ART. VII.—*Marco Polo's Camadi*. By General A. HOUTUM
SCHINDLER.

IN my "Notes on Marco Polo's Itinerary in Southern Persia" (Journal R.A.S. 1881, p. 495) I expressed the opinion that the city of Camadi, where Marco Polo rested on his march from Kermān to Hormuz, was a caravanseraï or village close to the city of Jīruft, and that the name might be explained as "Kahn i Muḥammadi," or "Kanemadi," as it is pronounced in Jīruft, meaning Canal of Muḥammad. Lately, while collecting some historical notes on Kermān, I found that the first part of my supposition was correct, but that my explanation of the name was wrong.

Dr. Houtsma, of the University of Utrecht, in his "Zur Geschichte der Saljuken von Kerman" (Z.D.M.G. 1881, 362–402), gives an epitome of a valuable history¹ of the Seljūqs of Kermān, which the Berlin library possesses (Petermann's Collection, i, 445), and in it I find the following:—

¹ This work, a history of Kermān from A.H. 443 (A.D. 1051–2) to the beginning of the seventh century of the Hijrah, is by Muḥammad B. Ibrāhīm, and was written in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It frequently quotes the "Mir'at ul Janān" of Jāf'ī, the "Tārīkh i Shāhī" of Shihāb al dīn Abū Sa'īd (also quoted by Khvājah Nāsir al dīn Munshī Kermānī in his "Simt al 'ula lil ḥadrat al 'ulā": cf. British Museum Catalogue, 849a), the "Anvār al basāṭin fi akhbār al salāṭin," and the "Tārīkh i badāyi'al azmān fi vaqāyi'i Kermān," by Afdal al dīn Aḥmad B. Ḥamid, also known as Afdal Kermānī. The last-mentioned author has also written the "Iqd al 'ula lil muvaqqif ul ā'la," which is commonly known as the "Tārīkh i Kūbenānī," and was lithographed in Teheran A.H. 1293 (1876) from a MS. dated A.H. 649 (1251–2). The editor of the lithographed edition makes the error of ascribing to the work the year 649 as the date of its compilation, but the author states twice in the text that he wrote it at Kūbenān A.H. 584 (1188–9) for Malik Dīnār, who "had then been ruler of Kermān for eight months."

P. 380 (A.D. 1170). Bahrām Shāh¹ entered the province of Kerman at the head of a number of Khurasānis given to him by Malik Muayyid.² Arslān Shāh, who had remained in Jīruft since his engagement with Tūrān Shāh nine months before, met his brother Bahrām Shāh in the plain of *Qumādīn*. Bahrām was victorious, and Arslān fled to 'Irāq. The Khurasānis then plundered Qumādīn, which was situated outside of the city of Jīruft, and contained at that time the bazars and storehouses, and was the residence of the foreign merchants, Greeks and Indians.

¹ Toghrul Shāh B. Muhammad Shāh Seljūq, King of Kermān, died at Jīruft A.H. 565 (1169-70), and left four sons, Tūrān Shāh, Bahrām Shāh, Arslān Shāh, and Turkān Shāh, who immediately after their father's death fought with one another for the throne. Tūrān and Bahrām had the same mother, Khatun Ruknī, a Seljuq princess, who died A.H. 577 (1181). Tūrān was killed in 579 (1183), in Kermān, by Zāfir Muhammad, one of Atābeg Qutb al dīn Muhammad's (d. 22nd November, 1186) officers. Bahrām died A.H. 570 (1174-5), of dropsy, and Arslān met his death A.H. 572 (1176-7) in an engagement against the Turkish Amīr Aibek. Turkān was killed by his brother Bahrām in 565 (1170). The last of the Kermān Seljūqs was Bahrām Shāh's son Muhammad Shāh, who succeeded to the throne in 1183, and fled to the Ghurīs in 1187 on the arrival of Malik Dīnār.

Atābeg Qutb al dīn Muhammad, who is mentioned in connection with Tūrān Shāh's death, was one of those powerful Mamluks who were always ready to fight for any pretender to the throne who paid them. He was the son of Atābeg 'Ala al dīn Bozghūsh, and on entering Bahrām's service was appointed Governor of Bardsīr, a district in Northern Kermān. He left Bahrām Shāh soon afterwards, and took service with Arslān Shāh, who appointed him his Atābeg. In 569 (1173-4) he again went over to Bahrām, and helped him to put Arslān to flight. He then served Atābeg Zangī of Fārs, and after that ruler's death in 571 remained some time with Tuqlah the son of Zangī, until he was forced to leave Fārs and went to Nishāpūr, where Tughān Shāh B. Muayyid protected him. In 578 (1182) he was called to Kermān by Tūrān Shāh, and restored order in the capital and provinces, but in the following year, during his absence from the capital, his lieutenant Zāfir Muhammad having killed Tūrān Shāh, probably at his command, he placed Muhammad Shāh, the son of Bahrām, on the throne, and remained in the service of that king until his death, which took place in Bardsīr on November 22, 1186 (8th Ramadan, 582).

² Malik Muayyid, also called Al Muayyid Aibek, was a Mamlūk in the service of the Seljūqs. In 1159 he drove the Ghuzz out of Khurasān, and then settled at Nishāpūr, where he built the suburb *Shahr i Muayyidī*. For some years he was Governor-General of all Khurasān, nominally for the Seljūqs, but in reality he was serving Atābeg Ildegez, of Azarbaijān (d. A.H. 568 = 1172). In 1174 he was killed by Takash Khān Khvārazm Shāh, and was succeeded by his son Tughān Shāh.

- P. 385 (A.D. 1176). The troops of the Turkish Amīrs Aibek and Sābiq al dīn 'Ali Sahl¹ plundered the peaceful traders of Qumādīn near Jīruft.
- P. 394 (A.D. 1190). The Governor of Jīruft further represented that since the pillage of Qumādīn by the Turks under Aibek and 'Ali Sahl, or even since the death of Malik Toghrul Shāh (A.H. 565 = 1170), the Persian Gulf ports had not paid any taxes.
- P. 402. Although the caravans of 'Irāq, which for some time had taken the road to بعربر, had again taken that to Hormūz, where great riches were now amassed.²

¹ Sābiq al dīn 'Ali Sahl was Governor of Bamm until 1190, when, on the approach of Malik Dīnār the Ghuzz prince, he fled to Sistān. Malik Dīnār, a chief of the Ghuzz Turkomans, took part in the engagement against Sultān Sanjār (b. April 17, 1086; d. February 12, 1157) in the year 1153, which led to Sanjār's capture, and resided in the Marv district until 568 (1172-3), when he was driven out of it by Sultān Shāh Khvārazm Shāh. He reached Nishāpūr soon afterwards, and placed himself under the protection of Tughān Shāh, the son of Malik Muayyid, to whom he handed over Sarakhs, the last of his possessions. After Sultān Shāh had taken Sarakhs, Tughān Shāh was no longer able to protect Malik Dīnār, and advised him to leave. After some wanderings in the districts between Nishāpūr and Kermān, Malik Dīnār reached Kermān territory (17th December, 1185), was soon after joined by Sābiq al dīn 'Ali Sahl and others, put Muḥammad Shāh, the last of the Seljūqs of Kermān, to flight, took possession of the capital (11th September, 1187), and ruled over all Kermān until his death (16th October, 1195). His son Ferrukh Shāh succeeded him, and died the following year. After that Kermān fell into the hands of the Khvārazm Shāhs.

² This means that since A.H. 565 (1170), in consequence of the disorders in Jīruft and the districts north of Hormūz, the great trading caravans from 'Irāq (i.e. Baghdād) and the West had ceased to proceed to Hormūz, and went to the port of Tiz, further east on the Makrān coast, probably taking the road Shirāz-Kermān-Bamm-Bampūr; and that in 1190, when Malik Dīnār had restored order in the districts, the caravans again took the old road to Hormūz. The بعربر of the text, which Dr. Houtsma was unable to read, is ثغر تيز, "thaghar i tiz," the usual appellation of the city or port of Tiz, where thaghar stands for "frontier" or "narrow pass or gap" in hills; and as Tiz was situated in a narrow gap, I would prefer the reading "the gap of Tiz." (Cf. Colonel T. H. Holdich's "Notes on Ancient and Mediaeval Makrān," Journal R.G.S., April, 1896:—"Tiz, the great Arab port on the Makrān coast, now a well-known coast village . . . a few miles from Charbar point . . . coarse conglomerate hills, which conceal among them a narrow valley, containing all that is left of the ancient port of Tiz . . . little Persian fort perched on the rocks and absolutely blocking the entrance to the valley . . . the

From these statements we can safely identify Marco Polo's Camadi with the suburb Qumādīn,¹ or, as I would read it, Qamādīn, of the city of Jiruft.

valley is narrow and close, and the ruins of Tiz are packed close together . . . the rocky cliffs on either side of the valley . . . the rocky declivities which hedge in this remarkable site.") Tiz, also Tis and Tizh, is Ptolemy's *Teisa*. The ruins of the ancient city are situated about 1½ mile inland from Tiz point and the modern village of Tiz, and from the ruins to Chāhbār point is a distance of 4½ miles. Chāhbār, which figures in older maps as Shāhbār and in modern Persian works as Chāh i bahār (Charbar is a rank cockneyism), has been identified as the *Táλμενα* of Arrian (Ind., 29), where Nearchos "found a harbour with good anchorage," and Tomaschek ("Küstenfahrt Nearch's," p. 34; Wien, 1890) proposes the reading *T[ε]ισ[α] λ[ι]μένα*, "the port of Tiz," instead of Talmena. According to Tabari, Tiz was taken by the Arabs A.H. 23 (624). The *Tārikh i Kūbenāni* describes Tiz as follows:—"Another notable place in the kingdom of Kermān is the *Thaghar i Tiz*, whence the King's treasury derives a great revenue from tenths on merchandize and tolls on shipping. It is the emporium of the merchants from India, Abyssinia, Southern Africa, Egypt, and the Arab country from 'Omān to Bahrain. All those merchants pay tolls there, and all the musk, ambergris, indigo, logwood, Indian aromatics, slaves from India and Africa, fine velvets, shawls, and sashes, and like rarities which the world produces, have their market at this port. Contiguous to Tiz is the country of Makrān, producing much sugar and sugar-candy, which is exported thence to all the lands of the unbelievers and Islām." The modern Persians took possession of Tiz in 1865, and some years afterwards built there the little fort which Colonel Holdich mentions as commanding the entrance of the valley or gap. (Of. my "Persian Balūchistān": J.R.A.S. 1877, p. 153.)

¹ Of sixteen MSS. of Marco Polo's work in French, Latin, and Italian, fifteen have 'a' in the first syllable of the word; only one has 'o.' It is difficult to say what the meaning of Qumādīn or Qamādīn may be. Arabic lexica have qumud, qumudd, qamadd, "strong, hard, of a large body or weight." Yule asked, "May Camadi represent some vague appellation of ancient ruined cities?" Ferrier asked the name of some great mounds and ruins on the lower Hilmand, and was told that they were the remains of the old city of Homedin. H. D. Seymour, editor of Ferrier's work, refers to Firdūsi's Khamdan (J. P. Ferrier, "Caravan Journeys," p. 411; London, 1857).