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Al-Djaihani's Lost *Kitab al-Masalik val-Mamalik*: Is it to be found at Mashhad?

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AL-DJAIHANI'S LOST KITAB AL-MASALIK VAL-MAMALIK:
IS IT TO BE FOUND AT MASHHAD?

By STEPHEN JANICSEK, Ph.D.

(PLATES I AND II)

A BŪ 'ABDALLĀH MUḤAMMAD IBN AḤMAD AL-DJAIHĀNĪ, the famous tutor, and later vazīr, of the Sāmānid amīr, Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, is one of the most interesting figures in Arabic literature and history. From the scanty information which is to be found in Ibn al-Athīr,¹ Yāqūt,² and Mirkhwānd,³ we can judge that he was an excellent statesman and a good general, whose political and strategic abilities directed the affairs of the Sāmānids at one of the most critical periods in their history. Nor can it be doubted, from the information supplied by Ibn Ḥauqal,⁴ al-Muqaddasī,⁵ al-Mas'ūdī,⁶ and the *Fihrist*,⁷ that al-Djaihānī was a man of wide learning and a good writer, with an intelligence far above the average of Oriental authors. We know from the *Fihrist* that he wrote several books on different subjects, but unfortunately all his works are lost. The most valuable of these works was probably the celebrated *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik*. When we study all that the four writers just mentioned have to say of this book, and read the vague citations made from it by Ibn Rustah, al-Bakrī, Ghardīzī, Edrīsī, Muḥammad 'Aufī (?), Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī,⁸ and Shukrallāh ibn Shihāb (?), we can establish beyond all doubt that it must have been one of the most distinguished and important studies in mediaeval Arabic cosmography, descriptive geography, and above all ethnography.

It is very important to notice that al-Djaihānī's book was not merely a compilation—as the greater part of Oriental geographical works used to be. Although it was not entirely original, being based on the well-known *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of Ibn Khurḍādhbah,

¹ Ed. Tornberg, 1862: viii, 59, 66.

² *Irshād* (Gibb Memorial Series VI), vi, pp. 293, 294.

³ *Historia Samanidarum*, ed. Wilken, Gottingæ, 1808, p. 34.

⁴ Ed. de Goeje, p. 236.

⁵ Ed. de Goeje, pp. 3-4, 269, 280a, etc.

⁶ *Kitāb at-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 75.

⁷ Ed. Flügel, i, 138.

⁸ It is interesting to note that an Arabic MS.—most probably a variation of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī's geography—quotes al-Djaihānī's book as *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik ash-Sharqīyya lil-Djaihānī*, and as the "pendant" of this the *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik al-Gharbiyya lil-'Adhrī*. (See Brit. Mus. Add. 23384, fol. 3a.)

our Oriental sources make it quite clear that the structure of al-Djaihānī's geography differed greatly from that of Ibn Khurdādhbah's work. Further, we are told that al-Djaihānī asked the various travellers and merchants about the routes leading to the "kingdoms", and that he inserted the information thus acquired, which would be of the first importance for us, in his *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik*.¹ From the Oriental authors already cited, and from al-Muqaddasī in particular, we know that he gave little attention to descriptions of the different cities and to the provinces of the "seven climates", preferring instead detailed accounts of the different routes, of rivers, mountains, forests, in general of the upper surface of the Earth, and of the races, tribes, and clans of almost uninhabited territories lying far from the "civilized" countries of Islam. In this fact lies the chief merit of his work.

Moreover, it is well known that for the criticism of the Oriental sources, al-Djaihānī's work would be of the greatest importance to all research students who are interested in the tremendously complicated problems raised by the accounts given in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works referring to the races, tribes, and clans of Southern Siberia and South Russia, such as the early Hungarians, Russians, Khazars, Ghuzz, and so on. (It is interesting to note that the early Hungarians, or the Russians, are often mentioned in these Arabic, Persian, and Turkish compilations as "Turkish" tribes, although, as is widely known, neither the Hungarians nor the Russians are of Turkish origin.)

In view of all this we may ask: How is it possible that we have no copy of this celebrated *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of al-Djaihānī? We know that we have many thousands of copies of useful, and useless, Arabic and Persian works of the Middle Ages. And amongst all these manuscripts—down to the present—no "Book of the Routes and Kingdoms" of al-Djaihānī has been discovered! How is it possible?

A complete answer to this question would claim much time, but it may be briefly explained as follows:—

In all probability one of the positive causes why this geography, as written originally by him in Arabic, has not come down to us, is the undoubted fact that al-Djaihānī did not write his book for the general public. An al-Iṣṭakhrī or Ibn Ḥauqal, and more especially a Mas'ūdī, a Qazwīnī, an Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, stood much nearer the Oriental public than an Ibn Khurdādhbah or an al-Djaihānī. From what

¹ al-Muqaddasī, pp. 3-4.

al-Muqaddasī says we can deduce with the greatest certainty that the geography of al-Djaihānī was a very long and tedious account for a Muhammadan reader. Probably it was very good as a compilation, but was not so good for copying. Further, we know that the history of the Sāmānids is not so well known as that of the Saljūqs or Barmakids, or the central Government of Baghdād, and consequently the history of their vazīrs is less known than, for example, that of the Saljūq vazīrs. Among the Sāmānids, though their dynasty has a distinguished place in the history of Islām, there was no Malik Shāh, no Yaḥyā ibn Barmak. In consequence of this we find no vazīrs among their subjects whose fame equalled that of a Niẓām al-Mulk. Had al-Djaihānī been a vazīr of the Court of Baghdād, or had this vazīr of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad been in the service of a Malik Shāh or a Maḥmūd of Ghazna, we may guess that we should have known his life and works more fully than we do now. Finally, we think that if his *nisba*, instead of "al-Djaihānī", had been, for example, "al-Baghdādī" or "ad-Dimishqī" or "al-Khuyārizmī" or "al-Harawī" or "al-Mausilī", or any other *nisba* relating to a celebrated city of Islām, it is likely that we should now know a little more about him. (It is curious to note that al-Djaihānī was not a Muhammadan, but a *thanawī*.¹)

Still, of course, we need not believe that his *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* is lost to us for ever. We cannot yet give up the hope of finding a complete copy of it, somewhere in Khurāsān, or in Bukhārā, or in some part of the Muslim world.

Everyone who is greatly interested in al-Djaihānī's *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* was very glad to hear Herzfeld's report that a copy of this lost geography was in existence in the famous library of Mashhad.² It would be an event of the greatest importance if this report should prove to be true.

Ivanow has given an account of the library of Mashhad with excerpts from its catalogue.³ In his list we cannot find the name of al-Djaihānī's lost work, but we find a certain *Masālik al-Mamālik*, without author's name.⁴ (Most probably this is a copy of al-Iṣṭakhrī's

¹ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i, 142; *Fihrist*, i, 338.

² See in *Ephemerides Orientales*, Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1926, No. 28, p. 7, Herzfeld's article ("Einige Bücherschätze in Persien"): "Und auch der Djaihānī selbst ist da!" (at Mashhad).

³ "A Notice on the Library attached to the Shrine of Imam Riza at Meshed," *JRAS.*, October, 1920.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 551 (No. 83).

geographical work; see below.) Some information about this same library may be found in Nicolai Khanuikov's *Mémoire sur la Partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale*,¹ but without detailed particulars of the MSS. and other books. In this essay there is no mention either of a *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* or of a *Masālik al-Mamālik*. Besides I have recently seen a list of the books contained in the library of Mashhad in a work by Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān.² But I regret that I was unable to find the correct title of al-Djaihānī's lost geography in this catalogue either. . . . In general, anyone who has studied the system of Oriental copyists and cataloguers knows very well that we need to be very cautious in accepting the titles of different authors or their works, as given by them. We are well aware that the following remark of Ivanow's is of general application, and not only in the case of Persians: "It is a well-known fact that Persians in general, and the holy and learned mullahs in particular, are strikingly ignorant of all that concerns books of poetry, history, fiction, etc. . . . These people are particularly helpless when it is a matter of defining a book, the title of which cannot be found in the book itself."³ After this penetrating judgment can we still believe, on the authority of a brief remark, in the existence of a complete copy of al-Djaihānī's *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* in the library of the sacred mosque of Mashhad? Probably—no!

There is another difficulty, too, which must be taken into account, namely, that there are other Arabic geographical works which bear the same title (e.g. the works of Ibn Khurdādhbah, Ibn Ḥauqal, al-Bakrī, etc.). Further, al-Iṣṭakhri's book bears a very similar title (*Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, often referred to as *Masālik al-Mamālik* or even *al-Masālik val-Mamālik*,⁴ or *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*,⁵ or *Kitāb Ṣuwar[al] Ālam*,⁶ or *Kitāb al-Aqālīm*,⁷ or *Masālik va Mamālik*,⁸ or *Kitāb al-Ashkāl*.⁹ From the identical or similar titles of all these

¹ Paris, 1861 (62), p. 100.

² Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (I'timād us-Saltānah, etc.), *Kitāb Maṭla' ush-Shams* (Teheran ? 1884-6) 2 vols. (in the Brit. Mus.).

³ Loc. cit., p. 537.

⁴ See de Goeje's articles on Iṣṭakhri and Balkhī in *ZDMG.*, xxv, p. 57.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ B.M. Or. 5305 (an Arabic variation of al-Iṣṭakhri).

⁷ See Moeller's edition of al-Iṣṭakhri (Gotha, 1839).

⁸ See the introduction to the Persian version of al-Iṣṭakhri in the India Office Library (No. 1026).

⁹ Ed. de Goeje (see the end of his edition).

Oriental geographical works we may guess how often they are confused with one another by Persian, Turkish, or Arabic authors.

I propose in what follows to discuss one of the most striking examples of this confusion, which, at the same time, has a close bearing on the interesting problem of al-Djaihānī's lost *Kitāb al-Masālik val Mamālik*. It would be desirable to give a brief summary of this subject, but unfortunately it is impossible.

There are two Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Department of the British Museum (Add. 23542 and Or. 1587) each containing several Oriental treatises. The first section in both MSS. bears the following title: "*Kitāb-Ashkāl-i 'Ālam-i al-Djaihānī* ki az 'arabi bi-fārisī tardjume shode ta'lif-i Abul-Qāsim [sic!] ibn Aḥmad al-Djaihānī. . . ." (see Add. 23542). A careful comparison of Add. 23542 with Or. 1587 shows clearly that the two texts closely agree with one another, a fact which has already been stated in Rieu's brilliant *Catalogue Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.* (p. 417). It is a great pity that neither MS. is old, both having been copied in the first half of the nineteenth century. Add. 23542 is dated at Baghdād, and Or. 1587 at Kābul. Sir Henry Rawlinson notes on the fly-leaf of the latter that this MS. was copied from a fine old MS. afterwards lost.

As we have seen, the first treatise in these two MSS. is claimed as al-Djaihānī's *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* (sic) by the translator who translated the Arabic original of this *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* "of al-Djaihānī" into Persian, by order of an *amīr al-mu'minīn* (sic), entitled "The Pride of Bukhārā" (*Iftikhār-i Bukhārā*), who himself attributed the original Arabic work to al-Djaihānī.¹ But in spite of this "attribution" we may question whether these two mysterious copies are in reality to be ascribed to al-Djaihānī.

In his *Catalogue* (pp. 415-16) Rieu has expressed the following opinion: "The attribution of the original [of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam*] to Jaihānī, or, as he is called at the beginning of the translation, Abul-Qāsim Ibn Aḥmad al-Jaihānī, is probably due to a vague recollection of the famous geographer of that name, al-Jaihānī, Vazīr of the Samanides." In the same columns he makes a comparison of the "*Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* of al-Djaihānī" with de Goeje's al-Iṣṭakhri, and comes to the conclusion that the former is a somewhat abridged, but otherwise fairly close translation of the latter. But a precise comparison of these MSS. with de Goeje's and Moeller's editions of al-Iṣṭakhri, also with the Persian version of al-Iṣṭakhri at the India

¹ See the Introduction prefaced to both MSS.

Office, and finally with the Arabic variation of al-Iṣṭakhrī's geography (B.M. Or. 5305), shows clearly that there are great difficulties in the way of this identification.

In both MSS. the translation of the original (Arabic) text is preceded by a *muqaddima*, in which the translator says that his Prince, while studying in his own library, found a copy of the celebrated *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam-i Djaihānī*, and commanded that this distinguished work should be translated into Persian. After this rather long introduction, the translator begins the translation of the original (Arabic) text as follows¹: آغاز ترجمه کتاب اشکال العالم از تالیف جیهانی چنین گوید : مولف کتاب ابو القاسم [sic] بن احمد الجیهانی که در این مجموع ذکر اقلیم ممالک عالم کرده آمد [?] تا بلاد اسلام و کیفیت آن . . .

followed one or two lines later by :

و غرض از این کتاب تصور اقلیم جهان است نه نام مواضع.

It is very important to notice that in the Persian translation of the original Arabic text the name of al-Djaihānī is found nowhere except at the beginning of the work, cited above. (The Arabic text did not, of course, include the aforesaid *muqaddima*.) Instead of it we often find the following expression : "The author of this book said that . . ." On the other hand, at the end of the two MSS. al-Djaihānī's name is repeated, as follows² :—تمام شد ترجمه کتاب اشکال عالم از تالیف جیهانی .

In a word we find al-Djaihānī's name only in the title of this work, in the *muqaddima* of the Persian translator, at the beginning of the translation of the original text, and at the end of the translation. Consequently, except for the citation of the name of this famous vazīr at the beginning of the original Arabic text, all the references to him are most probably due to the Persian translator himself. We can, moreover, prove with absolute certainty that this work cannot by any means be attributed to al-Djaihānī. Everyone who knows of al-Djaihānī's geography from the description furnished by the Oriental works mentioned above, and everyone who carefully compares these two copies of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* with al-Iṣṭakhrī's geography, must agree with us in this conclusion.

How then is the mistake about the name of the real author of this *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* to be explained ?

¹ Add. 23542, fol. 3b ; Or. 1587, fol. 4b.

² Add. 23542, fol. 57a ; Or. 1587, fol. 126b.

There are several possible explanations of this very typical phenomenon in the source-analysis of Oriental studies, but we think that the most positive interpretation would be on the following lines. The above-mentioned Oriental ruler probably found in his library a copy of an Arabic manuscript entitled *Ashkāl al-Ālam*, without author's name. Being anxious to learn the name of the author, he examined the text, and saw the name of al-Djaihānī (as noted above ¹) at the beginning of the work. He did not know that these first three or four lines of the text were, most probably, only excerpts taken by the author of the *Ashkāl al-Ālam* from al-Djaihānī's *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik*, and that the real beginning of the original text followed a few lines below (i.e. at *وغرض از این کتاب*). It is very probable that this prince "The Pride of Bukhārā" was familiar with the name of al-Djaihānī, but unfortunately did not know the correct title of al-Djaihānī's geography, and under the erroneous impression that the author of the *Ashkāl al-Ālam* was al-Djaihānī, commanded one of his servants to translate this Arabic geography "of al-Djaihānī" into Persian. In this way it is easily understood why al-Djaihānī's name is mentioned at the head of the Persian version, as the author of the *Ashkāl al-Ālam*, why it is twice recorded at the beginning of the translation of the original Arabic text, and finally inserted at the end of the Persian translation.

Who then was the real author of the *Ashkāl al-Ālam*? To give a precise answer to this question is the most difficult problem before us. As regards the name of the work we can state with reasonable assurance that the name *Ashkāl al-Ālam* belongs, as a title, to the geographical work of either al-Iṣṭakhri or al-Balkhī. We have already remarked that the correct title of al-Iṣṭakhri's geography was *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, and that of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*. But we know very well that the names of these two works are not always quoted exactly by Oriental writers, and indeed have often been confused with one another. We have seen above that al-Iṣṭakhri's *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* is sometimes designated by the title of *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*. Further, we may conjecture that al-Balkhī's work appeared in two editions,² and that one or both of them was used, enlarged, and finally renamed by al-Iṣṭakhri *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*. In consequence of this, al-Iṣṭakhri's work can be regarded

¹ i.e. in the Persian translation: *چنین گوید مؤلف کتاب ابو القاسم بن احمد الجیهانی*.

² See the above-mentioned article of de Goeje, pp. 50, 56.

as an enlarged edition of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālim*. This fact is the source of the great complication in the so-called "Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri" problem. Therefore, in face of the difficulties attending the identification of these two geographies, or more precisely of their titles, we may assert with a fair degree of certainty that the correct title of the two British Museum MSS. which go by the name of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* is either *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* or *Ṣuwar al-Aqālim*.¹

Now al-Iṣṭakhri states, near the beginning of his work, that in his book he has divided the inhabited part of the earth into twenty *iqṭims*. (This division was not his original idea, as he found these twenty *aqālim* in al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālim*.) But on studying his *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* we find that in the headings of the different chapters relating to the twenty *aqālim*, the numbers of the "regions" are never mentioned, whereas in the chapter-headings of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* we find the number of each "region" inserted along with the title. For example, in al-Iṣṭakhri the chapter-headings read as follows: ذكر ديار المغرب, or ديار المغرب, etc., while in the two MSS. of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* we find in the corresponding chapter-headings إقليم سومّ ذكر ديار المغرب, etc. The importance of this fact cannot be overlooked, since we know from al-Muqaddasī (p. 4) that al-Balkhī divided his geography into twenty chapters, and it is not impossible that in the original *Ṣuwar al-Aqālim* the number of each of the twenty "regions" was recorded in the chapter-headings, just as we have seen in the case of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam*.

Besides, if we study the variations of al-Iṣṭakhri's geography already referred to, we find no mention of al-Djaihānī's name, either at the beginning of the work or elsewhere. But we have seen that al-Djaihānī's name was, in all probability, cited at the beginning of the original Arabic *Ashkāl al-'Ālam*. This very important fact cannot be neglected, and seems to provide an additional proof that the work cannot be attributed to al-Iṣṭakhri. It is, however, not impossible that al-Djaihānī's name was mentioned at the beginning of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālim*, since al-Balkhī is known to have been in personal contact with al-Djaihānī.² We may observe also that at the beginning of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* al-Iṣṭakhri speaks in the first person,³

¹ We have seen above that al-Iṣṭakhri's work is sometimes known as *Ṣuwar [al] 'Ālam*, which is practically identical in meaning with *Ashkāl al-'Ālam*!

² See *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (s.v. al-Balkhī).

³ See B.M. Or. 5305 and de Goeje's edition.

but the author of *Ashkāl al-Ālam*, in the corresponding passages, writes in the third person.

The strongest argument, however, is that, if a careful comparison is made between the MSS. of *Ashkāl-i Ālam* and the above-mentioned variations of al-Iṣṭakhri's work,¹ it is found that the text of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* is longer than that of *Ashkāl-i Ālam*. Not only this, but there are some differences between the two works in regard to the description and enumeration of the cities, rivers, tribes, etc. Besides, the particular structure of *Ashkāl-i Ālam* cannot be identified with that of al-Iṣṭakhri's work, more especially as the former contains the names of different cities within the *aqālīm*.

The consideration of all these difficulties leads us to the conclusion that in all probability the original of the two MSS. of the *Ashkāl-i Ālam* in the British Museum cannot be attributed to al-Iṣṭakhri, but either to an unknown author, or else to al-Balkhī himself.² It is probable indeed that the "*Ashkāl-i Ālam* of al-Djaihānī" is the Persian translation of a copy of the original second (or perhaps third) edition of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*. There are some two or three items in the text which are of a date posterior to both al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭakhri,³ but, as Rieu has already remarked,⁴ these passages are probably later insertions in the original Arabic text.

It is well known that al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm* contained the maps of the twenty "regions". These maps were copied, and probably improved, by al-Iṣṭakhri. As Miller has recorded,⁵ there are three collections of al-Balkhī's maps, one in Berlin, one in Hamburg, and one in Bologna, and several facsimiles of these maps are published, along with some of al-Iṣṭakhri's maps, in his *Mappae Arabicae*. Moeller also published facsimiles of al-Iṣṭakhri's maps in his edition of the text, and in addition al-Iṣṭakhri's atlas may be seen in the India Office and B.M. copies of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*.

The two manuscripts of *Ashkāl-i Ālam* also contain maps of the twenty *aqālīm*, including (in both MSS.) the map of the inhabited

¹ These variations of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* also present certain differences in their texts, which must not be overlooked either. Consequently the problem of the existence of a second, or even of a third, edition of al-Iṣṭakhri's work becomes very difficult.

² As has already been mentioned, al-Iṣṭakhri's geography may be regarded as a much (?) enlarged edition of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar*.

³ al-Balkhī died in A.H. 322, and al-Iṣṭakhri probably in 340.

⁴ *Catalogue*, p. 416.

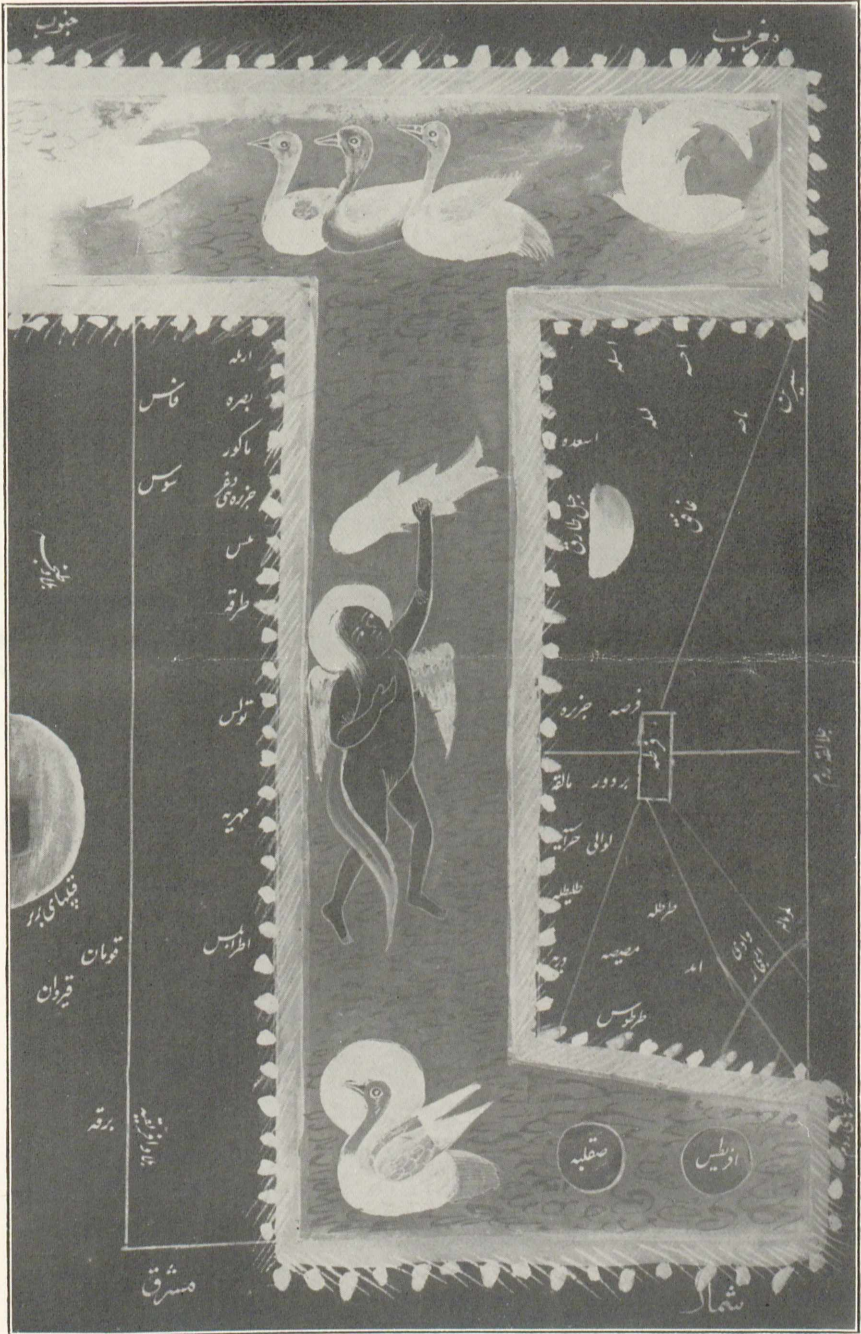
⁵ C. Miller, *Arabische Welt- und Länderkarten*, 1. Band, 2. Heft (Stuttgart, 1926), p. 17.

part of the earth. This map is not found in all the variant editions of al-Iṣṭakhri mentioned above. A careful comparison of all the maps of al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭakhri with the painted drawings of the atlas of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* reveals clearly that the prototypes or archetypes of all these maps (including the latter) are those which may have been included in the first edition of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqā'im*, and further, that amongst all these maps, the painted drawings of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* "of al-Djaihānī" betray the earliest origin, and show the most primitive technique.¹ As has already been mentioned, these two MSS. were copied in the first half of the nineteenth century, and we must suppose that their maps were painted at the same time. A study of these maps, however, proves undoubtedly that the painters were skilful artists and probably copied the original maps most faithfully. In them the continents are often drawn with the simplest lines (rectangular or obtuse-angled), a feature rarely found in the maps of al-Iṣṭakhri or in the facsimiles of the three Balkhī collections interpreted by Miller. In general, too, it may be affirmed that fewer cities, mountains, and rivers are shown on the maps of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* than on any of the other maps mentioned.

Miller seems to state, in the passage already referred to, that the extent maps of al-Balkhī in the collections at Bologna, Berlin, and Hamburg, are the oldest Islamic maps independent of Ptolemy. But on comparing these maps, published by Miller, with the maps of the two MSS. of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam*, we can establish beyond all doubt that these latter maps must be regarded as types of an older (probably the original) scheme of al-Balkhī's maps! If, then, it is true that al-Balkhī is to be regarded as the first atlas-maker in Islam who was (more or less) independent of Ptolemy, we can state, as an all but indubitable fact, that the maps in the London MSS. of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* are copies of the oldest Islamic maps which are (more or less) independent of Ptolemy. Thus the evidence of the maps seems also to bear out the argument that the author of this work was al-Balkhī, and that the text is probably that of the second (or perhaps third) edition of the *Ṣuwar al-Aqā'im*.

Against this conclusion only one serious argument can be raised, namely, that we are guessing that the text of the original edition of

¹ Of the two maps reproduced herewith from Add. 23542, Plate I, representing the Mediterranean Sea, should be compared with the reproductions in Miller's Islam-Atlas No. 6 (*Mappæ Arabicæ*, 1. Band, 1. Heft); and Plate II, representing North-West Africa and Spain, with those in his Islam-Atlas No. 3 (*ibid.*, 2. Band, Beiheft).



al-Balkhī's *Suwar al-Aqāṭīm* was shorter than that of the *Ashkāl al-Ālam*. But de Goeje himself has already observed that al-Balkhī probably issued two editions of the *Suwar al-Aqāṭīm*, and it is not impossible that it reached not only the second but also the third edition.

Finally, let us return to al-Djaihānī! We have seen from a striking example, discussed in the preceding pages, that a geographical work has already been wrongly attributed to this famous vazīr of the Sāmānids. Further, if we consider the immense confusion which exists among the names of al-Balkhī's, al-Iṣṭakhrī's, Ibn Khurdādhbah's, and al-Djaihānī's works, we regard it as *not at all* certain that the real *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of al-Djaihānī, the discovery of which would be one of the greatest events in modern Oriental research, is to be found in the library of Imām 'Alī Rizā at Mashhad. As we have shown, Herzfeld's short report is quite insufficient to support any such belief. It might well happen that a research student who should examine this mysterious manuscript would find another *Ashkāl al-Ālam* "of al-Djaihānī", or a copy of al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, or Ibn Khurdādhbah's work, instead of the authentic *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of al-Djaihānī.

But it is also true that the problem of whether al-Djaihānī's geography is or is not to be found at Mashhad cannot be solved in London. The city of the perfect solution of this urgently important question is . . . Mashhad.