

# The Dispersion of the Kurds in Ancient Times

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THE territory occupied by the Kurdish race in historic times seems to have been the district called by the Greeks Kardūchia, and by both Greeks and Romans Corduene or Gordiaea,<sup>1</sup> and by the Syriac writers Qardū, whence the earliest Arabic authorities derived the name Qardā, the country bounded roughly on the north by Armenia, on the west by the river Euphrates, on the south by the Arabian desert, and on the east by the ancient kingdom of Media. Strabo, the Greek geographer, states that Armenia and Atropatene consisted of prosperous districts, but that the northern part was a mountainous country occupied by wild tribes, such as the Kyrtii, nomads and brigands dispersed over the whole of Armenia and extending eastwards over the Zagros mountains. More closely he defines the land of the Gordiaei, whom the earlier writers called Kardūchi, by locating it on the banks of the Tigris and by adding that one of its chief cities was Pinaka, the modern Finik, "a very strong fortress, having three hill-tops, each fortified with its own wall, so as to form as it were a threefold city; yet Armenians subjugated it and Romans took it by storm, although the Gordiaei were

<sup>1</sup> The root underlying these names seems to have been *Gortu*, of which the Armenians formed a plural *Gortukh*, Kurds, by adding the regular termination *kh*; from this the Greeks borrowed the word *Καρδοῦχοι*, retaining the termination of the Armenian plural, as heard in some form of *Urarmenisch* current in the days of Xenophon, and only assimilating *-ukh* to the familiar Greek termination *-οῦχος*. The same phenomenon also occurs in Xenophon in the case of a neighbouring tribe called by him the *Τάοχοι* (*Anabasis*, iv, 4, 18; 6, 5; 7, 1; v, 5, 17), whom Stephanus of Byzantium states to have been called the *Τάοι* by Sophænetus (Steph. Byz., s.v. *Τάοχοι*; Sophæn., fragm. 4, in Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii, p. 75). Later the Armenian termination *-kh* was dropped and the Greek gentile terminations *-αῖος* or *-ηνός* were added, forming *Γορδιαῖος* or *Καρδουνός*, which thus passed over into Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, xi, 13, p. 523, and xv, 3, 1; see also Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiæ*, ii, 10, 3.

apparently good builders and skilled in siege-works, for which reason Tigranes so employed them.”<sup>1</sup> Immediately adjoining the province of Carduene lay on the west Arzanene, on the south Zabdiene, and on the north Moxoene. Further off on the north Armenia reached from the Antitaurus range, past the north of Lake Wân, then called Lake Thospitis, beyond Mount Niphates, as far as the River Artaxēs. To the south-west of Armenia lay the districts of Ingilene and Sophene, from Malaṭīyah almost as far as Âmid, now the town of Diyârbakr, while between the latter place and Hierapolis, now called Jirablûs, lay Osrhoene, whose capital was Urhâi (Edessa). The whole of the southern side, below Zabdikene, was bounded by the province of Mesopotamia. Beyond Mesopotamia, from Carduene towards the south-east, the whole range of hilly country past Arbela or Arbîl as far as the Dialas, now the Diyâlâ, was called Adiabene. To the north-east of Adiabene lay Atropatene, and beyond that again the vast, ill-defined province of Media.<sup>2</sup> Thus the ancient province of Carduene was but a small district, bosomed in the hills between Diyârbakr, Naṣībîn, and Zâkhû, and of far smaller extent than the land now known as Kurdîstân. Its exact limits, however, always remained somewhat uncertain. Strabo’s description is probably the most exact; for, while admitting that some people considered the Gordiaean hills the whole chain that ran from the Taurus range in the neighbourhood of Edessa, the modern Urfah, to Nisibis (Naṣībîn) and beyond, thus dividing Sophene and the rest of Armenia from Mesopotamia, he himself states that they are the hills which lie astride the Tigris above Naṣībîn.<sup>3</sup> Plinius says that the Gordyaei adjoin the Azoni, from whom the modern town of Hazzû perhaps has derived its name.<sup>4</sup> Philostorgius, in

<sup>1</sup> Id. ib., xvi, 1, p. 747.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ib., ii, 1, p. 26; xi, 14, pp. 527, 529; xii, 13, p. 532; xvi, 1, pp. 736, 739, 746.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ib., xi, 12, p. 522. Ptolemaeus located them at 75°/39° 40' (*Geographia*, v, 12, 3; see also v, 12, 9).

<sup>4</sup> Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, vi, 30, 118.

his ecclesiastical history, records that the Tigris, flowing down from the Hyrcanian Sea, by which he probably means Lake Wân, receives visible additions in Cordiaea as it flows past Assyria; and this points to the same locality, for countless streams flow down from the mountains above Naşibîn and Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar and there empty themselves into the Tigris.<sup>1</sup> The definition of Julius Honorius is even more close, for he states that Corduena, which he calls a town, is enclosed by the rivers Chrysorroas and the Tigris.<sup>2</sup>

The reference to Cordyene or Qardû, as the Syriac writers called it, need not long detain the reader. Its locality is vague and uncertain in Jewish and Christian exegetical writers, and mention of it is almost confined to the history of mythical events which are supposed to have occurred there. Of these that which most frequently recurs is its identification with the land in which lay Mount Arârât, a clear proof of the ignorance of these writers, for that mountain is situated to the north of Wân, between the lake and the river Araxes. Its importance to them lay in the fact that it was there, in the land of Qardû, that the ark of Noah was supposed to have come to rest after the deluge had subsided, a tradition which seems to have originated with Berossus in the third century before Christ.<sup>3</sup> Another class occurs in those ecclesiastical writers who divide the world among the sons of Noah, and by whom Corduene is allotted to the sons of Shem,<sup>4</sup> while a writer

<sup>1</sup> Philostorgius, *Historie Ecclesiasticæ*, iii, 7. where "Syria" is clearly an error for "Assyria"; this passage is copied in Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ix. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Julius Honorius, *Cosmographia*, B. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Berossus, Fragment No. 7 in *Bibliotheca Græcorum Scriptorum*, vol. ii, pp. 501-2; Josephus, *Antiquitates*, i, 3, 6; Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, p. 208, s. v. Ararat; *Chronicon* (ed. Karst), p. 11; Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses*, i, 1, 4, who calls it "the land of the Cardyei"; *Die Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold), Syr. p. 98, Arab. p. 99; Ibn Khurdâdhbih, *Al-Masâlik wa-'l-Mamâlik* (ed. de Goeje), pp. 76 and 245, who states that the ark came down, not on Mount Arârât, but on the Jabal Jûdi in Qardâ; Dionysius of Telmahrê in Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. ii, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses*, ii, 2, 82; *Chronicon Pascale* (ed. du Fresne), p. 31d.

in the Jewish Talmud states that Abraham resided for seven years in the land of Qardū.<sup>1</sup> But the historians of the Syriac church mention Qardū innumerable times as a Nestorian diocese with its episcopal see at Gāzartā or Bāzabdā, ranking between the sees of Beled and Arzūn in the province of Naṣībīn.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Arab historians and geographers rarely mention Qardā and Bāzabdā by their Syriac names, which gave place to their own more exact nomenclature, Ibn Khurdādhīb, who flourished in the ninth century of the Christian era, is an exception. In a list of the chief places in the district of Diyār Rabī'ah, he mentions Naṣībīn, Amid, Rās 'Ain, Mīyārfāriqīn, Mārdīn, Bā'arbāyā, Balad Sinjār, Qardā, and Bāzabdā,<sup>3</sup> and adds that "a poet has said that Qardā and Bāzabdā offer an excellent sojourn in the spring and in the summer, for the water there is sweet and cool, delicious as *salsabīl*", the wine (or the lake) of the Muslim paradise.<sup>4</sup> In another passage of the same author it is stated that the revenue of Qardā and Bāzabdā in his time was 3,200,000 dirhems a year, while that of Mauṣil was 6,300,000, of Diyār Rabī'ah 9,635,000, and of Arzan and Mīyārfāriqīn jointly 4,200,000 dirhems.<sup>5</sup>

After Ibn Khurdādhīb the name Qardā vanishes from the Arabic writers, whose testimony, however, becomes of great

<sup>1</sup> Babylonian Talmud, *Bābā Bathrā*, 91a.

<sup>2</sup> "Primates Orientis," in Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii, p. 548; Bar Hebræus (ib.), ii, p. 262; *Thomæ Historia Monastica* (ib.), iii, pt. i, p. 499; Amri et Ṣlibā, *de Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria* (ed. Gismondi), p. 80. Another Syriac writer records that two forts had to be built to prevent Persian marauders crossing the frontiers and penetrating in Qardā and Arzūn and pillaging Naṣībīn and Rās-ul-'Ain, the respective capitals of those two provinces (Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts at Cambridge*, p. 1136, col. ii).

<sup>3</sup> Al-Balādhuri (c. A.D. 892) mentions the conquest of Qardā and Bāzabdā by 'Iyād ibn Ghanam in A.D. 640 (*Al-Futūḥ*, p. 176), and Ibn-ul-Faqīh (c. A.D. 903) mentions both in a list of places in Jazīrah (*Al-Bulḍān*, in de Goeje's *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, p. 136).

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khurdādhīb, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ib., p. 251.

importance in illustrating the wide diffusion of the Kurds. Al-Yaḡûbî, writing towards the close of the same century as Ibn Khurdâdhbih, states that the home of the Kurds is the Jabal or the hill country to the east of 'Irâq and on the western frontier of Persia,<sup>1</sup> that in the caliphate of 'Umar ibn-ul-Khaṭṭâb (A.D. 634-43) they overran Mâsibdhân, 'Ajam and Aṣ-Ṣaimarah in the Marj-ul-Afyâh,<sup>2</sup> and that together with the Arabs they formed the greater part of the population of Hulwân and Qarmîṣîn,<sup>3</sup> while Kurds also were to be found settled in the province of Iṣfahân.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Rustah (c. A.D. 903), mentions Kurds dwelling in tents in the desert plains of 'Irâq to the south of Al-Madâ'in,<sup>5</sup> and others infesting the road from Darawâstân to Marj-ul-Qala'ah.<sup>6</sup> A little later Al-Mas'ûdî (c. A.D. 943) attests their presence in the Jibâl<sup>7</sup> and in Adharbaijân, where their clans pass under the name of *shurât*, and one of whose chiefs, Aslam, surnamed Ibn Shâdliwaih, ruled over wide districts in Adharbaijân, Arrân, Al-Bailaqân, and Armenia<sup>8</sup>; he adds also that there were a number of Jacobite Christians among the Kurds living in the territory of Mauṣil and the Jabal Jûdî.<sup>9</sup> In another work the same author relates that Kurds were found in Kirmân, Sijistân, Khurâsân, Iṣfahân, the Jibâl, in and around Kûfah and Baṣrah in Mesopotamia, and in other places between Mesopotamia and Persia, in Hamadhân, Shahrazûr, Darâbâdh Aṣ-Ṣâmighân, Arrân, Adharbaijân, and Armenia, in the Jazîrah, and even in Syria.<sup>10</sup> Istakhrî, writing about the same

<sup>1</sup> Al-Yaḡûbî, *Al-Bulḍân* (ed. de Goeje) in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vol. vii, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ib., p. 270, s.v. Aṣ-Ṣamiarah.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ib., p. 270, s.v. Hulwân.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ib., p. 275.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Rustah, *Al-A'lâq-un-Nafisah* (ib.), vol. vii, p. 128.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ib., p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj-udh-Dhahab* (ed. de Meynard and de Courteille), vol. iii, p. 253.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ib., vol. v, p. 231.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ib., vol. iii, p. 253.

<sup>10</sup> Id., *At-Tanbih wa'l-Ishrâf* (ib.), vol. viii, pp. 88-91; elsewhere he mentions 'Alî ibn Dâ'ûd the Kurd as a prominent chief near the Jabal Jûdî in the land of Zauzân (or Zawazân) (id. ib., p. 54). Zawazân is described by Yâqût as "a fair province between the mountains of

time (c. A.D. 951), mentions a village of Kurds in Isdâbâdh<sup>1</sup> and a city called Kurd,<sup>2</sup> of which the buildings were of mud or clay, in a district in the vicinity of Işfahân,<sup>3</sup> so cold, however, that neither crops nor fruits could be grown there;<sup>4</sup> and in the district also of Bâzanjân the Kurds, under their chief Shahriyân, were the predominant element in the population.<sup>5</sup> In the *Oriental Geography*, which was probably also the work of Istakhri, it is stated that the tribes of the Kurds were at that time already more than could be numbered, and that there were more than 500,000 *khândât*, settlements or families, of them in the province of Fârs alone; these people were wont to remain on their pastures both winter and summer and some of the wealthier Kurds used to maintain two hundred or more serfs working as shepherds, labourers, grooms, pages, and domestic servants;<sup>6</sup> and amongst the places which they frequented are mentioned Shahrazûr and Shahrawar, which were completely in their hands,<sup>7</sup> while a few also were to be found on the confines of Şarûr and Jarûr.<sup>8</sup> Ibn Hauqal (c. A.D. 978) imparts the interesting information that in certain districts of Persia a Kurdish chief was charged with the collection of the tribute in each *nâhiyah* or administrative

Armenia, Khilât, Adharbaijân, Diyârbakr, and Mauşil, of which the inhabitants are Armenians, although there are also Kurdish families there", in which he certainly seems to underestimate the Kurdish population (*Mu'jam-ul-Buldân*, ii, 957, s.v. Zawazân).

<sup>1</sup> Al-Istakhri, *Mas'alik-ul-Mamâlik* (ib.), p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ib., p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ib., pp. 125-6.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ib., p. 137. Ibn Hauqal (c. A.D. 978) also mentions the city of Kurd (*Al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik*, ib., pp. 182, 196), but states on the contrary that it was very fertile (id. ib., pp. 197, 214). Elsewhere Al-Istakhri records that the chief of the Kurds in this district, by name Azârmard ibn Khûshâdh, rebelled, but was defeated by the Sultan and fled to Umân, where he died; the *amîr* who succeeded him was Al-Husain ibn Şâlih, and the government of the district remained in his hands and in those of his descendants until the time of 'Amr ibn ul-Laith, who deprived them of it and transferred it to Sâsân ibn Ghazwân, who was also a Kurd and in whose family it remained until Istakhri's own time (op. cit., p. 145).

<sup>5</sup> Id. ib., p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> [Istakhri], *Oriental Geography* (ed. Ouseley), p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> Id. ib., p. 171.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ib., p. 92.

district, with the care of the whole area under his control, with the upkeep of the roads, with the duty of ensuring the safe passage of caravans through it, and with the general supervision of the Sultan's interests.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the same century Al-Muqaddasî (c. A.D. 985) reports that Kurds were dwelling in buildings of mud and also of stone in the district of Dabîl, that Salmâs was surrounded by Kurds, and that Qandariyah in the same neighbourhood was a town which the Kurds themselves had built.<sup>2</sup>

In the two following centuries the geographers have nothing further to record about the Kurds, and it is not till the time of Yâqût (c. A.D. 1225) that any more information of importance is forthcoming. From him we learn that there were five *zumûm* or quarters in Persia occupied by Kurds<sup>3</sup> and that each *zamm* contained several towns and villages; the taxes were collected by an official appointed by the Kurds themselves, who were responsible also for escorting caravans through their own territory, for the security of the roads, and for the maintenance of troops to serve the Sultan in time of war, and who, apart from these obligations, were virtually independent. The five *zumûm* were those of Zinjân, between Isfahân and Arrajân, Bâzinjân in the Jibâl, a district rich in villages and well-tilled fields in the valleys, Zizân and Rihân near Ardashîr, and Kâriyân near Kirunân.<sup>4</sup> He further mentions that there were two cities named Kurd in Persia<sup>5</sup> and that Zawazân was a vast tract of country between the mountains of Armenia, Adharbâijân, Diyârbakr, and Mausil, lying at a distance of a two days' journey from that city and reaching as far as Khilât, whose population was composed almost entirely of Armenians and Kurds.<sup>6</sup> From the same work a considerable amount of detailed information can be

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hauqal, op. cit., pp. 185-7. He also mentions a Qariyat-ul-Akrâd or "Village of the Kurds" in the middle of the district of Isdâbâdh in Khurâsân (op. cit., p. 331).

<sup>2</sup> Al-Muqaddasî, *Ahsan-ul-Ta'âsîm* (ib.), p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> Yâqût, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldân* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), pp. 263, 410, who is perhaps only copying from Ibn Hauqal, as quoted above.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ib., pp. 263-4.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ib., p. 479.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ib., p. 290.

gleaned. Kurds, he relates, occupied Bardha'ah, a city known also as "the Gate of the Kurds",<sup>1</sup> Baiḍā, where 'Alī ibn Ḥusain the Kurd lived,<sup>2</sup> Jurdhaqīl, which was also called Bukhtiyah, in Zawazān,<sup>3</sup> Dasht, a small town between Arbīl and Tabrīz,<sup>4</sup> Dawīn near Arrān on the borders of Adharbaijān, the original home of the Aiyūbī dynasty,<sup>5</sup> Sabūr near Shirāz,<sup>6</sup> Sarmāj between Hamadhān and Qūjistān, a town belonging to Badr ibn Ḥubbiwaih the Kurd, who ruled also Sābūr-Khast,<sup>7</sup> Sīsar in Hamadhān, which they had long owned,<sup>8</sup> Sharmākh, which they built themselves almost entirely with materials taken from Nahāwand,<sup>9</sup> and Shahrāzūr, whose inhabitants were a branch of the Kurds notorious for rebellion and insubordination;<sup>10</sup> in the province of Fārs he computes that there were 500,000 tents belonging to the Kurdish tribes, who spent both summer and winter on their pasture-grounds,<sup>11</sup> while in Qūhistān there were extensive stretches of country lying between the towns which were entirely occupied by Kurds and various nomad tribes engaged in the breeding of goats and sheep,<sup>12</sup> while other Kurds had overrun large parts of Luristān.<sup>13</sup> Amongst important towns in Kurdistān he includes Alain,<sup>14</sup> Alīshar,<sup>15</sup> Bahār,<sup>16</sup> Bāz, a fortress in Zawazān belonging to the Bukhtī Kurds,<sup>17</sup> Khuftiyān, a strong place on the river Zāb,<sup>18</sup> Khushan, remarkable for its fertility, its excellent irrigation, and its crops of wheat and fruits of various kinds,<sup>19</sup> two small towns of the name of Darband,<sup>20</sup> Māhī-Abād,<sup>21</sup> 'Allūs, one of the chief fortresses of the Bukhtī Kurds,<sup>22</sup> and Harsīn.<sup>23</sup> One place also he mentions as being occupied by people "like the Kurds" known as the Balūs,<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Id. ib., p. 92.<sup>2</sup> Id. ib., pp. 128, 479-80.<sup>3</sup> Id. ib., p. 158.<sup>4</sup> Id. ib., p. 233.<sup>5</sup> Id. ib., p. 246.<sup>6</sup> Id. ib., p. 294.<sup>7</sup> Id. ib., p. 311.<sup>8</sup> Id. ib., p. 335; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ-ul-Bulḍān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 310 (= 358).<sup>9</sup> Yāqūt, op. cit., p. 349.<sup>10</sup> Id. ib., pp. 356-8.<sup>11</sup> Id. ib., p. 412.<sup>12</sup> Id. ib., p. 466.<sup>13</sup> Id. ib., p. 504.<sup>14</sup> Id. ib., p. 51.<sup>15</sup> Id. ib., p. 52.<sup>16</sup> Id. ib., p. 123.<sup>17</sup> Id. ib., p. 76.<sup>18</sup> Id. ib., p. 210.<sup>19</sup> Id. ib., p. 219.<sup>20</sup> Id. ib., p. 228.<sup>21</sup> Id. ib., p. 516.<sup>22</sup> Id. ib., p. 404.<sup>23</sup> Id. ib., p. 594.<sup>24</sup> Id. ib., p. 115.



and he adds two instances of the baneful effect of the Kurds on districts adjoining their own ; Dûr-ar-Râsibî in Qûzistân, which had suffered much from their depredations,<sup>1</sup> and Marand, a town in Adharbaijân, which had lost its former importance and was in his days deserted and half-ruined owing to the continuous inroads of the Kurds, who would not desist from raiding it and carrying off its inhabitants into captivity.<sup>2</sup>

About a century later Mustaufî (c. A.D. 1340) mentions that the inhabitants of Nihâwand were for the most part Kurds of the Shî'î sect, and followers of the "Twelve *Imâm*", and that the city was the centre of large numbers of nomadic Kurdish horsemen, who were subject to a yearly impost of 12,000 sheep in place of the payment of the usual taxes ;<sup>3</sup> and elsewhere he mentions that Shahrazûr, which was built by Qubâd the Sassanian, was so-called since the word meant "the city of strength", because "its governors are always Kurds and he whose strength is greater becomes governor".<sup>4</sup>

The last of the greater Arab travellers and geographers to visit the land of the Kurds was Ibn Baţûtah (c. A.D. 1355), who passed on one side of Râmihurmuz Kurds dwelling in tents who thought themselves to be descended from Arabs, a theory undoubtedly due to the fact that they followed the Arab practice of living all the year round in tents, and on the other a few villages occupied by Kurds,<sup>5</sup> and at Hillah in Mesopotamia he found the population divided into two factions, the one a religious sect known as the "People of the Two Mosques" and the other the Kurdish party, between whom there raged a perpetual feud.<sup>6</sup> He also visited Sinjâr, whose inhabitants he declares to have been endowed with courage and generosity, and of whose *shaiikh*, the holy

<sup>1</sup> Id. ib., p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ib., p. 524.

<sup>3</sup> Mustaufî, *Nuzhat-ul-Qulûb* (ed. Le Strange), p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ib., pp. 105-7.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Baţûtah, *Voyages* (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinette), vol. ii, pp. 22-3.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ib., vol. ii, p. 97.

and ascetic 'Adb-ullah the Kurd, he has left it on record that he was reputed to be a worker of miracles and to be in the habit of fasting for forty days and then of only breaking his fast with a piece of barley-bread.<sup>1</sup>

The Kurds were, therefore, a widely dispersed people, whose wanderings led them from Khurâsân and Hamadân to the confines of Asia Minor, by Sumaisât and Malaṭiyah.<sup>2</sup> But in the twelfth century the Saljûqî emperor Sinjâr created the new province of Kurdistân between Persian and Arabian 'Irâq and put it under the government of his nephew, Sulaimân Shâh. Two centuries later the Mongols reorganized the provinces, when that of Kurdistan was increased by the addition of a large strip of territory previously forming a part of Persian 'Irâq.<sup>3</sup> Mustaufî the geographer defines the province of Kurdistân as being "bounded by Arabian 'Irâq, Qûzistân, Persian 'Irâq, Adharbaijân, and Diyârbakr", and states that, although in the time of the Saljûq the revenues of the province amounted to 2,000,000 dinars<sup>4</sup> annually, they had sunk to 201,500<sup>5</sup> dinars in his own time. Amongst its chief towns he mentions several that are now unknown, and records especially that the people of Darband-i-Zankî were "robbers and highwaymen, an abominable folk".<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Id. ib., vol. ii, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Outside Kurdistân the Kurds did not roam far afield. Ibn-ul-Athîr speaks of Kurds in Syria, whom the governor of Aleppo summoned to his aid in A.D. 1082 or 1083 to repel the onset of the Saljûqî Tutush (*Kâmil*, x, 82), and twenty years later he speaks of a settlement of Kurds living peaceably with their Arab neighbours along the banks of the Khâbûr in A.D. 1101 or 1102 (*Kâmil*, x, 236); Ibn Khaldûn (A.D. 1332-1406), in his *History of the Berbers*, mentions the presence of Kurds in Morocco (vol. iii, p. 413), and Auli-yâ, the Turkish traveller, came upon some colonies of them on the northern shores of the Black Sea in the seventeenth century. It should be added that the early presence of Kurds in Syria is attested by Ḥiṣn-ul-Akrâd or "the Fortress of the Kurds", a stronghold on an almost inaccessible height in the Lebanon.

<sup>3</sup> See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate and Mesopotamia and Persia under the Mongols*.

<sup>4</sup> About £1,000,000 in English money.

<sup>5</sup> About £100,750 in English money.

<sup>6</sup> Mustaufî, op. cit., pp. 105-7.