe in detail how the Mongols dominated on the province, and what happened to Kurdistan during the Period.

Mustawfī has given tax statistics of the province that show its taxation had decreased to 89.5 percent in the Ilkhanid Period in comparison with the time of Sulaymanshah.^{xxxiii} Also, for their tense relations with Mamluks of Egypt, Ilkhans had to plyed between their capital in Azerbaijan and Zanzan to Baghdad. Since Kurdistan was located on the course of Ilkhans and their armies, it is clear that this province had been very important, even if there is no record of the events in relevant to the province.

5. Locations of Cities of Kurdistan

As noted above, Kurdistan consisted of all the area from the Karkhih River up to the Little Zab River. Therefore, the communication routes between central Iran and Iraq had to pass through the province. There were 3 highways in the province: a highway between Ctesiphon (later, Baghdad) and Azerbaijan, which passed through Shahrazur; a highway between Khorassan and Baghdad which passed through Kirmanshah, and another highway which passed from Shāpūrkhwāst to Māsbadhān and Bandanjīn.

This system of roads found a significant place in history since many towns were created on the side of these highways. Some of towns built in the early Islamic Period perished after the 10th century, and they were replaced by new towns in the Seljuqid Period on the basis of Mustawfī's list.^{xxxiv} Since the Kurdistan of Ilkhanid Period is within 5 current Iranian and Iraqi provinces, one can divide the Kurdish possessions into four zones: The eastern part in the current Kurdistan of Iraq (i.e. Sulaymaniyyih province), the current Iranian provinces of Kirmanshahan, Ilam, and Kurdistan.

5.1 The Eastern Part in the Current Kurdistan of Iraq

The eastern part of Kurdistan of Iraq, known as Sulaymaniyyih today, consisted of the area between the valley of the Sīrwān and the Little Zab Rivers in the west slopes of Shāh-kūh (= Shāhū) and Māhrū Mountains. This region is known as Shahrazur in classical texts. Concerning the locations of cities in this area, there is little information in classical sources, except for Nīm az rāh (= Nīmrah, literally, half way) mentioned as the main town in the area. The name derives from the fact that it was halfway between Ctesiphon and Ādhargushnasb Fire Temple in Azerbaijan, near Zalam and Shimran Mountains.^{xxxv} The Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1257 resulted in the depopulation of Shahrazur (i.e. Nīmrah), and its inhabitants emigrated to Syria and Egypt.^{xxxvi} Therefore, Post-Ilkhanid sources are silent about this place, and it is difficult today to locate the town.

Given that the Baghdad-Shahrazur way passed through Qaṣr-i Shīrīn, and given the distance between Baghdad and Nīmrah, and that between Nīmrah and Ādhargushnasb, Nīmrah can be located somewhere on the south-eastern plain of Shahrazur near Halabja. Guy Le Strange identifies Nīmrah with the ruins at Yasin Tappa,^{xxxvii} but the Safavid sources maintain that the Gol 'anbar Castle was near Zalam and Shimran Mountains, and that it was the main town of Shahrazur.^{xxxviii} The castle was probably the remains of Nīmrah, which was also called Khulmar by local residents,^{xxxix} perhaps the same as the present Khurmāl on the west slopes of Shāhū Mountain.^{xl} Therefore, in any case, Nīmrah was located near Halabja.

Abū Dulaf Khazradjī (ca. mid 10th century) has recorded other towns in this region, for example, Bbīr (ببیر), and Duzdān (دزدان).^{xli} Moreover, geographers have reported prosperity, fertility, abundance of products, and high standards of living in regions where Kurds had the upper hands, although there were no government agencies there in the 10th century.^{xlii} Mustawfī has not listed the names of Duzdān and Bbīr, but recent local sources have mentioned the name of a place called Dudān (دودان) [Rāwdān (راودان), Dāwrān (داوران), Rāwrān (راوران) are variant forms] on the westernmost slopes of Shāhū Mountain, which clearly seems to be the same as Duzdān (دزدان).^{xliii} It follows that Duzdān was located on the

western slopes of Shāhū Mountain near the Sīrwān River.

However, Mustawfī has named several other places in this area. This shows that this area was more prosperous during the Seljuqid Period than before. Seemingly, this was related to this fact that because of the nature of their government, the Seljuqid Sultans and Ilkhans frequently had to move between Azerbaijan and Baghdad through this region. He mentions that Khuftiyān (خفتیان) is “A strong castle, standing on the bank of the Zab River, with some villages round and about it”. The editor of the book mentions six variant spellings of the castle (خفتیان، خفتیان، خفتیان، خفتیان، خفتیان، خفتیان), indicating the confusion in recording this name in historical texts.^{xliiv} Also, Ibn al-Athir refers to the castle as Khuftidhakān (خفتیدکان) near Arbīl, Shahrazur, and Darband-i Qarābulī.^{xliv} Bidlisi (ca.1596), in turn, mentions the name of a place called Djghndgān (جقندگان) near Shahrazur.^{xlvi} Seemingly, these two places are the same. Moreover, it can be inferred that without the consideration of dots in the two names, the spelling is the same in Arabic (حمداکان = خفتیدکان، جقندگان).

Some geographers believed that Khuftidhakān was the same as Khuftiyān, and that it consisted of two big castles near the Zab River. One of the castles was on the outskirts of Arbīl towards Marāghih, known as Khuftiyān al-Zarzārī, on a mountain overlooking a large river at the bottom. The other castle was in the south of Zab River on Arbīl-Shahrazur route, known as Khuftiyān-i Surkhāb, which was stronger and bigger than Khuftiyān al-Zarzārī.^{xlvii} Also, ‘Umarī (d.1348) confirmed the existence of two castles by the names of Khuftiyān (Khuftiyān-i Abu ‘Alī, and Khuftiyān al-Zarzārī).^{xlviii}

Clearly, therefore, there were two castles by the names of Khuftiyān, but given that the Little Zab River was the border between Kurdistan and Dijarbakr, only the Greater Khuftiyān was considered to be a part of Kurdistan in the Ilkhanid Period. This castle existed even in the 10th century, and it was known as Khuftiyān-i Surkhāb since it was under the command of Abu-l-Fawaris Surkhāb, one of the Banū ‘Annazid governors.^{xlix} Given that urban life was degenerated in this region during the Ilkhanid Period, this castle gained the highest importance in order to control the mountainous residents; but it had lost its importance due to removing the capital from Azerbaijan to Khorassan in the Timurid Period. Considering what was said above, and given that Khuftiyān was located on the banks of the Zab River, it is possible that the town called Qal‘a Chūlān today within the city of Sharbazher is the same as Khuftiyān, considering the fact that Qal‘a Chūlān is located today near the Qal‘a Chūlān River which is one of the tributaries of the Little Zab, and having in mind that the Kurdish name means “the Ruined Castle”.

In addition, Mustawfī mentions two towns called Darband-i Tādj Khātūn and Darband-i Zangī. “Darband-i Tadj Khātūn was formerly a medium-sized town, but now a ruin. It was a most pleasant and excellent place”. He does not give any indication of its location. Also, “Darband-i Tāshī Khātūn”, however, is frequently referred to by ‘Alī of Yazd (d.1454), which was probably the same as Darband-i Tādj Khātūn.ⁱ Yazdi’s reports show that “Darband-i Tāshī Khātūn” was a town in Kurdistan, and that it was not far from Baghdad, and that the direct way from Baghdad to Azerbaijan passed through it. Guy LeStrange says that these two Darbands had stood on the western frontiers of Kurdistan (between Shahrazur and Hulwan) among the hills overlooking the plains of Mesopotamia.ⁱⁱ

Moreover, the name of “Darband” indicates that these towns were on the western slopes of Zagrus Mountains [Darband means a valley with a river flowing between two mountains].^{lii} This is confirmed by the great mountain chains of current Kurdistan province, from which rivers flow into the Mesopotamia. These rivers were the only points of penetration into the current Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, and because these rivers were narrow, they were referred to as Darband (in Arabic Bāb, or gate). Geographical surveys indicate that three great rivers flowed from the surrounding mountains to the Mesopotamia: 1. The Great Zab flowing from Eastern Anatolia to Dijarbakr. 2. The Little Zab flowing from the mountains of Northern current Kurdistan to the Mesopotamia after passing through the mountains.^{liii} 3. The Sīrwān River flowing from the pass surrounding Asadabad to the Shahrazur, after passing through the Bamū and Shāhū Mountains.^{liiv}

Throughout the region, therefore, there were only three Darbands. One Darband was in the territory of Dijarbakr and had nothing to do with the Kurdistan of the Ilkhanid Period. There remains only two Darbands in the present discussion. Since Shahrazur Town has been referred to as Nīmrah, it is clear that there must have been a direct way between Ctesiphon (later, Baghdad) and Azerbaijan, which passed through Shahrazur,^{lv} and since it was not possible to enter into the high mountains of current Kurdistan and Azerbaijan except through the above-mentioned Darbands, this way must have passed through one of the above Darbands. Given that the Little Zab River is definitely the path from Shahrazur to Azerbaijan, the Zab Valley must be considered the passage way. Its ancient name is not known, but it was called Bāb al-Salq in the early Islamic Period. Elsewhere, Mustawfī calls it Darband-i khalīfīh, which seems to derive from the fact that Ma‘mūn appropriated the areas around Sanandaj into the caliph court, and the fact that it was necessary to visit it only through the Bāb al-Salq.^{lvi}

Because of the nature of their government, the Seljuqid Sultans had to move between Tabriz and Baghdad, and they had to pass from the Darband known as the Darband-i Qarābulī.^{lvii} Therefore, it is clear that the Bāb al-Salq was renamed to Darband-i Qarābulī in the Seljuqid Period. It appears that the region experienced prosperity and development due to much traffic on this path in the Seljuqid Period, and it was necessary for the government to deploy security forces in order to

safeguard the passage way. Many travellers visited this Darband, and it was necessary to give services to them, and in this way, Darband turned into a full-fledged town with different walks of life from merchants to government officers.^{lviii} Although this region has a flourishing trade in the late Ilkhanid Period,^{lix} Mustawfī uses the past tense, which demonstrates that when he was writing his book, Darband-i Tādj Khātūn had lost its populous. Therefore, one can conclude that the town (i.e Darband-i Qarābulī) was renamed to Darband-i Tādj Khātūn after the Seljuqid Period, and that its development decreased during the Ilkhanid period. This can be explained by the fact that the people dwelling on the Mountains settled in the town during the winter, as Yazdī has reported.^{lx} Another factor which contributed to the decline of the town was that the Mongol invasion dealt a severe blow to the town.^{lxi} Given that the Timurid kings relocated the capital from Tabriz to Samarqand (then, Herat), traffic in this town decreased severely, and consequently, this town lost its importance and disappeared in the 15th century. Based on what was said above, Darband-i Tādj Khātūn must have been located within Sharbazher, on the banks of the Qal‘a Chūlān River which is one of the tributaries of the Little Zab River.

The other city was Darband-i Zangī: “A small town, with a good and temperate climate, having abundant running waters, and numerous pasture-lands. The people, however, are robbers and highway men— an abominable folk”. He does not give any indication of its location. Considering what was said above, one can locate Darband-i Zangī somewhere in the Valley of Sīrwān River. During the following centuries, this valley was known as Darband-i Khān.^{lxii} Some parts of the Valley of Sīrwān River are still known as Darband-i Zangī outside the Iranian border (as shown in the talks between the governor of Halabja and his counterpart in Javanrūd.^{lxiii} Given the geographical location and Mustawfī’s description of the residents, it is likely that it is the same as Duzdān recorded by Abū Dulaf Khazradjī.

5.2 The Iranian Province of Kirmanshahan

The second and the most important urban center of Kurdistan was the region of the current Kirmanshahan, which had abundant water, fertile lands, and rich pastures, hence a dense population. It was regarded as the geographical heart of Kurdistan in the Ilkhanid Period since it acted as the communicating bridge for the other four parts of Kurdistan and since it was located on the communicating route between Khorassan and Baghdad. Therefore, it was possible for this region of Kurdistan to have flourishing cities, towns, and castles near each other, the most important of which had been formed on the sides of the communicating Baghdad-Khorassan highway. The present study focuses on these places in a geographical order from west to east.

Alānī was the first, as Mustawfī says: “Alānī is a moderate-sized market town. It has a fine climate, and running waters. Its crops are cereals, also there are excellent pasture-lands, and numerous good hunting-grounds”. Concerning the location of Alānī, Guy Le Strange says that no other geographers have mentioned it except for Mustawfī.^{lxiv} Evidently, he is wrong because Bidlisi (ca.1596), in addition to Mustawfī, has mentioned Alānī.^{lxv} What is now known as the city of Javanrūd receives its water from the fountainhead called Alānī’s Sarāb, indicating that Alānī was located somewhere near the present Javan rūd.^{lxvi}

Dzbīl (دزبیل) is another place on Mustawfī’s list. “It is a medium-sized town, with an excellent climate and water”. He does not give any indication of its location. One can assume that the name is a variant of Dizfūl (or Dizpīl in the local vernacular). Given that Mustawfī elsewhere locates Dizfūl in the northern Khuzistan, he can not mean Dizfūl by Dzbīl.^{lxvii} The recording of this name as Drnīl/Drbīl (درنیل/دربیل) in other versions of *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* confirms that this name has changed, and that the original name could be something else. Other sources do not report the existence of such a place in Kurdistan or in western Iran.

Moreover, consisting of several fortresses and castles, a region called Dartang (درتنگ) has been reported in the western areas of Iran.^{lxviii} This name has been recorded as Deztang (دزتنگ) by Hafiz Abrū (d.1430).^{lxix} Therefore, it is certain that this name has been distorted in different sources as a result of the mistakes of transcribers. Interesting to note, the basis of these names is the same in the Persian orthography (درسل), and the names can become different by adding or changing the position of dots or points on the letters. Therefore, the word Dzbil (دزبیل) can be read as Drbil (دربیل), Drnil (درنیل), and Drnl (درنتل), and the word Dzbil (دزبیل) can be read as Dartang (درتنگ), Drtnk (درتنک), and Dztng (دزتنگ), depending on dots or points on different letters. Moreover, the letters G (گ), K (ک), and L (ل) are very similar in the Persian transcription (درتنگ, درتنک, درنتل, دربیل, درنیل, درسل). For these reasons, what has been recorded as Dzbīl by Mustawfī can be Dartang.

In their descriptions of the Iran-Ottoman borders, Safavid historians maintain that Dartang is close to Mahidasht and Harūnabad, and that Zuhab, the Qal‘a Zanjīr, and Bashīvih are its dependencies.^{lxx} Bidlisi (ca.1596) believes that Dartang is the same as Hulwan, and that Pavih, Ravansar, Qal‘a Zanjīr, Bāskih, and Alānī are dependent on it.^{lxxi} In the Qajar Period, Cherikov calls it Darrihtang, and he believes that Dartang is the same as Rīdjāb,^{lxxii} and after him, Mushir al-Dawlih (ca.1850) says that “Dartang is the nether mouth of Tangih-i Rīdjāb”.^{lxxiii} Later, Dartang became derelict, and the whole region received the name of Sar-i Pol-i Zuhab when it experienced prosperity and development. At the end of this section, it should be added that some texts mention the name of a place called Darnih (درنه), which seems to be another

variant of Dartang (درتنگ).^{lxxiv} However, these texts give a list of places in W. Iran, on which the name of Dartang can be seen side by side of that of Darniha, and this means that Darnih is not the same as Dartang. Moreover, Mushir al-Dawlih makes it clear that Darnih is a Mountain near Zuhab.^{lxxv}

Other places in Kurdistan were Kirind and Khūshān. “These are two villages lying at the summit of the Hulwan pass. Kirind is now a ruin, but Khūshān is inhabited. It has a temperate climate; and its streams flow down from the neighbouring mountains. There are here numerous gardens and fields.” Clearly, Khūshān was located near Kirind. Today, Khūshān has extincted, but Kirind is still alive. Mustawfī adds Māidasht “a district containing some fifty villages, lying in a plain and surrounded by level country. There are excellent meadow-lands here, the climate is temperate, and the water is from streams that rise in the neighbouring hills.” Mahidasht has kept its old name, and it is a great plain near Islamabad-i Gharb.

Kirmanshah was also one of the cities of Kurdistan during the Ilkhanid Period. According to Mustawfī, Kirmanshah was built by the Sassanid kings: “It was formerly a medium-sized town, but is now merely a village”. Clearly, this city declined during the Ilkhanid Period. According to Rashid al-Din, “Hulagu entered Kirmanshah on 27 Muḥarram 655 A.H./15 February 1257 and massacred its people and plundered it”.^{lxxvi} One can conclude that the Mongol army met with widespread resistance in Kirmanshah, since the Mongols massacred those who did not abide by their domination,^{lxxvii} and therefore, the event might have led to the decline of the city. Later, this city regained its prosperity, and it is today a major city as the center of Kirmanshahan province. Mustawfī also mentions the name of Wisṭām: “A large village lying over against the Stall of Shabdīz. It has a temperate climate, and its water is from the river Kulkū, which rises in the neighbouring mountain of Bīstūn”. Accordingly, one can conclude that Wisṭām is the same as what is known as Tāq-i Bustān today.

Also, Chamchamal plain was another place of the province in vicinity of the Bīstūn Mount. Surrounded by mountains, Chamchamal is a fertile alluvial plain which well watered by the Gāmāsiāb River and its tributaries. Given that they had to control both Shāpūr Khwāst (= the old name of Khorramabad) and Dinawar in the 10th century, the Barzikani Kurds built a strong castle called Sarmaj on that plain, which played a key role in the political and military developments during the 10th and 11th centuries.^{lxxviii} Since there is no mention of Sarmaj in the 12th century onwards, one can conclude that it have been destroyed in late 11th century. Although Guy Le Strange says that the location of Sarmaj is unknown,^{lxxix} the ruins of it have discovered in the Southwest of the Bīstūn Mount, near a village called Sarmaj-i Ḥussein Khānī.^{lxxx}

According to Mustawfī, Uljaytu the Ilkhanid (1304-16) built a city by the name of Sultanabad-i Chamchamal: “A small town at the foot of the Bīstūn Mount.... It is an excellent and pleasant place, producing much corn”. Again, as a result of misunderstanding of the Mustawfī’s account, Guy Le Strange has considered the city as the capital of the province, but he is wrong.^{lxxxi} Despite the importance of the city at the time, it soon disappeared from the geography of this region.^{lxxxii} Today, the ruins are on the Gurgvand Hill, or Hale Bag Hill, near the Bīstūn Mount.^{lxxxiii} It seems that it was destroyed because of its bad location at the mercy of seasonal floods of the Gāmāsiāb River.

Kangawar was another town of Kurdistan on the side of Baghdad-Khorassan way in the east of Chamchamal. Mustawfī just has described its history without giving any information on its conditions in the Ilkhanid Period. Today, Kangawar is still a big city in Kirmanshahan Province. The other town of Kurdistan was Harsin: “A castle, with a town below the same. It has a temperate climate, and running streams”. Today, this town is about 40 kilometers south of the Bīstūn Mount.

Dinawar is the last, but not the least, city in this area: “It is a small place, with a temperate climate and abundant water, producing crops of corn, fruit and some small quantities of grapes. The people are better folk than most of their neighbours.” Obviously, this account does not locate the town. Dinawar was a big city in the 10th century.^{lxxxiv} As geographical reports show the city was located somewhere between Hamadan and Kirmanshah. Ya‘qūbī (d.897/8) has said that the city was 4 *Marḥala* away from Hamadan, and that the way to Hamadan was via Muhammadabad.^{lxxxv} This means that Dinawar was far from the Khorassan Road which passed through Asadabad, Kangawar, and Bīstūn.

Yaqut al-Hamawī (1179-1229) has repeated the words of previous geographers, and Zacharia of Qazvin (d.1282/3) has not mentioned Dinawar in his list of major cities of the Djibāl.^{lxxxvi} This shows that Dinawar had lost its importance in the 13th century. However, when he intended to attack Baghdad, Hulagu entered Dinawar two times, once in Rabī‘ al-Thānī 654 A.H./May 1256, and once again in Muḥarram 655 A.H./February 1257, although no historical text mentions that he inflicted damages or committed massacre in the city.^{lxxxvii} However, Mustawfī implies that the city continued to degenerate during the Ilkhanid Period. Today, the ruins of this city are near Sunqur, and there is a river by the name of Dinawarāb which flows towards Bīstūn.

Alīshṭar was another town of Kurdistan: “A medium-sized town, pleasantly situated. There existed here (of old) the Fire-temple of Arūkhsh”. The name of Alīshṭar (الیشتر), recorded also as Lāshtar (لاشتر), Līshṭar (لیشتر), Ashtar (اشتر) in classical texts, was located on the way of Nihavand to Khuzistan.^{lxxxviii} During the Seljuqid Period, the region, and its rich pastures kept the attentions of Seljuqids.^{lxxxix} Consequently, its prosperity increased as Mustawfī described it as being

equal in rank with Kirmanshah “a medium-sized town”. Unfortunately, no source has explained how this area was annexed to the territory of Kurdistan. It seems that the town perished in the following centuries as Guy Le Strange was not able in the 19th century to identify the town. With the fall of the Qajars, and through the policy of the settlement of tribes, the city was revived, and today it is the center of Silsila city, in the current Luristan province. Therefore, most towns of Kurdistan were located on the sides of the Khorassan Road. This indicates that urban life was heavily dependent on this strategic road.

5.3 The Current Ilam Province

Another part of Kurdistan was a region which known as Ilam today. With its abundant water resources, this mountainous area, known as Māsbadhān, was among the prosperous regions of Iran throughout the early Islamic Period.^{xc} Given that it was close to Mesopotamia, the hunting places, the mines, the towns, and the castles as Azīwakhān, Sīrwān, Māhkī (or Māhaki), Kalakān, Dizdīlūyya, Khūlandjān, Aranba, among others, were well-known, and the region received a great deal of attention.^{xcii}

Bahār is listed by Mustawfī as one of places (or Vilāyāt) of Kurdistan: “A Castle, which, in the days of Sulaymanshah of Īvih, was his capital.” He has not given any information about its location, and some researchers maintain, rather carelessly, that it is the same as Bahār near Hamadan. For several reasons, this can not be accepted:

a. Mustawfī says that Bahār was a castle rather than a district. Clearly, He draws a line of distinction between a castle and a district, in his description of Harsin: “A castle, with a town below the same”. For the description of Bahār, he does not say anything of a district, and this means that Bahār was just a castle. Moreover, a castle is usually built on a hill or a high place so that it can be used as a defensive fortification overlooking the surrounding areas.^{xcii} Evidently, the level Plain of Bahār in northern Hamadan does not have such features.

b. The distance between the town of Bahār and Hamadan is roughly 3 Leagues. It is not possible for two capitals of different governments to be that near. For centuries, Hamadan was one of the most important cities in western Iran, and it was the capital of government for Buwayhids, Seljuqids, and Khwarizmshahi rulers in the province.^{xciii} Now, if the Bahār of Kurdistan is the same as the Bahār of Hamadan, a question will pop up: How could the Seljuqid sultans and Khwārazmshahi rulers in Hamadan stand the presence of Sulaymanshah of Īvih round the corner? Where was the border line between the territory of Seljuqid sultans and that of Sulaymanshah?

c. According to early Muslim geographers, moreover, Hamadan as a big city controlled a vast area within a radius of several hundred kilometers. Ibn al-Faqīh, says that Hamadan has 24 Districts consisting of an area from Karaj-i Abūdūlaf (near what is called today Arāk) to Sīsar (=Sanandaj and Bījār) and from the Asadabad Pass to Sāwih.^{xciv} This is confirmed by other geographers such as Yaqut al-Hamawī (d.1229) who was a contemporary of Sulaymanshah of Īvih.^{xcv} Mustawfī has presented the following description of the city, which confirms the description of Ibn al-Faqīh: “Hamadan has five districts: 1. Farīvār near the City, with an area of two Leagues (roughly 13kms) consisting of 75 villages such as Shahrstānīh, Lābjīn (=Lālejīn?), Fakhrabad, Qāsimabad, and Kūshk-i Bāgh, as the biggest villages”.^{xcvi} It is clear, therefore, that Farīvār was at a distance of 2 Leagues to Hamadan and continued up to the Asadabad Pass and Sīsar with Bahār being a part. Lālejīn has been mentioned in Mustawfī’s report, and this shows that the Bahār of Hamadan did not exist at the time, or it was less important than Lālejīn, since it was mentioned, and Bahār was not.

d. As noted above, Mustawfī believed that Kangawar was the easternmost borders of Kurdistan, and that Asadabad, and Nihavand were parts of Iraq-i ‘Adjam. Now, the question is how the Bahār of Hamadan, at a distance of more than 60 kilometers in eastern Asadabad, can be a part of Kurdistan? Given that the territory of Sulaymanshah (i.e. Kurdistan) extended from Khanaqīn to Kangawar, how is it possible for him to build his capital in a place outside his territory?

e. According to historians, the Mongols seized Hamadan and massacred its people as a result of a revolt in the year 1220,^{xcvii} whereas Sulaymanshah fought against the Mongols for nearly 40 years (1220-58).^{xcviii} Now, if the Bahār of Hamadan was the capital of Sulaymanshah, a question will pop up: How could the Mongols in Hamadan stand the presence of Sulaymanshah of Īvih in their territory for 40 years?

For these reasons, it is clear that the capital of Sulaymanshah could not be located in the Bahār of Hamadan, and it is necessary to look for it somewhere else in Kurdistan. In addition, there is no mention of the towns and castles of the Māsbadhān in Mustawfī’s list. Considering what was said above, and given that Māsbadhān was a prosperous region, one can not accept that at the end of the 12th century, with the conquests of Īvih Turkmen civilization disappeared suddenly

from the region.

Therefore, the author believes that the capital of Kurdistan, the Vahār (the Kurdish name of Bahār) was in this part of Kurdistan. Fortunately, there are some historical accounts about the war between Sulaymanshah of Īvih and the Atabeg of Minor Lur at Vahār Castle, which can help us to locate the Vahār Castle. According to them, Atabeg of Minor Lur launched an attack on the Liḥf region in 1242 with the support of the Mongols.^{xcix} From the Liḥf region, he managed to lay a siege to the Vahār Castle. Then, Sulaymanshah tried to lift the siege from the Lurs. When he came to Hulwan, a great army came to his aid, and he fought with Atabeg of Lur in a place called Shr (سهر), and after he slayed the Atabeg, he hung his head on the gate of Khanaqīn.^c

Clearly, the aggressors attacked the Liḥf, which was the bureaucratic name of foothills in the east of Iraq, with the most important city being Bandanīdjīn.^{ci} Evidently, moreover, the capital of the Atabeg of Minor Lur was in Shāpūrkh_wāst, and inevitably he had to pass through the third highway of Kurdistan (i.e. Shāpūrkh_wāst to Bandnīdjīn route), which pass through Ilam region. In addition, it has been reported that the battle ground between Sulaymanshah and the Atabeg was Sahr (سهر), which seems to be a misreading of Seymariḥ (سمر، سيمر، سيمره), as the historian says that Sulaymanshah seized two of their castles (namely, the Shīgān (شنگان) Castle and the Dozbar Castle) after he defeated the Atabeg.^{cii} The ruins of the Shīgān Castle (today known as the Sīkān (سيكان)) can be seen near the present Darrīh Shahr.^{ciii} The Dozbar Castle was located in the center of Shāpūrkh_wāst (like the present Falak al-aflāk Castle in Khorramabad today).^{civ} Of course, Mustawfī says that Sulaymanshah and the Atabeg fought in Dihlīz (دهليز) which seems to be misreading of Dihlīr/Dihlīran (دهليز، دهليران) or Dihluran (دهلران).^{cv}

In any case, the geographical names in this story show that these places were near each other. Given that Liḥf, Khanaqīn, Hulwan, and Seymariḥ are close to each other in a single region, why should Bahār be at a distance of 400 kms away from the region? As Ibn al-Fowaḥī indicates the invaders attacked Bahār after plundering Liḥf, and for this reason, Bahār must have been round the corner. Otherwise, how could the invaders have rushed to Hamadan from around Mandalī and laid siege to Bahār? Moreover, Rashīd al-Dīn says that Sulaymanshah went to Hulwan in order to rescue Bahār, and that the war began when loyal forces joined him. If the Bahār Castle is really the same the Bahār of Hamadan, why does the historian not explain how Sulaymanshah and his army moved from Hulwan to Hamadan?

In addition, the mountainous situation of the region suited to build unattainable strongholds, and helped to have a better condition against invaders. Given that Bahār was just a castle, one can visualize that Bahār was located in a triangle mountainous region in the midst of the Seymariḥ River, Mandalī, and Hulwan, which be well-proportioned to the establishment of an impregnable stronghold in the area. Historical sources following the Ilkhanid Period do not mention the name of this castle (i.e. Vahār), and it is likely that it was destroyed after the Mongols conquered the area, or that it received a new name. There is a mountainous village with the Kurdish name of Avāriḥ (in Persian Bahāristān) in the western highlands of the present Ilam city which can be associated with the Vahār Castle.

5.4 The current Iranian Province of Kurdistan

In the historical geography of Kurdistan, a considerable part consists of the current Iranian province of Kurdistan. Although, neither early Muslim geographers nor Mustawfī mentions the towns in this part of Kurdistan, but, both maintained that the Taghatū, Djaghatū, Little Zab, and SefīdRūd Rivers originated from the Mountains of Kurdistan.^{cvi} This means that there was no significant urban center in this area. Qudāma (CA.873-CA.932-948) says that Dinawar was adjacent to Zanjan,^{cvi} and Ya‘qūbī maintains that there is a direct road between Dinawar and Zanjan.^{cvi} Abū Dulaf (ca. mid 10th century), in turn, says that Dinawar is adjacent to Jabal al-Salq in the north of the Little Zab River.^{cix} Given these accounts, one can conclude that some regions in the present Kurdistan of Iran were parts of Dinawar, and that it was a neighbour to Zanjan in Garrūs, and a neighbour to Azerbaijan in what is called Saqiz today. A local historian, Sanandajī (ca. 1901) explicitly says that Sanandaj was a part of Dinawar in the 9th century.^{cx}

Ibn al-Faqīh mentions this area as Sīsar “30 peaks” or Sadkhānia “100 Fountains”, and he says that it is the permanent pasture of livestock of the Kurds and others.^{cx} Evidently, numbers 30 and 100 indicate the abundance of peaks and springs in this area, and apparently, this is the area that has been later referred to as Hizārkāniān “1000 Fountains”. The existence of mountains and much precipitation led to abundant pastures and meadows (rather than agricultural farms), and this predisposed the residents to pastoral life. In addition, wild animals increased in number, and consequently hunting became a common activity in the region, and in this way, it turned into a recreational resort for kings.^{cxii}

Absence of urbanization, moreover, paved the way for bandits and mutineers to take refuge in the mountains of the region during the Caliphate al-Mahdī the Abbasid (775-785). The caliph sent an army to suppress the bandits and build the castle of Sīsar. He annexed parts of Dinawar and Azerbaijan to Sīsar and appointed an independent emissary to collect the taxes of that region. When Hārūn al-Rashīd was in power (789-808), bandits destroyed the Sīsar Castle. Later, al-Ma‘mūn (813-833) appropriated the region and turned it into the Caliph’s estate.^{cxiii} There is no mention of Sīsar in the 10th century, and it was probably on the wane. It follows that the region functioned in the following centuries just as a recreational

resort for rulers or a lush pasture for their horses.

In the early Islamic Period, historical texts mention a pasture around Dinawar by the name of Dāymarg (=Dāymardj), which was both a hunting place and a pasture for the horses of troops.^{cxiv} Its name changed to the Panj Angusht (that is, five fingers) pasture in the Seljuqid Period.^{cxv} Mustawfī recorded the name of Panj Angusht with its Turkish equivalent Bish Birmāq, and he believes that it is the fountainhead of Sefdrūd River.^{cxvi} As it was clearly known in the following centuries that the Sefdrūd River originates from the Chihil Chishmih Mountains in a region called Sārāl (which is now near the town of Divandarrih),^{cxvii} it can be inferred that the Dāymarg (=Panj Angusht) pasture was located somewhere between Sanandaj and Saqiz, and that all these regions were parts of Dinawar at the time.

As Dinawar fell into decline, and at the same time, Sultaniyyih boomed during the Ilkhanid Period, this region became subordinate to Sultaniyyih in the 14th century onwards.^{cxviii} Among the reasons for this change of status, one can mention the following factors: Seasonal migrations of Ilkhans between Baghdad, Azerbaijan, and Sultaniyyih;^{cxix} Seasonal migrations of the special brigade of Ilkhans (that is, Qaraunas) to Baghdad and the Siāh-Kūh Mountain near Saqiz and Garrūs;^{cxx} The seasonal migrations of Ilkhans from Sultaniyyih and Tabriz to Baghdad and vice versa (usually via the Darband of Zab River) highlighted the importance of mountains, pastures and hunting places in this part of Kurdistan, and consequently, the Ilkhans shifted their attentions to the region as summer resort.^{cxxi} During the late 14th century, the name of this place was changed to Suqūrluq (سقورلق), Sughūrluq (سغورلق), Suyūrluq (سيورلق), Sūrluq (سورلق), Sūrlugh (سورلغ), Sūrlukh (سورلخ), and up to the mid-Şafawid Period, it continued to receive the attentions of kings and courtiers.^{cxxii}

In the 17th century, however, this region was separated from Sultaniyyih and Zanjan because the Iran-Ottoman conflicts had escalated especially when the Ottomans invaded Iran in the borders of Marivan, in 1629.^{cxxiii} The Iranians felt the necessity of defence installations, and therefore, a new city was built with strong fortifications in 1636.^{cxxiv} The name of the new city was Senna-Dizh (the current Sanandaj) which turned into the administrative center of Kurdistan.

6. Conclusion

This paper aims at describing and explicating the geography of the area which named Kurdistan, and to discuss factors responsible for the separation of Kurdistan from the Iraq-i ‘Adjam, as well as outlining the boundaries of this province and the locations of its cities. The discussion showed that the Kurdistan was separated from the Iraq-i ‘Adjam province when it was occupied by the İvih Turkmen in the early 13th century.

Two factors contributed to separation of Kurdistan: 1. The geographical situation and the existence of mountains and valleys which made it impassable, and this paved the way for the local ruling daynasties to gain power in the region. 2. The power gained by Turkmen chieftains. After the domination of Seljuqid, many tribes of the İvih Turkmen became interested in the region, and they tried to settle there. As the Seljuqid became weak, the Turkmen tribes began to gain power throughout the Seljuqid territory. Therefore, the İvih Turkmen, who were scattered across the western the Iraq-i ‘Adjam, managed to replace the local powers in the region under the leadership of Sulaymanshah of İvih.

In the Ilkhanid Period, the borders of this province stretched from the Karkhih River to the valley of the Little Zab River, and from the Iraq-i ‘Arab to the Seymarih River and the Asadabad pass. Today, the region is divided among the following areas: The Sulaymaniyyih province of Iraq, the Iranian provinces of Ilam, Kirmanshahan, Kurdistan, and parts of Luristan. Mustawfī gives a list of places in the region, some of which are existent today, some are extinct, and some have changed names. Unlike the previous studies on the locations of some places, the present study shows that the province of Kurdistan consisted of four distinct parts during the Ilkhanid Period as far as the urban centers are concerned: The first center was the eastern part in present Kurdistan of Iraq, consisting of Shahrazur, Khuftiyān, Darband-i Zangī, and Darband-i Tādj Khātūn. The second center was in the present province of Kirmanshahan, consisting of Alānī, Dartang, Kirind, Khūshān, Māidasht, Kirmanshah, Wisṭām, Chamchamal, Harsin, Kangawar, and Dinawar. Moreover, Alishtar was, and still is, within Luristān. The third center was in the current Ilam, and the Bahār Castle, the capital of the province was in this part (not in Hamadan). The fourth center was in the current Iranian province of Kurdistan with no urban center at the time.

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ⁱHamdullah Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, (Tehran: Duniyā-yi Kitāb, 1362/1983), 107-9.

ⁱⁱAltaweel, et al. “New Investigations in the Environment, History, and Archaeology of the Iraqi Hilly Flanks: Shahrizur Survey Project 2009-2011”, *Iraq* 74 (2012): 1-35.

- ⁱⁱⁱ Boris James, “Mamluk and Mongol Peripheral Politics: Asserting Sovereignty in the Middle East's 'Kurdish Zone' (1260-1330)”, In *Mongols' Middle East; Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran*, edited by Bruno de Nicola and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2016):.
- ^{iv} Garnik Asatrian, “Prolegomena to the Study of the Kurds”, *Iran and the Caucasus* 13 (2009): 1-58.
- ^v V. Minorsky, “Kurds, Kurdistan: III.-History; B. the Islamic Period up to 1920”, in *EI²* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 5: 449-464.
- ^{vi} V. Minorsky, “Mongol Place Names in Mukri Kurdistan”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18 (1956): 261-279.
- ^{vii} Guy Le Strange, *Mesopotamia and Persia under the Mongols in the 14th century from the Nuzhat al-Kulub of Ḥamdullah Mustawfī*, (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1903), 55-9; idem, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), 187-94.
- ^{viii} Also, he has not able to identified the site of Alānī, Khuftiyān, Darband-i Tādj Khātūn, Darband-i Zangī, Drbīl (a variant of Dzbīl), and Sarmāj.
- ^{ix} V. Minorsky, “Baharlu” in *EI²* (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 1: 919; M. Qazvini (ed.), *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*, 3 vols. (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1375/1996), 3: 454, 455, 458 (The editor's Notes); M. Rowshan and M. Mūsawī (eds.), *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, 4 vols. (Tehran: Alburz, 1373), 3: 2215 (The editor's Notes); ‘Ali Asghar Shamim, *Kurdistan*, (Iran/Tabrīz: Kitābkhānih-yi Sa‘ādat-i Husseini wa Kitābkhānih-yi Surūsh, 1312/1933), 22, 39.
- ^x Īvih or Yīvih was one of the 24 tribes of Oghuz. See Mohsen Rahmati, “Sulaymanshah of Īvih and the Mongol Invasion”, *Historical Studies of Islam* 21 (2015): 83-9.
- ^{xi} Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 47.
- ^{xii} See Asatrian, “Prolegomena”, 19-20, 34-35.
- ^{xiii} Le Strange, *The lands*, 192; idem, *Mesopotamia and Persia*, 55-6. We know Sulayman Ibn Muhammad the Seljuqid was born in Esfahān in 1117 and was brought to Khurasan by his uncle (i.e. Sultan Sandjar). He remained in the court of his uncle as his heir to the crown to 1153 when Sandjar was arrested by Guzz. Then he went to the Iraq-i ‘Adjam and he reigned for a short time and was killed in 1161. (See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil-u fi -l-Tārīkh*, 12 vols. (Beirut: Dar Ṣādir, 1965), 11: 180-2, 205-7, 254-5, 266-7); But, Sulaymanshah of Īvih was son of Parcham, who was a Turkman Chieftain of the Īvih tribe in the late 12th century. Sulaymanshah became a chief of the Īvih tribe just in 1213 onwards and became the commander in chief of Caliphate in 1243 onwards. He defended against Mongols aggressors to 1257, and was finally murdered by Hulagu when he conquered Baghdad in 1258. Therefore, there was a distance between the death of Sulayman Ibn Muhammad and appearance of Sulaymanshah of Īvih which was more than a half century. (See Rahmati, “Sulaymanshah”, 90-5).
- ^{xiv} See on Article of “Kurds, Kurdistan”, in *EI²*, 5: 439, 455.
- ^{xv} Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān* (Leiden: Brill, 1885), 239-240; Ibn Hawqal, *Sūrat al-Arḍ* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 370, 372.
- ^{xvi} See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 11: 225-7, 233-4, 236, 259, 277, 292.
- ^{xvii} Sadr al-Din al-Husayni, *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Saljuqiyya* (Lahore: Punjab university press, 1933), 129-140.
- ^{xviii} Abu bakr Ravandi, *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr wa Āyat al-Surūr* (Tehran: ‘Elmī, 1363/1984), 345.
- ^{xix} Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 11: 239, 395
- ^{xx} Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 47-74, 165, 171.
- ^{xxi} Ibid., 107, 109, 111, 228.
- ^{xxii} Mirza Ja‘afar Khan Mushir al-Dawlih, *Risālih-yi Tahqīqāt-i Sarhaddiyyih* (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1348/1969), 98.
- ^{xxiii} Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 39-41, 43, 165.
- ^{xxiv} Ibid., 75, 86-87, 107, 223, 224.
- ^{xxv} Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7: 538-9.
- ^{xxvi} Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 41, 102, 107.

- ^{xxvii}See Rahmati, "Sulaymanshah", 92-6.
- ^{xxviii}Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 107.
- ^{xxix}Nasir al-Din Tūsi, *Dhayl-i Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* (Tehran: Duniyā-yi Kitāb, 1375/1996), 282-4.
- ^{xxx}See Rahmati, "Sulaymanshah", 98-9.
- ^{xxxi}Atā' Malik Juwayni, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*, 3 vols. (Tehran: Duniyā-yi Kitāb, 1375/1996), 1: 67, 77.
- ^{xxxii}Rashid al-Din Fazlullah, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, 4 vols. (Tehran: Alburz, 1373), 2:1009, 1011; Hamdullah Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdih*(Tehran: Amīrkabīr, 1364/1985),589.
- ^{xxxiii}Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 107.
- ^{xxxiv}Ibid., 107-109.
- ^{xxxv}Ibn Khuradadba, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*(Leiden: Brill, 1889), 19; Ibn Rusta, *al-A'lāq al-Nafīsa*(Leiden: Brill, 1892), 164; Safī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min Baghdadi, *Marāshid al-Iṭṭilā' 'alā Asmā'i-l-aminati wa-l-Biqā'*, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1991), 2: 822.
- ^{xxxvi}Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Fazluallah 'Umari, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Aṣṣār*, 27vols. (Abuzabi: Majma' al-Thiqāfī, 1991), 3: 261.
- ^{xxxvii}Le Strange, *Mesopotamia and Persia*, 57.
- ^{xxxviii}Muhammad Yusuf Valih Qazvini, *Khuld-i Barīn (Ḥadīqih-yi 6 and 7)*, (Tehran: Andjuman-i Āḡār wa Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1382), 54, 72, 73.
- ^{xxxix}Mirza Shukrullah Sanandajī, *Tuḥfih-yi Naṣirī* (Tehran: Amīrkabīr, 1375/1996.), 474.
- ^{xl}See Altaweel, et al. "New Investigations", 16.
- ^{xli}Abu Dulaf Khazradji, *Risālat al-Thānia* (Cairo: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1970), 58-9.
- ^{xlii}Ibrahim ibn Muhammad Istakhri, *Masālik al-Mamālik* (Leiden: Brill, 1927), 200.
- ^{xliii}Sanandaji, *Tuḥfih-yi Nāṣirī*, 474.
- ^{xliv}Muhammad Mardūkh, *Tārīkh-i Mardūkh* (Tehran: Kārang, 1379/2000), 99,101,109,126.He mentions it as *Hoftiān* (حفتیان), or *Hoftiān* (هفتیان).
- ^{xlvi}Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 12: 56.
- ^{xlvi}Sharaf khan Bidlisi, *Sharaf nama*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Asāfir, 1377/1998), 1: 23. On this source see Bajalan. "Şeref Xan's Sharafnama: Kurdish Ethno-Politics in the Early Modern World, Its Meaning and Its Legacy." *Iranian Studies* 45 (2012): 795-818.
- ^{xlvii}Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, 7vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1993), 2:380; Baghdadi, *Marāshid al-Iṭṭilā'*, 1:475.
- ^{xlviii}'Umari, *Masālik al-Abṣār*,3: 256.
- ^{xlix}Bidlisi, *Sharaf nama*, 1: 23.
- ^lSharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Kitābkhānih-yi Majlis-i Shūrā –yi Islāmī, 1387/2008), 1: 194, 698,703, 707, 735; 2: 1114.
- ^{li}Le Strange, *The lands*, 193.
- ^{lii}Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7: 538; 'Umari, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, vol.3, 265.
- ^{liii}'Ali ibn al-Husayn al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbūh-i wa-l-Ishrāf* (Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat-l-Hilal, 1993), 63.
- ^{liv}Mushīr al-Dawlih, *Risālih*, 111.
- ^{lv}- See Minorsky, "Mongol Place Names", 63-64.
- ^{lvi}Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 228; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣaral-Buldān*, 240.
- ^{lvii}Isfahani/Bundari, *Zubdat al-Nuṣra* (Cairo: Dar al-Afaq al-Jadīda, 1980),183, 223; Husayni, *Akhbar*, 142.
- ^{lviii}'Umari, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3: 262.
- ^{lix}See Boris James, "Mamluk and Mongol..." : 287-288.

- ^{lx} Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, 2: 1114.
- ^{lxi} See ‘Umari, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3: 261.
- ^{lxii} Mushir al-Dawlih, *Risālih*, 111.
- ^{lxiii} <http://aftabjavanrood.blogspot.com/11/08/1389/post-55/> (accessed 16 October 2015).
- ^{lxiv} Le Strange, *The lands*, 193.
- ^{lxv} Bidlisi, *Sharaf nama*, 1:319.
- ^{lxvi} Muhammad ‘Ali Sultani, *Historical- Geography and Comprehensive History of Kirmanshahan*, 5vols. (Tehran: Nashr-i Suhā, 1374/1995), 2: 128, 329.
- ^{lxvii} Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 107, 109, 111, 228.
- ^{lxviii} Rashid al-Din, *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh*, 2: 1004-5; ‘Umari, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, 3: 260.
- ^{lxix} Hafiz Abrū, *Dhayl-i Jāme‘ al-Tawārīkh-i Rashīdī* (Tehran: Andjuman-i Aṣar-i Mellī, 1350), 257.
- ^{lxx} See Iskandar-i Munshī, *‘Ālam Ara-yi ‘Abbasi*, 2vols. (Tehran: Amīrkabīr, 1382/2003) 2: 661, 948, 997, 1000, 1019, 1035, 1036, 1087; Valih Qazvini, *Khuld-i Barīn*, 275, 280.
- ^{lxxi} Bidlisi, *Sharaf nama*, 1: 319.
- ^{lxxii} Cherikov, *Siyāhat nama* (Tehran: Amirkabir, 1358/1979), 159.
- ^{lxxiii} Mushir al-Dawlih, *Risālih*, 108.
- ^{lxxiv} Valih Qazvini, *Khuld-i Barīn*, 275, 280.
- ^{lxxv} Mushir al-Dawlih, *Risālih*, 115, 116, 121.
- ^{lxxvi} Rashid al-Din, *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh*, 2:1009.
- ^{lxxvii} Juwayni, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*, 1: 67, 77.
- ^{lxxviii} Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 8: 705-708; vol.9, 538, 556.
- ^{lxxix} Le Strange, *The lands*, 189.
- ^{lxxx} <http://hamgardi.com/place/23039/> (Accessed 2 September 2015)
- ^{lxxxii} - Le Strange, *Mesopotamia and Persia*, 57.
- ^{lxxxiii} See Qashani, *Tārīkh-i Uljaytu*, 133; Hafiz Abrū, *Dhayl-i Jāme‘ al-Tawārīkh*, 120, 272.
- ^{lxxxiiii} Abbas Mutarjim, and Ya‘qub Muhammadifar, “A Suggestion on Locatin of Ilkhani city, Sultan abad of Chamchamal (tiny Baghdad) In Bistūn of Kirmanshah”, *Payām-i Bāstānshinās* 3(2005): 99-102. Doi: <http://www.noormags.ir/view/fa/articlepage/330156>; Muhammad Eqbal Chehri and Zahid Garavand, “On Intend of Sultan abad of Chamchamal; a Comparison of Historical data with Archaeological Founds in Hale Bag Hill”, *Archaeological Researchs* 6 (2012): 59-60. Doi: <http://www.noormags.ir/view/ar/magazine/number/56053>.
- ^{lxxxv} Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma‘rifat al-Aqālīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Ehyā‘ al-Torāth al-‘Arabī, 1987), 302.
- ^{lxxxvi} A *Marḥala* was the distance traveled in a day. See Ya‘qūbī, *al-Buldān* (Leiden: Brill, 1892), 272.
- ^{lxxxvii} Zacharia Qazvini, *Āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-‘Ibād* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, No date), 342.
- ^{lxxxviii} Rashid al-Din, *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh*, 2: 997, 1009.
- ^{lxxxix} Istakhri, *Masālik al-Mamālik*, 197; Ibn Hawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 360.
- ^{lxxxix} Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, *Seljuqnama* (Tehran: Kulālih khāwar, 1332/1953), 55-7.
- ^{xc} Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar al-Buldān*, 209, 236.
- ^{xci} Khazradjī, *Risālat al-Thānia*, 64; Mas‘ūdi, *al-Tanbīh-i wa-l-Ishrāf*, 70; Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, 299; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:525; 3:16; 8: 202; 9: 464-65, 493, 528-34, 537-40, 545, 570, 612, 650; 11:119, 195, 229, 249, 286, 328, 409.
- ^{xcii} Mardūkh, *Tārīkh-i Mardūkh*, 267.
- ^{xciii} Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, 300; Ravandī, *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, 375-89.

- ^{xciv} Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar al-Buldān*, 240.
- ^{xcv} Yaquṭ al-Hamawī, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, vol.5, 410-17.
- ^{xcvi} Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 71-2.
- ^{xcvii} Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*, 1: 115-16.
- ^{xcviii} See Rahmatī, "Sulaymanshah", 94-7.
- ^{xcix} Abd al-Razzaq Ibn al-Fowati, *al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmi'a wa al-tajārib al-Nāfi'a* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islamī, 1977), 230.
- ^c Rashid al-Din, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, 2:1004-5.
- ^{ci} Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 39.
- ^{cii} Rashid al-Din, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, 2: 857.
- ^{ciii} Hamid Izadpanah, *Āṣār-i Bāstānī va Tārīkh-i Luristan*, 3 vols. (Tehran: Andjuman-i Āṣār wa Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1376/1997), 2: 410-19.
- ^{civ} Ibid., 2:48-56. cf. Le Strange, *The lands*, 201. He has written the name of this castle as "Dizbaz", which seems to be a misreading of Duzbar {دزبر، دزبر}. Given that there are the remnants of a castle in Harsīn, which called Duzbar by local residents, and that all summer palaces named as Tachra (in Arabic Tazar, or Tajar) in the ancient period (Yaquṭ al-Hamawī, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, 4: 34), the author this article believes that Duzbar was a common name for some castles which had many characteristics or were been used in similar cases.
- ^{cv} Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdih*, 556.
- ^{evi} Ibn Khuradadba, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 175; Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh-i wa-l-Ishrāf*, 64, 71; Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 217, 223, 224.
- ^{cvi} Qudāma Ibn Ja'afar, *al-Kharāj* (Leiden: Brill, 1889), 226.
- ^{cviii} Ya'qūbī, *al-Buldān*, 271.
- ^{cix} Khazrajī, *Risālat al-Thānia*, 56.
- ^{cx} Sanandajī, *Tuḥfih-yi Nāṣirī*, 13.
- ^{cxii} Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar al-Buldān*, 239.
- ^{cxiii} See Sanandajī, *Tuḥfih-yi Nāṣirī*, 24-45, 51.
- ^{cxiv} Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar al-Buldān*, 240.
- ^{cxv} Abū Hanīfā Dinawari, *al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl* (Iran/Qom: Manshūrāt al-Razī, 1368/1989), 58; Isfahani/Bundari, *Zubdat al-Nuṣra*, 164; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kamil*, 11: 25.
- ^{cxvi} Nishapuri, *Seljuqnama*, 56.
- ^{cxvii} Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 217.
- ^{cxviii} Sanandajī, *Tuḥfih-yi Nāṣirī*, 61.
- ^{cxix} Afushta-i Natanzi, *Nuqāwat al-Āthār fi Dhekr al-Akhyār* (Tehran: 'Ilmī va Farhangī, 1373/1994), 332; Iskandar-i Munshī, *Ālam Ārā-yi 'Abbasi*, 1: 117, 141.
- ^{cxix} Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Qashani, *Tārīkh-i Uljaytu* (Tehran: 'Ilmī va Farhangī, 1384/2005), 82, 87, 109, 178, 199; Hafiz Abrū, *Dhayl-i Jame' al-Tawārīkh*, 104, 127.
- ^{cxx} Rashid al-Din, *Jame' al-Tawārīkh*, 2:1131; Sanandajī, *Tuḥfih-yi Nāṣirī*, 91, 100.
- ^{cxxi} See Minorsky, "Mongol Place Names", 64, 66-67.
- ^{cxixii} Wassaf Shirazi, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* (Tehran: Kitābkhānih-yi Ibn-i Sīnā wa Ja'afarī-i tabrizī, 1338/1959), 118, 134, 139; Hafiz Abrū, *Dhayl-i Jame' al-Tawārīkh*, 210, 214, 254, 285; Iskandar-i Munshī, *Ālam Ārā-yi 'Abbasi*, 1: 98-99, 117, 141.
- ^{cxixiii} Valih Qazvini, *Khuld-i Barīn*, 53-64.
- ^{cxixiv} Sanandajī, *Tuḥfih-yi Nāṣirī*, 122.